



ex Imaginibus Fulvij Ursini.

THE  
ROMAN HISTORY  
Written in LATINE  
BY  
TITUS LIVIUS.  
WITH THE  
SUPPLEMENTS

Of the LEARNED  
John Freinshemius, and John Dujatius.  
From the Foundation of *Rome* to the middle of the  
Reign of *Augustus*.

Faithfully done into English.



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## THE Translators Preface.

**I**ntend not to enter into a large Discourse of the Excellency and Usefulness of History : That Province has been undertaken by a thousand abler hands. Tully's short Character is just, and very significant, when he calls it, Times Witness; Truths Light; The Life of Memory; The Herald of Antiquity; and the Mistress of Life.

But as amongst all prophane Histories, none can for Greatness of Action, prudence of Counsels, and Heroick Examples of all sorts of Vertue, compare with That of the Commonwealth of Rome; so of all Roman Historians, Titus Livius, both for Copiousness and Elegance, for Accuracy and unblemish'd Fidelity, is justly preferr'd. Whose Excellent Works (as far as Extant, with Supplements for all that is wanting) we undertake to present you with in English; and the business of this Preface is to give

1. Some Memoirs of the Authors Life and Writings.
2. An Account of this present Translation.

Titus Livius was born at Padua (whence his common Addition is, Patavinus) a City of Italy, renowned for its Antiquity (said to be built by Antenor, four hundred Years before Rome) as well as for its strength, having been able to bring into the Field one hundred thousand Combatants, and from which, as Venice was but a Colony, so it still belongs to that Illustrious Republick (such being the fate of Towns, as well as Persons, that sometimes the Mother is forc'd to depend on the Daughter) and remains to this day a place famous for Learned Men, being honour'd with an University, renowned especially for the study of the Noble Art of Medicine. He was born about the Year 694. after the building of Rome; that is, (according to the best Chronologers) in the Year of the World 3906. and fifty six years before the Incarnation of our Blessed Saviour.

How he spent his younger years, though no Authors particularly mention, yet we may easily guess at the Tillage by the Crop, and conclude him then laboriously and no less successfully employ'd in the Studies of Literature and Eloquence, whereof he gave an early Specimen in certain Philosophical Dialogues mention'd by Seneca (Epist. 100.) which 'tis likely he might present to Augustus, and thereby first attract the Esteem of that most Illustrious Prince, and grand Patron of Learned men. For 'tis certain, our Author was not only well known to him, but so much in his Favour, that though afterwards he gave him a very free Account of the Civil Wars, and spoke so honourably of the Republican Party, that the Emperour Cæsar jocularly called him Pompeianus, one of Pompey's Faction; yet that Generous Prince did not for all that refuse him his Friendship, as is attested by Tacitus in the fourth Book of his Annals, but made

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choice of him (of all the Famous men then at Rome) to be Tutor to his Grand-Son Claudius, afterwards Emperour.

Thus he flourish'd under the Reign of Augustus, and began to write this History after the thirteenth and before the eighteenth year of that Emperour, as we may gather from those words in his first Book: Since Numa's time Janus's Temple has twice been shut; once when T. Manlius was Consul after the first Punic War ended, and again the Gods vouchsafed the same favour to our Times, when after the Actian War the Emperour Augustus Caesar had obtain'd Peace both by Land and Sea. Now 'tis well known, that Janus's Temple was thrice shut up by Augustus: First, after his Victory over Mark Anthony and Cleopatra at Actium here mentioned, which was in his fifth Consulship: And again, when he had subdued the Calabrians in his tenth Consulship; and the third time in the Year of the City 748. (within two years after which our Blessed Lord was born of the Virgin.) Since therefore Livy mentions it to have been then only twice shut, 'tis plain, that he wrote (at least that first Part of his History) before Augustus's second Closure thereof.

'Tis likely, that he repaired very young to Rome, and spent there most of his time. For as in that Imperial City he had the best Advantages of Books; and all the Records of Antiquity to furnish him with Matter, so he had also the best Company both to inform his Judgment, and improve his Stile. And in this respect never was Author more happy, as living in an Age when Letters were at the highest pitch both of Perfection in themselves, and Estimation from others.

For 'tis not improbable but he might have seen, heard, and been acquainted with Cicero, that great Master of the Latine Eloquence (for he was twenty years old at his death) with the most Learned, and in Roman Antiquities incomparably skilful, Varro; with that ingenious Parent of Lyrick Elegance, Catullus; with Virgil, the Prince of Poets, and Salust, the most excellent (at least till this our Livy out-vy'd him) of Historians; with Cornelius Nepos and Diodorus Siculus, both no contemptible Authors in History. Certain it is, that he was Contemporary, not only with those most famous Poets, Ovid, Horace, Propertius, and Tibullus, but also with Seneca the Declaimer, and Vitruvius the Architect, and Dionysius Halicarnassensis, who wrote the Roman Story most exactly in Greek. Nor was he much elder than Strabo the Grecian Geographer, than Valerius Maximus and Velleius Paterculus, none of the least considerable Roman Historians. In a dark Night Glow-worms may shine, and Sporad's in the Sun's absence cast a glimmering lustre; but for a Star to appear in open Day-light, is almost miraculous. Amongst such a Crowd of Excellent men in the most polite Age that the World can boast of, for Wit, Learning, and Eloquence, that our Author should come behind none of them, and in his Historical Province outstrip all (as in the Judgment of the literate World he has done) is certainly an Argument of a most happy Genius, and Accomplishments altogether extraordinary.

Nor is it easie to determine, whether his Industry, or his Sufficiency were the greater; for he wrote the whole History (as well Civil as Military) of the People of Rome for the space of seven hundred forty five years,

viz.

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viz. from the Foundation of that City till the Death of Drusus, that is, until within eight years of our Saviour's Incarnation.

This mighty Undertaking (which by what hath been said, appears to have taken him up at least above twenty years time) he performed in one hundred and forty Books (or as Petrarch and others think, one hundred and forty two) which were divided (but whether by Livy himself, or afterwards by the Transcribers for better conveniency, is disputable, though not much material) into fourteen Decads, that is, so many Tomes of ten Books apiece, of which there are now only five and thirty Books extant; for the second Decade, and all the rest after the fifth Book of the fifth Decade, are lost. But we have still the Epitomes of the whole one hundred and forty, of which L. Florus is commonly reputed to have been the Author.

The Causes that contributed to this unhappy Shipwrack, so passionately regretted by the whole Commonwealth of Learning, were probably these.

1. The Malice of the Emperour Caligula, who whether out of Envy, or his natural Aversion to all Learning, Vertue and Industry, endeavoured to remove both Livy's Works and Statues out of all Libraries; alledging, That he was too full of Words, and false in his Relations: Reproaches which ought to leave no stain on our Historian, since they proceeded from the same ignorant Monster who condemned Virgil as a Sot; and was contriving to have abolisht both his and Homer's incomparable Poems out of the World, and to have made a Bonfire of all the Law-Books in Rome. We could expect no better from a Caligula, but I am somewhat surprized at the zeal of S. Gregory, who (as S. Antoninus tells us) burnt Livy's Works for this Reason, Quod in Superstitionibus & Sacris Romanis perpetuo versetur; Because he was so perpetually mentioning the Roman superstitious Rites and Idolatries. I confess his over-frequent Stories of Prodigies and their Expiations, cannot but be somewhat nauseous to a judicious Christian Reader, but we must consider him as he was an Heathen, and then we can scarce blame him for shewing so much respect to those feigned Deities, which were all he knew: and Bodin's Apologie may excuse him, Superstitione præstat quàm impietate obligari, & falsam quàm nullam habere Religionem; Better Superstition than Impiety, and to be zealous in a false Religion, than either to have no Religion at all, or to neglect and profane with irreverence that which we do profess.

2. The vast Bulk of his whole Work, not to be transcribed without a world of pains. And here some could have wisht the Epitomizer (whoever he was) had spared himself that trouble, it being suspected, that many out of Laziness contenting themselves with his Abridgments, the Original thereby became the more neglected, which otherwise, perhaps, had not perisht; however this accidental Consequence was unforeseen, and those Breviats, now in the want of the whole, have proved of great use.

3. Add to this the Rage of the Goths and Vandals (and other Barbarians that since over-run Europe) against all Monuments of Literature, and how many choice Volumes have been swallowed by the devouring Jaws of Time, in the Revolutions of above sixteen hundred years, and we may rather wonder how

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five and thirty Books of Livy came to escape, than that one hundred and five are perisht.

What we have, came not all at once to light; for the first five Books of the fifth Decade were found Anno 1531. at Wormes by Simon Gryneus in the Library of the Laurissene Monastery: And in the Year 1615. the beginning of the forty third Book was regained from an old Manuscript belonging to the Chapter of the Church of Bamberge, by John Horrion a Jesuit, and first printed at Venice.

Some have formerly reported, That all Livy or the greatest part of what we want, might be found in his most Catholick Majesty's Library at the Escorial; but if it had been so, yet that Library being not many years since casually consumed by Fire, we must despair of retrieving it from thence. And as little hopes are there to have it from the Grand Seignior's Palace at Constantinople, where others have fancied it to be. Paulus Jovius in his Description of the Orkney Isles, seems to insinuate as if in that remote Corner of the World, the same lay dormant, preserved by King Fergusius, a Companion of Alaricus the Goth, when he sackt Rome, and laid up there for security, when the Danes made their Invasions on Scotland. I could heartily wish our Sacred Sovereign of Great Britain might have the Honour to oblige the World with this Treasure from any part of his Dominions, but still must fear that we are no more to expect them than the lost Leaves of Solomon.

But though Livy publisht his History under the auspicious Reign of Augustus, yet he lived somewhat longer; though after the death of that good Emperour, weary, 'tis like of Rome, he retired back to his own native City Padua; for there we find he dyed on the first of January in the fourth year of Tiberius's Reign, the twentieth after our Lord's Nativity, and the seventy sixth of his own Age. He had two Wives, the first named Cassia; two Sons, T. Livius Priscus and T. Livius Longus (to one of them he wrote an Epistle of the Art of Rhetorick, mentioned by Quintilian) and four Daughters. The Names of his first Wife and two Sons are found in a most ancient Inscription on Marble, extant not long since in the House of Annibal Capilisti, a Captain of Horse in the service of the most Serene Venetian Republick, near St. Daniel's Church in Padua. Thus

T. Livius C. F.  
Sibi & suis  
T. Livio T. F. Prisco, &  
T. Livio T. F. Longo, &  
Cassiae Sex. F. Primae  
Uxori.

He was buried at Padua, in the Temple of Juno, where since was erected the Monastery of S. Justina, possessed by Monks of the Order of S. Benet. By whom long since was found a Marble Inscription with these words.

V. F.

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V. F.

T. LIVIUS

Liviae T. F.

Quartae L.

Halys

Concordialis

Patavi

Sibi & suis

Omnibus.

This the Monks and others took to be made by Livy himself, interpreting so those Letters V. F. that is, Vivens Fecit, T. Livius, &c. That Livy living made it. But Marquardus Gudius, and from him Dujatius, conclude that it was put there by Halys, the Freed man of Livia his Daughter; And thus it ought to be read in English. T. Livius Halys the Freedman of Livia, the fourth Daughter of Titus, being Priest of the Temple of Concord at Padua, in his Life time, made this for himself and all his; That is, to testify their respects to the Great Livy there Interr'd, plac'd this Monument and Inscription.

In the Year of our Lord 1413. upon occasion of digging to lay the Foundation for some new Building in that place of the Monastery, the Bones of Livy were found in an Iron Chest; upon the Report of which, there was such a vast concourse of people, that the good Monks had thoughts to have burnt them, to prevent such unusual veneration to the Reliques of a Pagan; But at last, they were given to the Nobility, (at their earnest request) to remain as an honour to their City. Then was the Coffin carried on the shoulders of divers persons of the first Quality to the Town-Hall, where their Courts of Justice are held [Palazzo delle Ragioni, they call it] under the West Wall whereof the same was repositied, with this Epitaph.

Offa  
T. Livii Patavini  
Unius Omnium  
Mortalium Judicio  
Digni, Cujus  
Inviecto Calamo  
Inviecti P. R.  
Res Gestae  
Conscriberentur.

The

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The Bones  
Of T. Livy of Padua  
The only Man  
By the Judgment of all Mortals  
Worthy to write  
With his Matchless Pen  
The Actions  
of  
The Invincible Romans.

Anno 1548. these Bones were again-remov'd to a more eminent place in the  
aforesaid Hall, and a magnificent Tomb erected to be seen there at this day,  
with brass Tables and Inscriptions, and a most antient Figure of him in Marble,  
given the City by Alexander Bassianus, a great Antiquary (the very same which  
you have here in the Frontispiece) under which was placed the before-recited Inscrip-  
tion, V.F. T. Livius, &c. On the right hand was the Statue of Eternity, on the  
left that of Minerva, under their Feet the Rivers Tiberis and Po, between them  
a Wolf suckling Romulus and Remus. And under all in a brass Table this  
Hexastick compos'd by Lazarus Bonamicus.

Offa tuumq; Caput, Cives tibi, Maxime Livi,  
Prompto Animo hinc omnes composuere tui.  
Tu Famam æternam Romæ, Patriæq; dedisti,  
Huic Oriens, illi fortia facta canens.  
At tibi dat Patria hæc, & si Majora liceret,  
Hoc totus staret Aureus ipse loco.

It would be too tedious to recite the several Eulogies given of our Author by  
Learned men, in their Writings, scarce any mentioning his Name without Epi-  
thets of Honour. Pliny the younger L. 2. Epist. 3. relates, That  
whilst he was living, his Fame and Renown was such, That people  
came to Rome from the farther parts of the World on purpose to see  
him; And St. Hierome takes notice thereof more at large in these words to  
Paulinus, We read that several Noblemen came from the furthest  
parts of Spain and France for a view of Livy, and those whom the  
City of Rome (though then in its highest Glory) could not attract with all  
its splendour, the Fame of one Man drew to make Journeys thither,  
and to prefer a sight of him before all the Magnificence of that Me-  
tropolis of the World. The same most Learned Father in his Proem before  
Daniel, recommends the reading of Livy for the better understanding of that  
Mysterious Prophet: and of more modern Writers, the Judicious Comines af-  
firms, That Livy (whom he calls the Polybius of the Latines) is most ne-  
cessary to be perused by Princes, Governours, Senators, and all per-  
sons concern'd in Political Affairs.

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It remains now, that we say something of this present Translation, and per-  
haps it may be objected, That the same is needless, Livy's History being long  
since in English; which is acknowledged; but yet we conceive the same ought to  
be no Bar to our Translating it anew. For

1. Though that was perform'd by a Learned Man\*, and very conversant  
in Labours of that kind, yet without any reflections on his worthy pains, we  
may have leave to say, That our English Language is much refined within the  
last fourscore years (for his Work is Dedicated to Queen Elizabeth.) And  
we have been very unhappy if we have not express'd the Authors sense more briefly  
and somewhat more significantly, and agreeable to the Gusto of modern English  
Readers; But that must be left to their Judgment who shall be pleas'd with-  
out prejudice, to compare the one with the other, and both with the Ori-  
ginal.

2. The Latine Original it self is since that time not a little improved. A  
great part of the forty third Book discovered, which was then unknown; each  
Book divided into distinct Chapters, the Year of the City placed at the beginning  
of each Book; a multitude of depraved passages restored, and obscurities illus-  
trated, by industrious Criticks; and especially by Monsieur Dujatius, (who  
not long since Printed it, with large Notes, by the express Command of his  
present Most Christian Majesty, for the use of his Son the Dauphin;) From  
whose diligent pains we have borrowed much Light.

3. Our intent is to give the English Reader the whole Roman History to  
the Times of Augustus, where Livy left off, to which purpose we have in  
this First Volume, inserted (in its proper place), A Supplement of the second  
Decade, Written in Latine by the Learned Johannes Freinshemius. As also  
have added, at the end of the five Books extant of the Fifth Decade, Supple-  
ments of sixteen several defective passages therein, compos'd by the before-men-  
tioned Dujatius.

4. You have here not only a more exact and useful Table of the principal Con-  
tents, but the Fasti Consulares better methodiz'd, with Chronological Notes,  
shewing in what Year of the City, and under whose Consulship, the most remark-  
able Occurrences happen'd.

5. That nothing might be wanting to serve the meer English Reader, because  
in the Translation, the retaining of divers Terms (uncouth perhaps to his Ears  
and understanding) could not be avoided, as Dictator, Prætor, Comitia, &c.  
We have annext An Alphabetical Index, wherein the same are Explained,  
and thereby a general insight given into the whole Roman Policy, Civil and  
Military.

This first Volume brings down the story to the Year 588. after the Building  
of Rome. The remainder (which Livy had compil'd in ninety five Books,  
that are lost) being excellently supplied in two Tomes, by the aforesaid Frein-  
shemius, we are now preparing for the Press, in a second Volume; whereby  
the intire Body of Roman History, from Romulus to the latter part of the  
Reign of Augustus, will be compleat.

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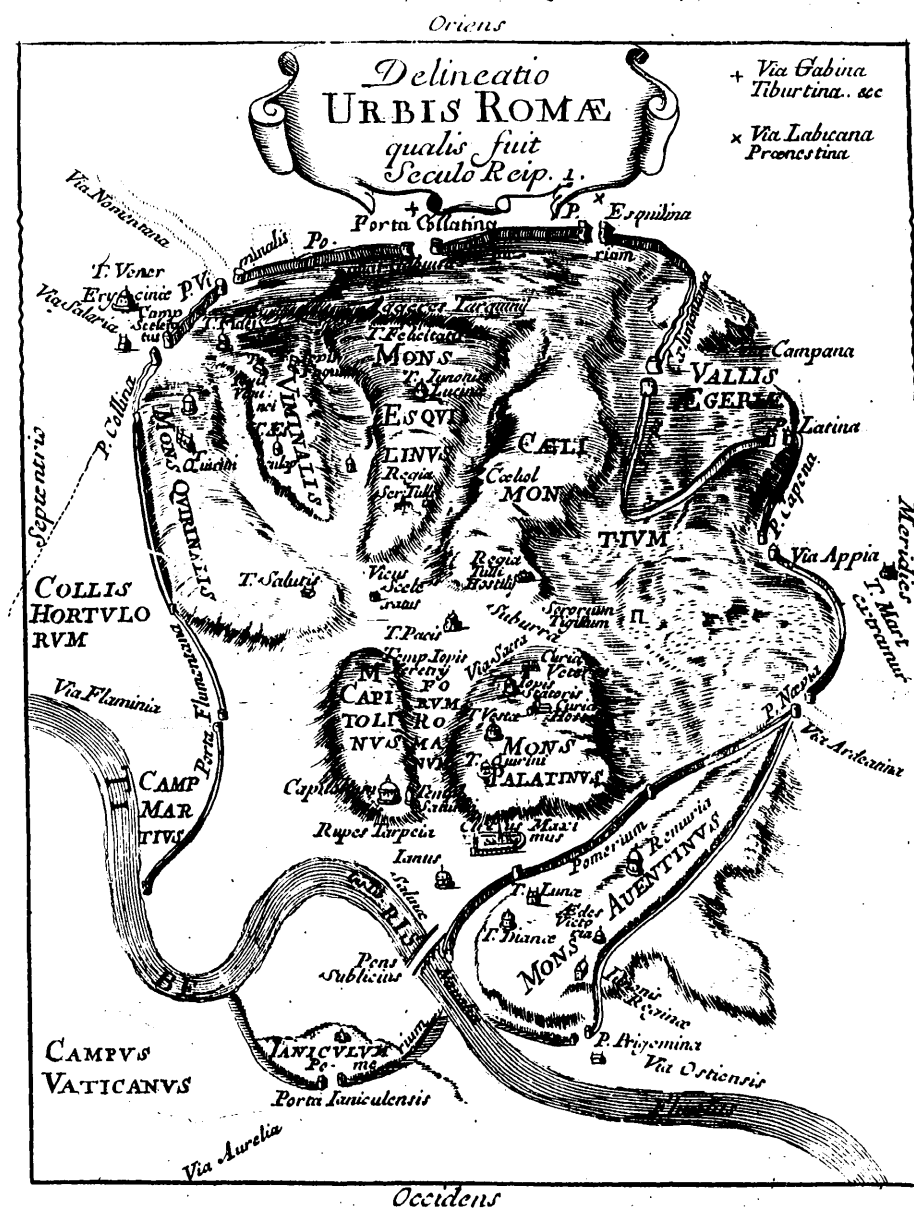
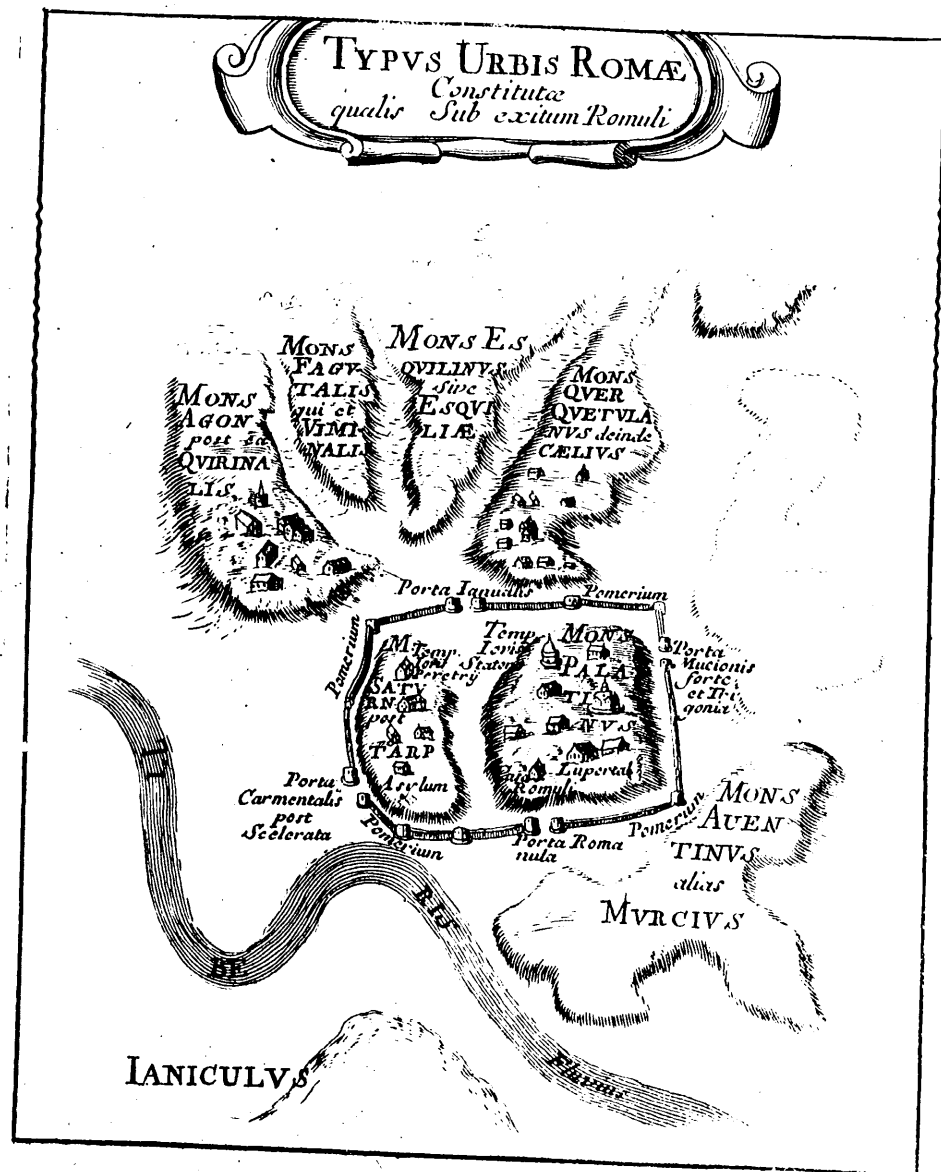
*This is all I have to advertize the vulgar Reader ; and from the Learned beg, That wherever I may have need of their Candour and Pardon, they would be so generous as to afford it ; Considering, how difficult, or rather impossible it is, in so long a Journey not to tread sometimes awry ; and that 'tis no easy matter to make a Master of Roman Elegance, vers'd in the Court of Augustus, after sixteen Ages, to express his Sentiments freely in another Language.*

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THE

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# The HISTORY OF TITUS LIVIUS,

Native of *P A D U A*.

DECADE I. BOOK I.

## EPITOME.

1. 2. **T**HE coming of Aeneas into Italy, and what he did there. 3. The reign of Ascanius at Alba, and of Silvius Aeneas, with the other succeeding Kings called Silvii. Numitor's Daughter got with child by Mars, who brought forth two Sons called Romulus and Remus. Amulius murdered. 6. The City built by Romulus. 8. The Senate chosen. 11. A War with the Sabines. 10. Rich Spoils consecrated to Jupiter Feretrius. 13. The People divided into Curias. 14, 15. The Fidenates and Veians conquered. 16. Romulus canoniz'd. 18. &c. Numa Pompilius makes a Scheme of Religion, he builds a Temple to Janus, and was the first that shut the gates of it, when he had made peace with all the neighbouring Nations, pretending to have secret conversation with the Goddesses. 19. He converts the vehement Spirits of the people to holy Duties. 22. &c. Tullus Hostilius makes War upon the Albans. 25. After that, the Combat of the Three to Three. 26. Horatius absolved. 28. The Punishment of Metius Sufferius. 29. Alba demolished. 30. The Albans received into the City: and a War proclaimed against the Sabines. 31. At last Tullus was consumed by a Thunderbolt. 32. Ancus Martius renewed the Ceremonies instituted by Numa. 33. He assigned the Aventine Mount to the Latines, being now overcome and taken into the City, he demolished Pollitorium a City of the Latines, which the ancient Latines inhabited, he made a wooden Bridge over the Tiber: added the Hill Janiculum to the City: enlarged the bounds of the Kingdom: built Ostia; and reigned 13 years. 34. In his Reign Lucumo the Son of Damaratus a Corinthian, came from Tarquinii, a City of Etruria, to Rome, where being received into Ancus's friendship, he began to bear the Name of Tarquinius, and after the death of Ancus, succeeded in the Kingdom. 35. He augmented the number of the Senators, by making an hundred more, subdued the Latines, appointed a particular place called the Circus, for Games, and gave the People an entertainment in it with such sports: being attack'd with a War from the Sabines, he augmented the Centuries of Horsemen. 36. He likewise try the skill of Attius Navius the Augur, is said to have asked him, whether that which he thought of could be done or no? to which he answering, yes; he commanded him to cut a Razor with a whetstone, which Attius immediately did. 37. He also conquered the Sabines in a pitched Battle. 38. He enclosed the City with a wall, and made common Sewers. 40. He was killed by Ancus's Sons, when he had reigned 38 years. 41. Servius Tullius succeeded him, who was the Son of a noble Lady taken in war at Corniculum; and they say, when he lay in his Cradle, his head was all on a flame. He defeated the Veians and Etrurians. 42, 43. He was the first that made a Poll. He set up a Lustrum [a survey and purgation of the people] at which the people were rated in 8000 Sesterces. He determined and set in order the Classes and Centuries. 44. He enlarged the bounds of the City. He added to the City the Viminal, Quirinal, and Esquiline Hills. 45. He built a Temple to Diana in the Aventine among the Latines. 47, 48. He was killed by L. Tarquinius, the Son of Priscus, by the contrivance of his Daughter Tullia, when he had reigned 34 years. 49. After him Tarquinius Superbus usurp'd the Kingdom, without the consent either of the Senate or the People; on which day impious Tullia drove her Chariot over the dead body of her Father, that lay in her way: he had a Lifeguard. 50, 51. He killed Turnus Herdonius by a stratagem. 53. He waged War with the Volsci, and out of their Spoils built a Temple to Jupiter in the Capitol. 54. Terminus did not consent to it, whose Altars could not be removed. 55. He reduced Gabii into his own power by the treachery of his Son Sext. Tarquinius. 56. His Sons going to Delphi, and asking of the Oracles which of them should reign at Rome, they were told he should be Sovereign there, who first kiss'd his Mother; which answer they interpreting the wrong way, Junius Brutus, who went along with them, pretended to fall down, and kiss'd the Earth: which action of his had the foretold event; for when Tarquinius Superbus by his Tyranny had made himself odious to all men; at last, for a Rape committed in the night by his Son Sextus upon Lucretia (who calling her Father Tricipitinus, and her Husband Collatinus to her, who she engaged to revenge her Death, with a knife stab'd herself) 59. was expelled by Brutus's means more than any body else, after he had reigned 25 years. 60. Then Consuls were first created, whose names were L. Junius Brutus, and L. Tarquinius Collatinus.

## PREFACE.

**W**Hether I shall make it worth my while to write the History of the Romans from the time their City was first founded, I neither well know, nor if I do, dare be so bold to declare: Because I observe it is the old and usual way, for new succeeding Writers, to pretend that they outdo mistaken antiquity, either in the certainty of their account, or their stile and method of writing. However this will be my satisfaction, that I, among others, as much as in me lay, have preserved the memory of those great Actions which have been performed by the most glorious People in the whole world. And, if amidst so great a throng of Writers, my fame be eclipsed, yet I shall please my self in the renown and grandeur of those whose very lustre obscures my

my Name. Besides, it seems a vast, laborious enterprize, to collect all the records of things done above seven hundred years ago, and of a Nation that from so small an Original grew to such an height, that it now tires under its own bulk: Nor do I doubt, but the account of its first rise, and that which thereupon immediately fell out, will be too tedious for most Readers, who will therefore hasten to take a view of those more modern Exploits, which long ago have ruined a powerful People, even by their own strength. I on the contrary will desire this one other reward for my pains, that I may not be in sight of those Ills, which our Age for so many years has suffered, at least so long as I am studiously bent to relate those former Events, but that I may be free from all care, which though it do not carry a Writers mind away from what is truth, may discompose it. Those things which before the City was built, or design'd to be built, may seem more fit to employ a Poets pen, than one who delivers down the uncorrupted memories of real Actions, I shall neither confirm nor confute. 'Tis a liberty always granted to Antiquity, that by mingling divine and humane things together, it might make the rise of Cities more August and Venerable. Now therefore, if any People ought to have that freedom to consecrate their Original, and make Gods the Authors of it: The Roman People have gained such Glory in War, that, having Mars above all the Gods, for yours and their Founders, Father and Protector; mankind may as easily allow them this Liberty, as submit to their Dominion. But these things and all such others as shall occur (however they may be censur'd or esteem'd of) I shall not make any great account of; I only desire every Reader, for his own sake, carefully to mind the Lives and Manners that I describe, by what Men and Arts both at home and abroad, that Empire was both gained and augmented. And then, when their Discipline fell by degrees to decay, let him observe how their manners first declined; as also, how they afterwards slid down still farther and farther, till at last they tumbled headlong down the Precipice, and rowled into these times, wherein we cannot indure either our own Vices, or even the Remedies against them. This is that, which in the knowledge of things is most for your benefit and advantage, that you see all the instructions of former Examples, set up as it were on some conspicuous Monument; from whence you may take for your self, and the State you live in, what may be worth your imitation, and have a view of all the ill Enterprises and Events which you ought to avoid. And truly either I am too fond of what I have undertaken, or there never was any Republick, either greater, more religious, or richer in good Examples, or into which Avarice and Luxury so lately crept; or where so long Men bore so much respect to Poverty and Parsimony; in so much that the less they had, the less they desired. 'Tis but of late that Riches have introduced Covetousness, and lavish Pleasures want, through a prodigal inclination that Men have had to ruine and confound themselves and the State. But Complaints perchance will scarce be grateful, even when they are necessary, and therefore ought not to come in the front of so great a Work as this; let us begin then with good boadings, Wishes and Prayers to the Gods and Goddesses, that (if we may do like Poets) they would prosper this our undertaking.

- I. NOW in the first place 'tis well known, that when Troy was taken, though the other Trojans were Massacred, the Greeks gave quarter to two of them, *Aeneas*, and *Antenor*, not only upon the score of former friendship and acquaintance, but because they had still been Sticklers for Peace and the restoring of *Hellen*. And then that *Antenor* after many Adventures, came with a company of People called *Heneti*, (who being driven out of *Paphlagonia* upon an Insurrection there, were to seek a new Country as well as a Captain or Commander (for they had lost their Governour *Pylamenes* at the Siege of *Troy*.) into the innermost bay of the *Adriatick* Sea, and that the *Heneti* and *Trojans*, having beaten out the *Euganei*, who dwelt between the Sea and the *Alps*, took possession of that Countrey, and that the place where they first landed, is called *Troy*, which we *Latines* (as the *Trojans* did their City) call *Troja*, and the whole Nation are stiled *Veneti* or *Venetians*. That *Aeneas* upon the same sad occasion being forced to fly his Country, but led by Fate to be the founder of a far greater Empire, came first into *Macedonia*, and thence carried into *Sicily* to find an abode, was from *Sicily* driven upon the *Italian* Coast near *Laurentum*, which place was likewise named *Troja*. There the *Trojans* being got on shore, and having nothing left after their tedious Voyage, besides their Arms and their Ships, went into the Country foraging; whereupon *Latinus* and the *Aborigines* (or ancient Natives) who at that time lived in those parts, came flocking out of the City and Country with Arms, to repel the violence of those invading Strangers. Concerning which there goes a double report. Some say, that *Latinus* being defeated, first made a Peace, and after that an Alliance with *Aeneas*. Others say, that when two Armies were set in Battalia, before the Signal was given, *Latinus* march'd forth attended by some of his chief Officers, and demanding a Parley with the Captain of those Strangers, ask'd em, What kind of Mortals they were, how they happened to leave their own Country, or what they meant by landing on the Coast of *Laurentum*? But when he heard, That they were *Trojans*, and their Captain *Aeneas*, the Son of *Anchises* and *Venus*; who being forced to fly their own Country and City, which was all destroyed by Fire, came thither to seek an Habitation and a place wherein to build a City. They say, that he admiring the Grandeur of their Nation, and of *Aeneas* above the rest, as well as his equal temper of Mind, which was prepared alike for War or Peace, gave him his hand, and with that established a solemn promise of future Friendship. Thereupon their two Leaders having entered into a League, the two Armies saluted each other; and *Aeneas* was entertained by *Latinus*, with all the

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Civility due to a Stranger. That then *Latinus* reinforced and confirmed their publick Agreement by a domestick Obligation before his own Household Gods, and gave *Aeneas* his Daughter in Marriage; which Alliance made the *Trojans* hope they should at last settle there, and wander about the World no more. There then they build a Town, which *Aeneas* calls *Lavinium*, from his Wifes name, (which was *Lavinia*.) And in a short time this new Marriage produced a Son, whom his Parents called *Ascanius*.

After that the *Aborigines* and *Trojans* were at once invaded; for *Turnus*, King of the *Rutuli*, to whom *Lavinia* had been betrothed before the arrival of *Aeneas*, taking it ill that a Stranger should be preferred before him, made War against *Aeneas* and *Latinus* at the same time. But neither of the Armies had any cause to triumph for that Battel: The *Rutuli* were defeated; whilst the *Aborigines* and the *Trojans* lost their General *Latinus*. Then *Turnus* and the *Rutuli* finding their own weakness, fled for succour to the flourishing power of the *Etrurians*, and *Mezentius* their King; who at that time keeping his Court in a rich Town called *Cære*, and being at first dissatisfied with the building of a new City, but at that time especially, supposing that the growth and encouragement of the *Trojans* would be too great a security to their Neighbours, was very willing to assist the *Rutuli*. *Aeneas*, to take off the terror of so great an Enemy, and that he might engage the *Aborigines* to love him, call'd both the Nations, *Latines*, and put them all, not only under the same Discipline, but Denomination too. Nor did the *Aborigines* from that time forward ever come behind the *Trojans* in their respect and duty to their King *Aeneas*. *Aeneas* therefore relying upon the Affections of these two Nations, which were every day more and more united, (though *Etruria* were so strong and terrible, that it had filled not only the Land, but the Sea too, all along the Coast of *Italy*, from the *Alps*, to the *Sicilian* Streights, with the renown of its Name,) yet notwithstanding that he could have defended himself within his Walls, drew out his Army into the field: That was the second Battel that the *Latines* fought, and the last thing that *Aeneas* did whilst he lived, who was buried (what Title soever we may lawfully attribute to him,) upon the banks of the River *Numicius*, and his Stile there is, *Jupiter Indiges*, (a Man become a God.)

*Ascanius*, the Son of *Aeneas*, was not then old enough to govern, but the Empire however was kept entire for him till he came of Age; and in the mean time the *Latine* State, his Grandfathers and Fathers Kingdom was preserved for the Child, under the Protection of *Lavinia*, who was a Woman of extraordinary parts and conduct. I question (for who can be certain of a thing done so long ago?) whether it were this *Ascanius*, or an Elder than this, who was Son to *Creusa*, (*Aeneas*'s Wife) born whilst *Troy* was standing, and a Companion to his Father in his flight thence, being the same, that the *Julian* Family call *Julus*, and make the Author of their Name. But this *Ascanius*, let him be born where he would, or of what Mother you please, 'tis certain he was *Aeneas*'s Son) left behind him to his Mother or Stepmother a flourishing (as things then went) and a rich City, *Lavinium* being now grown very Populous: Besides that he built another new one also under the Mountain *Albanus*, which from the situation of it, as being carried on to a great extent upon the foot of the Hill, is called *Lunga Alba*, or *Long Alba*. It was almost thirty years between the time that *Lavinium* was built, and that when the Colony of *Lunga Alba* was drawn out of it; yet notwithstanding, so strong they grew (especially when they had conquered the *Etrurians*) that neither *Mezentius* nor any other neighbouring Nations durst engage with them, no, not when *Aeneas* was dead, nor ever afterward, when a Woman was their Protectress, or when the Youth *Ascanius* with his raw Politicks was first possessed of the Kingdom. They therefore made a Peace upon condition, that the River *Albula*, now called *Tyber*, should be the boundary both to the *Etrurians* and the *Latines*. After which *Silvius* begins his Reign, being Son to *Ascanius*, and by some accident or other, born in the Woods (in *Latine*, *Silvæ*) he begat *Aeneas Silvius*, and he, after that *Latinus Silvius*, by whom some Colonies were planted, and called the *Ancient Latines*. From that time *Silvius* was the Surname of all that reigned at *Alba*. *Latinus* begat *Alba*, *Alba Atys*, *Atys Capys*, *Capys Capetus*, and *Capetus Tiberinus*, who was drowned in his passage over the River *Albula*, and made the River ever since famous for his Name. *Tiberinus* had a Son called *Agrippa*, whom his Son *Romulus Silvius* succeeded in the Kingdom, till being Thunderstruck himself, he left it to *Aventinus*, who was buried in that Hill, which is now a part of *Rome*, and was thereby the occasion of its being named *Mons Aventinus* (the Hill *Aventine*.) After him succeeded *Proca*, who begat *Numitor* and *Amulus*, and to *Numitor*, who was the eldest Son of the Family, bequeathed the ancient Kingdom of the *Silvian* Race. But power prevailed beyond either the Will of a Father, or the respect due to primogeniture; for *Amulus* deposed his Brother, and reigned in his stead, nor only so, but adding one Wickedness to another, killed his Brothers Issue Male, and bereft *Rhea Silvia* his Brothers Daughter, whom under a pretence of Honour, he had chosen to be a Vestal Nun, of all hopes ever to have any Children, because she was by her Vow obliged to perpetual Virginity.

But the original of so great a City, and the founding of an Empire more powerful than any, except that of the Gods, was, I suppose, the effects of Destiny it self. That Vestal Maid being ravished, and having two Children at a birth (either because she thought he really was, or because a God would seem a more honorable Gallant, and by his Dignity lessen her Crime) declares

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clares *Mars* the Father of her Bastards. But neither do Gods or Men save her or her Children from the Kings cruelty; but she was bound and committed to custody, whilst he commanded the Boys to be thrown into the River. The *Tiber* by good luck (as if Heaven had so ordained it) was at that time out, so that a Man could not come near the main Channel; but the water upon the banks was not deep or rapid; yet the Persons that carried the Children thither, were in good hopes the poor Infants might be drowned even in that, as shallow and still as it was: So they, as if they had thereby executed the Kings command, expose the Children in the next water they came to, where now there stands the street called *Vicus Ruminalis*, which was formerly they say, called *Romularis*. Those parts were then all desert, and the story goes, that when the water of that stream, in which the Children were exposed, was fallen so low, that the dry land appeared; a thirsty the-Wolf hearing the Children cry, came that way out from the Mountains which are there round about, and that she gave the Infants suck so tenderly, that the Kings Shepherd found her licking them with her tongue; the Shepherds Name they say, was *Faustulus*, and that he gave them to his Wife *Laurentia* to nurse in the Sheepcoats. There are some that say *Laurentia* was called *Lupa* [i. e. *Whore*, or *She-Wolf*] among the Shepherds, because she was a common Prostitute; and that from thence this Fable or miraculous report was first occasioned. Thus were they begotten, and thus brought up: and as soon as they grew to some ripeness, they could not indure to lie like Sluggards in the Stables or Coats among the Sheep, but roved about the Woods a hunting. And by that means gaining not only strength of body, but of mind too; they encountered not only wild Beasts alone, but set upon Robbers too, whom they met laden with booty, and divided the Spoil among their brother Shepherds, among whom they worked and played with other Youths that daily flock'd to their Society.

V. At that time, they say, the Feast of *Pan* was kept upon the Mountain *Palatine*, and that *Palatium* was derived from an *Arcadian* City, called *Palanteum*, from whence that Mountain came to be called *Mons Palatinus*, and that *Evander*, who came of that race of *Arcadians*, and for many years before, had been in possession of those parts, commanded the keeping of that Festival according to rules brought thither out of *Arcadia*, which were, that so many young Men should run up and down naked in a wanton and lascivious manner, to the honour of *Pan*, surnamed *Lycaeus*, whom the *Romans* afterward called *Imus*. And that whilst they were celebrating this Festival (it being a noted time) the Thieves who were vexed to lose their booty, set upon them by surprize; and tho *Romulus* defended himself by main strength, took *Remus* Prisoner, delivered him to *Amulius*, and accusing him, made it the greatest charge against him, That they invaded *Numitors* Territories, and from thence with the help of a company of young Fellows, whom they two had mustered up, drove away his Cattel in an hostile manner; so *Remus* was put into *Numitors* hands to be punished as he thought fit. In the mean time *Faustulus* was always in good hopes that he had brought up two Children of the Family Royal, for he not only knew that they were exposed by the Kings order, and that the time when he found them agreed with that same circumstance; but he was not willing the thing which was not yet ripe for publick knowledg should be discovered, unless it were, either upon a good occasion, or out of necessity, of which two necessity first took place, and so being frightened into it, he revealed the whole matter to *Romulus*. It happened also that *Numitor*, whilst *Remus* was in his custody; having heard that they were Twin Brothers, by comparing their Age, and considering that their Genius shewed them to be of no servile extract, had some recollecting thoughts of his Grandsons, and by enquiring, proceeded so far, that he almost owned *Remus* to be one of them. Thus was the King beset with Plots on every side, for *Romulus* attack'd him, not with a multitude of young Fellows (as not being able to cope with him fairly, had to hand) but ordered the Shepherds to go several ways, and meet at the Palace at such a time, and *Remus* too got a company from *Numitors* house, to assist in the Affair, by which means they slew the King.

VI. *Numitor* as soon as the Tumult began, crying out, That an Enemy had invaded the City, and attack'd the Kings Palace; when he had called together the youth of *Alba* into the Castle, which he design'd to make himself Master of by force of Arms, and when he saw the young Men, after the Murther was committed, draw up towards him with gratulations in their mouths, immediately called a Council, and declared the injuries that his Brother had done him, the extract of his Grandsons, how they were born and bred, and how they were discovered, together with the death of the Tyrant, and that he himself was the Author of it. The young men marching through the midst of the Assembly, with a great number attending on them; when they had saluted their Grandfather, by the name of King, an unanimous consent of all the Company confirmed that name, and established him in the Empire. Thus the Government of *Alba* being settled upon *Numitor*, *Romulus* and *Remus* had a mind to build a City in that place, where they were exposed and educated; for there were a great many *Albans* and *Latines* alive, besides Shepherds, who all gave them great hopes that *Alba* and *Latium* would be but inconsiderable places to that City which should be there built. But whilst they were deliberating of this matter, the old misfortune intervened, that is, an immoderate desire of Dominion, and thence arose a fatal difference between them, though from a small cause: For they being Twins, and so not distinguished in point of Age or pre-

precedence, would needs have the Gods (under whose protection those places were,) declare who should give the name to their new City, and, when it was built, who should Reign over it.

*Romulus* chose the Mount *Palatine*, and *Remus* the *Aventine*, for their several quarters to view the *Augury*. The *Augury*, they say, came first to *Remus*, and that was six Vultures: which when it was interpreted, and, after that, a double number had shewn themselves to *Romulus*, their parties and followers saluted both of them as King at the same time; the former pretending to the Kingdom as precedent in time, and the latter upon the account of the double number of Birds. Thereupon at first they wrangled, but fell at last from words to blows, and in the Crowd *Remus* was slain. The more vulgar report is, that *Remus* in derision of his Brother, leapt over his new Walls, and for that was kill'd by *Romulus*, who was vex'd at it, and said in his fury, so shall every one be served that leaps over my Walls. Thus *Romulus* made himself sole Governour, built the City, and call'd it by a name derived from his own. He first of all fortified the *Palatine*, where he was bred, and offered Sacrifice to other Gods after the *Albane* manner, bult to *Hercules*, the Greek Heroe, he did it as *Evander* had formerly ordered. They tell you, that *Hercules* when he had kill'd *Geryon*, brought thither an Herd of very beautiful Oxen and Cowes, and that near the River *Tiber*, over which he swam and drove the Cattel before him, he being tired with his journey, lay down upon the grass, to refresh himself and them with rest and convenient Food. But having eaten and drank so much Wine as that he fell asleep, a certain Shepherd that lived there hard by, called *Cacus*, a very strong fellow, being taken with the beauty of the Beasts, and having a great desire to rob him of them; because he knew, that if he drove them into his Cave, their very foot-tracts would lead their Owner that way to seek for them, he took the lovely brutes each one by the tail, and drew them backwards into his Den. *Hercules*, awaking early in the Morning, servay'd his Herd, and finding part of them missing, went to the next Cave to see if perchance the tracts of them went that way, where when he saw they were all turn'd as if they came out from thence, and did not go any other way, he was amazed, and did not know what to do, but began to drive his Cattel forward out of that unlucky place: But afterward when some of the Cows that he was driving along, low'd, as they use to do, for lack of their fellows which were left behind, the lowing of those that were shut up in the Cave, by way of answer, brought *Hercules* back again: Whom when *Cacus* endeavoured to hinder from going to the Cave, he received a blow with his Club, of which, though he call'd upon the Shepherds to assist him, he immediately Died. *Evander* at that time who was banished *Peloponnesus*, govern'd those parts more by his Authority, than any regal Power; for he was a Man that deserved a great deal of reverence upon the score of his wonderful Learning, which was a thing wholly new to those People who understood not the Arts, but much more venerable for the supposed divinity of his Mother *Carmenta*, whom those Nations admir'd as a Prophetess, before the coming of *Sibylla* into *Italy*. And this same *Evander* being at that time startled at the concurrence of the Shepherds, who trembled to tell of a strangers being guilty of a palpable Murther, when he heard the relation of the Fact, and the reason of it, and saw the habit and shape of the Man, which was somewhat larger and more august than that of ordinary mankind, he demanded of him, Who he was: And when he new his name, who was his Father and what his Country, accosted him, saying, Hail *Hercules*! Son of *Jupiter*; my Mother who was a true Prophetess told me, that thou shouldst augment the number of those that dwell in Heaven, and that an Altar should here be erected to thee, which the most wealthy Nation in the World in time to come should call *Maxima* [the Greatest] and Sacrifice upon it according to thy command. *Hercules* gave him his right hand and told him, he received the Omen, and would fulfil the Prophecie, by building and dedicating an Altar. And that was the first time that Sacrifice was made there, when he, taking a choice Heifer out of his Herd, slew it, calling the *Potitij* and the *Pinarij* (Priests of *Hercules*) who then were a very noble Family in those parts to assist him in performing of the ceremonies, and to partake of the feast. It so fell out, that the *Potitij* were then present, and that the Entrails were set before them; but the *Pinarij* came to the rest of the entertainment when the Entrails were eaten, and thence it became a rule, as long as the race of the *Pinarij* continued, that they should not eat of the holy Entrails. The *Potitij*, taught by *Evander*, were the chief Priests in that Solemnity for many Ages, till all the whole stock of the *Potitij* was decayed, and the ministerial function of their Family conferr'd upon publick Servants. And these holy foreign rites above all others did *Romulus* then undertake to perform, being even at that time a great admirer of Immortality, gained by Vertue and Courage, to which his very Destiny led him.

Having performed the holy Rites according to order, and called the multitude to council, who could not be united into one body by any means, except Laws, he made several, which he supposed would be the better observed, if he made himself venerable by some ensigns or badges of Kingly power; and therefore as he appear'd more august in his other habit, so also and most especially he did in that he chose twelve *Lictors*, (or Sergeants) to go with rods and axes before him. Some say he made use of that number from the number of birds that in the *Augury* had portended his being King. But I am willing to be of their opinion, who say that Apparitors or Sergeants and that sort of officers came from the *Etrurians*

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that were a neighbouring Nation, from whence also they derive the *Sella Curulis* [or Chair of State,] the *Toga prætexta* [a white Gown, that Children wore, guarded with purple] and this very number: and that the *Etrurians* had just so many, because their King being chosen out of twelve several sorts of People, each of them chose one Lictor (or Sergeant.) In the mean time the City increased in fortifications, in that they went still farther and farther with their works, more out of hopes of a multitude to come, than for the safeguard of those men they then had. And then lest the City should have been made so big to no purpose, He, according to the ancient rule of all those that ever built Cities (who when they had gathered into their walls an obscure and mean rabble of People, pretended their inhabitants were born out of the Earth) set open the *Asylum*, a place which is now hedg'd in with thick brambles between two Groves, and into that from the neighbouring Nations all the rabble ran, as being greedy of novelties, without distinction, or being questioned whether they were Free-men or Slaves: And that was the first step towards the greatness of his strength. When he thought himself strong enough, he prepared a Council to manage that strength, to which end he makes an hundred Senators, either because that number was sufficient, or because there were but one hundred only that could be created Patres (i. e. *Fathers* or *grave Senators*.) Now they no question, were called Patres [i. e. *Fathers*] out of respect and honour, and their descendants *Patricij* [i. e. *such as were of a Senatorian Family*.]

IX. By this time *Rome* was grown so strong, that it was able to cope with any of the neighbouring Cities, but for want of Women, its Grandeur was like to continue no longer than a Mans age; because they neither had hopes of Children at home, nor intermarried with their Neighbours. Then by advice of the Senate *Romulus* sent Embassadors to the adjacent Countries, to desire an Alliance and Nuptial Engagements between his and their People, and to tell them, That Cities, like other things, rose from small beginnings, and then, that such, as their own Virtue and the Gods advance, gain to themselves great power and renown; as also, that they knew very well, not only that the Gods were assitant in the production of *Rome*, but likewise that no Virtue would be wanting in that Nation; wherefore they should not think it any degradation to them as Men to mingle blood and contract an intimate relation with those who were Men as well as themselves. But this Embassy was no where kindly received, so much they all despised, and fear'd so great a power that was then growing up among them, not only in respect to themselves, but their posterity. Many dismissed them with this question, Whether they had opened any *Asylum* for Women too? for that would make their Marriages just and equal. The *Roman* youth took that in great dudgeon, and had a great inclination to use violence: for which that *Romulus* might give a good opportunity, he counterfeited himself out of humor, and ordered Games to be solemnly kept in honour of *Neptunus* Equestris purposely, [i. e. *The God of Horsemanship*,] which he call'd *Consualia*. Whereupon he commanded that the adjacent Countries should have notice given them of a Show that was to be made, and with as much preparation as they possibly could, they set things out, that they might do something that was extraordinary, and answer Peoples expectations. A great many people met together, not only upon that account, but likewise out of curiosity to see the new City; especially all the neighbouring People, as the *Cæmenses*, the *Crustumini*, and the *Antemnates*. Thither also came all the *Sabines*, with their Wives and Children; who being invited very hospitably from house to house, and seeing the situation, the walls and all the City so full of houses, admir'd that *Rome* was grown so great in so short a time. When the time for the Show was come, and their minds and eyes were all intent upon it, then by consent they made the attack; and giving the signal, the *Roman* youth ran up and down to ravish, or seize their Virgins, of whom great part were forced away at a venture, as each man lit upon them, though some great beauties design'd for the Chiefs of the Senate were carried to their houses by inferior persons employed for that purpose. They tell you, that one much handsomer than all the rest, was carried away by the retinue of one *Talassius*, of whom when many people enquired to whom they were carrying her, the parties that had her in custody cried out by way of answer (lest any one should take her from them) she is going to *Talassius*, from whence that became a Nuptial word. The sport being all spoiled by the fear that people conceived, the sad parents of the Maids ran away as fast as they could, accusing the *Romans* for violating the laws of Hospitality, and calling upon that God to whose Solemnity and Games they came, and were deceived even after a religious promise of the contrary. Nor had the Maids that were taken any better hopes of themselves, or less indignation within them; but *Romulus* went all about and told them, that what they suffered was for the pride of their Fathers, who had denied to contract any Marriage with their neighbours, but that however they should be Married, and bear a part not only in all their fortunes, but be free of their City, and (than which nothing is more dear to Mankind) share in the procreation of Children. That they would do well to remit their fury, and resign their affections to those men whom fortune had made masters of their bodies. That many times love had afterward sprung from injuries precedent, and that they were like to have the better Husbands, inasmuch as every man endeavoured as much as possible not only to satisfy his turn, but to fulfil the desire of his Parents and Country. Besides this too, the men shew'd a great deal of kindness, whilst they excused themselves, and strove to atone for their fault by love and address, which are the best arguments to pacify a Woman's soul. By

By this means the Maids minds were very much reconciled; but their Parents, in sordid habit, with tears in their eyes and great complaints, endeavored more than ever at that time, to instigate their several Cities: nor did their indignation contain it self within their own Towns only, but they flock'd from all parts to *Titus Tatius*, King of the *Sabines*; and Embassies were sent thither, in that the name of *Tatius* was most renowned of any in those parts. The *Cæmenses*, *Crustumini*, and *Antemnates*, were they who were partly concerned for that injury: and *Tatius* with his *Sabines* seemed to them to make but slow progress in the Affair; wherefore those three Nations prepared for a War at their own common charge, though the *Crustumini* and the *Antemnates* were not speedy enough for the heat and fury of the *Cæmenses*; inso-much that the *Cæmenses* made an inroad into the *Roman* Territories all alone. But as they were ravaging the Country without any controul or consideration, *Romulus* met them with an Army, and in a light skirmish taught them, that fury without strength is a very vain thing, scattered and routed their Army, and after that, pursued them, killed and rifled their King in the Battel; and having slain the Leader of his Enemies, took their City upon the first effort. Then bringing his Army back with Victory, he (who as he was a person that had done great exploits, so he would brag as much of them) hung up the spoils of the Enemies General whom he had slain, and carrying them upon a Machine conveniently framed for that end, went up into the Capitol: where when he had laid them down under an Oak which the Shepherds held to be sacred, he not only presented his Gift to *Jupiter*, but designed the bounds of a Temple for him, giving that god a new Surname; *Jupiter Feretrius*, said he, I King *Romulus*, having been victorious, bring thee here the Arms of a King, and dedicate to thee a Temple in that place that I have in my mind just now marked out, as a Repository for rich Spoils, which all Posterity, when they have slain Kings and Generals of their Enemies, in imitation of me, shall bring hither. This is the original of that Temple which was first Consecrated at *Rome*. And accordingly afterwards the Gods were pleased, that neither the Founder of the Temple should spend his breath to no purpose, when he said, that posterity should bring their Spoils thither, nor that the multitude of such as were capable of doing so should lessen the value of his Offering. For there were not above two such rich Prizes taken after that in so many years and so many Wars; so rare was the fortune of such an Achievement.

While the *Romans* were doing thus in those parts, the Army of the *Antemnates* taking their opportunity, and having no body to resist them, made an hostile Incurfion into the *Roman* Dominions; but a Legion of the *Romans* coming speedily up to them, defeated them as they were stragling about the Fields. So the Enemy was routed at the first attack and shout that the *Romans* gave; their Town taken, and *Hirsilia*, *Romulus's* Wife; who was tired with the importunities of the forced Maids, desired him, now that he came home in Triumph for a double Victory, That he would pardon their Parents, and take them into the City; for by that means the whole matter might be composed in Peace and Concord: which suit of hers was easily obtained. Then setting out in an expedition against *Crustumini*, who made War against him, he had less to do than before, because their courage was cooled by the sense they had of other peoples misadventures. Colonies were sent to both places, and many were found, who by reason of the fertility of the Soil, were willing to go and live in the Country of the *Crustumini*; and on the other side, many of the Parents especially, and Relations of the forced Virgins came from thence to *Rome*. The last War that happened was from the *Sabines*, and that by much the greatest: for they did nothing out of fury or heat, nor made any shew of a War before they were able actually to engage in it. And to their Counsels they added Policy and stratagem also. *Sp. Tarpeius* was Governor of the Castle at *Rome*, whose Virgin daughter *Tatius* corrupted with money, to let his Soldiers into the Castle, as she happened one day to be going without the Walls for Water to use at a Sacrifice. But when she had let them in, they threw their Arms upon her and killed her, either out of a design, that the Castle might seem to be taken by main force, or to shew an example of what ill success all Treachery has, and that Traitors may never think themselves secure. Some make this addition to the story, That the *Sabines* commonly wore golden Bracelets of a great weight upon their left Arms, and stone Rings that made a glorious show; whereupon she bargained to have all that which they had in their left hands, and that instead of their golden Presents, they gave her their Bucklers which they held in the same hand. And some again say, that she according to the compact of having what was in their left hands, demanded their Arms, and so seeming fraudulent in her request, was destroyed by her own reward.

But however the *Sabines* got possession of the Castle; nor did they the next day (when the *Roman* Army was set in Battalia, and fill'd all the Plain that lies between the Hill *Palatine* and the Capitol) come down into the Field, before the *Romans* (who were hurried on with fury and zeal to recover the Castle) came up on the other side. The Generals on both sides animated the Soldiers to fight: on the *Sabines* side, *Metius Curtius*, and on the *Romans*, *Hofus Hostilius*; who upon the first onset maintained the *Roman* cause even in an ill Post, by the strength of his courage and audacity. As soon as *Hofus* fell, the *Roman* Army gave way, and were driven as far as the Old Palace-gate; and *Romulus* himself being forced along by the croud of them that fled, lifting up his arms toward Heaven, cried out, *Ju-*



pter! by the command of thy Birds I laid the first Foundations of this City here on the Mount Palatine: Now the Sabines have got my Castle which they have purchased by Treachery, and are coming from thence hither all in Arms over the Valley that lies between us. But do thou, O Father of Gods and Men! repel the Enemy at least from this place, remove this terror from the Romans, and stop their dishonorable flight. I vow, that here I will build thee a Temple by the name of Jupiter Stator [so called, for stopping those that fled] which may be a Monument to all posterity, that by thy present aid our City was preserved. Having made this Prayer (as if he had been sensible that his Prayers were heard) he cried out: From this place, Romans! the good and great Jupiter bids you rally and renew the Fight. Immediately the Romans faced about, and fought as if they had been commanded by a voice from Heaven, whilst Romulus made all the haste he could to the head of the Army. Metius Curtius, the Sabine General, ran down from the Castle and had driven the Romans the breadth of the whole Forum [or Market-place] nor was he now far from the Gate of the Palace, crying out, We have routed the perfidious Villains, cowardly, effeminate Fellows; and now they know it is quite another thing to force young Maids, than it is to engage with Men. Upon whom (as he was boasting on this wise) Romulus, with a company of brave young fellows made an attack. Metius by chance at that time fought on Horseback, and consequently was the easier defeated; which when the Romans had accomplished, they pursued him, and the other part of the Roman Army, encouraged by the example of their King, routed the Sabines. Metius, whose Horse was scared at the noise of them that pursued him, got into a bog, and that made the Sabines also concerned for the danger that such a great Man was then in. But he, by the consent and advice of his own Men, whose kindness increased his resolution, made his escape; whilst in the mean time the Romans and Sabines in a Valley between two Hills renewed the Fight, but the Romans won the day.

XIII.

Then the Sabine Women, who were the unhappy cause of the War, with their hair about their ears, and their garments all torn, having conquered all feminine fear by their misfortunes, were so bold as to run in among the flying darts, and across between the two Armies to part them and decide the quarrel, begging and intreating on the one hand the Sabines, as Fathers; and on the other, the Romans, as Husbands; That they who were all Fathers and Sons in law would not stain themselves with blood: that they would not defile their own Offspring with parricide, the Sabines the Progeny of their Grandchildren, or the Romans that of their Children. If you are vexed at the alliance and intermarriage that is between you, turn your anger upon us; we are the cause of the War, and of all the wounds or slaughter that has been made either of Husbands or Parents: 'tis better for us to die, than live either Widows or Childless without one part of you. This moveth both the common Soldiers, and the Commanders also: and immediately there was silence and a cessation of Arms, upon which the Generals marched forth to make a League; nor did they conclude a Peace only, but made one City out of two, join'd both the Kingdoms into one, and translated the Empire wholly to Rome. Thus the City was doubled; but, as a complement to the Sabines, the Citizens were after that called Quirites, from Cures [a Town of the Sabines:] and as a Monument of that fight, they called the place where Curtius, having escaped out of a deep Fen, first stop'd his Horse upon the Strand, the Lacus Curtius [or Curtian Lake.] That Peace which so suddenly succeeded such a fatal War, made the Sabine Women much dearer to their Husbands and Parents, and above all, to Romulus himself. And therefore when he divided the People into thirty Curiae [or Wards] he called those Curiae by their names. It is not said, whether those Women who gave their names to the several Wards (which were not so many, questionless, as there were Women) were chosen out upon the score of their age, the dignities of their Husbands, their own virtue, or by lot. At the same time also there were three hundred Horse raised; the Ramnenses, so called from Romulus; the Tatienses, so called from Titus Tatius, and the Luceres, the cause of whose name and original is uncertain. And from that time two Kings enjoyed that Kingdom, not only in common, but with peace and concord also.

XIV.

Some years after, certain Relations of King Tatius abused the Ambassadors that came from Laurentum; concerning which, the Laurenses desired to be tried by the Law of Nations, but the kindness that King Tatius had for his Kindred, and their intreaties prevailed more with him. Wherefore he turned their punishment upon himself; for at Lavinium, when he came thither to a solemn Sacrificing, they made a riot and killed him. Which thing, Romulus, they say, took not so ill as he might have done; either because he thought Tatius an unfaithful partner in the Kingdom, or that he looked upon him as justly slain. Wherefore he abstain'd from making War; but yet, to expiate for the injuries of the Ambassadors, and the death of the King, the League between those two Cities, Rome and Lavinium, was renewed. But when this unexpected Peace was made with that People, another War broke out more near at hand, even almost at their very Gates. The Fidenates thinking that a great and powerful Empire was growing too near them, took an occasion to make a War by way of prevention, before it attained to that strength which in time it was likely to have; wherefore they sent their youth all armed to ravage the Country that lies between Rome and Fidenæ. Then turning to the left (for on the right hand the Tiber hindered their passage) they waited all before them, to the great consternation and terror of the Country people, who, being put into a sudden tumult,

by

by that means brought the news into the City. Romulus, surprized at it, and being much concerned, immediately (for a War so near at hand would not admit of any long deliberation) drew out his Army, and pitch'd his Camp a thousand paces from Fidenæ. Where having left a small Guard, he marched out with all the rest of his Forces, and ordering some part of his men to make an Ambuscade in the thickets thereabout, went on himself with the greater part of his Foot and all his Horse, and (as his desire was) by a tumultuous, daring way of fighting, and riding about before their very Gates, provoked the Enemy to take notice of him; besides, that way of Fighting on Horse-back gave them less reason to wonder at that flight, which his men were to counterfeit: and so when the Horse seemed to be in a quandary, whether they should fight or run, and the Foot too gave back; the Enemy came full drive out upon them, and seeing the Roman Army make way, were so eager to press up and follow them, that at last they were decoy'd to the place where the Ambuscade lay. From whence the Romans started up all on a sudden and set upon the Enemies flank. But it was an addition to their fear, to see the Ensigns which were left in the Garrison, move out of their Camp. Thus the Fidenates, strook with manifold dread, before Romulus and they that were with him could turn their Horses, turned their backs, and with more speed (for this was a real flight) than they followed the Romans, who a little before pretended to fly, made to the Town again: yet they did not save themselves from the Enemy; for the Romans stuck close to their back, and before they could shut their Gates, broke all together into the Town.

XV.

At the calamity of this War with the Fidenates, the minds of the Veientes were likewise highly provoked, as well as upon the score of Consanguinity, (for both they and the Fidenates were Etrurians) besides that the nearness of the place, if the Roman Arms must needs be so uneasy to all their Neighbors, was a sufficient instigation: wherefore they made an excursion into the Roman Dominions, committing more havock than consisted with the rules of a just War. To which end they pitch'd no Tents, nor expected the Enemy, but carrying away what Forage they found in the Fields, returned to Veii [their City.] The Roman on the other hand, finding no Enemy in the Field, but being prepar'd and resolv'd to fight it out to the last Man, passed the Tiber. Whom when the Veientes heard of, that he had pitch'd his Camp, and was drawing up toward their City, they marched out to meet him, as choosing rather to make a Field-battle of it, than be shut up and fight from the tops of their Houses and Walls. But though they had strength, they had no Art, and therefore the Roman King overcame them with the declining strength of his old Soldiers, and pursuing them as they ran away even to their Walls, he retired from the City, because it was strong both in its fortifications and very situation too. But as he came back, he wasted the Country, more out of revenge than desire of prey. The Veientes were tamed by that slaughter which was then made among them, as much as if they had fought a set Battle, and therefore sent Orators to Rome to desire a Peace. Whereupon they were sentenced to lose part of their Country, but had a Truce granted them for 100 years. These things were transacted in the Reign of Romulus, at home and in the Wars; of which there is nothing that contradicts the belief of his divine Original, or that divinity, which 'tis thought he after his death attained to: not his zeal for the recovery of his Grandfathers Kingdom; nor his design in building the City; nor his strengthening of it by the arts of Peace and War: for from that glorious beginning, when he came to have strength enough, he was so powerful and prudent, that he preserved a Peace entire for forty years after. But he was more beloved by the common People, than the Senators; and the Soldiers admired him far beyond any other, of whom he had 300, called Celeres [Light-Horsemen] in his Life-guard, not only in War, but in Peace also.

XVI.

After he had done all these immortal Exploits, as he was mustering his Army in the Field next to the Fen called Capra palus [the Goat-Fen] there rose such a sudden storm with claps of Thunder, and covered the King with such a thick veil of tempestuous Darkeness, that the Assembly could not see him; nor was he ever seen upon Earth any more. The Roman youth (when the fright at last was over, and the troubled Sky clearing up, grew calm and serene again) seeing the Kings seat empty, though they were sufficiently persuaded by the Senators that stood next him, that he was carried up from them in the Storm; yet being stricken as it were with the fear of losing a Father, for sometime continued in doleful silence, though soon after a few of them began, who were seconded by all the rest, and cried out, All hail! to Romulus, a God, born of a God, the King and Father of Rome, we all pray to him for Peace, and that he would always be ready propitiously to protect and preserve his own Progeny. There were also, I suppose, some persons at that time, who privately reported, that the King was torn in pieces by the Senators, for such a rumor went abroad, though it were but a blind story. But the other is made creditable by the admiration which they shew'd for the Man, and their present consternation. And this they say was confirmed by the contrivance of one person; for Proculus Julius, when the City was all in great concern for the loss of their King, and angry with the Senate, came into a publick Assembly, and was, they say, the Author of a heinous lie, though a matter of great consequence. Romulus, says he, (O ye Romans!) the Father of this City, came down from Heaven on a sudden this morning at break of day, and stood in my way; at which I was astonished and stood trembling before him, but begged of him, that I might see his face; no, says he, get you gone, and tell the Romans, the Gods have so ordained

obtained it, that my *Rome* shall be the Head of the World; wherefore let them study Military Discipline: and let them know and deliver the same to their Posterity, that no human power can withstand the *Roman Arms*: Having said this, says he, he fled up. 'Tis strange to tell you, what credit they gave to this mans relation, and how the grief both of the People and the Army for the loss of *Romulus* was mitigated, when they were once induced to believe that he was grown Immortal.

XVII. In the mean time the Senate had great differences among them, and were each of them mighty ambitious of being King: but no single person could make a party, because no one among that new People was much more eminent than another; but the controversy lay between the several ranks of men. Those that were descended from the *Sabines*, lest they (because since *Tatius's* death had none of them govern'd in equal dignity with *Romulus*) should lose the possession of the Empire, desired to have a King chosen out of their Body. The old *Romans*, on the other side, contemned and slighted the name of a Foreign King; but though they were divided in their Opinions, yet all of them were for having a King, having not yet had experience how sweet Liberty was. Then the Senate was afraid, lest any external force should invade the City now that it was without a Governor, the Army without a General, and many Cities round about their incensed Enemies: wherefore they thought it fit to make some body Head; but no one of them could endure the thoughts of submitting to another. The Senate therefore made up the matter among themselves, by making of ten *Decuriae* [or Precincts] and setting one Senator over each of them to manage all Affairs. So ten bore Rule, of which one had the Ensigns of Empire and *Lictors* [Serjeants] before him. Their Dominion lasted but five days, and so went round to all the House; and at that time there was an interval of Government for a year, from whence we have the word *Interregnum*, the space between one Kings Reign and the beginning of another. But this made the People murmur, and say, that their Slavery was multiplied, in that they now had an hundred Lords instead of one; nor did they seem to be willing any longer to have any other than a King, and him too of their own choosing. When the Senate saw that, they thought fit to offer what they must needs part with, and therefore to win upon them, they gave the People the supreme Authority, but in such a manner, that they granted no more power than they reserv'd for themselves; for they Decreed, That when the People had named a King, their choice should stand, if the Senate would agree to it; (and even to this day the same method is observed in the making of Laws and Magistrates, save only the animosity) but before the People had given their Voices, the Senate gave their consent at random, let the event be what it would. Then the *Interrex*, having called an Assembly, told them, *Romans! I hope it will be to your advantage, and therefore pray choose a King; for so the Senate would have you do. And if you make choice of such a Person as is fit to be the second from Romulus, they will confirm it.* This pleased the People so well, that lest they might seem to be outdone in Civility, they only ordered and required, That the Senate would Decree and Appoint one to be King of *Rome*.

XVIII. The Justice and Religion of *Numa Pompilius* was at that time very famous. He lived at a *Sabine Town*, called *Cures*, and was a Person, considering the Age he lived in, very well versed in all Laws, both divine and humane. They tell you (but falsely) that *Pythagoras* the *Samian* was his Master, (because they know of no other) though it is well known that he kept a School of young studious Lads above an hundred years after, in the Reign of *Servius Tullius*, upon the utmost borders of all *Italy* about *Metapontus*, *Heraclea* and *Croton*. From which distant places (though he had lived in the same Age) how should the *Sabines* have heard of his Fame, or by what intercourse of Language could he have excited any Person in that Country to the desire of Learning? or with what safety should a single man have travelled through so many Countries of different languages and manners? I therefore suppose, that his Soul was rather naturally endued with virtuous inclinations, and instructed not so much with Foreign Arts, as by the severe and rigid discipline of the old *Sabine*; than which none heretofore was more free from corruption. The Senate having heard of *Numa's* name (though they thought it might be a means to advance the *Sabines* above the *Romans*, if they should take a King from thence, yet) there was not any one of them that durst prefer either himself, any one of his party, nor in fine, any Senator or Citizen before that great Man; and therefore *nemine contradicente*, they Decreed, That *Numa Pompilius* should be King. Thereupon he was sent for, and like *Romulus* who built the City by the admonition of an Augury, took possession of the Kingdom. For he ordered, that the Gods should be consulted concerning him; and then being led into the Castle by the *Augur* [or Sooth-sayer] (who, from that time, out of respect to the present circumstance, was publick and perpetual Priest) he sat him upon a Stone with his Face towards the South. The *Augur* sat on his left hand with his head covered, holding a crooked staff without any knot (which they call'd *Lituis*) in his right hand: and when, having taken a prospect of the City and the Country round about, he had paid his Devotion to the Gods; he marked out the several regions of the Air, from East to West, with his right side to the South, and his left to the North. After which he looked towards a certain place, which in his mind he pitch'd upon, as far as his eyes could ken. Then removing his *Lituis* [or *Augurs staff*] into his left hand, and put-

putting his right hand on *Numa's* head, he made this Prayer; Great Father Jove! If thou thinkest fit, that this same *Numa Pompilius*, whose head I now have in my hand, should be King of *Rome*; I beg of Thee, that thou wouldst shew us thy certain and manifest tokens of it within those bounds which I have marked out. When he had so done, he performed all other ceremonies belonging to his office; which being ended, *Numa* was declared King, and came down from the place where he sat.

*Numa* being thus put into the possession of the Kingdom, made it his business afresh to build that new City which *Romulus* had founded by force of Arms, and to adorn it with Laws and moral Institutions: To which, seeing he could not make that warlike People comply, (for they had lost all sense of Morality and Civility, by being so long in Arms) and thinking the best way to mollify them, was by disusing and taking them off from the fierce toils of War, he built a Temple to *Janus* at the lower end of the street called *Argiletum*, to be an advertisement both of Peace and War; which when it was open, might signify the City was in Arms; and when shut, might shew they had Peace with all Nations. That Temple was twice shut after the Reign of *Numa*; once when *Titus Manlius* was Consul, at the end of the first Punic War; and a second time, after the Battel at *Actium*, by the Emperour *Augustus Caesar*, who gained a general Peace by sea and land, which the Gods have been so favourable to let us see even in this our Age. *Numa* having shut up this Temple, and obliged all the neighbouring Nations by Leagues and Alliances which he made with them, was now freed from all fear of foreign dangers; yet, lest his Peoples minds might grow luxurious for want of employment, (for the continual fear of some Enemy and Military Discipline had formerly kept them within bounds) he thought Religion the best and most efficacious thing which he could introduce, to keep the then rude and unskilful multitude in awe. But, because it was not like to have any great effect on their minds, without the help of some feigned miracle or other; he pretended that he had nocturnal conversation with the Goddess *Egeria*; and that by her advice, he appointed such holy rites as were most acceptable to the Gods, and ordained peculiar Priests to each particular God. And first of all, he divided the year into twelve Months, according to the course of the Moon; which (because the Moon does not make up full thirty days each Month, but there are some days wanting of a compleat year) he so rectified, by putting in some odd days, that every twentieth year the days agreed exactly with that order and account by which they were at first computed. He also appointed which should be working-days, and which holy-days, because sometimes it might be convenient to give the People liberty.

Then he created the several Priests, though he himself performed many sacred offices, especially such as now belong to *Jupiter's* Flamen or High-priest. But because in such a warlike City, he supposed there would be more Kings like *Romulus*, than there would be like *Numa*, and that they would go to the Wars in their own persons; for fear the holy Rites which the King was to perform should be omitted, he created a Priest who was to be a daily Flamen [or sacrificer] to *Jupiter*; adorning him with a peculiar Robe, and seating him in a royal chair of State: besides whom he made two other Flamines [or Priests] one for *Mars*, and the other for *Romulus*. He likewise chose out Virgins for *Vesta*; which was a Female Priesthood that came originally from *Alba* [an adjacent City] and out of the same Country where their Founder was born: appointing them to be continual attendants in her Temple, allotting them a stipend out of the Publick Treasury, and making them venerable as well as sacred, on the score of their Virginity, and other ceremonies which they were obliged to. He also chose twelve Salij [or Priests] devoted to *Mars* surnamed *Gradiivus*, [from his stately marching to War] and gave them a painted Coat for a Badg of distinction, over which they wore a brazen Breast-plate, ordaining that they should carry those sacred Shields, called *Ancilia*, and go about the City singing and dancing in such a sett and solemn manner. After that, he chose *Numa Martius* the Son of *Marcus* out of the Senate, to be *Pontifex* [or High-Priest] and gave him a transcript of all the Holy Rites as he had designed them; that is to say, what Sacrifices should be offered, upon what days, in what Temples they were to be made, and whence Money should be had to defray the charge of them. Besides which, he put all holy things, both publick and private under the Jurisdiction of this same *Pontifex* [or High-Priest] that the People might have some certain person to come and advise with; lest there should happen any confusion in their religious Worship; either by neglecting the ancient Rites of their Country, or by introducing such as were foreign. Nor did he intend, that this same *Pontifex* should instruct the People in sacred ceremonies only, but in the Rites of Burial too, and how to appease the Ghosts of men deceased: and, for the interpretation of all prodigies that happened by Thunder, or other extraordinary events, he dedicated an Altar in the mount *Arventine* to *Jupiter Elicius*, and consulted the God by Auguries, to know which were to be taken notice of, or what was to be done upon any such present occasion.

The People being turned from force and arms to consult and mind these sacred rules, their thoughts were wholly taken up with this affair; and their daily devotion to the God (now that Divinity it self seemed to dwell among them) had so inflamed all their Souls with heavenly zeal, that truth and Honesty governed the City without the help of Laws, or

or fear of Punishment. And, as they themselves squared their manners according to their Kings, who was their sole Example, so likewise all the neighbouring Nations, who before that time, believed that a Camp more like than a City was founded in the midst of them, to disturb their Peace, were reduced to that modesty and civility, that they thought it a very great crime to violate such a place which was now wholly converted to the Worship of the Gods. There was a Grove through the middle whereof there ran a stream out of a dark Grotto springing from a continual Fountain; whither because *Numa* oftentimes retir'd without any company as it were to meet his Goddess, he consecrated that Grove to the *Camena* [or Muses;] because, he pretended, they advised him at the same time when he conversed with his Wife *Ageria*. He appointed Solemnities to the Goddess call'd *Fides* [or common Honesty] only; to whose Temple he ordered the Priests to be carried in a Chariot, with an arched Canopy drawn by two Horses, and that they should sacrifice with their arms covered as low as their fingers; signifying, that Faith and common Honesty ought to be preserved, and that the sacred Seat of it is even in the right hand. He instituted many other Sacrifices, and consecrated many other places which the Pontifices [or High Priests] call *Argei*. But the greatest thing that ever he did was his preserving of Peace, no less than the Honour of the Kingdom all the time of his Reign. So, two Kings one after another, though in a different way, one by War, the other by Peace, advanced the Grandeur of the City. *Romulus* Reigned thirty seven years, and *Numa* forty three. Then the City was strong and well exercised in the arts both of War and Peace.

XXII. Upon the death of *Numa*, there was another *Interregnum* [or space of time between the Reign of two Kings;] and then the People chose *Tullus Hostilius* the Grandson of *Hostilius* King, who had behaved himself very bravely at the Foot of the Castle, against the *Sabines*. To which choice of the People the Senate gave their consent. But this Man was not only unlike his Predecessour, but more warlike even than *Romulus* himself: for, not only his age and strength but his Grandfather's glory also excited his ambition. He therefore fancying that the City grew old and lazy for want of employment, sought all occasions to make a War. It happened at that time, that the *Roman* Country People pillaged the *Alban* Dominions, and the *Albans* on the other hand, as much the *Roman* territories. *Caius Cluilus* was then Governour of *Alba*, and there were Ambassadors sent from both places about the same time to seek redress for mutual injuries done to each other: but *Tullus* had given his a charge that they should do nothing before they had executed his commands; for he knew very well, that the *Alban* would deny what he demanded, and so he might lawfully and plausibly proclaim War against him. The *Albans* were more negligent in their affairs, and *Tullus's* Ambassadors were very kindly treated by the King at a Feast. But whilst they staid, the *Romans* did not only demand back again what the *Albans* had taken from them; but upon their denial, declared they would make War in thirty days; all which negotiation they made *Tullus* acquainted with. Then *Tullus* gave the *Alban* Ambassadors audience; but they not knowing his design, at first delayed the time in making Apologies for themselves; That they should be unwilling to say any thing that might displease *Tullus*, but must be obedient to their Masters commands: that they came thither for redress of injuries which they had suffered, and unless they could have it, were commanded to declare War. To which *Tullus* replied and said, Tell your King, that the King of the *Romans* takes the Gods to witness, that whichever of the two People shall first despise and dismiss an Embassy that comes to demand Justice, he desires that all the calamities of this War may fall upon them. Which answer of his the *Albans* related to their King.

XXIII. Upon this, there were very great preparations made for a War on both sides, which looked much like a Civil War, as being a quarrel almost between Fathers and their Children: for they both came of the *Trojan* Race, *Lavinium* from *Troy*, *Alba* from *Lavinium*, and the *Romans* from the *Albans*. But the event of the War made the quarrel less considerable, because they did not fight in the open field, and besides that, the houses of one City being lately destroyed, those two People were united into one. The *Albans* first with a great Army made an incursion into the *Roman* Dominions, pitching their Camp not above five thousand paces from the City, and enclosing it with a ditch, which from the name of their General, was called *Cluilus's* Ditch, for some ages, till, by tract of time, the name was lost together with the thing it self. In this Camp *Cluilus* the *Alban* King died, in whose stead the *Albans* created a Dictator, *Metius Suffetius*. In the mean time *Tullus* grew very insolent, especially upon the death of the King, and saying, That, the Gods having begun at the head, would punish the whole body of the *Albans*, for the unjust War which they had made, he passed by the Enemies Camp in the Night-time, and with a dreadful Army marched into the *Alban* Territories. This removed *Metius* from his Camp, who drew his men up as near to the Enemy as he could, and thence sent an Ambassador before him to tell *Tullus*, That it was convenient before they began the Fight, for them to have a parley; and that if he would meet him, he was well assured, that he could tell him something no less advantageous to the *Roman*, than to the *Alban* State: which proffer *Tullus* did not slight, though it was but frivolous, and therefore led his men forth into the field, where the *Albans* met him. When the two Armies stood in Battalia on both sides, the two Generals marched up into the

the midway between them, with some few of the Nobility attending him. Then the *Alban* thus began; I understand that certain injuries, and the not restoring what was demanded back, has made our King *Cluilus* to seem the cause of this War; nor do I doubt, O *Tullus*! but you pretend the same thing: but if we may speak truth, rather than what seems specious and plausible only, it is desire of Empire which at present sets two people who are allied and Neighbours, at variance. Nor do I pretend to say whether it be well or ill done on either side: let him look to that, who undertakes the War; the *Albans* have chosen me their General in it. But this (O *Tullus*!) I must needs tell you, you have more reason to know how strong the *Etrurians* are, who border very near upon us, but are much nearer to you. They are very powerful by land, but much more by Sea; and therefore pray take notice, that when you join Battel, these two Armies will be in their sight only like a show or spectacle; so that when we have tired and ruined one another, they will set upon the Conquerour, as well as on the conquered. Wherefore, if the Gods have any favour for us, or we any care of our selves, at this juncture, when not content with certain liberty, we run the hazard of Empire or Slavery, let us take some course to decide the question, which of us shall govern the other, without any slaughter or bloodshed on either side. This proposal did not much displease *Tullus*, though he were heated both by his natural inclination and the hopes of victory. They therefore fell to consultation in the affair, and fortune herself found out an expedient.

There happened to be at that time three Brothers in each Army, whose age and strength was equal, and those were the *Horatij* and the *Curatij*, than whose engagement against each other there is scarce any thing more famous in all antiquity: but yet even concerning a thing of that moment, men are at a loss, nor can any body certainly tell which side the *Horatij* were on, or which side the *Curatij*. Authors are divided in their opinions, but I find most make the *Horatij* to be *Romans*, and I am very much inclined to believe they were so. The two Kings treated with these two ternaries of Brethren, that they would each fight a combat for their Country, and that that side should enjoy the Empire that got the victory. They did not at all decline it, but agreed upon the time and place. Before they fought, there was a compact made between the *Romans* and the *Albans* upon these conditions, that, That People whose Citizens won the day, should govern the other in peace and quietness. Some leagues are made with different Articles, but all in the same nature. At that time this we hear was thus made, nor is there any record of any league more ancient. The Herald asked King *Tullus* this question: Does your Majesty command me to strike a league with the Herald of the *Albans*? To which the King complying, the Herald made answer and said, I demand Vervain of your Majesty. The King replied, Take it up clean. Whereupon the Herald brought from the Castle some clean leaves of that Plant, and then asked the King, Sir, do you make me the Royal Messenger of the *Roman* People, with all my carriages and retinue? The King answered, I do all that may be done with Justice to my self and the *Roman* People. The Herald's name was *M. Valerius*, and he made *Spurius Fufius* the *Pater Patratus* [or Chief Herald] by touching his head and his hair with Vervain (the *Pater Patratus* was made to confirm and strengthen their Oath) and then he perfected the league in many words, and those in verse too, which are too long to relate. After that, having recited the conditions, he said. Hear, (O *Jupiter*!) Hear thou O Herald of the *Albans*! and all ye People of *Alba*! How that all those words which I speak both first and last here in publick from these waxed tables, without any fraud or design are to be understood, according to the plain sense of them; and that the *Roman* People will not first revolt from these conditions by any deceitful dealing, though they have gone contrary to publick advice; No, in that day, do thou, O *Jupiter*! so smite the *Roman* People, as I this day shall smite this hog; nay, do it as much more fatally as thy omnipotence is able! Having so said, he smote an hog with a flint-stone: and then the *Albans*, by their Dictator and their Priests, repeated their verses and their Oath.

When the league was thus made, the three Brothers on each side according to the agreement, took up their Arms: and having admonished each other, that the Gods of their Country, their Country and their Parents, and all their fellow Citizens, whether at home or in the Army, had their eyes fixed upon their Arms and their hands; being animated both by their own natural courage, and filled with the exhortations of all the by-standers, march forth into the midst between the two Armies. The two Armies sat down on both sides before their Camps, more free from present danger than from care; for their Empire was at stake, and ventured upon the courage and fortune of those few men: wherefore, with great suspense of mind, they were very intent on that ungrateful spectacle. The Signal was given, and the three young men on each side fell fiercely to it, with a courage and fury of two great Armies: nor were they concerned, either one or t'other for their own particular danger, but publick Empire and slavery possessed their minds, and the thoughts that such would be the fortune of their Country as they themselves procured. Upon the first onset, when their Arms clash'd and their Swords glitter'd, a great dread seized all the Spectatours, for the Combat enclining to neither side, the People had almost lost their voice and breath. But soon after when they came to grappling, and shewed not only agility of body and their dexterity in handling their Arms, but blood and wounds, two of the *Romans* fell down dead one over the other, having wounded the three *Albans*, at whose fall, the *Alban* Army gave a great shout for joy; which made the *Roman* Legions despair, and yet they were extremely concerned



concerned for that one single Person who was encompassed by the three *Curatij*. But it so happened, that he was yet unhurt, and though being a single person, he was not able to cope with them all, yet he was strong enough for any one of them: wherefore, to divide the Combat, he pretended to fly; supposing, that they would each of them follow him as their wounds would permit. When he was got some distance from the place where the Combat began, looking back, he saw them pursue him a good way behind, but one of them, not far from him; and therefore he returned and set upon him very severely. And while the *Alban Army* cried out to the *Curatij* to help their Brother, the *Horatius* had now killed his Enemy, and being victorious, made what haste he could to engage a second of them. Then the *Romans* with a shout like that of People who are beyond all expectation animated to favour any party, encouraged their Champion; and he did all he could to make an end of the fight. Wherefore before the third who was not far off could overtake him, he dispatched the second *Curatius*. And now they were upon equal terms, as being one to one, though there was no parity between them either of hope or strength; for the *Roman* body which was untouched, and the double victory which he had gained, made him fit and eager to engage in a third encounter, while the *Alban* who was tired with his wounds had run so far, that he could hardly crawl, and was in a manner conquered by seeing his Brethren slain before him, was exposed to a victorious Enemy; nor was that Duel any difficulty at all to him. Wherefore the *Roman* exulting, cried out, *I have sent two of these Brethren to Hell already; and will now send the third who is the cause of this War, that the Romans may bear Rule over the Albans*. With that, the *Alban* being scarce able to support his arms, he ran him into the Throat, and rified him when he was down. The *Romans* with shouts and gratulations, received the *Horatius*, and their joy was so much the greater, by how much more their fears had been. Whereupon they went with very different thoughts to bury their dead; for one side was advanced to Empire, and the other side made subject to Foreigners. Their Sepulchres are to be seen in the several places where each of them fell; those of the two *Romans* in one place nearer to *Alba*, and those of the three *Albans* toward *Rome*, but at a distance from each other according as they fought.

XXVI.

Before they went thence *Metius* asked *Tullus*, according to the league which they had made, what his commands were? To which he replied, that all the young men should be ready in Arms; for he should make use of them, if he had occasion to make War against the *Vientes*: So the Armies were thence led home. *Horatius* marched in the head of them, carrying his triple Spoils before him, and being met near the gate called *Porta Capena*, by a Virgin his Sister who was betrothed to one of the *Curatij*; she knowing her Lovers robe upon her Brothers shoulders, which she herself had wrought, she let loose her hair, and in a mournful tone, called out upon the name of her dead Sweet-Heart. The moan which his Sister made much moved the generous Youth, even amidst his Victories, and all that publick joy. He therefore drew his Sword, and chiding her, ran the Maid through: *Get you gone (said he) with your untimely amour to your Lover; you, that have forgot your Brothers that are dead, nor care for him that is alive, but with him and them neglect your Country too; and so may every Maid be served that is a Roman, and weeps for the death of an Enemy*. That seemed a cruel act, both to the Senate and the People, but his fresh desert did somewhat lessen the fact: yet, nevertheless he was convened before the King. The King, lest he should seem the Author of so sad and ungrateful a Judgment in the opinion of the vulgar, or, after judgment of punishment, called an assembly of the People, and said, *I constitute two Officers*

*This was the crime call'd Perduellio. i. he tried, in which, if the Duumviri carry the cause, let the Offenders head be covered, and be hanged upon a Gallows, and let him have so many stripes either within or without the Walls. By this Law the Duumviri were created, who thought, that they thereby were obliged not to absolve even an innocent person, when they had once condemned him; and therefore one of them said to him, P. Horatius, I judge thee guilty of Enmity to thy Country: go, Officer, bind his hands. Accordingly the Officer came and tied him; whereupon Horatius by the consent of Tullus, who was a favourable Interpreter of the Law, cried out, I appeal; and so the appeal was tried before the People. All men were concerned at that trial, especially, when P. Horatius his Father, declared, that he thought his Daughter was justly slain; and if it had not been so, that he would have corrected his Son according to the duty and power of a Father. Then he desired them, that they would not make him whose Sons they had so lately seen to be so conspicuous for their valour, quite childless. With that the old man, embracing his Son, and pointing to the Spoils of the Curatij, set up in that place which is now called Pila Horatia [or Horatius's Trophies] Can you (said he) O Romans, endure to see this youth whom you so lately beheld adorned with Victory and march triumphantly before you, bound, whipped and tortured under a Gallows? when even the eyes of the Albans could hardly bear so horrid a spectacle. Go, Officer, bind those hands, which not long since were armed to gain an Empire for the Roman People. Go, veil the head of him that freed this City. Hang him up; drub him even within the Walls, so it be near those Trophies and Spoils he took from the Enemy; or without the City, so it be within view of*

of those Sepulchres where the *Curatij* lie buried. For, whither can you lead this youth, where his own brave Actions will not rescue him from the Dishonour of such a base kind of Punishment? the People were sorry to see his Fathers tears, and that he himself should shew so little concern in all that danger; wherefore they acquitted him more out of admiration of his Courage, than for the justice of his cause. But, that the manifest Murder might be atoned for by some means or other, 'twas ordered, that his Father should expiate his Sons guilt, by a publick expence. He therefore having performed some propitiatory Sacrifices, which were afterwards transmitted to the Family of the *Horatij*, made a Gallows cross the way and ordered his Son to pass under it, as Soldiers do when they are sold for Slaves. And that Gallows is still kept in repair at the publick charge, even to this day, being called *Sororium Tigillum* [or the Gallows set up on the account of a Sister.] The Sepulchre of the Maid that was killed was built in the place where she fell, of square Stone.

But the Peace with *Alba* did not long continue; for the Envy of the Common People, who took it ill, that the publick fortune of their Country should be committed to three Soldiers only, corrupted the vain disposition of their Dictators; and seeing that good Counsels had not succeeded well, he endeavoured to reconcile the minds of his Country-men by ill means. To which end, as before in time of War he had desired Peace, so now in time of Peace he desired War. But, because he saw their City had much more courage than strength to declare and wage an open War, he instigated other people thereunto, reserving the treacherous part to be acted by his own Country-men, under a shew of alliance and friendship. The People of *Fidenæ*, who were a *Roman* Colony, having taken advice with the *Vientes*, were moved to make War and take up Arms, upon condition, that the *Albans* would revolt to their party. When *Fidenæ* was in open Rebellion, *Tullus* sent for *Metius* and his Army from *Alba*, whom he led against the Enemy: and having past the River *Anien*, he pitched his Camp at the meeting of the two Rivers. Between that place and *Fidenæ* the Army of the *Vientes* got over the *Tiber*, and were posted in the right wing near the River, whilst those of *Fidenæ* stood in the left, more near to the Mountains. *Tullus* led his men against the *Veian* Enemy, and planted the *Albans* over against the Legion of the *Fidenates*. The *Albans* had no more courage than honesty; and therefore, not daring either to stand or move with any confidence, crept, by degrees to the Mountains. Where, when they thought themselves safe enough, they set their whole Army in array; but, being in doubt what to do, and willing to delay time, they took a great deal of pains to range their men. Their design was, which way soever Fortune should incline, that way to bend their forces. The *Romans*, who stood next to them, began to wonder at first when they saw themselves deserted by the going off of their Allies: and immediately, a Trooper galloping away, went and told the King, that the *Albans* were gone. At which *Tullus* was put into such a consternation, that he made twelve *Salij* [or Priests of *Mars*] and dedicated Temples to *Pallor* and *Parvor*, [i.e. to Paleness and Fear] wherewithal he chid the Trooper so loud that the Enemy might hear him, and bid him return into the Battel; telling him, *They had no need to fear, in that the Alban Army had wheeled about by his order to surprize the Fidenates in their unguarded Reer*. He likewise commanded the same Person to bid all the Horse advance their Javelins; which Action of theirs intercepted the flight of the *Alban Army* marching off, from a great part of the *Roman Foot*; but those who saw them, supposing it to be as they had heard the King say, fell on the more eagerly. The Enemies were terrified, for they heard what the King so loudly said; and many of the *Fidenates*, as being a Colony belonging to the *Romans*, understood Latin. Wherefore, last on a sudden they should have been blocked up by the descent of the *Albans* from the Hills, and hindered of regaining the Town, they turned their backs. *Tullus* pursued them, and having routed the wing of the *Fidenates*, he returned more fiercely upon the *Veians*, who were struck with a strange dread. Nor could they endure the shock; but, running hastily away, were driven to a River that was behind them; to which when they were come some of them shamefully threw away their Arms, and ran headlong into the water; the rest staying on the banks and doubting whether they should fly or fight, were all slain: nor was there ever, before that time, a blouidier Battel fought by the *Romans*.

Then the *Alban Army*, who had been Spectators of the Fight, was led down into the plains; and *Metius* congratulated *Tullus* his conquest over his Enemies: in answer whereunto, *Tullus* spoke very kindly to *Metius* and told him, *He hoped it would be for both their advantages, if the Alban and the Roman Camp were both united into one*; wherefore he gave order it should be so, and against the next day, prepared a Sacrifice to purifie the Army. Next morning, as soon as it was day, when all things were ready, He, as the custom is, commanded both Armies to meet in one Assembly. The cries began at the end and cited the *Albans* first; who, being concerned at the novelty of the thing, as much as at any thing else, that they might hear what the *Roman King* said, stood next to him. A *Roman Legion* all in Arms was ordered to enclose them, and the Centurions were employed to put their orders in execution without any delay. Then *Tullus* thus began;

C 2.

Romans!

Romans! If ever you had reason, in any Battle before this time, first, to thank the immortal Gods and then congratulate your own valour, it was for yesterday's achievement. For you fought, not with Enemies more than (which is the most difficult and dangerous engagement) with the treachery and perfidiousness of your Allies. For, to undeceive you, the Albans went into the Mountains without my knowledge: nor was it my command, but my stratagem and only the pretence of a command, which I then made use of; to the end, that neither you, who knew nothing of your being deserted, might be discouraged from fighting, and the Enemy, supposing themselves to be circumvented in their rear, might be terrified and tempted to fly. But that fault which I now find, is not to be charged upon all the Albans; they followed their leader, as you also would have done, if I had been to have drawn you off to any other Post. That same Metius was the Ring-Leader in that Treachery, That Metius who was the contriver of this War, That Metius who broke the League betwixt the Romans and the Albans. Let some other hereafter dare to do the like, if I do not make him a signal example to all mankind. The Centurions stood about him, while the King went on as he began. I have a design, O ye Albans! which I hope will prove an happiness not only to the Romans in general, but to me and you also, that is, to translate all the People of Alba to Rome: to make the Commonalty free of the City, and to chase the Noblemen into the Senate; to make them one City and one Commonwealth; to the end, that as the Alban State was heretofore divided into two People, so now it may revert into one again. At that, the Alban youth, being themselves unarmed, but surrounded with Soldiers all in Arms, were in twenty minds, though common fear compelled them to hold their tongues. Then Tullus went on; Metius Suffetius, (said he) If thou couldest learn to keep thy word and not to break Leagues, thou shouldest live and I would teach thee how to do so. But now, seeing thy disposition is incurable, do thou by thy punishment, instruct mankind to believe those things sacred, which thou hast violated. As, therefore, thou didst lately shew thyself a Neuter, and that thy mind was divided between the Viduate and the Roman interest, so now shall thy body be. Having so said, he caused two Wagons to be placed near each other, and tyed Metius with his body distended to the bodies of them; which being done, the Horses were driven contrary ways, and carried his torn body upon each Wagon to which his limbs were fastened. The Company all turned away their eyes from such a cruel sight. That was the first and last Punishment among the Romans that was an instance of Inhumanity; for, in all others, they may very well boast, that no Nation was ever satisfied with easier penalties.

XXIX. At this time there was a party of Horse already sent to Alba to bring the multitude over to Rome; and after them the Legions were carried thither to demolish the City, who, when they entered the City, there was not that tumult nor consternation as usually is in Cities that are taken, when the Gates are broken open, the Walls battered down, or a Castle stormed; and when the noise of the Enemy and the fury of the Soldiers over all the Town mingles every thing with Fire and Sword; but a sad silence and a dumb sorrow put all their minds into such a melancholy posture, that they, through fear, forgetting what they left behind and what they carried with them, not knowing what to do and enquiring of one another, stood sometimes at their doors and other whiles ran distractedly about their Houses, which that was the last time they ever were like to see. But when the clamour of the Soldiers, who bid them be gone, was very urgent upon them, they heard the crash of the Houses that were pulling down in the remotest parts of the City, and the dust that arose from places distant covered all the Air as with a Cloud, each man in haste took what he could away, being he was to march off and leave his Native home, his household-Gods and that habitation, where he was born and bred. And now the whole troop of these departing Inhabitants having filled the streets, the sight of each other renewed their tears out of mutual commiseration; besides the lamentable cries that were heard, especially of the Women when they passed by the stately Temples, which were encompassed with Soldiers, and left their Gods, as it were, in captivity. The Albans having quitted their City, the Romans made all buildings both publick and private even with the ground, and one hour ruined and destroyed the work of those four hundred years that Alba had been standing. But they withheld their hands from the Temples of the Gods, because the King had so commanded.

XXX. In the mean time, Rome grew out of the Ruines of Alba, and the number of the Citizens was doubled. The Mount called *Calvus* was added to the City, and, to draw the more Inhabitants thither, Tullus had a Palace there, and dwelt upon it from that time forward. He chose the Nobility of the Albans into the Senate, that that part also of the Commonwealth might be augmented, that is to say, the *Tullij*, *Servitij*, *Quintij*, *Geganeij*, *Curatij* and the *Clulij*, and made a Temple to the Court for that order which he himself had augmented, which was called *Hofilia* even to our Fathers days. And, that he might make some addition out of this new People, to the strength of every order of men, he chose ten Troops of Horse out of the Albans. He also supplied the old Legions with the same number, and likewise raised new ones. In confidence of this his strength, Tullus declared War against the Sabines, a Nation, at that time, more opulent than any other except the Etrurians, both for Men and Arms. There were injuries done on both sides, and Goods in vain demanded back; Tullus complained, that the Roman Merchants were

seized

seized on at a great Fair kept near the Temple of *Feronia*; the Sabines, that theirs fled first into the Grove, and were detained at Rome: which actions are said to be the cause of the War. The Sabines well remembering, not only that part of their strength was carried to Rome by Tullus, but likewise, that, of late also the Roman State was augmented by the addition of the Albans, began themselves to look out for foreign assistance. Etruria was near them, and next to the Etrurians, the Veians; from whence, through their remaining animosities, which very much inclined them to a revolt, they had a great many Volunteers, besides that their pay also prevailed upon some Vagrants among the poor People. They had no publick assistance; for, the Veians (amongst whom it was a greater wonder than for any of the rest to do so,) kept the Truce which they had made with Romulus. When they had made very great preparations for the War on both sides, and the whole stress of the business seemed to lie in this, which of them should make the first onset; Tullus marched first into the Sabines Territories. They had a bloody Battle, hard by a Wood called *Sylvia Malitiosa*; where the Roman Army was very successful, not only through the strength of their Foot, but of their Horse too, which was so lately augmented. For, by the Horse, which rushed in suddenly upon them, the Sabine ranks were broken; so that, they from that time, could neither fight nor run away without confusion and great slaughter.

The Sabines being conquered, and Tullus, together with all the State of Rome, being in great glory, and advanced to great opulency, there was news brought to the King and the Senate, that upon the Mount Albanus it rained Stones; which being hard to be believed, there were certain persons sent to see that Prodigy; in whose sight there fell a shower of Stones from Heaven, in the same manner, as when the winds drive heaps of Hail together upon the Earth. They likewise thought they heard a shrill voice from the top of the Grove, which had the Albans do Sacrifice after the fashion of their own Country, which they had forgotten as much as if they had forsaken their Gods as well as their native soil; and, either had taken up with the Roman Rites, or, being angry with Fortune, as men in their circumstances generally are, had quitted the Worship of their Gods. The Romans also were moved by the same Prodigy, to appoint a publick Sacrifice of nine days continuance: whether by a voice from Heaven conveyed from the Mount Albanus, (for, that also is part of the tradition) or by the advice of the Soothsayers, is uncertain: but this we know, that the same solemnity continued, so that whenever they were told of the same prodigy, they sacrificed for nine days together. Not long after, there was a Plague among them; which, though it indisposed them to Military employments, yet their Warlike King would not permit them to lay down their Arms; because, he thought, the young mens bodies were more healthy even in the Camp than at home; till he himself also languished under a lingering Distemper. Then was his furious Spirit so far tamed, as well as his body, that he, who before thought nothing less becoming a King, than to give his mind to sacred things, became on a sudden, a very Bigot to all Superstitious both great and small, and filled even the People also with his religious notions. And now, the Commonalty, desiring to see that state of things renewed which they had enjoyed in the Reign of Numa, believed, that the only remedy that was left to recover their distempered bodies, was to make their peace and beg pardon of the Gods. They say, that the King himself having looked into the Commentaries of Numa, and there found some secret though solemn Sacrifices, made to *Jupiter Elicius*, performed them privately by himself: but that that Sacrifice was neither rightly prepared, nor carefully offered; and that he had not only no sign of favour shewn him from Heaven, but, that *Jupiter* also was enraged at his mock-Religion, and with Lightning burned him and his House. Tullus Reigned and gained great glory in War, two and thirty years.

When Tullus was dead, the Government, as it had been customary from the foundation of the City, revolved into the Senate, and they nominated an *Inter-Rex*, [or one that should rule between the Death of a former, and the Inauguration of a succeeding King] who called an Assembly, in which, the People chose *Ancus Martius* their King, and the Senate confirmed it. *Ancus Martius* was the Grandson of *Numa Pompilius*, being the Son of his Daughter; who, as soon as he began his Reign, being mindful of his Grandfathers glory, and because the last Kings Reign, though it was very remarkable for other things, yet was deficient in one part, and that was, either the neglect of Religion in general, or the disgrace he did it even by his pretence to it; and, supposing, it would be much the best way to perform the publick holy Rites in the same manner that Numa had ordained them, he commanded the chief Priest fairly to transcribe them out of the King's Commentaries, and make them publick: by which means, the Citizens, who were desirous of Peace, and the neighbouring Cities too, were put in good hopes, that the King would prove of a temper and inclination much like his Grandfather. Wherefore the Latines with whom King Tullus had made a League, grew very insolent, and when the Romans demanded satisfaction for an incursion, which that People had made into their Territories, they gave them a lawey answer; supposing, that the King of Rome would lead a slothful life, and reign only in Temples, and before the Altars. *Ancus* was of a middling disposition, as being mindful as well of Romulus as Numa; and, besides that he thought Peace more necessary



in the Reign of his Grandfather, when the Romans were not only a new, but a fierce kind of People: He also thought that the leisure and ease which Numa had, himself should hardly enjoy without some inconvenience: that his patience was tried, and being tried condemned; and that the time of Tullus's Reign was much more suitable to his affairs, than that of Numa's. But yet, seeing Numa had instituted religious Worship in time of Peace, that he might set forth the due Ceremonies of War, and that Hostility might not only be maintained but proclaimed too with some formality, he promulgated the Laws which he received from the ancient People called *Aquicoli* (and are now in the hands of the *Heralds*) by virtue whereof, such things as are unlawfully taken away are redemanded. The Ambassador, when he comes to the confines of their Country from whom the reprisal is designed, has his head covered; (the covering is a woollen Shawl) and saies, *Hear, O Jupiter! Hear, O yee Confines!* (and names the Countrey, whose borders those are) and let Justice bear me. I am the publick Messenger of the Roman People, who come upon a just and a righteous account, and therefore desire I may be credited. Then he repeats his demands, and calls Jove to witness in this manner; If I require those men or those things to be delivered up to me, who am the Messenger of the Roman People, unjustly, and without reason, then mayst thou never suffer me to see my own Country again. These words he repeats when he passes the bounds of any Country, to whomsoever he first meets, as he enters in at a Gate, and when he is come into the Forum [or Market-place] though, with some little alteration, in the form and manner of them. If those persons whom he demands are not surrendered in three and thirty days, (for that is the usual time given) he proclaims War, in this manner; *Hear, O Jupiter! and thou, O Juno! Romulus! All the Cælestial, Terrestrial and Infernal Gods, give ear to what I say! I call you all to witness, that, that People (and names the People who ever they be) is unjust, and does not do righteous things. But of these things we will consult the ancient men in our own Country to know how we may gain our right.* Having so done, the Messenger returns to Rome, to advise in the Affair. Whereupon, immediately, the King, in words to this purpose, consulted the Senate; concerning controversies or causes, wherein the Herald of the Roman People demanded satisfaction from the Herald of the ancient Latins, and the ancient Latins themselves, as thinking it reasonable for them to be done, decided or resolved, since nothing is yet in that case by them performed; Tell me, (said he, to the Person whose opinion he asked) what think you of it? To which the party made answer; I think, those things are to be required in a just and lawful War; that is my opinion, which I will stand by. After him, the rest were asked in order; and when the greater part of them that were present agreed in the same opinion, they usually made a War by common consent; in which the ceremony was this, that the Herald carried a Javelin with an iron head or all bloody and burned at the end, to the confines of their Country, and in the presence of three young men at least, said these words; Whereas, the People of the ancient Latins, and the ancient Latins themselves have committed several Offences against the People of Rome, and whereas, the People of Rome have commanded a War to be proclaimed against the ancient Latins, to which the Senate of Rome have thought fit to consent; for that reason, I and the People of Rome denounce and make War against the People belonging to the ancient Latins, and against the ancient Latins themselves. When he had so said, he threw his Javelin into their Confines. This was at that time the manner in which the Latins redemanded things formerly taken from them, and how they declared War; which custom their Posterity also retained.

XXXIII. Ancus, having committed the care of Holy things to the *Flamins*, and other Priests, and raised a new Army, went to *Politorium*, a City of the *Latins*, and took it by storm; and imitating the custom of former Kings, who had augmented the Roman State, by taking their Enemies into the City, brought all the multitude to Rome; where, since the ancient Romans inhabited near the Palace, the *Sabines*, in the Capitol and the Castle, the *Albans* in the Mount called *Clælius*, and the strange People in the *Arventine*, new comers were not long after planted there also, when *Telleni* and *Ficana* were taken. After that, he made War against *Politorium* a second time, because the *Latins* had taken possession of it, being at that time empty: and that was the reason, why the Romans demolished that City, lest it should be a continual receptacle of their Enemies. At last, when the War against the *Latins* was reduced to *Medullia* only, they fought there for some time upon equal terms, and the Victory was uncertain; for, the City was not only fortified with Rampiers and Walls, and strengthened with a good Guard, but they had a Camp in the plains too, and the *Latin* Army engaged several times, hand to hand with the Romans. At last, Ancus drew out all his forces, and first overcoming them in a pitched Battel, where he gained great Spoils, he returned to Rome, and then, having admitted many Thousands of the *Latins* into the City, he joyned the Palace to the *Arventine*, by appointing them to inhabit near the Temple of the Goddess called *Mercia*. *Faniculum* was also added thereunto, not for want of room, but lest that might sometime prove a refuge for the Enemies: and that he thought good to joyn to the City, not only with a Wall, but also, for the convenience of passing, with a wooden Bridge, which was then first made over the *Tiber*. That Ditch also called *Fossa Quiritium*, which is no small defence against those that come from the Plains, was the work of King Ancus. And now, the City having re-

re-

receiv'd a vast increase, seeing, that amongst such a multitude of men, it would be hard to judg, whether private Actions were well or ill done, he built a Prison in the middle of the City, near the Forum, for a terror to their increasing boldness. Nor did the City only flourish under this King, but their Territories and Confines were enlarg'd. The Wood call'd *Sylva Mælia*, was taken from the *Veians*; their Empire was propagated even to the Sea, the City *Hestia* was built at the mouth of *Tiber*, about which Salt-pits were made, and since their great Success in War, the Temple of *Jupiter Phæreus* was enlarg'd.

In the Reign of Ancus, one Lucumo, a diligent man, and one that was very wealthy, came XXXIV to Rome, out of a great desire and hope that he had of much Honour, which the *Tarquinius* (for there, he also, as well as they, was come of a Foreign Race) were not able to obtain. He was the Son of one Damaratus a *Corinthian*, who, flying his Country upon the Account of Sedition, and coming by chance to live at *Tarquinius*, [a City of *Etruria*] had there married a Wife, by whom he had two Sons, whose Names were *Lucumo* and *Aruns*. *Lucumo* surviv'd his Father, and was Heir to all his Estate; but *Aruns* died before his Father, leaving his Wife big with Child. Nor did the Father long survive the Son; but not knowing that his Daughter in Law was with Child, forgot his Grand-son in his Will, and dying, left him nothing; upon which Account, the Child, born to the inheritance of no part of the Estate after his Grand-fathers Death, was, from his Poverty, call'd *Egerius* [i. e. the Beggar.] *Lucumo*, on the contrary, who was Heir to the whole Estate, was not only proud of his Riches, but much the more so, because he had married one *Tanaquil*, a Woman of Quality, and one that would not easily be brought to live below her Birth. When she was married, and saw the *Etrurians* despise *Lucumo*, as being one that was the Son of a banish'd Stranger, she could not bear the indignity; and therefore, forgetting her natural Love to her Country (since she saw her Husband a man of such Worth and Honour) design'd to remove from *Tarquinius*. For which end, Rome seem'd the fittest place; for she suppos'd, That among that new People, where all Nobility sprung on a sudden from virtuous Actions, there might be some room found for a good and a brave man: she knew, that *Tatius*, a *Sabine*, had Reign'd there; that Numa was sent for from *Cures*, to enjoy the Crown; and that Ancus was the Son of a *Sabine* Woman, and remov'd upon the Account only of his being like Numa: wherefore, she easily prevail'd on her Husband, as being a Person ambitious of Honour, and one to whom the City *Tarquinius* was Country, only by the Mothers side. They therefore pack'd up what they had, and went for Rome. It happen'd, that, when they came to *Faniculum*, as he was sitting with his Wife upon the Chariot, an Eagle falling gently down, with her Talons took off his Cap; and then, flying above the Chariot, with great frilling and clapping of her Wings, she, as if sent from Heaven to do him that piece of service, came again and plac'd it exactly on his Head; which, when she had done, she flew aloft again. *Tanaquil* (they say) receiv'd that Augury with great joy, being a Woman well skill'd, as the *Etrurians* generally are, in Cælestial Prodigies: wherefore, embracing her Husband, she had him hope for high and lofty matters; telling him, That that Bird was a Messenger from that Region of the Heavens, and from that God who there presided: that she made a sign about the uppermost part of him; that she took up the ornament of his head, in order to restore it, by Divine Command. With these hopes and thoughts about 'em, they went into the City, and having taken an House there, gave out, that his Name was *L. Tarquinius Priscus*. And now, not only his being a new-comer, and his Riches made him conspicuous among the Romans, but he, likewise, advanc'd his Fortune by his Affability, Hospitality and Bounty, whereby he made all those he could his Friends: till, at last, the Fame of him was carried even into the King's Palace, and he grew, in a short time, so well known, by being very ready and liberal in the Kings Service, that he became familiar at Court, and was concern'd in all publick, as well as private Councils, both at home and abroad: and having been every way try'd, was, at length, by the Kings last Will and Testament, made Tutor also to his Children.

Ancus Reign'd four and twenty years, and was inferiour to none of the former Kings in XXXV. the Arts or Glory of War and Peace. His Sons were now almost of Age, and therefore *Tarquinius* was the more urgent, that, as soon as possible, an Assembly should be call'd for the choosing of a King. Which being appointed, he, a little before the time, sent the Lads a Hunting; and himself first, not only ambitiously desir'd the Throne, but likewise (as 'tis said) had a Speech ready made to reconcile the minds of the Common People; in which he told 'em, That he desir'd no new thing, in that he was not the first (to make any man angry or wonder at him) but the third Stranger that desir'd to be King of Rome; that *Tatius* was chosen King, though he was not only a Stranger, but an Enemy too, and that Numa, who was unacquainted with the City, and never sought it, was voluntarily sent for by the Romans, to be their King. That he himself, ever since he was at his own disposal, came to Rome with his Wife and all his fortunes, and that he had liv'd at Rome a greater part of his time, since he was fit for publick business, than in his own Country: and that he had learn'd the Roman Laws, together with their Customs, both at home and abroad, under a very Honourable Master, even King Ancus himself. That he had always us'd in his Allegiance and observance to the King, with all Mankind, and in his bounty towards others, with the King himself. Thus he spoke, and, because all he said was true, the Roman People unanimously chose him King. Whereupon the same ambition which

which he shew'd in suing for it, attended him when he had gain'd the Kingdom; though he were otherwise a very excellent Person. Nor was he less mindful of strengthening his own Dominion, than of augmenting the Commonwealth in general; wherefore, he chose an hundred into the Senate, who, from that time, were call'd, *Patres minorum gentium* [i. e. Senators of a lower rank,] and prov'd a certain Faction for the King, because, by his bounty they came into that Court. He wag'd the first War with the *Latins*, and took a Town of theirs by Storm, call'd *Appiolar*; from whence, having brought back more Spoils than was ever talk'd of in that War, he set forth Games with more Opulency and Pomp than any former Kings. The place was then first design'd, for that *Circus*, [or place for Exercises] which is now call'd, *Circus Maximus*; and Partitions were made for the Senators and Knights, where each of 'em might set forth Shews, call'd *Fori*. They sat and look'd upon these Shews, which were rais'd upon props of Wood twelve feet from the Ground; and the sport was Horse-Racing, and Wrestlers, especially such as were sent for out of *Etruria*. And, from that time, there were solemn Annual Games kept, call'd by the various Appellations of *Ludi Romani*, and *Ludi Magni*. By the same King also, there were places set apart, about the *Forum*, for private Persons to Build upon, as well as Portico's and Shops made.

XXXVI. He likewise design'd to enclose the City with a Stone Wall, but the *Sabine* War prevented him; and that was so sudden, that the Enemy pass'd the River *Anien* before the *Roman* Army could meet and stop 'em. Thereupon, the *Romans* were much affrighted, and at first, while the Victory was doubtful, a great many men were kill'd on both sides. But, soon after, the *Romans* having put their Forces into the Enemies Camp, and gain'd some time to reinforce the War, *Tarquinius*, thinking that he wanted Horse-men more than any other part of his Army, resolv'd to add a new Troop to the *Rammenfes*, *Titienses*, *Luceres*, which *Romulus* had formerly rais'd, and to leave them behind him remarkable on the account of his own Name. But, because *Romulus* had done that by an Augury, *Accius Nervius*, a famous Augur at that time, deny'd his Proposal, and said, there could be no alteration made, nor any new Troop established, unless the Birds foretold it. At that the King was much displeas'd, and eluding his Act, (as the Story goes) Come (said he) you Diviner, tell me, by your Auguries, whether that be possible to be done, that I now think of. Whereupon, when *Accius* had found, by the Augury, that it might, and had told the King it would certainly come to pass, I thought (said the King) that you would cut a Whetstone with a Razor: here, take 'em, and do what your Birds portend is possible: with that (they say) he presently cut the Whetstone in two. The Statue of *Accius* was plac'd with the head cover'd, just there where the thing was done, at the Court of Assembly, upon the very Stairs on the left hand: and (they say) that the Whetstone too was put in the same place, for a Monument to posterity of that Miracle. This is certain, that, from that time, Auguries and the Priestly Office of the Augurs were had in such Honour and Esteem, that nothing was afterwards done, either in War or Peace, without their Predictions; for the Assemblies of the People, the Armies and the greatest Affairs were Dissolv'd, Disbanded and Disappointed, when the Birds did not admit of 'em. Nor did *Tarquinius* at that time make any alteration in the Troops of Horse, but only added something to their Number, so that there were one thousand three hundred Horse in three Troops. The later that were added were only call'd by the same Names, being those, that now, since they are doubled, they call the six Troops.

XXXVII. This part of their Forces being augmented, they had a second Conflict with the *Sabines*. But, besides that the *Roman* Army was now increased in strength, they made use of secret Policy and Stratagem also; sending a Party of Soldiers, to burn a great heap of Wood that lay upon the Bank of *Anien* and throw it into the River: which being help'd on by the Wind, a great deal of the flaming Timber got hold on the Wood of the Bridge, and set it on fire. That thing not only terrified the *Sabines* as they were fighting, but when they were Routed, was also a stop to their Flight; and therefore many of 'em, though they escap'd the Enemy, perish'd in the River: whose floating Arms being found in the *Tiber* at *Rome*, and known, discover'd the Victory there, even almost before News could otherwise be brought of it. In that Battel, the Horse got the greatest Renown, for 'tis reported) that they, being plac'd in the Wings, when the main Body of their Foot was now in a manner Defeated, ran in so furiously from each side, that they did not only stop the *Sabine* Legions who press'd so hard upon the yielding Infantry, but on a sudden also, put 'em to Flight. The *Sabines* made all the haste they could to the Mountains, of which, some few possess'd themselves; but the greatest part (as I said before) were driven into the River. *Tarquinius*, thinking it the best way to pursue them whilst they were in that Consternation, having sent the Booty and Captives to *Rome*, and burn'd the Spoils of the Enemies (for such was his Vow to *Vulcan*) in a great Pile, proceeded to March his Army into the *Sabine* Dominions: and though the *Sabines* had had but ill success, nor could well hope for better, yet they met him with a tumultuary Army: and being there a second time Defeated, when they were almost utterly undone, desir'd a Peace. *Collatia*, and all the Country round about it, was taken from the *Sabines*, and *Egerius*, who was the Son of the King of *Collatia*'s Brother, was left in the Garrison. The People of *Collatia* (my Author tells me) made a Surrender, of which this was the form.

form. The King ask'd 'em, Are you Embassadors and Agents sent from the People of *Collatia* to surrender yourselves and them? We are. Are the People of *Collatia* in their own Disposal? They are. Do you surrender the People of *Collatia*, the City, their Land, their Water, their Bounds, their Temples, their Utensils, with all things Divine and Humane, into the Possession and Power of me and the Roman People? We do. Then I receive 'em.

When the *Sabine* War was ended, *Tarquinius* return'd in Triumph to *Rome*. After which, he made a War with the Antient *Latins*; in which, though they never came to hazard all at once, yet he, by carrying his Arms about to every single Town, extinguish'd the whole Race of the *Latins*. *Corniculum*, old *Ficulnia*, *Cameria*, *Crustumium*, *Amerigo*, *Medullia* and *Nomentum*, were Towns that were taken either from the Antient *Latins*, or such as had Revolted to the Antient *Latins*. Then he made a Peace, and from that time, began his Works of Peace, with greater vigour than he had carry'd on the Toils of War; to the end, that his People might not be less employ'd at home than they had been abroad. For, he not only began to encompass the City, where it was not yet Fortified, with a Stone-wall, the beginning of which Work was interrupted by the *Sabine* War, but he also drain'd the lower parts of the City, about the *Forum*, and the other Valleys that lay between the Hills, (because they could discharge the Water from those plain places) by Common-sewers, which he made from thence into the *Tiber*; besides that, he laid Foundations in a void space of Ground, by the Temple of *Jupiter* in the Capitol, which he had Vow'd to Build upon, in the *Sabine* War, because his mind did then Presage the future Glory of that place.

At that time, there was a strange and wonderful Prodigy seen in the Palace, where, as a certain Boy, whose Name was *Servius Tullius* lay asleep, (they say) a great many People saw his Head all on a Flame: whereupon, there being a great shout made, at that extraordinary Miracle, the King was much concern'd; and when one of his Servants was going to carry Water to quench it, the Queen stop'd him; till, at last, the Tumult being over, she gave Order, the Boy should not be stirr'd, till he wak'd of himself; and, that, soon after, the Clouds of sleep and that Flame vanish'd together. Then *Tanaquil*, taking her Husband into a private place, (said she) Dost thou see this Boy, which we breed at such a mean rate? Know, that he will one day be a Lustre to our doubtful affairs, and a Guard to our afflicted Palace; wherefore, let us cherish him with all possible Indulgence, who is like to prove the Author of our great Honour, both publick and private. From that time, they began to look upon the Boy as one of their own Children, and to instruct him in those Arts, whereby ingenious Lads are rais'd to great Fortunes. And, indeed, that easily came to pass, which the gods were willing to have; for the Youth grew up into a very Princely Disposition: nor, at that time, when *Tarquin* was looking out for a Son-in-law, could any of the *Roman* Youth be compared to him in any Art; wherefore, the King gave him his Daughter in Marriage. This great Honour, upon what account soever confer'd on him, forbids us to believe that his Mother was a Slave, or, that he himself was so, when young: I am rather of their opinion, who say, that when *Corniculum* was taken, the Wife of *Servius Tullius*, a Nobleman of that City, being, at the death of her Husband big with Child, and taken notice of amongst the rest of the Captives, was preserv'd from Slavery upon the Account of her Birth only, by the Queen of the *Romans*, and was brought to Bed at *Rome*, in the House of *Tarquinius Priscus*: upon the score of which great favour, she was not only her self introduced into the familiarity of the Court-Ladies, but the Child also, who was bred in the Family from his Infancy, was much beloved and respected: nor was it any thing else but his Mothers fortune, who, when her Country was taken, fell into the hands of the Enemy, that made him be supposed to be Son of a Bond-woman.

About the Eight and Thirtieth year of *Tarquinius*'s Reign, *Servius Tullius* was very much honour'd, not only by the King, but by the Senate and the People also. At which juncture, the two Sons of *Ancus*, who before had always resented it as a very great piece of Treachery, that they should be depriv'd of their Father's Kingdom by the fraud of their Guardian, and that a stranger should Reign at *Rome*, who came, not only of a foreign, but also, not so much as of an Italian race; did then conceive more indignation than ever, when they saw the Crown was not like to return to them, even after *Tarquinius*'s Death, but that it would fall successively to a Slave: that in the same City, after almost an hundred years, since *Romulus*, who was the Son of a God, and now a God himself, possess'd the Throne as long as he remained upon earth, a servant, and the Son of a servant should enjoy it, it would be, not only a disgrace to the *Roman* name in general, but more particularly, to their Family, if, whilst any male Issue of King *Ancus* were alive, the Kingdom of *Rome* should be govern'd, not only by strangers, but even Slaves also: wherefore, they resolv'd to avert that contumely by the Sword. But their concern for that injury, did not only excite them more against *Tarquinius* himself, than it did against *Servius*, but also, because the King, if he survived, was like to be a more severe revenger of the Murder, they thought, if they kill'd *Servius*, that whomsoever *Tarquinius* chose for his Son in Law, he would make Her of the Crown; and for that reason, laid a design against the King's life, which was this. They chose two of the sturdiest Shepherds for that purpose, both armed with Country Weapons, such as they used to carry; who, making as great a Riot as they could before

the King's Palace, under pretence of a quarrel, caused all the King's Officers to come about them: whereupon, they both appeared to the King, and the noise of them reaching even the inmost rooms of the Palace, they were commanded to appear before the King; where both of them, at first began to bawl and rail at each other: but being restrained by the Licitor or Officer, and commanded to speak by turns, they, at length gave over their ill Language. Then, one of them began to tell the whole story, according as they had agreed; and while the King was wholly intent to what he said, the other lifting up an Ax that he had, gave him a cut in the head, and leaving his weapon in the wound, they both ran out of doors. While those that were about *Tarquinius*, who was now a dying, took all the care they could of him, the Officers caught hold of one of the Rustians that were making their escape: upon which, there was a great noise and concourse of the People, admiring what the matter was.

**XLI.** *Tanaquil*, amidst the tumult, commanded the Palace Gates to be shut, and turned out all strangers; procuring, at the same time, with all industry, whatever was necessary to heal the wound, as if she had some hopes of a cure, and planting fresh Guards, in case her hopes should fail her. Then, sending for *Servius* in all haste, and shewing him her Husband, who had now almost bled to death, she took him by the right hand, and desired him, that he would not suffer the death of his Father in Law to go unrevenge, nor permit her, his Mother in Law, to be a Laughing-stock to her Enemies. *Servius* (said she) *If thou art a Man, the Kingdom is thine, and not theirs who have committed the greatest villany, by the hands of other men: take courage then, and follow the Gods, thy Leaders, who formerly pretended, that thou shouldst be a great Light to the World, by that divine fire which hovered round thy head; let that Celestial Flame now warm thee: be thou now truly awake: even we that are strangers have reigned here: think who thou art, not where thou wast born: and, if thy Councils are at a stand, by reason of this surprizing accident, follow mine.* The clamour and violence of the Multitude growing almost intolerable, *Tanaquil* spoke to the People, from the upper part of the house, through the windows that looked into the new street, (for the King then kept his Court near the Temple of *Jupiter Stator*.) bidding them be of good cheer; that the King was foudred with a sudden blow, but the weapon did not go very deep into his body, and that he was now come to himself again: that the blood was washed away, the wound searched, and all things well, and that she was in good hopes, that they would see him very shortly. That, in the mean time, he ordered the People to obey *Servius Tullius*, who would administer justice to them, and perform all other Kingly Offices. Accordingly, *Servius* went forth with a Royal Robe, and the Licitors before him, and setting on the King's Tribunal, determined some Controversies, and concerning others, pretended he would consult the King. By which means, he, for some days, after the King was dead, concealing his death, and under the pretence of executing another man's Office, confirmed his own authority. Then, upon a common lamentation, which was made in the Palace, *Servius* having got a good guard about him, was the first that Reigned without the consent of the People, and by the authority of the Senate only. The Sons of *Ancus*, when the Regicides were taken, being told that *Servius* was King, and lived attended with so much Grandeur, went into banishment to *Suessa Pometia*.

**XLII.** Nor did *Servius* now seek to fortifie himself more by publick than private designs, but lest *Tarquinius's* Children might be so affected towards him, as *Ancus's* had been to *Tarquinius*, he married two of his Daughters to the Kings Sons, whose names were *Lucius* and *Aruns Tarquinius*: but yet, his human Counsels did no way interrupt the necessity of fate, for, the envy which he gained by being King, made all things, even among his domestick Servants, faithless and troublesome. The War with the *Vetians* and other *Etrurians* (for now the Truce was out) was very opportunely taken up in order to the present Peace of the State. In that War, not only the valour, but the fortune of *Tullius* was very signal; for having routed a vast Army of the Enemies, and not caring whether he lost the good will either of the Senate or the People, he returned to *Rome*: where he from that time, began the greatest work of Peace; and, as *Numa* had been the Author of divine Ceremonies, so he resolved to be esteemed, in the opinion of all posterity, the Founder of those several distinctions in the City, and of those degrees betwixt man and man, that make any difference, either in Dignity or Fortune. For, he made a Rate or Estimate of every mans Estate, which was like to be a very convenient constitution in that great, growing Empire; by which, the duties of War and Peace might be performed, not according to the number of single persons, as before, but as every man was able: and then he made several Classes and Centuries, and such a discrimination, by that Estimate, as might be convenient, either in War or Peace.

**XLIII.** Of those who had a thousand Pounds, or a greater Estate, he made eighty Centuries, that is to say, forty out of those persons who were called *Seniores* and *Juniores* [or the Elder and the Younger part of the Citizens;] all which were called the first, or chief Class: the *Seniors*, to be always ready for the preservation of the City, and the *Juniors*, to make War abroad. The latter were ordered to have for their Arms, an Helmet, a Shield, Boots and a Coat of Mail, all of Brass, for the defence of their Bodies: besides which, they had Darts, a Javelin and a Sword to charge the Enemy. To this Class there were added

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two Centuries of Artificers, who were to be in pay, but unarmed, and their business was, to make Engines for War. The second Class was rated between a thousand and seven hundred pounds; out of which, both *Seniors* and *Juniors*, there were twenty Centuries raised; whose Arms were to be a Target, instead of a Shield, and besides the Coat of Mail, all things as before. The third Class he rated at five hundred pounds, and they made up the like number of Centuries, with the same distinction of Age; nor was there any alteration made in their Arms, save only the Boots. In the fourth Class the Estimate was, two hundred and fifty pounds, and out of them as many Centuries made, but their Arms were changed, and nothing allowed them, except a Javelin, and a picked Dart like a Spit. The fifth Class was augmented, and thirty Centuries made out of it, who carried Slings and Stones with them: among whom were numbred the Trumpeters and Pipers, distributed into three Centuries; and this Class was rated at an hundred and odd pounds. But, the rest of the Multitude were assessed at a lower rate, and therefore one Century was discharged from the Duties of War. Having thus equipped and distributed the Foot Soldiers, he raised twelve Centuries of Knights, out of the best of the City; and established six other Troops, besides those three that *Romulus* had raised, by the same names under which they were by Augury listed. To buy them Horses, he gave an hundred pounds out of the publick Treasury; and the Widows were Assessed to pay twenty pounds every year, toward the keeping of those Horses. All these Taxes were laid upon the Rich to ease the Poor. After that, he made a distinction in point of Honour; for every man had not the privilege, (as it had been customary from *Romulus* downwards) promiscuously to give his Vote; but there were Degrees made in such a manner, that no one should seem to be excluded from Voting, and yet all the Power might remain in the Nobility of the City. For the Knights were first called, and then the eighty Centuries of the first Class, among whom, if there happened to be any difference, which rarely fell out, those of the second Class were called, nor did they hardly ever go so low, as to descend to the meaner sort of People. Nor ought we to wonder, that this distinction, which now obtains, since the making of five and thirty Tribes, the number of them being doubled, does not agree with those Centuries of *Juniors* and *Seniors* which *Servius Tullius* established: for, the City being divided into four Regions, according to the Hills on which they dwelt, he called those Divisions Tribes, as I suppose, from the word *Tribuo* [i.e. to pay Scot and Lot;] for he computed, by their Estates, what every one ought to contribute to the publick Stock: but these Tribes did not at all belong to the distribution or number of the Centuries.

Having settled this Rate, which he had the sooner done, for fear of the Law, which was **XLIV.** made against them, who gave not in the value of their Estates to the Cenfor, he set out an Edict, threatening Imprisonment and Death, to all the Citizens of *Rome*, whether Horse or Foot, who did not appear in their several Centuries at the *Campus Martius* [or Field of Mars,] as soon as 'twas day: where, having set all the Army in Array, and purified them by Sacrificing a Boar, a Sheep and a Bull; which was called, at that time, *Conditum Lustrum* [or a set day of Purifying the People,] because he then made an end of his Assessments. Eighty thousands Crowns were said to be rated in that lustration of the Citizens, and *Fabius Pictor*, a very ancient Writer, says, *That was the number of those that could then bear Arms.* But, besides this, he thought fit to enlarge the City according to the Multitude of the Inhabitants, adding two Hills, one called *Quirinalis*, the other *Viminalis*; after which, he augmented the *Esquilæ*, where he himself also dwelt, in Honour to the Place; besides which, he inclosed the City, with a Mound, Ditches and a Wall, and extended the Bounds of the Suburbs, called, *Pomerium*; which, some, who look only into the obvious signification of the Word, say, is so called, as if it were *post marium*, [i.e. behind the Walls] though it is rather, a place near the Wall, which, the ancient *Etrurians*, when they built their Cities, by Augury consecrated within certain Bounds, where they were to Build their Walls; to the end, that neither within, any Houses might be contiguous to the Walls, as they now commonly joyn them, and likewise, that without there might be some space left, where men neither Built nor Planted. This space of ground, which it was neither lawful to dwell upon, nor cultivate, the Romans called *Pomerium*, not because it was *post murum* [i.e. behind the Wall,] any more, than, because, *murus erat post id* [i.e. the Wall was behind that,] and, as the City was enlarged so far as the Walls extended, these Consecrated Bounds reached.

The City being augmented by the extent of their Walls, and all things ready at home, **XLV.** for the use both of War and Peace, he, lest they always should seem to gain advantage by their Arms, endeavoured with Policy to increase the Empire, and, at the same time, to add some new Ornament to the City. There was, at that time, a famous Temple Dedicated to *Diana*, at *Ephefus*, which was reported to have been Built at the common Charge of all the Cities of *Asia*. When *Servius* therefore had commended their unanimity, and magnified the gods that joyned with them, among the Nobility of the *Latins*, with whom he had both publicly and privately, on purpose, entered into bonds of mutual Hospitality and Friendship, he often repeated the same, and, at last, persuaded the *Latins* to joyn with the *Roman* People, and Build a Temple to *Diana* at *Rome*: for they all confessed, that *Rome* was that Metropolis

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for



for which they had so often fought. And though all the *Latins* seemed now to neglect it, as having had such ill success so often with their Arms, yet, fortune seemed to offer her self to one of the *Sabines*, with a private design of recovering the Empire. There was an Heifer said to be Calv'd, belonging to a certain Yeoman in the Country of the *Sabines*, of a wonderful bigness, and very beautiful, (the Horns of it were fixed, for many Ages in the Porch of *Diana's* Temple, as a Monument of that Miracle) insomuch, that she was looked upon as a Prodigy, and the Diviners foretold, that, in that City whereof any Citizen Sacrificed that Heifer to *Diana*, the Empire should afterwards be established. And that Prophecie came to the hands of the chief Priest belonging to *Diana's* Temple. The *Sabine*, as soon as he thought it a fit day for Sacrifice, drove the Heifer to *Rome*, brought her to the Temple of *Diana*, and set her before the Altar. Then the *Roman* Priest, being moved, with the Celebrated Fame of such a great Victim, and mindful of the response, accosted the *Sabine* in these words: *What dost thou mean, Friend? (said he) to make an impure Sacrifice to Diana? Art thou washed in the living stream? See, Tiber runs in yonder Valley.* At which, the Stranger, being awed, (for he desired to do every thing according to order, that the event might answer the Prodigy) went down immediately to the *Tiber*, and in the mean while, the *Roman* Priest Sacrificed the Heifer to *Diana*: which Action of his was exceeding grateful, both to the King and the City.

XLVI. *Servius*, although by tract of time, he was now put into undoubted possession of the Kingdom, yet, because he heard that young *Tarquinius* should sometimes say, *He Reigned without the Peoples consent*; having first reconciled the minds of the Multitude by dividing certain Lands that he had taken from the Enemy, among them, he ventured to refer it to the People; *Whether it were their will and pleasure that he should Reign?* Whereupon, he was Declared King, by a consent more Universal than any man had hardly been before him. But that did not diminish *Tarquinius's* hopes of gaining the Kingdom; no, he therefore conceiv'd a greater Animosity, (because he perceived, that the Peoples Property was Invaded against the will of the Senate) and thought he had a good opportunity to accuse *Servius* before the Fathers, and to grow great himself in that Court, being himself a young man of an hot Spirit, nor only so, but having at home a Wife called *Tullia*, who instigated his restless mind; for even the *Roman* Palace produced an example of Tragick wickedness, that out of hatred to the Tyranny of Kings, their Liberty might be the sooner accomplished; and that might be the last Kings Reign that was gain'd by injustice. It is not very well known, whether this *Lucius Tarquinius* was the Son or Grand-son of *Tarquinius Priscus*, but most Authors say, he was his Son. He had a Brother, called *Aruns Tarquinius*, a young man of a mild disposition; and these two, as aforesaid, had Married the two *Tullias*, Daughters to the King, who were likewise very different in their inclinations. It so fell out, lest two violent natures should be coupled in Marriage; through the good fortune, I suppose, of the *Roman* People, that the Reign of *Servius* might be the longer, and the Constitutions of the City in his time be made. The fiercer *Tullia* was mightily vexed, that she found nothing in her Husband that looked like Ambition or Audacity; wherefore, she was wholly inclin'd to the other *Tarquinius*, admired him, said, he was a Man, and came of Royal Blood; but despised the Sister, in that, she, by being Married, had lost the true Courage of a Woman. In a little time, the likeness of their manners, engaged them two, as it commonly happens; and their mischievous Designs were very suitable to each other; but the beginning of all confusion sprang from the Woman. For, she being accustomed to the secret conversation of another man, spared no disgraceful Words, either of her Husband to his Brother, or of her Sister to her Husband, but said, *It had been better for her to be a Widow, and for him to have been still a Batchelor, than to be so unequally yoked, that she her self must languish under anothers sloth: that, if the gods had given her the man whom she deserved, she should quickly have seen that Dominion in her own House, which now her Father enjoyed.* With these rash words, she soon fired the young man. *Aruns Tarquinius*, and *Tullia* the younger, when they, by almost continual Funerals, had made the Houses empty, upon their new Marriage, were joyned in Matrimony; not only with *Servius's* allowance, but approbation too.

XLVII. But then, *Tullius's* Age began every day to be more tedious to him, and his Reign more uneasy; for that Woman daily contrived some new Villany, nor did she suffer her Husband to rest, either night or day, lest her former Parricides should seem too little to deserve thanks: telling him, *She did not lack a man who bore the Name of an Husband, nor one to whom she was a silent Slave, but she wanted one, who could think himself worthy of a Crown; who could remember, that he was the Son of Tarquinius Priscus; who could be desirous rather to have, than hope for a Kingdom.* If thou (said she) art that man to whom I think I am married, I may make bold to call thee, not only Husband, but King; if not, the case is now much altered for the worse, since Villany here is joyned with slothfulness. Rouse up thy self! Thou hast no need to seek for Foreign Kingdoms, from *Corinth* or from *Tarquinius*, as thy Father had, thy Household-gods, and those of thy Country, thy Fathers Image, the Kings Palace, the Regal Throne in that Palace, and the Name of *Tarquin*, creates and calls thee King: But, if this be not enough to raise thy Soul, why dost thou frustrate the expectations of the City? Why dost thou go under the Name of a young Prince? Get thee hence, to *Tarquinius* or *Corinth*; run Retrograde into thy Family, and prove more like thy Brother than

than thy Father. With these, and other taunting words, she teased the young man, nor could she rest her self to think, that *Tanaquil*, who was a Foreigner, could carry on such great Designs, as to confer two Regal Successions, upon her Husband first, and then upon her Son-in-law, and yet she, though come of Royal Blood, could be no instrument at all, either in the giving, or taking away a Crown. *Tarquinius*, being possess'd with this Female Fury, went about to get the Votes of the inferior Senators especially, whom he put in mind of his Fathers kindness to them, and upon that Account, desired their favour. He made the young men his friends by Money, and then, promising great things of himself, and laying great crimes to the Kings charge, advanced his Credit among all People. At last, when he thought he had a fair opportunity to effect his Design, he came on a sudden, guarded with a Company of Soldiers into the *Forum* (at which, all People were affrighted) and there, sitting down, in the Kings Seat, he commanded the Senators to be summoned into Court, by the common Cryer, and to appear before their King *Tarquinius*; whereupon, they immediately came, some being prepared for it before-hand, and others, for fear, lest their not coming, might turn to their Damage, but were astonished at the Novelty and Strangeness of the sight, and thought also, that *Servius* was taken off. Then *Tarquinius* began, with all the reviling Language that he could think on, and told them, *That a Slave, and the Son of a Slave, after the death of his Father, who was basely murdered, without any Interregnum (or space between the Reign of two Kings) which had been formerly used, without any publick Assembly, without the Votes of the People, or the approbation of the Senate, but by the gift of a Woman, had been possessed of that Kingdom: and that he so born, and so made King, being a great Patron of the basest sort of men, among which, himself is one, had, out of envy to other Peoples prosperity, taken their Lands from all the best in the City, and divided it among a pack of sordid fellows: that he had laid all the Imposts and Taxes, which were formerly paid by the whole City in general, upon the Nobility only; and that, he made a Rate or Estimate of every mans Estate, to make the fortunes of rich men only more visible to the eye of Envy, and that he might have them ready to bestow upon Beggars whenever he pleased.*

As he was making this Speech, *Servius* came in, who, being much concerned at the XLVIII. frightful News, immediately at his entrance into the Court, cryed out aloud, *Tarquinius, What meanest thou? How dar'st thou Convene the Senate whilst I am alive, or sit in my Throne?* To which, *Tarquinius* as briskly answered, *That he was then in the Throne of his Father, and much fitter to be Heir of the Kingdom, being the Son of a King, than any Slave could be: that he had too long licentiously insulted over those, who were by right his Masters.* Upon that, there was a great Shout made, by such as were favourers of both Parties, and the People thronged into the Court, where it appeared, that, he was most likely to Reign that was the stronger. Then, *Tarquinius*, who was now forced of meer necessity, to make his last effort, being much stronger, both for his Age and Constitution, caught *Servius* by the middle, and carrying him out of the Court, threw him down Stairs to the very bottom. Then he went back into the Court, to reduce the Senate; at whose return, the Kings Officers and Retinue fled all away, and the King himself, who was almost dead, going homeward, with his Attendants, who were themselves half dead, when he came to the upper end of the Street, call'd *Vicus Cyprius*, was overtaken and murdered by certain Persons whom *Tarquinius* had sent to pursue him. It is believed, that this was done by the advice of *Tullia*, because it is so like her other Villanous Actions: but, this is certain, and very well known, that she rode upon a Chariot into the *Forum*, and not at all fearing the Concourse of so many People, called her Husband out of the Court, being the first who saluted him by the Name of King. But he, desiring her to be gone out of that great Tumult, as she was going home, when she came to the upper end of the Street, call'd *Vicus Cyprius*, where the Image of *Diana* lately stood, as they were turning up the side of the Hill, call'd *Clivus Virbius*, to go into the *Esquilie*, the Charioteer stopt, as if he had been frightened, and check'd the Reins of his Horses, to shew his Lady the Body of *Servius*, who lay there slain in the Street. Whereupon (they tell you) of a Barbarous and Inhuman Action, which she then did, and the place it self is a Monument of it; for, they call that Street, *Vicus Sceleratus* [i.e. Villains Street] in which, *Tullia*, instigated by the fury of her Sister and her Husband, drove over the Body of her Father; and that, she carried part of his Blood upon her Chariot, being her self also, contaminated and besprinkled with it, to the Household-gods of her and her Husband, who being displeased at it, the latter end of her Husbands Reign was full as mischievous as the beginning. *Servius Tullius* Reigned four and forty years, with such prudence, that even a good and a moderate Successor would have found it an hard task to have been equal to him. But this also was an addition to his Glory; that, with him, all Just and Lawful Reigns came to an end: Yet, his so mild and moderate Government, because it was in the hands of one only (some Authors say) he had a mind to lay down, had not that Domestick Villany intervened and spoiled all his Designs of setting his Country at Liberty.

Then, *Lucius Tarquinius* began his Reign, whose Actions gave him the Name of *Superbus*, XLIX. because he denied his Father-in-law the Common Rites of Burial (saying,) *That Romulus also was never Buried after his Death*; and killed all the chief Men of the Senate, whom he thought favourers of *Servius*. Afterwards, being conscious that he got the Kingdom by ill means,

means, and that he himself might afford an example of the like Injustice, even against himself, he got a Guard about him; for he had no pretension to the Kingdom, besides force; in that, he Reigned, neither by Order of the People, nor Approbation of the Senate. Wherefore, his only refuge, was, since he could repose no Trust in the love of the Citizens, to secure his Reign by Fear: with which, that he might possess the minds of most People, he himself, in Person, took cognizance of all Capital Causes, without any Advice or Assistance: and by that means could put to Death, Banish, or Fine People at his Pleasure; not only those whom he suspected, or hated, but even them also, from whom he could hope for nothing else but a Prey. He likewise contracted the number of the Senate especially, resolving, to choose none into that Dignity, that by their being the fewer, their Order might grow the more contemptible, and they might be the less concerned that nothing was transacted by them. For he was the first King that abrogated the old custom of consulting the Senate in all cases; and governing the Commonwealth by private Councils, he himself alone made War and Peace, Entered into and Dissolved all Leagues and Alliances with whomsoever he pleased, without the consent of the People and Senate. But, above all others, he made the *Latins* his Friends, that he might be the more secure at home, even in the strength of Foreign Allies: nor did he only engage the Chief of Hospitality and common Friendship, but in Affinity also. For he gave his Daughter in Marriage to *Ottavius Mamilius Tusculanus*, who was the greatest Man among all the *Latins*, descended (if we may believe common Fame) from *Ulysses* and the Goddess *Circe*; by which Marriage, he obliged a great many of his Friends and Kindred.

I. By this time, *Tarquinius's* Authority among the *Latin* Nobility, was very great; when, on a certain day, he ordered them to meet at a Place called, *Lucus Ferentinae* [i.e. the Grove of *Ferentina*] telling them, that he had something to say concerning publick Affairs. Accordingly, they met in a great Number, as soon as 'twas day, and *Tarquinius* himself indeed observed the day, but came a little before Sun-setting only, though, all day long, there were many and various Disputes in that Assembly. *Turnus Herdonius*, who came from *Aricia*, inveighed very severely against *Tarquinius* who was then absent; saying, *It was no wonder, that the Romans called him Tarquinius Superbus*, [i.e. *Tarquinius* the Proud] (for so, they, now, though privately, yet generally called him) for can any thing be a greater sign of pride, than thus to slight the whole Nobility of the *Latins*? For him, who appointed this Assembly of so many Nobles, that are come so far from home, not to be here himself: that he did it to try their patience, and to find out, how much he could impose on them, if they would submit to his yoke; For who did not plainly see, that he affected Dominion over the *Latins*; which, if his own Citizens had freely offered him, or had it been entrusted to him, and not extorted by Paricide, the *Latins* also ought to entrust him, (though it were very hard, even in that case, to trust a Stranger) but if his own Countrymen were weary of him (since they were Killed, Banished and undone in great Numbers,) What better things could the *Latins* expect? If they would take his Counsel, he would advise them to go home again and take no more of the Assembly-day, than he did, who appointed it. As this Seditious and Mutinous fellow was saying this and a great deal more to the same purpose, who had, by this means, made a great Party in his own Country, in the midst of his Discourse, in came *Tarquinius*, which put an end to his Speech. Immediately they all turned from him, to salute *Tarquinius*; who, when they were all silent, being advised by those that were next him to excuse himself for coming at that time of the day, he told them, *That he was chosen Umpire in a difference between a Father and a Son, that he staid to reconcile them, and because that business had taken up that day, he would do what he designed, the day following.* To which (they say) *Turnus* could not forbear to reply, but told him, *There was no quicker determination of any difference, than between a Father and a Son, and that it might be composed in a few words; that is to say, unless he obeyed his Father, he should come to some misfortune.*

LI. *Turnus*, having thus inveighed against the Roman King, went out of the Assembly. Which thing *Tarquinius* taking somewhat worse than he seemed to do, immediately contrived his Death; to the end, that he might put the *Latins* into the same terror, wherewith he had awed the minds of his own Citizens at home: but, because he could not conveniently be murdered in Publick, with any shew of Justice, he laid false Crimes to his charge, and took him off, though he were guiltless. He, by the help of certain of *Aricia*, who were of a contrary Faction, corrupted *Turnus's* Servant with Money, to let him privately put a great many Swords into his Lodging; which being done in one night, *Tarquinius*, a little before day, sent for the *Latin* Nobility, as if he were disturbed at some new thing, and told them, *That his delay the day before fell out by a kind of Providence, to be both his, and their preservation: that he heard Turnus had design'd to kill him and all the chief of the People, that he might, himself, be King of the Latins: that he was to have gone about it yesterday at the Assembly, but the business was put off, because, he, who summoned them, and was the Person most aimed at, was absent. And, thence it was that he inveighed so much against him behind his back, because by his delay, that Villains hopes were disappointed: that he did not doubt, if all he heard were true, but that, in the morning when they came to Council, he would be there ready with a band of Conspirators all in Arms; for, 'twas reported, that a great number of Swords were conveyed into his Lodgings:*

which,

which, whether it were true, or no, might soon be known; and therefore he desired them, that they would go along with him to *Turnus*. The fierce disposition of *Turnus*, with the Speech that he made the day before, and *Tarquinius's* delay, made the thing very much suspected, for they thought, that the latter was the cause, why that Massacre was deferred; they therefore went along with him, inclined to believe what he said, but yet were resolved, to take all the rest for an idle Story, unless they found the Swords. When they came thither, the Officers waked *Turnus*, and stood round about him; and having laid hold of his Servants, who out of love to their Master, were going to make resistance; when the Swords, which were hid, were brought forth, out of every corner of the Room, the Fact seemed clear enough, and they Fettered *Turnus*: whereupon, the Assembly of the *Latins* was immediately called in great haste, who, when they saw the Swords, were so incensed at it, that, without hearing him speak for himself, they contrived him a new sort of Death; that he should be thrown into the head of a River, called, *Aqua Ferentina*, with an Hurdle upon him, on which, Stones should be piled, and he, by that means Drowned.

After that, the *Latins* being again summoned to Council, *Tarquinius*, having praised those LII. who had punished the Traitor *Turnus* for his manifest Paricide, according to his Deserts; made this Speech, *That he could treat with them, upon the old account, because, seeing all the Latins came originally from Alba, they were obliged by that League, whereby, all the Alban State, from the time of Tullus, together with all its dependencies, was put under the Roman Jurisdiction: but, that he thought it more for the advantage of them all, to renew that League; and that the Latins should rather enjoy the prosperity of the Romans as Partners, than always either expect, or endure that Sacking of their Cities and Devastation of their Country, which, under Ancus first, and afterwards, in the Reign of his Father, they had suffered.* The *Latins* were easily persuaded, though in that League the Romans had the advantage; for they say, not only that the Heads of their Nation were of the Kings Party and Opinion, but *Turnus* also was a fresh Example of the danger that each of them would be in, who opposed it. So, the League was renewed, and a summons sent to the Junior *Latins*, *That, according to that League, they should appear upon a certain day, at the Grove called, Lucus Ferentinae, all in Arms.* Who, when they came, according to the Edict of the Roman King, from all Quarters, and then, lest they should have a Leader of their own, a separate Command by themselves, or peculiar Signals, he mixed the several Bands of them, with *Latins* and *Romans* together, putting a Roman between every two *Latins*, and so, doubling their Companies, over which he set Centurions of his own choosing.

But, though he were an unjust King in Peace, yet he was not an ill General in War, LIII. but would have equalled the former Kings in that Art, his ill behaviour in other matters detracted from his perfection in that. He was the first that made War against the *Volsci*, for above two hundred years after his time; and took *Suessa Pometia* from them by Storm; where, when he had told the Booty, for four hundred Talents of Silver and Gold, he designed to large a Model for the Temple of *Jupiter*, as was fit for the King of gods and men, worthy of the Roman Empire, and equal to the Majesty of that place; and for the Building of that Temple, he set apart all the Money that he got in the War. After that, he was engaged in a War, much longer than he expected, against *Gabii*, a Neighbouring City, which he had in vain attempted to Storm, and which he at last, not like a Roman, by any means, but by Fraud and Stratagem, Attacked, since he was beaten from the Walls thereof, so far, as, that he had no hopes even to lay Siege to it; wherefore, whilst he pretended to set aside all thoughts of a War, that he might lay the Foundations of that Temple, and other Edifices in the City, his Son *Sextus*, who was the youngest of three, fled away, by compact, to *Gabii*, complaining of his Fathers intolerable cruelty to him; telling them, that, *Now he had turned all his pride, from Strangers, upon his own Family; that he was now grown weary, even of his own Children, and resolved to cause the same solitude in his own House, as he had made in the Court, lest he should leave any off-spring behind him, or any one to Inherit his Kingdom: that he, indeed had escaped his Fathers Darts and Swords, but, thought himself safe in no place, unless it were among the Enemies of Lucius Tarquinius.* Lest they should mistake in their measures, that War still continued, which he pretended to have given over, and, that he, upon occasion would surprize them. And that, if among them, poor men that Petitioned could find no admittance, he would wander over all Latium; whence, if he were expelled, he would go to the *Volsci*, the *Equi* and the *Hernici*, till he came to those, who know how to protect Children, from the Cruel and Impious Punishments of their Fathers: and besides that, too, he hoped, he might find some inclination, to War, and Arms against that proud King, and his Savage People. When he, if they regarded not what he said, seemed angry at them, and resolved to go forward from thence to some other place, he was kindly entertained by the *Gabines*; who told him, it was no wonder, if he at last proved to his own Children, what he had always been to his Countrymen and Allies: that, he would, in time, offer violence to himself, if he wanted another subject: but, that his coming was very grateful to them, and they believed, that in a short time, the War might be transferred from the Gates of *Gabu*, to the Walls of Rome.

After that, he was admitted into their publick Councils, where, though he said, that he, LIV. in other things, attended to the ancient *Gabines*, to whom such things were better known, yet,



yet, he approved of continuing the War, and said, *The greatest thing he pretended to, was, that he knew the strength of both People, and that the Kings pride was really hated by all his Subjects, seeing his very Children were not able to endure it.* Thus, by degrees, inciting the *Gabine* Nobility, once more to renew the War, he went, with the most active of their Youth, to forage the Country; and upon other Expeditions, gaining Credit by all that he said or did, so well was his Cheat contrived; till, at last, he was chosen General of the War, in which, the Multitude, being ignorant what his Design was, when some small Skirmishes had passed, between *Rome* and *Gabii*, in which the *Gabines*, for the most part, had the better on it, the *Gabines* all, from the highest to the lowest, thought, *Sextus Tarquinius* was sent to them as a Blessing from the gods. And, among the Soldiers, by running upon danger and difficulties, as well as munificently distributing the Booty, he was so much beloved, that his Father *Tarquinius* was not more powerful at *Rome*, than he at *Gabii*. Wherefore, when he saw that he had gathered strength enough for all his Designs, he sent a Messenger to his Father at *Rome*, to know, *What he would have him do: For, at Gabii, the Gods had so ordered it, that he alone could do what he pleased.* This Messenger, (because, I suppose, he was suspected, had no express Answer; but the King, as if he were going to deliberate upon the matter, walked into his Garden, and his Sons Messenger followed him: where, walking without silently along, (they say) he, with his Staff, cut off the heads of the Poppies. The Messenger being wearied with asking for, and expecting his Answer, despaired of having what he came for, and therefore, returning to *Gabii*, told all that he himself said, and what he saw; saying, that *whether out of anger, or hatred, or natural pride, the King said never a Word.* *Sextus*, discovering what his Father meant, and what his Commands were, even by those dumb signs, he caused the chief men of the City to be put to Death, by Accusing some of them to the People, and instigating others, by their own mutual Envy. Many of them were slain publicly, though some, against whom his Accusation was not like to be so specious and plausible, were Murdered privately. Some, that were willing, fled their Country, and others were Banished, and the Goods of those that were absent, as well as of those that were put to Death, were divided. Whereupon, by the sweetness of that distribution, the share which each one received of the Booty, and upon the score of their private advantage, they lost the sense of publick misfortunes, till at last, the *Gabine* State, deprived both of Council and Power, ('tis said) was surrendered to the King of *Rome*, without any Bloodshed.

LV. Having gotten *Gabii*, *Tarquinius* made Peace with the *Aequi*, and renewed his League with the *Tusci*. After which, he applied his mind to the Affairs of the City; whereof the first was, a design that he had to leave the Temple of *Jupiter* upon the *Tarpeian* Mount, as a Monument of his Reign and Name, for two Kings of the *Tarquinius* Race were engaged in that business, the Father, who vowed to build it, and the Son who made an end of it. And, that the whole Body of that Temple, might be free from all other Religions, he resolved, to unhallow those Temples, and Chappels, which, in the War against *Romulus*, were designed, Consecrated, and afterwards with Auguries set apart by King *Tatius*. When he first began this Structure, ('tis said) that the gods were concerned at it, and gave some indications of the future growth of that Empire: for, though the Birds permitted the unhallowing of all other Temples, yet, in the Temple of the god *Terminus*, they did not allow it: which Omen and Augury was so interpreted, as if the god *Terminus* by not removing out of his Place, nor leaving his holy Bounds, portended, that all things should continue firm and stable. When they had received this Prediction of the perpetuity of their Empire, there was another Prodigy after that, which signified the greatness of it; and it was this: (they say) that, as they opened the Foundations of the Temple, there appeared a mans Head with an intire Face; which sight did plainly and directly portend, that that Castle should be the Head of all the World: and so likewise said the Diviners, not only such as lived in the City, but those also whom they had sent for, to that purpose, out of *Etruria*. The Kings Design encreased according to his expences, and therefore, the Plunder, taken at *Pometia*, which was designed for the perfecting of that Work, would scarce serve to lay the Foundation. Wherefore, I rather give credit to *Fabius*, who, besides that, he is the ancienter Author, says, there were forty Talents only, than to *Piso*, who says, there were forty thousands of Silver set apart to that use: for such a sum of Money was not to be expected out of the spoils of any one City, besides, that it exceeded the magnificence even of any, nay, even of that Foundation.

LVI. Being intent to perfect this Temple, he sent for Workmen from all parts of *Etruria*, and did not only make use of the publick Stock, to that end, but of the common People too, for Labourers; who, though they had great additional Impositions, in point of Military Affairs, yet they did not grudge to build the Temples of the gods, with their own hands. But they were afterwards drawn into other Tasks, which, though they seemed less, required greater pains; that is to say, to make Partitions in the *Circus*, [or place of Games and Exercise] and a great Common-sewer under Ground, to be a receptacle for all the filth in the City: to which two Works, this new Magnificence of his could hardly find any thing to compare. The common People being exercised by these Labours, he, thinking the Multitude, if they were

were not employed, would be a burthen to the City, and being desirous to enlarge the Bounds of the Empire, by sending Colonies out of it, he sent one to *Signia* and *Circeii*, to be a future security to the City, both by Sea and Land. While he was thus employed, a terrible portent appeared to him, and that was, a Snake crawling out of a Wooden Pillar, which putting him into a fright, made him run into the Palace, but did not astonish him so much with sudden fear, as it filled his Breast with anxious thoughts. Therefore, though the *Etrurian* Diviners only were made use of, in case of publick Prodigies, he sent this, as being a private Wonder, to *Delpbos*, to the most famous Oracle upon the face of the whole Earth: nor daring to commit the trust of the answer to any other, he sent his two Sons, through Lands unknown at that time, and Seas much stranger, into *Greece*. Their Names that went, were *Titus* and *Aruns*, who had for their Companion, *Lucius Junius Brutus*, Son to *Tarquinius*, the Kings Sister, a young man of a quite different temper, from what he seemed. He having heard that the chief men of the City were murdered by his Uncle, and that his Brother was one, resolved to give the King no occasion of fear, from any designs of his, nor any reason to cover his fortune, but to be safe, by being contemned, since there was little security in Law and Justice. He therefore industriously feigned himself a Fool, and permitting the King to dispose of his Person and Estate as he thought fit, he did not refuse even the Surname of *Brutus*; [that is, foolish or sottish] to the end, that under the covert of that Surname, his latent Soul which, once, was like to be the deliverer of the *Roman* People, might in due time shew it self. He therefore, at that time, being taken to *Delpbi*, along with the *Tarquinius*, for a Laughing-stock, more than a Companion; ('tis said) he carried a Golden Staff, enclosed in one of Cornel-wood, which was hollowed for that purpose, as a present to *Apollo*, which was an Emblem of his own Ingenuity. Where, when they came, having executed their Fathers Commands, the young men were very desirous to know, *To which of them the Roman Kingdom should fall: whereupon* (they say) there came a Voice out of the bottom of the Cave, saying, *He among you three shall have the chief Dominion at Rome, who gives his Mother the first kiss.* The *Tarquinius*, to the end that *Sextus*, who was left at *Rome*, might not know the Answer, and so be deprived of the Empire, commanded it to be kept with all secrecy imaginable; and drew Lots among themselves, which of them, when they came to *Rome*, should first kiss his Mother. But *Brutus* imagining that the Oracle had some other meaning, pretended to fall down by chance, and kissed the Earth; for that, he considered, was the common Mother of all men living. Then they came back to *Rome*, where there were very great preparations making against the *Rutuli*.

The *Rutuli* were then possessed of *Ardea*, being a People, who, considering that LVII. Country and that Age were very rich, which was indeed the very cause of that War; for the King of *Rome* desired not only to enrich himself, being now Exhausted by his Magnificence in publick Works, but endeavoured likewise, with Spoils and Plunder, to engage the Affections of his Country-men, who, besides their insolence, were also very uneasie, and took it mighty ill, that their King should keep them so long in the servile Employments of Masons and Carpenters. They tried first to take *Ardea*, by a sudden Onset, but that not succeeding, Attacked the Enemies by Siege and Counter-works. In that Campaign (as it is more usual in a long than a sharp War) they had liberty enough of passing to and fro, but the Officers more than the common Soldiers. The Kings Sons and Kinsmen did often spend their time in Feasting and Treating one another, and as they were Drinking with *Sextus Tarquinius*, where *Collatinus Tarquinius*, the Son of *Egerius*, then also supped, there happened a Discourse concerning their Wives, upon which, each man most wonderfully praised his own, and thence a quarrel arising, *Collatinus* said, *It was in vain to talk, since it might easily be known, and in a short time, how much his Lucretia excelled the rest; wherefore, if you have any vigour in you, let us mount our Horses, and go see with our own eyes, what kind of Women our Wives are; and that shall be the Test, which occurs to each man upon his sudden arrival.* They were all heated with Wine, and therefore cried, *Come on, 'tis agreed; and so Galloped to Rome: whither when they came, about the edg of night, they went forward thence to Collatia; where they found Lucretia, not like the rest of the Kings Daughters-in-law, whom they saw spending their time with their Equals in Banqueting and Luxury, but sitting late at night in the middle of her House amongst her Maids a spinning. Whereupon, Lucretia was most commended, who received her Husband and the *Tarquinius* very kindly, and her Husband who was the Victor in that Controversie, very courteously invited the Royal Youths to Supper: at which time, *Sextus Tarquinius* was seized with a lustful desire to Ravish *Lucretia*, being incited both by her Beauty and known Chastity; and when they had ended their Juvenile Pastimes for that Night, they returned to the Camp.*

Some few days after, *Sextus Tarquinius*, without the privy of *Collatinus*, took one Com- LVIII. panion only with him, and came to *Collatia*; where being received very kindly by them who knew nothing of his Design, when, after Supper, he was conducted into his Lodging Chamber, being inflamed with Love, as soon as he thought all things secure enough, and every body fast asleep, he came, with his Sword drawn, to *Lucretias* Bed-side, and laying his left hand upon her Breast, *Lucretia* (said he) *hold your tongue, I am Sextus Tarquinius, and I have*

have my Sword in my hand; if you speak one word you shall die. The Woman being frighted out of her sleep, and seeing Death so nigh, without any hopes of relief, Tarquinius began to tell her how he loved her, to intreat her, and to mix menaces with his intreaties, and endeavoured to persuade her by all manner of means. But when he saw her obstinate, and that she could not be prevailed upon, even by the fear of Death, he added disgrace to fear, and told her, He would stab a Slave, and lay him naked by her when she was dead, so that a report should be raised, how she was killed in the very Act of such sordid Adultery. By which terror, when his prevailing Lust had overcome her obstinate Chastity, and Tarquin having conquered the honour of a Woman, was gone to Rome, Lucretia being very sad upon such a dismal occasion, sent the same Messenger to Rome to her Father, and to Ardea to her Husband, to desire them, that they would come thither each of them with a trusty friend, and that with speed too, for a grievous accident had befallen her. Sp. Lucretius came with P. Valerius the Son of Volesus, and Collatinus with L. Junius Brutus, in whose Company, as he was accidentally coming back to Rome, he was met by his Wives Messenger. They found Lucretia sitting very pensive in her Chamber, and their coming made her break out into tears. Her Husband asked her, Art thou not well, my Dear? No, (said she) How can a Woman be well that has lost her Chastity? there are yet the signs of another man, Collatinus, in thy Bed: but my Body only is violated, and my mind guiltless, of which my Death shall be a witness: but give me your hands and your promises, that the Adulterer shall not escape unpunished. Sextus Tarquinius is the man, who like an Enemy, instead of a Guest, the last night came Armed to my Bed, and thence forced pleasures, which, if you are men, will prove as fatal to him as me. They all, one after another, gave her their words; comforting her grieved heart, and turning the guilt from her who was compelled, upon him who was the Author of the Crime; and telling her, That her Mind, not her Body could only commit the offence, and where there was no consent, there could be no fault. Do you (said she) consider what he deserves; though I absolve my self from the Crime, I will not be free from the Punishment; nor shall any unchaste Woman live to say, Lucretia was her Example. With that, she took a knife which she had got under her Garment, and stuck it into her heart, and falling forwards upon her Wound, dropt down Dead; at which her Husband and her Father set up a loud cry.

LIX.

Brutus, whilst they were full of grief, drew forth the bloody knife out of Lucretias Wound, and said, I swear, by this Blood, which was so chaste before the King stained it, and you, ye gods, I take to witness it, that I will cut off L. Tarquinius Superbus, his wicked Wife and all his Children, with Sword, Fire, or any other violent means that I can; nor will I suffer either them, or any other, from this time forward, to be King of Rome. Then he delivered the knife to Collatinus, and after that, to Lucretius and Valerius, who wondered to see that Brutus's disposition should be so suddenly altered: wherefore they swore, as he had done before them; and being wholly turned from Lamentation to Fury, immediately followed Brutus, who incited them to go and extirpate Kingly Government. They carried the Body of Lucretia out of the House into the Market-place; where they stirred up the People (as it usually happens) at the sight and indignity of such a strange Action, and every one complained of the Kings outrage and violence, nor did her Father's Lamentations only move them, but Brutus restraining their tears and vain complaints, persuaded them to do what became men and Romans, by taking up Arms against the common Enemy. Immediately each brisk young man came voluntarily in, ready Armed, whom the rest of the Youth soon after followed; and then, having left a sufficient Guard upon the Gates of Collatia, and planted Sentinels, so that no body could come out to tell the news of that Insurrection to the King, the rest went armed after Brutus to Rome, where when they arrived, they being in Arms, put the People into dread and tumult where-ever they went; for they seeing the chief of the City in the head of them, thought, that whatever the matter was, it was no rash Attempt. Nor did that heinous fact create less disturbance at Rome, than it had done at Collatia. Wherefore the People ran from all parts of the City into the Market-place, where they were no sooner come, but the Crier summoned the People to appear before the Tribune of the Celeres, [or Light Horsemen, who were the Kings Guard, which Office Brutus at that time happened to bear.] Then he made an Oration, which shewed much sense and ingenuity beyond what he to that time had pretended to, Concerning the Violence and Lust of Sextus Tarquinius, concerning the horrid Rape and miserable Death of Lucretia, concerning the loss of Tricipitinus [or Lucretius] who was more concerned and sorrowful for the cause of it, than for the Death of his Daughter. Then he inveighed against the pride of the King, together with the miseries and slavery of the People, who were even drowned, to cleanse Ditches and Common-sewers; and aggravated the matter, with this circumstance also, that the Romans, who were Conquerors of all the Nations round about them, should be made Artificers and Stone-cutters, instead of Warriors. After which, he remembered the base murder of King Servius Tullius, and his Daughters cursed act of driving over her Fathers dead Body, with an invocation of the gods, that used to revenge Impiety to Parents. Having said thus, and other things much worse (I suppose) which the present Barbarity made it difficult for Writers to relate, he induced the incensed Multitude to abrogate the Kings Power, and to Banish L. Tarquinius, with his Wife and Children; whilst he himself, with the younger men that he had chosen out and Armed, as Volunteers, went to Ardea to the Camp to raise the Army there

there against the King; leaving the Government of the City to Lucretius, who was then Prefect of it by the Kings Commission. Amidst this tumult, Tullia left her House, on whom both Men and Women heaped Curses where-soever she went, invoking the Furies that punish Children for disrespect to Parents.

When the Camp had notice of these things, the King was much concerned, and went to Rome to repress those Insurrections there; and therefore Brutus (who was sensible of his coming) lest he should meet him, went another way about the same time, Brutus to Ardea, and Tarquinius to Rome. The Gates were shut against Tarquinius, and his Banishment proclaimed; whilst the rejoicing Camp received Brutus as the Deliverer of the City, expelling thence the Kings Children; of whom, two followed their Father, and went into Banishment to Cære, a Town in Etruria. Sextus Tarquinius going to Gabii as into his own Kingdom, was killed by certain men, who had a mind to revenge the ancient quarrels, which he himself, by Slaughter and Rapine had been the Author of. L. Tarquinius Superbus Reigned five and twenty years, and the Reign of Kings of Rome, from the time the City was built, to the deliverance of it, continued two hundred and forty four years: at which time, two Consuls were Created in the Assembly, called, Comitia Centuriata [or an Assembly wherein every man gave his suffrage *viva voce* in the Century that he belonged to,] by the Prefect of the City according to the method that Servius Tullius had prescribed, whose names were, L. Junius Brutus and L. Tarquinius Collatinus.

LX.

## DECADE I. BOOK II.

## E P I T O M E.

1. Brutus obliged the People by an Oath, not to suffer any of the Tarquins to Reign at Rome, 2. He suspected his Colleague Collatinus by reason of the Affinity that was between him and the Tarquins, and therefore compelled him, not only to lay down his Consulship, but quit the City too. 3. He ordered the Kings Family to be plundered, and consecrated that Field to Mars, which was called Campus Martius [or the Field of Mars.] He beheaded several Noble Youth, among which, were some even of his own and his Sisters Sons, for conspiring to bring in Kings again; giving his Slave, whose Name was Vindicius, his Liberty, for Discovering it: from whose Name, the word Vindicta (made use of in the manumission or freeing of a Slave) was derived. 4. Having led an Army against the Royal Party, who had raised the Veians and the Tarquinius to make a War, he died in the Field at the same time with Aruns, the Son of Superbus; and the Matrons mourned for him a whole year. 5. P. Valerius being Consul, he made a Law concerning an Appeal to the People. The Capital was Dedicated. 6. Porcena, King of Clusium, having undertaken a War in the Defence of the Tarquinius, and come as far as Janiculum [the Southward of Rome,] was hindered from passing the Tiber, by the Valour of Horatius Cocles; who, whilst others cut down the Wooden Bridge, alone endured the shock of the Etrurians: and when the Bridge was broken, throwing himself all Armed into the River, swam over to his Party. 7. There was another example of great constancy shewn by Mucius, who, having entered the Enemies Camp with a Design to kill Porcena, but murdering a Secretary, whom he mistook for the King, and being laid hold on, laid his hand upon an Altar, where they had just sacrificed, and beld it there 'till 'twas burnt off: saying, that there were three hundred Conspirators in a Design to murder the King, at which Porcena was so amazed, that his fear forced him to make conditions of Peace, to lay down his Arms and receive Hostages. 8. Amongst whom, one Cloelia, a Virgin, having stolen from her Keepers, swam over the Tiber to the Romans, and being brought back again to Porcena, was honourably sent home, and graced with a Statue of her self on Horseback. 9. Ap. Claudius fled from the Sabines to Rome; and thence came the Tribe called Tribus Claudia. The number of the Tribes was enlarged, so as to make them one and twenty. 10. A. Postumius, the Dictator, fought with success, near the Lake called Lacus Regillus, against Tarquinius Superbus, who made War with an Army of the Latins. 11. The Common People, who had separated themselves into the Mount, called Mons Sacer, for the sake of some who were in Prison for Debt, were recalled from their Sedition by the Counsel of Menenius Agrippa. The same Agrippa, when he died, was, by reason of his poverty, buried at the publick Charge. 12. Five Tribunes of the People were Created. A Town belonging to the Volci, called Corioli, was taken by the Valour and Conduct of C. Marcus, who, for that reason, was called Coriolanus. 13. Tib. Atinius, a mean man, having been admonished by an Apparition, to advise the Senate concerning certain Religious Duties, but neglected the same, lest his Son, and grew a Cripple; but being carried to the Senate in a Litter, and having told them what he had to say, recovered the use of his feet, and walked home. 14. When C. Marcus Coriolanus, who had been Banished, was made General of the Volci, and had brought an Army of the Enemies near to the City of Rome, there were Embassadors first sent to him; after whom, when the Priests had in vain desired of him not to retire. 15. The Law, called Lex Agraria [i.e. concerning the Division of Lands] was first made. Sp. Cassius, a Consuls fellow, was Condemned for Treason, and put to Death. 16. Oppia, a Vestal Virgin, was burnt alive for Incest. 17. When their Neighbouring Foes, the Veians, became more troublesome than intolerable, the Family of the Fabii desired to have the management of that War; and sent to it three hundred and six Soldiers, who were every one of them killed by the Enemy at Cremera, having left at home only one Lad who was not then of Age. 18. Ap. Claudius being Consul, and having, through the Contumacy of his Army, lost a Battel against Volci, knocked every tenth Man of his own Soldiers on the head with a Club. 19. Shows the Transactions against the Volci, the Aequi and the Veians; together with the Seditions between the Senate and the People.

I. **I** Come now to shew you what the Roman People, who from this time were at Liberty, did both in Peace and War, together with their Annual Magistrates, and the force of their Laws, which were more powerful than any strength of Men. Which Liberty of theirs grew the more pleasant by their reflection on the pride of their last King. For the former Kings governed so, that they deserved successively to be reckoned as Founders of the several parts of that new City, which they themselves added by way of augmentation to it, for their increasing Multitude to dwell in: nor is it to be doubted, but that same Brutus, who won so much Glory by expelling King Superbus, would have done the Publick the greatest mischief imaginable, if, through a too hasty desire of Liberty, he had extorted the Scepter from any of the former Kings. For what was like to come of it, if that crowd of Shepherds and Strangers that came thither from their own Countries, having gained either their Liberty, or, at least, impunity, under the refuge of an inviolable Sanctuary; and being freed from the fear of Kings, had then been moved and instigated by the Seditious Tribunes of the People? and in a strange City had begun to sow strife between the People and the Senate, before the endearments of Wives and Children and the love of that soil, to which, by Tract of time, Men grow accustomed, had united their affections. For the State of things, which was but in its infancy, would have been ruined by Discord; which yet the calm moderation of Government cherished, and by due nursing of it, brought to that pass, that they now come to their full strength, could well bear the stronger nutriment of Liberty. But you may reckon the original of that Liberty more from the Consulships being made, and Annual Government, than that any thing was diminished from Kingly Power. For the first Consuls retained all the Prerogatives and all the Badges of Royal State; only this one thing they were cautious of, not to have both of them Fasces [or bundles of Rods] carried before them, lest the terror of the People might be doubled. Brutus, by the consent of his Colleague, had first the Fasces; and did not with more earnestness regain, than he afterwards preserved their Liberty. In the first place, he made the People more covetous of their new Liberty (lest they should afterwards be persuaded by the entreaties, or corrupted by the gifts of the late King) to swear that they would never suffer any one to Reign as King of Rome. Whereupon, that he might make the Senate stronger, by making their order more numerous, which had been lessened by those many slaughters which the King had made amongst them, he chose all the chief of the *Gradus Equestris* [or Knightly Order] into them, which made their number up three hundred; and thence (they say) came the custom and form of calling them into the Senate by distinct appellations, of *Patres* and *Conscripti* [i. e. such as had been Senators before, as that were newly chosen in,] for such, as were then Elected into the Senate, were called, *Conscripti*, [i. e. whose Names were written in the same Catalogue with the former.] 'Tis very strange to tell how that conduced to the Concord of the City, and to unite the Peoples affections to the Senate.

II. After that, they regulated things Divine; and because some publick Holy Rites were used to be performed by the Kings themselves, lest the People should desire a King again, to satisfy them in the Name, they made a Religious Minister, called *Rex Sacrificalis* [or the Petit King of the Sacrifices,] but made him subject to the *Pontifex*, lest, his having Honour proportionable to his Name, might detract something from the publick Liberty, to which, they, at that time, had the greatest regard. And indeed, I cannot tell, whether by their extraordinary care to confirm it, even in the most inconsiderable respects, they did not exceed the bounds of prudence; for when nothing else offended them, the very Name of one of the Consuls was hateful to the whole City. For they said, *That the Tarquins had been too long possessed of that Kingdom; of whom Priscus was the first, and that though after him, Servius Tullius was King, yet Tarquinius Superbus did not forget himself in the mean time, or lay down his pretensions to the Crown, as if it were the right of another; but by force and ill means sought to regain it, as being the inheritance of his Family. That now, since they had expelled Superbus, the Sovereign Power remained in Collatinus [who was also a Tarquin] That the Tarquins could not endure to live a private life. That they hated the very name, inasmuch as it was dangerous to their Liberty.* This kind of Discourse was spread by degrees all over the City, to try how People stood affected; and Brutus seeing the People so full of suspicion, summoned them to an Assembly. In which, he first of all recited the Oath which the People had taken, that they would suffer no man to Reign, or be at Rome, who should endanger their Liberty. For that was to be their chiefest care, nor could any thing be contemptible that conduced thereunto. That he was unwilling to speak in the mans behalf, nor would he have spoken, unless his love to the Commonwealth had strongly induced him. That the Roman People did not believe they had intirely recovered their Liberty; because there was some of the Kings Family, and of the Kings name, not only in the City, but likewise, in supreme Authority; which they thought, was a diminution and an obstacle to their Liberty. L. Tarquinius (said he) do you voluntarily remove this fear from them. We remember, we must confess, you expelled the Kings: Now therefore to perfect your kindness to the City, take hence the very name of the King; your fellow Citizens will not only deliver you what is your own, and that by my persuasion, but if you lack any thing, will very munificently augment your Estate. Depart then as a friend, and ease the City of their jealousy, though (perchance) it be

groundless;

groundless; for they are verily persuaded, that with the Family of the Tarquins, the Government of Kings will leave this City. The Consul was at first so much surpris'd at that new and sudden Proposal, that he had no power to speak. But, soon after, when he began to utter himself, the Nobility of the City stood about him, and earnestly desired of him the same thing. But indeed all others did not much move him, and he earnestly desired of him the same thing: he owed a deference; and who, besides that, was his Father-in-law, began to treat with him after a different manner, sometimes desiring and sometimes persuading him, that he would suffer himself to be overcome by the consent of the whole City; the Consul, fearing lest afterwards, when he was a private Man, the same things might happen to him, with loss of Goods and other Ignominy to boot, he withdrew himself from the Consulship; and having removed all his Goods to *Lavinium*, left the City. Brutus, by Order of the Senate, prescribed a Law to the People, that all of the Tarquinian Family should be banished; and made P. Valerius Colleague, in the *Comitia Centuriata*, by whose assistance, he had expelled the Kings. When every body believed that the Tarquins were going to Levy War, it happened indeed somewhat later than any body expected, but (what they did not fear) their Liberty was almost lost; through fraud and treachery. There were, among the Roman Youth, some young Men, of good Families, whose manners had been more dissolute and debauched than ordinary, in the time of the King, they being of the same Age and Companions with the young Tarquins, and used to live like Princes; they therefore, at that time, when all People had the same privileges, expecting the same freedom, complained among themselves, that the Liberty of others became their Slavery, and said, *That the King was a Man, of whom you might seek for redress, in a dispute concerning right and wrong; that in him there was room for favour and kindness; that he could be angry, or pleased to pardon, as knowing the difference between a friend and an Enemy. But that the Laws were deaf, inexorable and more for the advantage of a Beggar than a Gentleman, for there is no Latitude left in them, whereby to gain a pardon, if you transgress their bounds; that it was dangerous, amidst so many errors that men are obnoxious to, for a Man to think he could live prosecuted by his own innocence.* Whilest they were thus disturbed in mind, there came Embassadors from the Kings, who made no mention of their return, but only demanded their Estate. Whose Message having been heard in the Senate, there was a Consultation held for some days concerning it; lest, if it were not returned, it might be the cause of a War, or on the other side, if it were, it might be a supply for the carrying of it on. In the mean time, the Embassadors endeavoured several ways to accomplish their Designs, demanding the Estate only, to open view, but privately Consulting how to regain the Kingdom; and as if that were the Design, they went about to engage the affections of the noble young men. By whom their Address was kindly received, and to whom they delivered Letters from the Tarquins, discoursing with them concerning the reception of the Royal Family into the City privately in the night time.

This affair was first committed to the *Vitellii* and *Apulii*, who were Brethren. The Sister of the *Vitellii* was married to Consul Brutus; who had by her, two Sons then of Age, called *Titus* and *Tiberius*, whom their Uncles likewise took for their Assistants in that Consult. But besides them, there were also some of the young Nobility who were conscious of the other Design, taken in, whose Names Antiquity hath obliterated. In the mean time, it having past the Vote of the Senate, that the Estate should be restored, and the Embassadors, having a just pretence for staying in the City all that time, which the Consuls had given them, to prepare Waggon for the carrying of the Kings Goods away, they spent all that interval in consulting with the Conspirators; and, by their importunity, at last, induced them to send Letters to the Tarquins: for how should they otherwise believe, that in such a weighty Affair, the Embassadors did not deceive them? The Letters which they sent, a confirmation of the Embassadors Fidelity, made the thing manifest. For when, the day before the Embassadors were to go to the Tarquins, they happened to sup with the *Vitellii*, where the Conspirators, being all alone, had much Discourse among themselves (as is usual in such cases) concerning their new Design; a Servant overheard them, who had formerly some inkling of it, but expected that occasion, when Letters should be given to the Embassadors, which being seized on, might evince the whole matter. When he knew that they had them, he went and told the Consuls. Whereupon the Consuls going to seize the Embassadors, hushed up the whole matter without any noise; but took the greatest care of the Letters, lest they should be dropt. And though they presently imprisoned the Traytors, yet they made some small doubt, in the case of the Embassadors; for though their fault was so great, that they might be looked upon as publick Enemies, yet the Law of Nations prevailed above that consideration.

But now, the whole matter concerning the Kings Goods which they had formerly ordered to be delivered up, was again debated in the Senate; who being incensed forbad the restoring of them, or that they should be brought out into publick view. Wherefore they were divided among the common People, that they, being, as it were, contaminated with the spoils of the Royal Family, might lose all hopes of ever having Peace with them. A piece of Land belonging to the Tarquins, which lay between the City and the River *Tiber*, was Consecrated to *Mars*, and afterwards called *Campus Martius* [i. e. Mars's Field.] It happened then (as the Report goes) that there was in that Field Wheat growing, which was ripe for the Sickle,

but

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but because it was not lawful to consume the fruit of that Field, a great number of men, who were set to work there, having Reaped it down, threw it, by Baskets full, into the *Tiber*, which was at that time but very low, (as it usually is in the middle of Summer) and therefore the heaps of Corn, being stranded, stuck upon the mud. From whence, by degrees, with other things which the River accidentally brought down to the same place, there was an Island made: to which, I suppose, there were Moles added, and Humane Art used, to make that rising Plain so strong, as to bear even Temples and Porticoes. The Kings Goods being divided among the People, the Traytors were condemned and suffered Punishment; which was the more remarkable, because the Consuls enjoined each Father to inflict it upon his Children, and him who was to have been not so much as a Spectator, fortune now made the Executioner. The Noblest young Men stood bound to a Stake, but the Consuls Children turned the eyes of all People off from the rest, as People of no note, upon themselves, and men were no more sorry for their Punishment than for the Crime by which they deserved it; but lamented very much, that they should design in that year especially to betray their Country which was then delivered, their Father the Deliverer of it, the Consulship raised out of the Family of the *Junii*, the Senate, the People, with all the Gods and Men in Rome, *Superbus*, who though he was formerly their King, was at that time their Enemy, and in Banishment. The Consuls took their places, and the Lictors were sent to inflict the Punishment, who having stript the Offenders, and beaten them with their Rods, smote them with the Ax, whilst their Father all the while turned his face to the crowd, and shewed an eminent love to his Country, even amidst the Execution of that publick Punishment upon his own Children. When the Execution was over, (to make this a signal Example for the deterring People, on both sides, from either acting in or not discovering such wicked Practices) they gave the Informer a Reward in Money out of the publick Treasury, besides his Liberty and the Freedom of the City. He is said to be the first who was freed by the way of *Vindicta*, [i. e. laying a Rod upon the Head of the Party who was to be set at Liberty] and some think also, that the Word *Vindicta* was derived from him, because his name was *Vindicinus*: for after him, it was observed, that those who were so set at Liberty seemed to be received into the freedom of the City.

VI. 6. These things being related, just as they were Acted, *Tarquin* incensed, not only with grief to think that his great hopes were all frustrated, but with hatred and anger too, and seeing that his private Designs were obstructed; thought it the best way to make an open War; and therefore went about to the Cities of *Etruria*, to beg their assistance; but most of all, intreated the *Veians* and *Tarquinians*, That they would not suffer one, who was extracted from themselves, and of the same Blood, to be banished, Neccessitous, and from such great Pomp, which whilst a King he lived in, to Perish (both him and those Youths his Sons) before their eyes: telling them, that other Kings were sent for from strange Countries to Reign at Rome, but that he, who by his Wars augmented the Roman Empire, while he governed, was beaten out by the wicked Conspiracy of his own Kinsmen; that they divided the Kingdom amongst them, because no one of them seemed fit to Reign alone, and made his Goods a common prey to all the People, lest any one of them should be innocent, that he was now a going to regain his Country and his Kingdom; and that he would persecute his ungrateful Country-men. Wherefore, he desired them that they would aid and assist him, to revenge even their old Quarrels too, the killing of so many Legions, and the taking away of their Land from them. These things moved the *Veians*, who were all very eager, at least now they had a Roman for their General, to recover their lost Honour. and make reprisals of what had been taken from them in the Wars. Their Name and their Alliance incited those of *Tarquinius*, to whom it seemed a glorious thing, that Men descended from their City, should be Kings of Rome. Therefore two Armies out of those two Cities marched after *Tarquin*, to re-demand the Kingdom, and make War upon the Romans. When they came into the Roman Territories, the Consuls met the Enemy. *Valerius* led the Foot in a square Body, whilst *Brutus* went before to scout with the Horse. In like manner, the Enemies Horse marched first, Commanded by *Aruns Tarquinius*, the Kings Son, and the King himself came after with the Legions. *Aruns*, as soon as he found, by the Lictors, that the Consul was coming at a great distance, and then more nearly, and certainly knew *Brutus* by his face too, being inflamed with anger, That (cry'd he) is the fellow who drove us out of our Country: see how stately he moves, adorned with our Ensigns: assist, ye gods! who are the Revengers of Injuries done to Kings. With that, he spurred his Horse, and fiercely rode up to him. *Brutus* perceived it was at him that *Aruns* made; wherefore, he thought it fit, for them two, who were the Generals, to begin the Battel; and thereupon, made up with all speed to engage him. They met with such fury, that neither of them, so he did but wound his Enemy, had any regard to the preservation of his own Person; and both of them, being at the same time, by mutual thrusts through their Shields, run into their Body, so that they were fixed to each other by their two Javelins, fell down dead from their Horses. Then also began the Fight between the rest of the Horse; nor was it long before the Foot came up, and there they fought; but the Victory was doubtful, and inclined to neither side. The right Wings on both sides had the better, and the left the worst on it. The *Veians*, who had formerly been often Conquered by the Romans, were Routed and put to Flight; but the *Tarquinians*, a new

new Enemy, did not only stand their Ground, but also drave the Romans off from their Party.

This being the success of that Battel, *Tarquin* and the *Etrurians* were seized with such a terror, that thinking it in vain to stay, both Armies, as well *Veians* as *Tarquinians*, marched in the night time to their several homes. They tell you, of Miracles that were done at the time of this Fight; such as was this, that in the dead of the next Night, there was a mighty voice heard out of the Wood, called, *Sylva Arfia*, and thought to be the voice of the God *Sylvanus*, which spake these Words; That in that Battel there were more *Etrurians*, by one, than Romans slain; and therefore upon the whole Account, the Romans in that Fight had the better. Thereupon, 'tis certain, the Romans marched off as Conquerors, and the *Etrurians* as an Army Defeated. For as soon as it was day, and none of the Enemies appeared in sight, *P. Valerius* the Consul collected the spoils, and returned from thence in Triumph to Rome; where he Celebrated the Funeral of his Colleague, with as much Ceremony as he then could. But the publick sorrow was a far greater Honour to *Brutus*, as being remarkable above all other things, in that the Matrons lamented him a whole year, as he had been their Father; because he was so severe a Revenger of *Lucretias* violated Chastity. After that, the other Consul who survived, instead of being favoured by the People, (whose minds are always mutable) was not only envied, but suspected and accused of a very heinous Crime; for the report went, that he was ambitious of being King, because he did not, in the first place, take another Colleague in the room of *Brutus*, and secondly, because he built him an House upon the top of the Mount *Palatine*, upon the highest part of it, called *Velia*; for there, upon that so well Fortified place, they were told, He would make a Castle which should be Impregnable. These Reports being generally believed by the People, gave the Consul great disturbance; and therefore having summoned the People to Council, he came into the Assembly with the *Fasces* down. That was a sight very grateful to the Multitude, to see the Ensigns of Government lowered in respect to them, and a confession thereby made, that the Majesty and the Power of the People was greater than that of the Consul. As soon as the People were warned to keep silence, the Consul, in a Speech to them, began to set forth the good fortune of his Colleague, that having freed his Country, he died in the bed of Honour, fighting for his Country, with full blown Glory, which had not yet degenerated into envy; whilst he himself survived his Glory, to be suspected and accused, and instead of the Deliverer of his Country, was reckoned as bad as the *Aquilii* or the *Vitellii*. Will you never think (said he) you know any mans vertue so well, as not to suspect it? Could I have believed that I should be thought guilty of a desire to be King, who was the most inveterate Enemy the Kings had? Could I have believed, that though I had lived even in the Castle, in the Capitol, I should have been feared by my fellow Citizens? Does my Credit with you depend upon so small a circumstance? Is your confidence in me so slightly grounded, that you are more concerned, where I am, than what I am? The House of *P. Valerius* (O you Romans!) shall never obstruct your Liberty; but you shall have *Velia* still secured. I will bring my House not only down into the Plain, but I will likewise set it under the Hill, that you may dwell above me, whom you so much suspect: Let those build Houses upon *Velia*, who may be better trusted with your Liberty, than *P. Valerius* is thought to be. With that, he immediately ordered all the Materials of his House to be carried down below *Velia*, and built a House at the bottom of the Hill, in that place where the Temple of *Victory* (called by the Ancients *Vicapota*) now stands.

Thereupon they made Laws, not only to acquit the Consul from the suspicion of his being ambitious to be King, that turned the Tide so much the other way, that they made him even Popular; from whence he came to be Surnamed *Poplicola*. But, before all others, they made the Law concerning the appealing to the People against Magistrates, and Out-lawing any Man, both in his Life and Goods, who should conspire to make himself King. These Laws were grateful to the People, which when he had made by himself, that he alone might gain the favour of the People, he afterwards called an Assembly, to chuse himself a Colleague; *Sp. Lucretius* was created Consul, who being very ancient, and wanting strength to perform all the Duties of a Consul, within a few days Deceased, and *M. Horatius Pulvillus* was put in his place. I do not find, in some ancient Authors, that *Lucretius* was ever Consul, but that *Horatius* immediately succeeded *Brutus*; which, I suppose, was occasioned for that he had signalized his Consulship with no remarkable Action, and therefore it was not taken notice of. The Temple of *Jupiter* in the Capitol was not as yet Dedicated; wherefore, *Valerius* and *Horatius*, being Consuls, cast Lots which of them should Dedicate it; it fell to *Horatius*'s Lot, and in the mean time, *Poplicola* went to the War against the *Veians*. The Relations of *Valerius* were more concerned than they ought to have been, that the Dedication of so famous a Temple should be committed to *Horatius*; and therefore endeavouring, by all means they could, to hinder it, and having in vain tried other ways, they brought an ill Message to him, whilst he had his Hand upon the Post, and was Praying to the gods, that his Son was dead, wherefore, his Family being Contaminated with a dead Corps, he could not Dedicate that Temple. Whether he had so much strength of mind as not to believe it, it is neither certainly related, nor can I well tell; but this is certain, he did not desist from what he was about when the Messenger came, save only, that he ordered the Body to be buried;

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VIII.



buried; but still held the Post, went on with his Prayers, and Dedicated the Temple. These were the Transactions, both at home and abroad, in the first year after the Kings were expelled.

IX. Then P. Valerius was a second time made Consul with Titus Lucretius; and now the Tarquinii had fled to Lar. Porfena King of Clusium; where, mixing advice with entreaties, they desired him, *That he would not suffer them, who were Descended from the Etrurians, of the same Blood and Name, to be put upon such necessities, and Banished: and now especially they begged of him, not to let that growing custom of Deposing Kings, to go unrevenge; that Liberty it self was sweet enough, and that if Kings did not defend their Kingdoms, with as much vigour as Cities desired Liberty, all things would be levelled; the loftiest with the lowest; nor would any thing be high or eminent above others, in any City whatsoever; but Kingdoms would come to an end, which were the most glorious things, known either to the gods or men.* Porfena thinking that at that time there was a King of Rome, and also that the King of Etruria was strong in his Forces, came to Rome with a dreadful Army. Nor were the Senate ever possessed with such a terror, before that time, so strong were the Clusians at that juncture, and the name of Porfena so great. Nor did they only fear their Enemies, but even their own Citizens too, lest the Roman Commonalty, astonished with fear, should re-admit the Royal Family into the City, and accept of Peace, even with slavery. The Senate therefore, upon that occasion, were very kind to the People, taking especial care for Provisions, and sending several Persons, some to the Volsci, and others to Cumæ, to buy Corn. The privileged also of selling Salt, because it was dear, should be put into publick hands, and taken from private Persons; besides that, they freed the People from paying of Freight and Tribute, which they made the rich pay, who were able to bear the burthen of it. For the poor (they said) paid enough to the State, if they bred up their Children; and this Indulgence of the Senate, when the City was afterwards streightened by Siege and Famine, kept it in such Concord, that the lowest, as well as the highest, abhorred the name of King, nor was there any one from that time, who grew so popular by ill Arts, as all the Senate then was, upon the count of their good management.

X. When the Enemy came up, all the Country People removed into the City, which they Fortified with strong Guards; while some part seemed sufficiently fenced with Walls, and others with the Tiber. But the Wooden Bridge did almost afford a passage to the Enemy, had it not been for one Man, whose name was Horatius Cocles; for the fortune of Rome prepared him, that day, as a Bulwark; who being by chance, then posted upon that Bridge, when he saw Janiculum taken at a sudden Attack, from whence, the Enemies ran down as fast as they could, and that the Romans left their Arms, as well as their Ranks, he stop'd them; and calling to witness both gods and men, told them, *That 'twas in vain for them to fly, if their Garison were Deserted, for if they left the Bridge behind them, free for the Enemy to go over, there would soon be more of the Enemies in the Palace and the Capitol, than in Janiculum.* Wherefore, he advised them, that they would break down the Bridge with fire or Sword, or any other violent means; and that he would receive the shock of the Enemy with as much vigour as one man could do. With that, he went to the end of the Bridge, and being remarkable amongst those that fled, for facing about to engage the Enemy, he astonished them to see such a Miracle of Audacity. But shame kept two Persons to be his Assistants, whose names were Sp. Lartius, and Titus Harminius, who were both descended from Noble Families, and renowned for their Achievements. With them, he, for some time, sustained the first storm of the danger, and the most tumultuous part of the Fight. But soon after, he made them also retire to a safe station, when there was but a small part of the Bridge remaining, and those who were cutting it down, recalled them. Then hurling round his baleful eyes upon the Etrurian Commanders, one while he Challenged single Persons, and anon inveighed against all of them together; telling them, *That being the Slaves of proud Kings, and negligent of their own Liberty, they came to destroy that of others.* Thereupon they staid for some time, while one looked upon the other, to begin the Battel. Then shame made the Etrurian Army move; who, setting up a great shout, threw all their Darts upon one single Enemy, which he receiving in his Shield, stood stoutly to it upon the Bridge, from which they endeavoured to force him. But at that instant, the crash of the falling Bridge, and the noise that the Romans made for joy that the work was done, struck such a sudden terror into the Enemies, that it restrained their violence. Then Cocles cried out, *Great Father Tiberinus! I beseech thy Deity, propitiously to receive these Arms and this Soldier into thy River.* With that, being all in Armour, he leaped into the Tiber, through which, though many Darts were thrown upon him, he swam very safe over to his Party; having done an Exploit, that will be more talked of than believed, by all Posterity. The City was very grateful to him for so great an Achievement; and therefore his Statue was set up near the Comitium [or place of publick Assembly,] and he had as much Land given him as he could mark round with a Plough in one day. The Affections also of private men were very eminent amidst his publick honours, for when he was in great necessity, there was no body but gave him something towards House-keeping, though they wanted it themselves.

Porfena

Porfena being repulsed in his first Attempt, and therefore changing all his measures, from a design of Storming, to besieging the City; when he had placed a Guard in Janiculum, himself pitched his Camp in the Plain, and upon the Banks of Tiber. He likewise sent for Ships from all parts, both as a Guard to hinder any Corn from being carried to Rome, and for the convenience of passing his Soldiers over the River in several places, to forage, as occasion should serve. By which means, in a short time, he so infested all the Country about Rome, that not only other things, but even all their Sheep too were driven out of the Fields into the City; neither durst any one drive them without the Gates. But this so great liberty was granted to the Etrurians, not so much of fear as policy. For Valerius the Consul, being intent on the opportunity of surprizing a great many straglers at once, seemed negligent to revenge small injuries, because he kept himself for some greater Action. He therefore, to draw in the Foragers, commands his Soldiers, that the next day they should drive out a great many Sheep, at the Gate called Porta Esquilina, which was most remote from the Enemy, supposing, that the Enemy would come to know of it, because in that time of Siege and Famine, several faithless Slaves had fled the City. And so indeed they did, by the Information of a Renegado: upon which, a great many more of them, in hopes to have all the Prey, pass'd the River. In the mean time P. Valerius ordered Herminius, with a small Party, to make an Ambuscade, at the second Stone [i. e. two Miles off,] in the way that leads to Gabii, and Sp. Lartius, to stand with the nimble young men, at the Gate called Porta Collina, till the Enemy came by; and then to block them up, that they might not return to the River. The other Consul, Titus Lucretius, marched out at the Gate, called Porta Nævina, with some few Companies; whilest Valerius himself led a choice Party down from the Mount, called Mons Caelius, who were the first that appeared to the Enemy. Herminius, when he heard the tumult, made haste from his Ambuscade, and fell upon the Etrurians Rere, whilest their Van was engaged with Valerius. There was a shout set up, and returned both from the right hand and the left; that is to say, from the Gate called Porta Collina on the one side, and that called Nævina on the other. So the Foragers were slain in the middle of the Romans; being neither strong enough to cope with them, nor having any way to escape: and that was the last time that the Etrurians stragled so disorderly into the Roman Territories.

But nevertheless the Siege continued; Corn being very scarce and very dear, and Porfena had some hopes, that by continuing there, he should at last take the City; till Caius Mucius, a Noble Youth, who thought it a disgrace that the Roman People, who though they were Slaves, while they lived under Kingly Government, yet were never Besieged in any War, nor by any Enemy; that the same People, now they were free, should be Besieged by those very Etrurians whose Armies they had so often Routed: he was incensed, and thinking that he ought to revenge that indignity, by some great and bold exploit; he first resolved, of his own accord, to force his way into the Enemies Camp: but fearing lest if he should go without the consent of the Consuls, or the knowledge of any body else, he might possibly be taken by the Roman Centinels, and be brought back as a Run-away, in which case, the present state of the City would make his Accusation the more probable; wherefore he went to the Senate: Fathers (said he) *I have a mind to pass the Tiber, and get, if I can, into the Enemies Camp; not as a Robber, nor to revenge that havock which they have made amongst us; but, if the Gods will give me leave, I design to do a greater exploit.* The Senators approved of his proposal, and therefore, with a Sword hidden under his Garment, he went upon his Enterprize. When he came thither, he stood in a great crowd, near to the Kings Tribunal; where, seeing the Souldiers came to receive their Pay, and that the Secretary who sat by the King in an habit very like him, was mighty busie, with the Soldiers thronging about him; he fearing to ask which was Porfena, lest, by not knowing the King, he might discover who he was; as fortune unluckily would have it, he stabbed the Secretary instead of the King. Then walking off, as far as he could make way through the affrighted Crowd, with his Bloody Weapon in his hand, the People flocked together, upon the noise of it, and the Kings Guards laying hold on him, brought him back. Then being placed before the Kings Tribunal, he, even at that time, amidst so many menaces of fortune, like one to be feared, rather than fearing any thing himself, cried out, *I am a Roman Citizen, and they call me Caius Mucius, wherefore, as an Enemy, I had a mind to kill my Enemy, nor do I desire to avoid my own death, any more than I did to miss killing him.* 'Tis like a Roman, both to do and to suffer great things. Nor was I the only Person that bore that spleen to thee; I have a long Train behind me, of such who desire to do the same glorious Act. Wherefore, prepare thy self, if thou pleasest, against this danger, that thou mayest be ready every hour to fight for thy life; and see thou have both Arms and Men continually at the entrance of thy Palace. We, the Roman Youth, declare this War against thee. Thou needest not fear any formed Army, nor any pitched Battel, for we shall engage with thee only, and that hand to hand. At which, the King being at once enraged and frighted at the danger, commanded, in his fury, that a Fire should be made round about him, unless he would declare presently what snares those were that he had been so tedious in threatening him with; but he cried out, *Look here! to let thee see how little they value their Bodies, who have a prospect of eminent Glory, and with that, he put his right hand into the Fire, that was kindled for Sacrifice.* Which the King seeing him burn, as if he had been

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been distracted, was almost astonished at the sight, leaped from his Throne, and having commanded the young man to be removed from the Altar, cried out, *Get thee gone, for thou hast shewn more enmity to thy self than to me. I would bid thee go on and prosper in thy Courage, if that Courage stood up for my Country. Now, by the right of War, I send thee hence free, untouched and unviolated.* Then Mucius, to return his kindness, told him, *Since you have such a value for Courage, that your Generosity makes me grant what your Menaces could not extort; I must tell you, That three hundred Noble young Romans of us have Conspired to attempt thy Death, in this manner. My turn was first; and the rest, as it shall fall out to be every particular man's Lot, will come one after another, 'till such time as fortune gives them a fair opportunity to destroy thee.*

XIII. Thereupon Mucius was dismissed, who was afterwards Surnamed *Scævola* [or left-handed] from the loss of his right hand, and Embassadors followed him, from *Porfena*, to *Rome*. For that not only the accident of the first danger, in which case, nothing had saved him except the mistake of the Assassinate; but those several Combats which he was like to be engaged in, as long as any of the Conspirators were alive, had so far moved him, that he voluntarily offered Conditions of Peace to the Romans. Among which, it was in vain that he inserted any thing concerning the restoring of the *Tarquinius*, though he was forced to do so, more out of complaisance to them, than that he thought the Romans would grant his request. He obtained the restoration of that Land which the Romans had taken from the *Veians*; and the Romans lay under an absolute necessity of giving Hostages, if they would have the Garrison drawn off from *Faniculum*. *Porfena* having made a Peace upon these Conditions, led his Army from *Faniculum*, and Marched out of the Roman Dominions. The Senate gave *Caius Mucius*, upon the account of his Valour, a Field that lay beyond *Tiber*, which was afterwards called, *Mucia prata* [or Mucius's Meads.] Wherefore, seeing Valour so much esteemed, the Women too were excited to publick Acts of Courage. *Clælia*, a Virgin, being one of the Hostages, when the *Etrurian* Camp was happily pitched not far from the Banks of *Tiber*, got from her Keepers, and in the head of a whole Troop of Virgins, swam over the *Tiber*, amidst the Darts of the Enemy, returning all her Companions safe to their Friends at *Rome*. Which when *Porfena* heard of, he was at first incensed with anger, and sent certain Envoys to *Rome*, to demand his Hostage *Clælia*; for he did not greatly value any of the rest. Then, being wrapt with admiration, he said, *Her Action out-did all the Cocle's and the Mucii; and pretended, how that if his Hostage were not delivered up, he would look upon the League as broken; but if she were, he would send her home again unviolated.* They kept their words on both sides, for the Romans restored the Pledg of Peace, [i. e. *Clælia* and the other Virgins] according to the League; and in the Court of the *Etrurian* King, their Virtue was not only safe guarded, but honoured also. For the King said, he would give *Clælia*, whom he so highly commended, some part of the Hostages to dispose of, and that she should chuse out whom she would of them. When they were all brought forth ('tis said) she chose such as were not yet of Age; which was not only an Act most becoming her Virginity, but also commendable in the opinion of the Hostages themselves; who must needs agree, that those Persons were most fit to be freed from the Enemy, whose tender Age made them most liable to Injuries. When the Peace was renewed, the Romans rewarded that strange Courage in a Woman, with a strange and new sort of Honour; for they set up her Statue, which was a Maid on Horseback, at the top of the Street, called *Via Sacra*, [i. e. the Holy way.]

XIV. Now there is a Custom, very dissonant to the peaceful Retreat of that *Etrurian* King from the City, which was delivered down from our Ancestors, and remains amongst other Solennities, that when Goods are sold that were taken from an Enemy, they are proposed to Sale in the name of King *Porfena*. The Original of which custom must of necessity have been either derived from War, and not omitted in Peace; or have sprung from a milder source than this title pretends, of selling Goods in an Hostile manner. For the next thing that they say, is, that *Porfena*, when he Marched from *Faniculum*, left his Camp well furnished with all sorts of Provisions, which he brought from the Neighbouring fertile Fields of *Etruria*, and gave them freely to the Romans, the City being at that time in great want, by reason of the long Siege which they had laboured under. Wherefore (they likewise tell you) that all those Provisions were sold, (lest, if the People were admitted, they might make havock of them, as Enemies used to do) and were called the Goods of *Porfena*, though the title signifies rather their grateful remembrance of his kindness, than an Auction, or publick Sale of the Kings Fortune, which never was in the disposal of the Roman People. *Porfena* having laid down the War against *Rome*; left his Army should seem to have been brought into those parts to no purpose, sent his Son *Aruns* with part of the Forces to Attack *Aricia* [a City of *Latium*]; which sudden Invasion did at first surprisè the *Aricians*, but they, soon after, sending for Aid both from the *Latins* and from *Cume*, were so far encouraged, that they resolved to fight him in a pitched Battel. Which was no sooner begun, but the *Etrurians* charged so briskly, that at the first effort, they routed the *Aricians*. The *Cuman* Party, using Art against Force, for some small time declined the Fight; but when the Enemy was got a good way before them, and in their full Career, faced about and set upon them in the Rere. By which means, the *Etrurians*, who were now almost Conquerors, were slain in the middle, between the

*Aricians*

*Aricians* in the Front, and the *Cumans* in the Rere: but some few of them having lost their Leader *Aruns*, and having no other nearer Refuge, went to *Rome* unarmed, both with the fortune and guise of suppliants. There they were kindly received and Quartered; and when their Wounds were cured, some of them went home, and told what kindness they had received, though many of them staid at *Rome*, because they found such Hospitality and Love among the Citizens, to whom there was a place assigned for them to dwell in, which they afterwards called *Vicus Tuscus* [or the *Etrurian* Street].

Then *P. Lucretius* and *P. Valerius Poplicola* were the third time made Consuls; and that Year, Embassadors came the last time from *Porfena* about restoring of *Tarquinius* into the Kingdom; to whom the Answer was, that the Senate would send Embassadors to the King, and thereupon immediately all the most Honourable Senators were dispatched away: Not but that they could have given their Answer in short, that the Royal Family should not be re-admitted; nor did they upon that account rather send chosen Senators to him, than give his Embassadors their Answer at *Rome*; but they did it to make a final end of that Proposal, and that since they had mutually received such Obligations from each other, they might not make themselves uneasy; he by desiring that which was against the Liberty of the Roman People, and the Romans, unless they would comply with their own Ruin, by denying his Request, to whom they were unwilling to refuse any thing. That the Roman People lived now, not under a King, but at Liberty, and were resolved to open their Gates rather to an Enemy than a King; for they all wished, that their Liberty and their City might be destroyed together. Wherefore, if he had a mind to preserve *Rome*, they desired him that he would suffer it to enjoy its freedom. The King, overcome with modesty, told them, *Since it is so resolved and determined, I will not importune the Romans any more; nor will I frustrate the Tarquins hopes of Aid, which I cannot lend them. Let them seek another Country to spend their Exile in, whether they have occasion for War or Peace, and not break off my Alliance with you.* To which words, he added deeds that were much kinder; for he restored all the Hostages that he had left, and that Land of the *Veians* which was taken from them, according to a League made at *Faniculum*; whilst, in the mean time, *Tarquinius* despairing to return, went into Banishment to *Tusculum*, to his Son-in-law *Mamilius Octavius*. And thus the Romans made a firm Peace with *Porfena*.

XVI. Then *M. Valerius* and *P. Postumius* were Consuls, in whose Year there was a successful Battel fought against the *Sabines*, for which the Consuls Triumphed. But after that, the *Sabines* made a War with greater Preparations; wherefore in opposition to them, and lest any sudden danger might also arise from *Tusculum* (when, though no open signs of War appeared, yet such a thing was suspected) *P. Valerius* was a fourth time, and *Titus Lucretius* a second time made Consuls. But a Sedition arising among the *Sabines*, between two Factions, who were one for Peace and the other for War, brought over some part of their Forces to the Romans. For *Attius Clausus*, who at *Rome* was afterwards called *Appius Claudius*, being a stickler for Peace, and upon that Account, molested by those that were for a War, he not being strong enough for the adverse Faction, fled from *Regillum* [a Town of the *Sabines*,] with a great Retinue of his Creatures to *Rome*: where they were made free of the City, and had a piece of Land given them beyond the River *Anien*. The old Tribe, formerly instituted by *Servius Tullius*, by the addition of those new People who came out of that place, was called *Tribus Claudia*: and *Appius* being chosen into the Senate, came not long after to have the esteem and honour of the best men among them. The Consuls having Marched with a powerful Army into the Country of the *Sabines*, where they wasted and so destroyed the Enemies strength, that they needed not to fear any War from thence in a long time, they returned with Triumph to *Rome*. *P. Valerius*, who, by the consent of all men, was best skilled in the Arts both of War and Peace, died the next year (when *Menenius Agrippa* and *P. Postumius* were Consuls) with great Glory, but an Estate so small, that it would not defray the Charge of his Funeral; wherefore he was Buried by the Contribution of the People, and the Matrons mourned for him as they did for *Brutus*. In the same Year, two *Latin* Colonies, *Pometia* and *Cora*, Revolted to the *Aurunci*; with whom they went to War, and having Defeated a vast Army, which fiercely opposed the Consuls, at their entrance into those Confines, the whole *Auruncian* War was reduced to *Pometia*. Nor did they abstain from Slaughter more after the Battel, than in it; but there were many more slain than taken, and most of those they did take they killed. Nor did the fury of War contain it self even from the Hostages, who were three hundred in number. And this Year they two Triumphed at *Rome*.

XVII. The next Consuls, who were *Opiter Virginius* and *Sp. Cassius*, Attacked *Pometia*, first, by main force, and then with Mining Galleries and other Works; against whom the *Aurunci*, being now instigated by an implacable hatred, more than any hopes or good opportunity they had, run forth more with Fire than Sword, filling all places with Slaughter and Flames; for having burnt the Galleries, and wounded and slain many of the Enemies, they almost killed one of the Consuls too, who, by reason of a grievous Wound that he received, fell from his Horse; but which of them it was, my Authors do not mention. Then having had such ill success, the Romans returned home and left the Consul amongst many other wounded men, with little hopes of life. But not long after, when their Wounds were Cured, and they had had time to recruit their Army, they made War against *Pometia*, not

only with greater Animosity, but with augmented Forces too; and having mended their *Vinea* [or Galleries] and got the rest of their Preparations in such a readiness, that the Soldiers were ready to scale the Walls, the Town was surrendered. But because the surrender seemed dishonourable, as if it had been taken, the *Auruncian* Nobles were most of them Beheaded, and the meaner sort were sold for Slaves; the Town was demolished, and the Land belonging to it sold. The Consuls Triumphed more for the revenge which they had taken, than for the greatness of the War which they had ended.

XVIII. The next Year *Postumus Cominius* and *Titus Lartius* were Consuls; and that Year, at *Rome*, a Company of *Sabine* young men, having in sport and wantonness forced a company of Whores, there was a great Concourse and a Riot of People occasioned, insomuch that it almost came to a Battel, and from that small beginning, seemed very likely to run into Rebellion. But over and above the fear of a *Latin* War, there was this addition also of danger, that they were sure, thirty several People had Conspired against them by the instigation of *Octavius Mamilius*. Wherefore, the City being much concerned at the apprehension of these great things, they first discourse concerning the making of a Dictator, but it does not appear what Year he was made in, nor who were Consuls at that time, (for those of that Year, being of the *Tarquian* Faction, as the Story likewise goes, were not thought fit to be trusted) nor who was first made Dictator. But I find in the most ancient Authors, that *Titus Lartius* was first Created Dictator, and *Sp. Cassius* Master of the Horse. Men of Consular Dignity only were concerned in the choice, for so the Law, regulating the choice of a Dictator, ordained. I am more induced to believe, that *Lartius*, who was a Consuls fellow, was chosen into this Office, rather than *Manius Valerius*, the Son of *Marcus* and Grandson of *Volesius*, who never had been Consul, and therefore was unfit to be a Moderator or Guide to Consuls; who if they had had a mind that a Dictator should have been chosen out of that Family, would much rather have pitched upon the Father, *Marcus Valerius*, who was a man of known virtue, and had been Consul. When therefore the Dictator was first Created at *Rome*, and they saw the Axes carried before him, the People were much affrighted, and thereby grew very careful to obey him. For he had not, as the Consuls, whose Power was equal, the help of any other, nor was there any Appeal from him, or any redress in any case, save from their care of doing what he ordered. The *Sabines* also were in great fear, when they heard that a Dictator was chosen at *Rome*; and that, so much the more, because they believed him Created upon their Account. Wherefore they sent Embassadors for Peace; who desiring the Dictator and the Senate to pardon the error of a company of young men, had this answer returned them, that it was possible to pardon young men, but not old ones, who raised one War out of another; but nevertheless they had a Treaty concerning Peace, which had been granted, if the *Sabines* had been willing to pay what the War cost them. Thereupon they declared War, but a silent Truce kept all that Year in Peace.

XIX. Then *Servius Sulpicius* and *Manius Tullus* were Consuls, but did nothing worth the speaking of; being succeeded by *T. Aebutius* and *Caius Viturius*: in whose time, *Fidenæ* was besieged, *Crustumia* taken, and *Præneste* revolted from the *Latins* to the *Romans*. Nor was the *Latin* War, which had now raged for several years, any longer carried on. *Aulus Postumius* the Dictator, and *T. Aebutius*, who was Master of the Horse, going with a great Army of Horse and Foot, to the Lake called *Lacus Regillus*, in the Confines of *Tusculum*, met a Party of the Enemies: and because they heard that the *Tarquins* were in the *Latin* Army, they were so enraged, that they must needs fall to fighting without any farther delay. By which means, that Battel was something more fierce and bloody than any of the rest. For the chief Officers were there, not only to give Command, but they also Combated each other in their own Persons; nor did scarce any of the Nobility Retreat out of either Army without a Wound, except the *Roman* Dictator. *Tarquinius Superbus*, though he was now very ancient and weak, rode up very eagerly to charge *Postumius*, who was encouraging his men, and setting them in Rank and File at the Head of his Army. In which Engagement, *Tarquinius* was wounded in the side, but by the help of his own men, who came in to his Assistance, was carried safe off. In the mean time, *Aebutius*, Master of the Horse, Charged *Octavius Mamilius* in the other Wing; who was aware of his coming, and rode up briskly to him, meeting with such force, that *Mamilius* with his Spear ran *Aebutius* through the Arm, and *Aebutius* him into the Breast. The *Latins* took *Mamilius* into the main Body of the Army; and *Aebutius*, not being able to hold any Weapon with his lame Arm, went out of the Field. The *Latin* General being no way dismayed at his Wound, encouraged his men to fight; but because he saw them dejected, he sent for a Party of Banished *Romans*, Commanded by *Lucius Tarquinius*'s Son; and they, because they fought with greater fury, upon the account of their Goods which had been taken from them, and their Country, out of which they were expelled; did for some time renew the fight.

XX. When the *Romans* began now to Retreat from that side, *M. Valerius* the Brother of *Poplicola*, seeing young *Tarquin* very brisk, and vaunting himself in the head of his Exiled Troop, was fired with Domestick Glory, and thought to make those Kings, who by their being expelled, were the honour of the *Valerian* Family, to add a new Ornament thereto by their

their Death; wherefore, setting spurs to his Horse, he threw a sharp Dart at *Tarquinius*, who retired from his furious Enemy into the midst of his men. But as *Valerius* was rashly Charging this Party of Banished Persons, some Soldier or other came on one side of him and ran him through: whereupon, his Horse not staying, though his Rider was wounded, the *Roman* fell down to the ground, with his Shield and Spear upon his Body. *Postumius*, the Dictator, observing that such a Person was fallen, that the Banished People Charged very fiercely, and that his own men, being dismayed, gave way; commanded his own Troop, which he had about him as the Guard of his Body, that whomsoever of his Soldiers they should see running away, they should reckon as an Enemy: by which means, the *Romans* being through doubtful fear turned back from flight, and facing the Enemy, the Army Rallied. Then the Dictator's Troop first entered the Battel; who being fresh men, and of good Courage, set upon the Banished Persons, who were now tired, and slew them. Then there arose another Conflict between the Commanders; the *Latin* General, when he saw the Party of the Banished Persons almost surrounded by the *Roman* Dictator, immediately drew forth certain Companies out of the Reserve, which lay in the Rere, into the Front of the Army, whom *T. Herminius*, the Lieutenant, espying as they came, Ranged in good Order, and knowing *Mamilius* amongst them, who was remarkable for his Garment and his Arms, he Charged up to him, with so much greater force than the Master of the Horse, who had a little before Engaged the General of the Enemies, that he not only killed *Mamilius*, with a Wound that he made in his side at one blow, but was himself also, whilst he Riffled the Enemies Body, run through with a Javelin; and, when he was carried as Victor into the Camp, expired upon the first dressing of his Wound. Then the Dictator made haste up to the Horse, beseeching them, that, now the Foot were tired, they would alight and take their places. They complied with his Request, and Dismounting, made all the speed they could into the Head of the Army, where they stood with their Shields in the room of the *Antesignani* [or such Soldiers as stood before the Colours.] Upon that, the Foot immediately recovered their Courage, when they saw the young Nobility in the same manner with themselves sustaining part of the danger: and then, the *Latins* being Shocked, their Army was dismayed, and began to Retreat. Which when the *Romans* saw, the Horsemen mounted again the better to pursue the Enemy, and the Foot followed them. At that time, the Dictator omitting nothing, either Divine or Humane, that might be for their Assistance, and therefore, is said, to have resolved to Dedicate a Temple to *Castor*, and to have proposed rewards to such of his Soldiers, as should be the first or second that entered the Enemies Camp. Which so much animated them, that at the same instant in which they Routed the Enemy, the *Romans* possessed themselves of their Camp. This was the success of the Battel at the Lake called *Lacus Regillus*; from whence, the Dictator and the Master of the Horse returned with Triumph into the City.

For three Years after that, they had not either certain Peace or War. XXI. *T. Lartius* were Consuls; and after them *A. Sempronius* and *M. Minucius*; in whose time, a Temple was Dedicated to *Saturn*, and an Holy-day, called *Saturnalia* [or the Feast of *Saturn*] was then instituted. After that, *A. Postumius* and *T. Virginus* were made Consuls; and I find some Authors say, the Battel of the Lake *Regillus* was fought in this Year; as also, that *A. Postumius*, because his Colleague was a man not to be trusted, withdrew himself from the Consulship, being afterwards made Dictator. There are such errors in the account of time, and such difference in the series of their Magistrates, which several Authors have made, that a man cannot tell what Consuls were then in Office, nor what was done in each Year, it is so long ago; and things, as well as Authors, are so confounded. Then *Appius Claudius* and *Publius Servilius* were made Consuls; whose Year was very remarkable, for the news of *Tarquinius*'s Death. He died at *Cume*, whither, after the *Latins* were Defeated, he fled to King *Aristodemus*. At that News, the Senate were very much pleased, and so were the People; but the joy of the Senate was too immoderate, and began to insult over the People, whom, till that time, they had endeavoured by all manner of means to oblige. The same Year, *Signia*, a Colony which King *Tarquinius* had Planted, was again supplied with a fresh number of Inhabitants; *Rome* was divided into one and twenty Tribes, and the Temple of *Mercury* was Dedicated upon the Ides of *May*, [i. e. the fifteenth.]

XXII. In the *Latin* War, the *Romans* had neither Peace nor War with the *Volsci*: for the *Volsci* raised Forces to send to the *Latins*, lest the *Roman* Dictator should make too much haste, and the *Romans* on the other side, made what haste they could, lest they should be forced to fight with the *Latins* and the *Volsci* at the same time. At which, the Consuls being enraged, led their Legions into the Country of the *Volsci*; who not fearing that they should be punished for their Designs, were put into a Consternation, by a War which they did not foresee. Wherefore, neglecting their Military Preparations, they gave three hundred Hostages, which were Noble mens Sons of *Cora* and *Pometia*; by which means, the Legions were drawn off without fighting. But not long after, the *Volsci* being eased of their fears, resumed their former Alliance. They also sent Ambassadors all about, to sollicite the *Latins*: but the Defeat which they had lately received at the Lake *Regillus*, possessed the *Latins* with such anger and hatred against any one that should persuade them to take up Arms, that they could not forbear



forbear laying violent hands, even upon the Embassadors themselves. Wherefore they seized upon them, and carrying them to Rome, delivered them to the Consuls; by whom it was declared, that the *Volsi* and the *Hernici* were preparing for a War against the *Romans*. The matters being brought before the Senate, it pleased them so much, that they not only sent back to the *Latins*, six thousand Captives, but also referred the Debate concerning a League, which had been almost always denied to new Magistrates. At which, the *Latins* mightily rejoiced, as being proud to be the Authors of Peace; and upon that account, they afterwards sent a Crown of Gold into the Capitol, for an Offering to *Jupiter*; with which, and the Embassadors that brought it, there came a great Multitude of those Captives that had been sent home: who, going to the Houses of them whom they had formerly served, gave them thanks for their Liberality and Kindness to them in their Calamity, making perpetual Agreements of mutual Friendship and Hospitality among them. For, before this time, the *Latins* were never, both publickly and privately, more nearly Allied to the *Roman Empire*.

## XXIII.

But now not only the *Volsian* War was coming on, but the City it self also, being at variance, was all inflamed with an Intestine hatred between the Senate and the People, which happened mostly upon the account of those who were obliged to work out their Debts. For they murmured, that they who fought abroad for Liberty and Empire, should be Captivated and Oppressed by their own Citizens at home; and said, that the Liberty of the People was more secure in War than in Peace, among their Enemies more than among their fellow Citizens. But that which kindled their Envy, though it increased fast enough of it self, was the signal Calamity of one single Person. That was an ancient man who came into the Forum, with all the marks of hardship that he had suffered under the restraint of his Creditor. His Garments were all squalid and nasty, but his Body in a much worse plight, being pale, and looking as if he were almost starved to Death. Besides which, his Beard and his Hair were grown so long, that they made him look like a Savage: yet he was known with all that Deformity, and the People said, he had been a Commander, commending him also for other Military Achievements, and commiserating him before the Rabble. He also shewed them the Scars in his Body, which were his witnesses of what honourable Fights he had engaged in. And when they asked him how he came to look so ill (a Crowd standing round about him, in manner of an Assembly) he told them, That being a Soldier in the Sabine War, the Country so pillaged, that he not only wanted the Fruits of his Land, but his House was burnt, all his Goods Plundered from him, his Cattel driven away; and at that very Calamitous juncture, a Tribute was imposed, that made him borrow Money: which by Usury rising to a great sum, deprived him first of his Fathers and his Grand-fathers Estate, and then of his other fortunes; till at last, like a Consumption, it seized his very Body, and he was bled by his Creditor, not only into Slavery, but a severe Work-house and a Gail. With that, he shewed them his Back, which was all raw with the fresh marks of those stripes he had received. Which, when they saw and heard, there arose a great Clamor among them; nor did the Tumult now contain it self within the Forum [or Market-place,] but ran immediately through all the City. Whereupon, not only those that were Bound, but such as were free too, came forth from all parts into the Streets, imploring the Assistance of the *Romans* their fellow Citizens. Nor was there any place that wanted a Volunteer for Sedition; but they ran in whole Troops through all the Streets, with Clamors into the Market-place; where some of the Senators that happened to be there, were in great danger of the Multitude. Nor had they escaped, if the Consuls, *P. Servilius* and *Ap. Claudius* had not come speedily in to repress the Tumult. But the Multitude turned even upon them also, and shewing their Bonds, with their other Deformities, said, Those were all that they had deserved, upbraiding them with the several services which they had done in the Wars. Which having done, they required them, with Menaces, rather than like Petitioners, to call a Senate; and they themselves, who were resolved to be Judges and Moderators of that publick Council, stood round about the Court. Some very few of the Senators, that came that way by chance, were got about the Consuls, but the rest, fear kept not only from the Court, but from the Forum also; so that nothing could be done, because the number of the Senators was so small. With that, the Multitude thought they were derided, and put off with idle delays; and that the Senators who were absent, did not stay away by chance, or for fear, but to obstruct the present affair, yea, the Consuls themselves prævaricated; nor did they question, but their miseries pleased them. And now, the very Majesty of the Consuls could hardly restrain the fury of the People; when being uncertain, whether by staying or coming, they should incur most danger: at length, they came into the Senate, and in a full Assembly, had a long Debate, not only between the Senators, but even the Consuls themselves. *Appius*, a man of a violent Spirit, thought the matter might be best composed by the Absolute Authority of the Consuls, and that if one or two of them were laid hold on, the rest would be quiet. But *Servilius*, who was more inclined to use gentle Remedies, supposed it more secure, as well as more easie, to bend, than to break their stubborn mind.

## XXIV.

Amidst this Tumult, another far greater terror surprized them; for the *Latin* Horse came with a frightful Message, that the *Volsi* were a coming with a great Army to Attack the City. Which News (so far had Discord divided the City into two instead of one) made an impression upon the Senators, to what it did upon the People. For the People leaped for joy, and

and said, That the gods were come to revenge the pride of the Senators. In which, one of them confirmed another, with persuasions, Not to lift themselves for the War; but to die with the whole City, rather than perish alone: to let the Senators fight and take up Arms, that they might undergo the dangers of War, who had the reward of it. In the mean time, the Senate being much concerned, and trembling for fear, as well of their own Citizens as of the Enemy, desired *Servilius* the Consul, who was of a more popular disposition, to free the Commonwealth from those Terrors with which it was now circumvented. Then, the Consul, having dismissed the Senate, came forth into the Assembly of the People; where he shewed them, What care the Senate had taken of the Peoples welfare; but that amidst their deliberation concerning that, which was indeed the greatest part, though but a part of the City, they were surprized with fear, upon the account of the whole Commonwealth; nor could they, when the Enemy was so near their Gates, think of any thing before a War: nor, if they should give the People any relief, would it either become them to refuse the taking up Arms for their Country, because they did not first receive their reward, or would it agree with the honour of the Senate, to be forced by fear, to remedy the Calamities of their fellow Citizens, so much as afterwards it would, upon their own free will. Then, by an Edict, he put an end to the Assembly, by which Edict, he commanded, That no man should keep a Roman Citizen in Bonds or Restraint, so as to hinder him from giving his Name to the Consul. That no one should take or sell the Goods of any Soldier, so long as he was in the Camp, or detain his Children or Grand-children. This Edict being Proclaimed, not only those Debtors who were present, immediately gave their Names, but they flocked from all private corners of the City (now that their Creditors had now Power to detain them) into the Forum, to take the Military Oath. And indeed they made a great Party; nor was the Valour and Industry of any other, besides these, more eminent, in the War against the *Volsi*. Wherefore the Consul drew forth his Forces, and pitched his Camp at a small distance from them.

The next night, the *Volsi* relying upon the Roman Discord, attacked the Camp, to try if any of them would come over, or betray it to them in the night time. The Sentinels perceived them coming, and gave notice to the Army, who were presently Alarmed, so that the Attempt of the *Volsi* was to no purpose. The rest of the night both sides lay still; but the next morning, as soon as 'twas morning, the *Volsi* having filled the Trenches, Invaded the Rampier. And now they were pulling down the Fortifications on every side, when the Consul (though all the Army, and the Debtors especially, called out upon him to give the Signal) delayed for some small time, to try the Soldiers Inclinations; but when he saw they were mighty eager upon it, at last, having made a sign for them to Sally forth, he sent them out with violent appetites to the Battel. The Enemies were Defeated upon the first Attack; and as they ran away, their Rere was cut in pieces as far as the Foot could follow them; but the Horse drove the frightened Creatures even to their Camp. Thereupon, the Camp it self, being surrounded with the Legions, (now that the fear had driven the *Volsi* from thence also) was taken and Plundered. The next day, the Legions were drawn to *Suessa Pometia*, whither the Enemies were fled, which Town, within a few days, was taken and given to the Soldiers as free Plunder. By that means, the needy Soldiers were in some measure recruited; and the Consul, to his great Honour, led his Victorious Army back to Rome. In his March home, the Embassadors of the *Ecetrani*, a People dwelling in a famous City of the *Volsi*, fearing their own circumstances, now that *Pometia* was taken, made application to him, and had a Peace granted them, by order of the Senate; but part of their Land was taken from them.

Immediately after that, the *Sabines* put the *Romans* into some small fear, for that was a Tumult more properly than a War. News came by night into the City, that the Sabine Army was come, and had pillaged the Country as far as the River *Anien*, and that all the Villages thereabouts were Plundered and Burnt. Upon which, *A. Postumius*, who had been Dictator in the *Latin* War, was presently sent thither with all the Horse, and Consul *Servilius* followed him with a choice Party of Foot. The Horse enclosed a great many of them as they were stragling about the Fields; nor did the Sabine Legions withstand the Body of Foot when they came up. For a great part of them being tired, not only with Marching, but with the Plunder which they had been employed in, and having filled themselves in the Villages, with good Chear and Wine, had scarce ability enough to run away. The Sabine War, therefore, being first heard of and ended in one and the same night, the next day, in great hopes of Peace with all Nations, Embassadors came to the Senate from the *Aurunci*, and told them, That if they did not depart out of the Dominions of the *Volsi*, they came to declare War against them. With those Embassadors, there came likewise an Army of the *Aurunci*; who, having been seen not far from *Aricia*, put the *Romans* into such a tumult, that neither the Senators could give a fitting Answer to the Consul in due order, nor could the Consuls to the Embassadors, who came to make War; since they themselves were ready to take up Arms. Wherefore they went with a strong Army to *Aricia*, and not far from thence, Engaging with the *Aurunci*, overcame them in that one Battel.

The *Auruncians* being Defeated, the Roman Army, which within a few days had gotten so many Victories, expected the promise of the Consul should be performed by the Senate; but *Appius*, both out of his Native pride, and to falsifie his Colleagues word, was as severe as possi-



bly he could be, in giving Judgment concerning Debts; and thereupon, not only they who had before been in Prison, were delivered to their Creditors, but others also were put into the same condition. Which, as fast as any Soldier had suffered, he Appealed to *Servilius*, to whom they all flocked; Telling him of his promise, and upbraiding him with what each one of them had deserved in the Wars, and the Scars which they had received. They desired him to let the Senate know of it, and that he would not only assist his fellow Citizens, as Consul, but his Soldiers, as their General. This moved the Consul, but he was forced by the necessity of the present Juncture, not to prosecute their Desires, because not only his Colleague was engaged on the other side, but all the Faction of the Nobility too; so that he, by standing Neuter, neither escaped the hatred of the People, nor won the love of the Senate, the later thinking him effeminate and ambitious, and the former, deceitful; whereby it shortly appeared, that he was hated as much as *Appius*. There was a Controversie between the Consuls, which of them should Dedicate the Temple of *Mercury*; for the Senate had left it to the People, and Ordered, that he whom they appointed to Dedicate that Temple, should be *Præfectus Annonæ* [or Steward of the Provisions,] regulate the Company of Merchants, and determine of such and such Solemnity for the *Pontifex* [or High Priest.] But the People committed the Dedication of that Temple to *M. Lætorius*, the eldest Captain of their Army, not so much out of respect to him (for it was a thing very much above him) as out of disrespect to the Consuls. Thereupon *Appius Claudius* and the Senate grew very severe: but the People were the more encouraged, and went to work a far different way from what they first designed. For despairing of any relief from the Consuls and the Senate, when they saw a Debtor haled into Court, they immediately flocked together from all parts; nor could the Decree of the Consul be heard, for noise and clamour, nor when he had made his Decree, did any body obey it, but by reason of the violence which the People used, all the fear and danger was turned from Debtors upon Creditors, since, in the Consuls sight, each one of the latter was set upon by many of the former. Besides this, they were possessed with the fear of a *Sabine War*; in order whereunto, though there were a Levy Decreed, yet no body gave in their Names. At which, *Appius* was enraged and inveighed against the ambition of his Colleague, who, by his popular silence, Betrayed the Commonwealth, and said, that besides his refusing to do Justice to the Creditors, he was unwilling to raise men, though the Senate had so Decreed; yet that the Commonwealth was not totally deserted, nor the Power of the Consuls so little, but that he alone would uphold the Authority and Majesty, not only of his own Place, but of the Senate too. Thereupon, as the Multitude, who behaved themselves very licentious, stood round about the Tribunal, which they daily used to do, he ordered one notorious Ring-leader of the Sedition to be laid hold on: who, as he was haled along by the Lictors, Appealed from the Consul to the People; but the Consul would not have yielded to his Appeal, (because the Judgment of the People was certain to go on his side) had not he been, with much ado, persuaded to it, more by the Counsel and Authority of the Nobility, than by the Clamor of the People: such a high spirit he had to bear and contemn the envy of the People. From that time, the mischief grew greater every day than other; not only with open Clamors, but, which was much worse, by Caballing and secret Conspiracies, till, at last, these Consuls, whom the People hated, went out of their Office; *Servilius* beloved by neither Party, but *Appius* much admired by the Senate.

XXVIII.

Then *A. Virginius* and *T. Veturius* were made Consuls; in whose time, the People being uncertain what kind of men they would prove, had mighty Meetings; some in the *Esquilæ* and some in the *Aventine*, left, when they came into the *Forum*, at any publick Assembly, they might be put to a plunge, and do things hand over head. The Consuls supposing that to be, as it really was, a very pernicious way of proceeding, acquainted the Senate with it; but when it came before them, they could not proceed in their deliberations concerning it, so regularly as they used to do, there was such a tumult and a noise in the House, when the Bill was brought in; for the Senate was very angry, that the Consuls should cast the envy of that which they ought to have executed by their own Authority, upon their House, and told them, That if there were Magistrates in the Commonwealth, there would be no Meetings at Rome, but what were publick; though now the People were dispersed and divided into a thousand Conventicles and Assemblies, some in the *Esquilæ* and some in the *Aventine*; and that one man of resolution (for that was more than a Consul) such as was *Ap. Claudius*, would dissolve those Meetings in a moment. The Consuls being thus chid by the Senate, desired to know what they would have them do, (for they would be as diligent and as Courageous as the Senate would have them) to which the Senate answered, That they should make a strict Levy of Soldiers among the People, for that they grew petulant and unruly, for want of employment. Having adjourned the Senate, the Consuls went up to the Tribunal, where they called over all the younger men by their Names, but no body answered, for the Multitude standing round, in the nature of an Assembly, cried out, They could no longer be deceived; nor should the Consuls ever have one Soldier, unless they performed their publick promise. They must give every man his Liberty, before they should force any Arms upon him, that they might fight for their Country and their fellow Citizens, not for their Lords and Masters. The Consuls saw what the Senate had enjoyed them, but discovered never a one of those who were so brisk within the Walls of the

the Court, to stand by them there, and partake of the envy which they lay under; wherefore they were like to have a cruel tug with the People. For that reason, before they tried the extremity, they resolved once more to consult the Senate: upon which, all the younger part of the Senators ran up to the Consuls Seats, commanding them to lay down their Office, and quit their Authority which they wanted Courage to maintain.

The Consuls having tried both the Senate and the People, at last they told them, Fathers, XXIX. that you may not deny our proposals, we must inform you, that there is a great tumult; and therefore, we desire, that those who blame us most of all for our slothfulness, would be our Assistants while we make the Levy: then, since you will have it so, we will be very industrious to please each one of you. With that, they returned to the Tribunal, and ordered a certain Person, that stood there in view, to be Cited by his Name on purpose: who standing silent, with a crowd of men about him (to keep him from being seized on) the Consuls sent an Officer to him; who being repulsed, the Senators that were there assisting the Consuls, cried out, it was a shame, and immediately ran down, from the Tribunal, to help the Officer: who being only kept off from laying hold upon the fellow who was Cited, and did not answer, the Peoples fury was all turned upon the Senators, but by the interposition of the Consuls, the Tumult was appeased; in which, there being no Weapons used, there was more noise and wrangling than there was hurt done. Upon that, the Senate was tumultuously summoned, whose Consultations were much more tumultuous; for those who were affronted by the People, desired satisfaction, and being each of them, in a very great heat, gave their Voices, not quietly, as wise men should have done, but with Noise and Clamor. At length, when their heat was abated, the Consuls upbraided them, saying, There was as little Prudence and Sobriety in the Senate-house as in the *Forum*, and then they began to give their Opinions, regularly and in order, of which, there were three. *P. Virginius* did not think fit that they should be all dealt with in the same manner, but that they ought to consider such only as laid claim to the promise, which the Consul *P. Servilius* had made, upon the account of their having been Soldiers in the *Volscian*, *Auruncian* and *Sabine Wars*. *T. Largius* said, That was not a fit time to reward those only who had deserved well, since all the People in general were in Debt, nor could the Sedition be remedied, unless they consulted the good of all; for if the circumstances of some were better than those of others, their Discord was like rather to be heightened than allayed. *Ap. Claudius* who was naturally of a violent and fierce disposition, fomented on the one hand, by his hatred to the People, and on the other hand, by the commendations of the Senate, told them, That great disturbance arose, not from their miseries, but licentiousness; and that the People were rather too much indulged than inclined to mutiny. That the present mischief sprang from the Liberty of Appealing; for if all those who had offended might Appeal, the Consuls, instead of Authority, would have nothing but Menaces. Come then (said he) let us create a Dictator, from whom there is no Appeal; then this fury, that now puts all things into a flame, will certainly abate. Then let him, who knows that the power over his Body and Life is in one man, abuse my Officer, and violate that one mans Authority.

The Opinion of *Appius* was dreadful and severe, as many thought; while those again of XXX. *Virginius* and *Largius* were of ill consequence, especially that of *Largius*, which destroyed the credit of the whole City, so that *Virginius's* Counsel seemed to be most moderate, and to proceed in a middle way betwixt both. But through Faction and Respect to private ends, which always have done, and always will obstruct publick Councils, *Appius* prevailed, and had like to have been made Dictator himself. Which, if he had, it had certainly disobliterated the People, even at the most dangerous juncture, when the *Volsi*, the *Æqui* and the *Sabines* happened to be at the same time in Arms. But the Consuls and the graver Senators took care, that that Office which carried such absolute Authority, in its own style, should be bestowed upon a Person of a more gentle disposition; and therefore they chose *Manius Valerius*, the Son of *Volefius*. The Common People, though they saw a Dictator made in opposition to them, yet because they had their Appeal granted, by a Law which his Brother made, they feared no mischief nor tyranny from that Family. In which Opinion, an Edict set forth by him, after he was Dictator, confirmed them, it being almost of the same tenour with that which Consul *Servilius* had formerly made: wherefore, supposing that they might trust, not only the man, but his Authority too, they ceased to Mutiny, and gave in their Names. By which means, there were ten Legions raised, (such an Army as they had never had before) of which, the Consuls had three apiece, and the Dictator four. Nor could the War be now deferred; for the *Æqui* had invaded the *Latin* Dominions, and Envoys sent from the *Latins*, desired of the Senate, That they would either send them aid, or permit them to defend themselves. Upon which, the Senate thought it more secure for them to defend the *Latins*, who were now naked, than to suffer them any more to take up Arms. So they sent Consul *Veturius* who put an end to that Ravage which the Enemy had made; while the *Æqui*, leaving the Plains, and relying more upon the circumstance of place, than the strength of their Arms, secured themselves upon the tops of the Mountains. In the mean time, the other Consul Marching against the *Volsi*, and designing to save time, provoked the Enemy to bring their Camp nearer and fight him, by Pillaging their Country as much as he could. Each Army stood in the Plain between their Camps, and before their out-works all in Battalia, but the *Volsi* somewhat

somewhat out-did them in number. Wherefore they joyned Battel without any Order, and with Contempt. The Roman Consul, neither permitted his Army to stir, nor suffered them to hollow, but commanded them to stand to their Arms which they had fixed in the ground; but when the Enemy came up to Engage them, that then they should fall on with all their might, and Engage hand to hand with their Swords. The Volsci being tired with running and the Clamor they had made, came up to the Romans, who seemed astonished with fear, but when they perceived them to make opposition, and their Swords glittered before their eyes, being dismayed, they turned their backs, as if they had fallen into an Ambuscade; nor had they strength enough to run away, because they were tired with the speed they made into the Fight. The Romans, on the other hand, having stood still before, were very vigorous, and easily commanded their tired Enemies, possessed themselves of their Camp, and having pursued them as far as Velitrae [a City of the Volsci] pressed into the Town, both Conquerors and Conquered at the same time, where by the promiscuous slaughter of all sorts of People, there was more Blood spilt than in the Battel it self, save only, that to some few they gave Quarter, because they came unarmed and surrendered themselves.

XXXI. Whilest these things were transacted in the Country of the Volsci, the Dictator Defeated, Routed and Seized the Camp of the Sabines, against whom, they had much more to do. For he, by sending in his Horse, had confounded the main Body of the Enemies Army, which they, by extending their Wings, had very irregularly Fortified by the Files within. He therefore set upon them in this Confusion, on foot; by which means, he not only, at the first Onset, took their Camp, but totally overcame them. Since the Fight at the Lake Regillus, there was never another, in those years, that was more famous than this. The Dictator was carried in Triumph into the City, where, over and above the usual Honours, there was a place assigned in the Circus, for him and his Posterity, to see the Exercises and Games in; besides that, a Sella Curulis [i.e. a Chair of State] was set for him in the same place. The Volsci being Conquered, the Land belonging to Velitrae was taken from them, and a Colony sent thither from Rome. Not long after, they had a Battel with the Aequi, but against the Consul's will, because the place, in which he was to Attack the Enemy, was much to his disadvantage; yet, seeing the Soldiers accused him of delaying the time, as if he had a mind the Dictator should go out of his Office before they came home, and so his promises, like those of Consul Servilius's before, should signifie nothing, they forced him to lead the Army at a venture up into the opposite Mountains. Which unadvised Action, through the slothfulness of the Enemies, proved very successful; for they, before the two Armies came within a Darts cast of each other, being amazed at the audacity of the Romans, forsook their Camp, which they had pitched in the strongest parts of the Hills, and ran down into the Valleys on the other side: by which means, the Romans got not only Plunder enough, but a Victory without Bloodshed. Thus having succeeded well in their Wars against three Nations, the Senate and the People too were not unmindful of the state of affairs at home; though the Bankers had made such preparations by Bribery and other Arts, as might not only disappoint the common People, but even the Dictator himself. For Valerius, after the return of Consul Veturius, made it the first Debate that was in the Senate, to consider the victorious People; and desired to know, what they would please to do with the Debtors: which Proposal of his being rejected, he told them, I do not like your proceedings, I am for Peace; and take my word for it, you will wish ere long, that the Roman People had more such Advocates as I am. For my part, I will no longer disappoint my fellow Citizens, nor be my self Dictator to no purpose. Our Intestine Broils and our Foreign Wars put the Commonwealth upon the necessity of having such a Magistrate as I am; and now we have made Peace abroad, we obstruct it at home: I therefore will live rather like a private man than a Dictator, whilest this Sedition continues; and with that, going out of the Court, he quitted his Dictatorship. The People knew, the reason why he laid down his Authority, was, the indignation which he conceived upon their account: wherefore, as if he had discharged his promise, (because it was not his fault that he could not perform it) they followed him to his House with Praises and Acclamations.

XXXII. Thereupon the Senate were afraid, lest, if they Disbanded the Army, there might be Caballing and private Conspiracies as there were before; wherefore, although the Levy of them had been made by the Dictator, yet, because they had given their Oaths to the Consuls, they supposed them to be obliged by it, and therefore, under pretence of the Wars being renewed by the Aequi, they commanded the Legions to be drawn out of the City. By which the Sedition was augmented; and (as they say) the first thing they consulted of, was, how they should kill the Consuls, that they might be discharged from their Oath: but being taught afterwards, that no Religious Vow can be discharged by a wicked Act, they, by the advice of one Sicinius, but without the consent of the Consuls, withdrew themselves into the Mount called Mons Sacer, on the other side the River Anien, three thousand paces from the City (for that is more commonly reported, than what Piso tells us, that they retired into the Mount Aventine) where, without any Captain, having Fortified their Camp with a Rampier and a Trench, they lay still for some days without taking any thing, except what was necessary for Food, neither molested themselves, nor disturbing any body else. The City, in the mean while, was filled with great dread, and all People were in suspense, through

through mutual fear of each other; for the common People being deserted by the Soldiers of their Rank, were afraid of the Senate, and the Senate, on the other hand, were as apprehensive of the Commonalty, which yet remained in the City, not knowing whether it were better to let them stay or go; but how long (said they) will the Multitude be quiet that have withdrawn themselves? what will become of us, if any Foreign War should happen in the mean time? There was no hope, they thought, but in the mutual Concord of the Citizens; and that must be purchased at any rate. They therefore agreed, to send an Agent to the People, whose name was, Menenius Agrippa, an Eloquent man, and one that the People loved, because he was Descended from a Family of Plebeians. Who, being admitted into their Camp, is reported, in that old uncouth manner of speaking, to have said nothing to them but this, Upon a time, when all the parts of man, not disagreeing, as men do now, consented in the main, but every member had its particular Opinion, and a peculiar way of Discourse, the other parts were vexed that they must take care and pains to provide all necessaries for the Belly, whilest that lay idle in the middle of the Body, and did nothing but enjoy its pleasure. Wherefore, they conspired that the hands should not lift the meat to the mouth, nor the mouth receive it when offered, nor the teeth chew it. By which envious method, whilest they endeavoured to famish the Belly, the members themselves, at the same time, and the whole Body were starved. Whence it appeared, that the Belly was instrumental in the service of the whole, nor did it receive more nourishment than it supplied, in that it distributed and equally divided into the Veins that Blood made out of well digested food, whereby we live and enjoy our health. Then comparing the Intestine Sedition of the Body to the Animosity of the People against the Senate, he thereby reconciled them.

Thereupon they began to Treat of Peace, and agreed upon Terms, That the People should have certain peculiar and inviolable Magistrates to assist them against the Consuls, and that no Senator should be capable of that Office. So there were two Officers Created by the Title of Tribuni Plebis [or the Tribunes of the People] whose Names were Caius Licinius and L. Albius: and they chose themselves three Collegues, of which Sicinius the Author of the Sedition was one, but who the other two were is uncertain. Some Authors say, that there were only two Tribunes Created, in the Mons Sacer [i.e. the Holy Mount,] and that there also those Laws were made, called Leges Sacrae [i.e. Sacred Laws.] During this Seccession of the People, Sp. Cassius and Postumus Cominius began their Consulship; in whose time there was a League made with the Latins, for the Ratifying whereof, one Consul stayed at Rome, and the other was sent to the War against the Volsci, in which, he Defeated and Routed those of Antium [a City of the Volsci,] and driving them into a Town called Lenglula, he made himself Master of it. Then he took Polusca, another Town of the Volsci; from whence he marched and Stormed Corioli. There was at that time in the Camp, among the rest of the young Nobility, one Caius Marcins, a young man, very witty and active, who was afterwards Surnamed Coriolanus. When therefore the Volscian Legions, coming from Antium, had set upon the Roman Army, which then fate down before Corioli, being intent upon the Townsmen which they had blocked up, and free from any fear of a War without, and at the same time, the Enemies had made a Sally out of the Town, this Marcins was by chance upon the Guard; and he, with a choice Party of men, did not only repel the violence of those that Sallied forth, but bravely forced his way through the open Gate, and having killed all he met in the adjacent parts of the City, he took the next Fore that came to his hands, and threw it into the Houles next the Wall. Thereupon, the noise of the Townsmen, mixed with the cries of Women and Children, (which was at first designed, as it usually is for terror) encouraged the Romans, and disheartened the Volsci, to hear that their City was taken which they came to Relieve. Thus the Volsci of Antium were Routed, and the Town of Corioli taken; in which Actions, Marcins so much obscured the Consuls Fame, by his Honourable Achievements, that unless the League made with the Latins, (by Sp. Cassius alone, in the absence of his Colleague) and graven upon a Pillar of Brass, had been a Monument of it, Posterity would never have known that Postumus Cominius ever waged War with the Volsci. The same Year Agrippa Menenius died, a man all his life-time, beloved both by the Senate and the People: but after his death, became more dear to the People. yet he, who was the Mediator and the Umpire for Concord between his fellow Citizens, as being Embassador from the Senate to the People, and the man who brought back the Roman Commonalty into the City, wanted Mony to defray his Funeral Charges, wherefore the People buried him at their expence, Contributing every one three Farthings.

Then T. Geganius and P. Minucius were made Consuls; in whose time, though all things were quiet abroad, and the Discord composd at home, another misfortune, much worse than all the rest, befell the City; and that was, first a Dearth of Provisions, for want of having had their Land Manured, at the time of the Peoples Seccession: after which, succeeded a Famine, like that which Towns besieged are wont to suffer. In which Calamity, the Slaves especially, and the meaner sort of People had all died, if the Consuls had not taken care to send into all parts to buy Corn; not only into Etruria, all along the Coasts, on the right hand of Ostia, but on the left hand too, through the Country of the Volsci, and down by Sea as far as Cumae: yea, they went even into Sicily also, so far did the hatred which their Neighbours bore to them, compel them to go for supplies. When they had bought Corn at

*Cuma*, their Ships had an Embargo laid upon them by *Aristodemus* the King of that place, to make amends for the Goods of the *Tarquins*, to whom he was Heir. In the Country of the *Volsci*, and about *Pometia* there was none to be bought; nor only so, but the Merchants themselves were also in danger of their lives; they had Corn out of *Etruria*, by way of the *Tiber*, wherewith the People were sustained. Amidst this scarcity, they had been harrassed with very unseasonable War, had it not been for a raging Pestilence which seized upon the *Volsci*, whilst they were now taking up Arms. At that destructive calamity the minds of their Enemies were so dismayed, that even when that was abated, they were possessed with some terror; while the *Romans* augmented their Colony at *Vilatra*, and sent a new one into the Mountains to *Norba*, which is a Castle near *Pometia*. After that, when *M. Minucius* and *A. Sempronius* were Consuls, there was a great quantity of Corn brought out of *Sicily*; and 'twas Debated in the Senate at what rate the People should have it. Amongst whom, many were of Opinion, that then the time was come to make the People submit, and to recover those Privileges, which by their Secession and Violence, had been extorted from the Senate; but *M. Coriolanus*, more than any other, being an Enemy to the Tribunes Power. If they (said he) will have their old allowance, and at the same rate that they had it before the Sedition, let them give back to the Senate their ancient Privileges. Why should I see Magistrates made out of the People, or *Sicinius* so great and powerful, whilst I my self am a Slave and redeemed, as it were, out of the hands of Robbers? Shall I endure these indignities any longer than I am forced to it? Shall we endure *Sicinius* that could not brook King *Tarquin*? Let him withdraw now and call the People after him, the way is open to the Sacred Mount, as well as the other Hills. Let them steal the Corn out of our Fields, as they did three years ago. Let them enjoy and make use of such Provisions, as by their fury they have made. I dare be bold to say, that they themselves will be so tamed by this Calamity, that they will rather chase to Till the Ground than take up Arms, and separating themselves, prohibit the Manuring of it. It could scarce be so easily said, whether they ought to have done it or no, as it might, I suppose, have been in the power of the Senate, by making Provisions cheap, not only to remove the Power of the Tribunes, but all those new inconveniences which were imposed upon them.

XXXV. This Opinion seemed not only very severe to the Senate, but fury likewise almost armed the People, who said, That they were now treated with famine, like Enemies, being defrauded of their very food, and that the Corn which came from foreign Countries by meer fortune, to be their only sustenance, must now be snatched from their mouths, unless the Tribunes were delivered up in Bonds to *C. Marcius*; unless he wreaked his revenge upon the Bodies of the Roman People. That he was risen up to be a new Executioner to them, and to force them either to be Slaves or die. As he was going out of the Court, they had set upon him, if the Tribune had not very seasonably given him notice to appear before them such a day; for by that means their fury was suppressed, since every one of them saw himself made Judge and Master of the life and death of his Enemy. *Marcius*, at first, heard the Tribunes Menaces with contempt, and told them, that their Office was to assist the People, not to punish their betters, in that they were the Tribunes of the People not of the Senate. But the People rose with that violence, that the Senate were forced to allow of one mans punishment, in order to avoid the present imminent danger. Nevertheless they made resistance, whatever the Tribunes could do; and used, not only each man his own, but the Authority even of the whole Order. And first, they tried by disposing of their Clients, into such and such parts of the City, whether they could Defeat the Designs by deterring and keeping single Persons from Cabals and Consults. After which, they went all together (in which case, you may well say, all the Senators there were Guilty) beseeching the People, to deliver up to them one of their fellow Citizens, one Senator, if they would not acquit him as Innocent, under the Notion of an Offender. He not appearing at the day appointed, they persevered in their fury; whereupon, he was Condemned, though absent, and went as a Banished Person into the Country of the *Volsci*, with Menaces to his Country, and a mind now filled with Hostility. The *Volsci* received him very kindly; and their kindness encreased more and more every day; which made the hatred of the *Romans* the more conspicuous; from whom there were sent very frequently, one while complaints, and other-whiles Menaces. He lived with one *Attius Tullus*, who was at that time the greatest man of all the *Volsci*, and a perpetual Enemy to the *Romans*. They two therefore, the one upon the account of an old grudge, and the other for a late indignity, consulted together, how they should make a War against the *Romans*. But they did not think it an easie matter to persuade that People to take up Arms, since they so often had such ill success. For having lost most of their young men, very lately, by Pestilence, and in many Wars before; they supposed, that now their Spirits being broken, they must use some Art, and find out a new occasion of instigating their fury, seeing the old quarrel was now, by Tract of time, quite worn out and forgot.

XXXVI. The Games called *Ludi Magni* were then a going to be Celebrated a new; and the reason of it was this, On the day that the Games were to be Celebrated, in the Morning, before they began, a certain Householder had driven his Slave through the middle of the *Circus*, and caused him to carry a small Gallows upon his neck, whilst, all the way, he was whipped along. Which notwithstanding, the Games were begun, as if that Action did not at all concern Religion.

ligion. But not long after, one *Tib. Atinius*, a mean Person, dreamed, that *Jupiter* came to him, and told him, The man that led the Dance in the Games that day, did not please him; and that if they were not magnificently renewed, the City would be in great danger, bidding him go and tell the Consuls the same. Now, though the man was not altogether void of Religion, yet his modesty and the Reverence he had for the Majesty of those great Officers, overpowered his fear of the Deity; besides that, he was afraid the People would jeer him for it. But his delay cost him dear, for in a few days he lost his Son; of which sudden misfortune, to make the cause plain, as he lay discontented, but asleep, the same Vision appeared to him, and seemed to ask him, Whether he had Reward enough for his Contempt of a Deity. And told him, That there was a greater now at hand, unless he made haste and told the Consuls. This made a greater Impression upon him; yet still he delayed and protracted the time, till a grievous Disease, and a sudden feebleness seized upon him. Then the anger of the gods had sufficiently admonished him: wherefore, being tired with his past and present Calamities, he advised with his Neighbours, to whom, having related what he had seen and heard, and how *Jupiter* appeared to him so often in his sleep, together with the Menaces and the Misfortunes which he had afflicted him with; they all consented immediately that he should be carried in a Litter into the Forum, to the Consuls. By whose Order, being carried thence into the Senate-house, and having, to their great admiration, told the same Story there, behold another Miracle: for he, who being Lame of all his Limbs, was carried thither, (they say) having done his Duty, returned home a foot. Whereupon, the Senate Decreed, that the Games should be Celebrated with all the Magnificence imaginable.

Now, to those Games, there came, by the advice of *Attius Tullus*, a great number of the *Volsci*; and before they began, *Tullus*, according to a compact which he had made at home with *Marcius*, came to the Consuls, and told them, that he had something to say to them in private, which concerned the Commonwealth. The Company being removed; said he, I am unwilling to say any thing that is ill of my Country-men; nor do I come to accuse them of any thing which they have done, but to take care that they be not guilty of any Misdemeanour. I must confess, our People are much more sickle than I could wish they were. That we have found, by frequent blood-shed, who owe our safety, not to our own merit, but your patience. There are here now a great number of the *Volsci*; your Games are beginning, and the whole City will be intent upon the Show. I remember what the young *Sabines* did in this City upon the like occasion. I am in great fear, lest they should do any thing that were rash or unadvised; but this I thought good (Consuls) to tell you before-hand, upon my own, as well as your account. For my part, I am resolved immediately to go home, lest, staying here, I be infected with the Contagion of any mans deeds or words. Having so said, he went his way. The Consuls having related the matter to the Senate, which, though it were doubtful in it self, came from a certain Author, the Person (as it is usual) moved them more than the thing, to an unnecessary Caution: they therefore made an Order, that the *Volsci* should depart the City; and sent their Officers to bid them all be gone before night. Whereupon, the *Volsci* were at first possessed with great terror, and ran to their Lodgings to pack up their Goods; but, as they went away, they were very much incensed, that they should be forced to quit the City at that Festival time when the Games were Celebrated, and amidst a Concourse, as if it were, both of men and gods, like so many Villains.

As they were going, almost all in a Body, *Tullus*, who was got before them to the head of the *Ferentine* River, as each of them came up to him, applied himself to the chief of them, enquiring what the matter was, and seeming very angry; by which means, they listening diligently to what he said, which was enough (be sure) to move their spleen, he drew, not only them, but the rest of the Multitude into the Plain near the way: where, ranging them into the form of an Assembly, he made this Speech, said he, Though you have forget the former Injuries and Massacres which the Roman People have been guilty of, with all their other abuses offered to the Nation of the *Volsci*, yet how can you bear this days affront from them who have begun their pastimes so much to our dishonour? Are you not sensible that they have Triumphed over you this day? and that you, by coming away, are made the scorn of all their Citizens, all strangers and neighbouring People? What do you imagine they thought, who saw you come away? or they that met you coming in such an ignominious Troop, but that our Nation is guilty of some great crime, whereby, if we were present at the Shows, we should pollute their Games? and need an expiation; for which reason, we were forced away from the Society and Convention of all good men. What then? Can we be satisfied that we live, because we made haste to come away? But indeed this is not coming, but running away. And, can you think, this City is not your Enemies, where if you had stayed but one day, you must all have died for it. In short, by this they have proclaimed a War against you, but much to the disadvantage of those that did it, if you are men. With that, they being themselves before enraged, but farther incited by what he said, went to their several homes, where each of them instigating their Neighbours, they caused the whole Nation of *Volsci* to Revolt.

The Generals that were chosen for that War by universal consent, were *Attius Tullus* and *C. Marcius*, a Banished Roman, in whom they reposed more hope than ordinary. Nor did he any ways frustrate that hope, to make it easily appear, that the Roman State was strengthened more by their Contumacious than their Army. He therefore went to *Circæi*, from whence he first



first drove out the Roman Colony, and delivered that City free into the hands of the *Volsci*; and thence, crossing over into the Road called *Via Latina*, took from the *Romans* *Satricum*, *Longula*, *Rolusca* and *Corioli*, their new Conquests. From thence he went and took *Lavinium*, *Corbio*, *Vitellia*, *Trebia*, *Labici* and *Pedum*; lastly, from *Pedum* he marched toward the City, and at the Ditches called *Fossæ Cluiliæ*, which are five thousand paces from it; having pitched his Camp, fell a pillaging the Roman Dominions. But he sent, amongst the Pillagers, a Party of Soldiers to save the Lands of the *Patricii* [or such as were of the Senatorian Order] from being Ravaged; either, because he hated the common People most, or thereby to create a Discord between the Senate and them. And so indeed it had certainly been, (the Tribunes did so much incense the People, who were themselves enraged, by accusing the Nobility) had not the fear of a foreign Enemy united them in the strictest bonds of Concord; yea, though they suspected and hated one another. But this one thing only they did not like, that the Senate and the Consuls placed all their hopes in Arms; for the People desired any thing rather than War. *Sp. Nautius* and *Sext. Furius* were now Consuls; who, whilst they were calling over the Legions, and distributing their men upon the Walls, and in other places where they thought fit to set Guards and Sentinels, they were startled with the Seditious Clamor of a great Multitude, who cried out for Peace, and then forced them to call a Senate, and to propose the sending of Embassadors to *C. Marcins*. The Senate accepted the Proposal, when they saw the People were discouraged, and sent several Agents to *Marcins* to Treat for Peace; but they brought back a sharp Answer, which was this, *If the Volsci had their Land again, they might possibly hear of Peace; but if the Romans would enjoy the spoil of War, whilst they themselves lived at ease, he remembred what injuries his Countrymen had done him, as well as what kindness he had received from the Volsci, and therefore would endeavour to make it appear, that Banishment did but provoke, much less subdue his Spirit.* Soon after, the same Persons were sent a second time, but were not admitted into the Camp: whereupon (they say that) the Priests also went in their Robes, as Petitioners, to the Enemies Camp, but prevailed no more than the Embassadors had done before them.

XL. Then the Matrons flocked in great numbers to *Veturia*, *Coriolanus* his Mother, and *Volumnia* his Wife; though I do not find, whether that were done by publick advice, or were the effect of female fear; but this is certain, they so far prevailed, that not only *Veturia*, who was an ancient Woman, but *Volumnia* also, carrying along with her two little Boys whom she had by *Marcins*, went into the Enemies Camp, and defended that City by their Prayers and Tears, as Women, which they could not protect with Arms, as Men. When they came to the Camp, and *Coriolanus* was told, that there was a great Troop of Women come from *Rome*, he, who had not been concerned either at publick Majesty, in the Embassadors, or at the sight or thoughts of any Religious thing, when the Priests came, was at first much more obstinate to the Womens tears; till one of his Familiars, who discovered *Veturia* standing between her Daughter-in-law and her Grand-children, with greater shew of sorrow than any of the rest, told him, *if my eyes do not deceive me, yonder's your Mother, your Wife and your Children.* At which, *Coriolanus* was so surprized, and almost distracted, that he leaped from his Seat, and going to embrace his Mother, who was then coming toward him, she changed her Prayers into Expostulations, and said, *Before I admit of your embrace, let me know whether I am come to a Son, or to an Enemy: whether I am your Mother or your Captive in your Camp. Was my long life and my unhappy Age protracted only for this end, that I might see thee Banished, and after that, an Enemy? Couldst thou pillage this Country which brought thee forth and fed thee? Did not thy anger abate when thou camest into these Confiners; though thou wert never so revengeful and resolute before? Did it not come into thy mind, when thou wast in sight of Rome, to say with thy self, within those Walls is my Family and Household-gods? My Mother, my Wife and my Children? So then, if I had never born thee, had not Rome been Attacked? If I had never had a Son, might I have died free, and in a free Country? but now I can suffer nothing that is either more dishonourable to thee, or more afflicting to me; though, let me be as miserable as I can be, I shall not long be so; all that I beg of you, is, to take care of these poor Creatures, who, if you go on, must needs expect either an untimely death, or tedious Captivity.* Then his Wife and Children embraced him, whilst the whole Crowd of Women, by their Tears and Lamentations, both for themselves and their Country, with much ado, at last prevailed upon him. With that, embracing his Children, he dismissed them, and streight removed his Camp back from the City. Having led the Legions out of the Roman Territories, (some say) he died by the malicious contrivance of those that hated him for what he had done; though, others say, he died by other means; and *Fabius*, who is the most ancient Author of them all, tells us, that he lived till he was very old; with this remark upon him, that he often used to say, when he grew Aged, *'Tis a miserable thing for an old man to be Banished.* The men of Rome did not envy the Women their due commendations, so far they were from diminishing that glory, which others had won; but besides that, Built a Temple, which was Dedicated to *Fortuna Muliebris* [or the Fortune of Women,] to be a Monument of what they had done. After that, the *Volsci* and the *Æqui* together came again into the Roman Dominions; but the *Æqui* could no longer endure to have *Attius Tullus* for their General; wherefore, upon the Debate, whether the *Volsci* or the *Æqui* should find a General, for that Confederate Army, there happened,

first, a Mutiny, and then a sharp Engagement: in which, the fortune of the Roman People destroyed two Armies of their Enemies, in a Conflict which was as fatal as it was resolute. *T. Sicinius* and *C. Aquilius* were then Consuls, to the former of which, fell the Province of the *Volsci*, and to the latter, that of the *Hernici*, who were then also in Arms; for the *Hernici* were that Year quite subdued, though the *Volscians* came off at first upon equal terms.

Then *Sp. Cassius* and *Proculus Virginius* were made Consuls, in whose time there was a League made with the *Hernici*, and two parts of their Possessions taken from them; of which, Consul *Cassius* resolved to give the one half to the *Latins*, and the other to the common People; to which Present, he added some part of that Land which, being publick, he found fault should be in the possession of private men. That put many of the Senators who were themselves in possession of such Lands, into a fear, upon their own account; but besides that, they were likewise solicitous, lest, by his Bounty, the Consul should make the People so rich as to endanger the publick Liberty. That therefore was the first time the *Lex Agraria* was promulgated; concerning which, there never was afterwards any Debate, from that time to this, without great Tumults. In the mean time, the other Consul resisted the largesse, by the consent of the Senate, and not against the mind of all the People, who, at first, began to take it ill that the present should be made common to their Allies as well as themselves; and then they often heard the Consul *Virginius* also at publick Assemblies, as if he had prophesied, say, *His Colleagues bounty would be of very ill consequence; that those Lands would bring them into Slavery who received them: for by that means, he made way for Kingly Government; to what other end were their Associates and all the Latins taken in? What was the reason that the third part of the Land which was taken should be given to the Hernici who were so lately their Enemies? unless it were, that those People might take Cassius for their General instead of Coriolanus.* He therefore dissuaded the People against the *Lex Agraria* [i.e. the Law for Division of Lands.] From that time, both the Consuls strove who should most indulge the People. *Virginius* said, he would agree that the Lands should be assigned, so they were assigned to none but *Romans*; and *Cassius*, because he had been extravagant in distribution of the Lands to their Allies, whereby, he became the cheaper to the Citizens, endeavouring to reconcile them to him, another way, proposed, *That the Money which had been received for the Corn sent out of Sicily, should be repayed to the People.* But that the People refused, as if it had been an earnest to make him King; for they had a natural suspicion, that every great man was ambitious of Reigning alone, and therefore, as if they had enough of every thing, they all refused his offers; who, as soon as he went out of his Office was Condemned and put to Death. Some say, that his Father was the cause of his Punishment, and that he, having examined the cause in his own House, first beat him, and then killed him; nor only so, but Consecrated his Sons Estate to *Ceres*, of which he set up a Monument, with this Inscription, *Ex Cassiâ Familiâ Datum* [i.e. Given By The Family Of The Cassii] I find, in some Authors, and that more credible, that he was tried for Treason by the Quæstors, *Cæso Fabius* and *L. Valerius*; and being Condemned by the Judgment of the People, that his House was publickly Demolished, which stood in the Court which now is before the Temple of *Tellus*. But whether it were a private or a publick Judgment, Condemned he was, when *Ser. Cornelius* and *Q. Fabius* were Consuls.

The fury of the People did not continue long against *Cassius*: the very sweetness of the *Agrarian* Law did naturally insinuate it self into their minds, now that the Author of it was taken off. And their desire was the more inflamed by the severity of the Senate, who, when they had Conquered the *Volsci* and the *Æqui*, that Year, defrauded the Soldiers of the Plunder: for whatsoever was taken from the Enemies, the Consul *Fabius* sold, and put into the publick stock. Wherefore the *Fabian* Name was hateful to the People, for the last Consuls sake; yet the Senate so far prevailed, that they made *Cæso Fabius* Consul at the same time with *L. Æmilius*. By which, the People were so provoked, that through a Domestick Sedition, they raised a foreign War; whereupon, their Intestine Discords were intermitted, whilst the Senate and the People, with one consent, overcame the Rebellious *Volsci* and the *Æqui* under the Conduct of *Æmilius*. But in that War more of the Enemies were slain in their Flight than in the Battel; so eagerly did the Horse pursue them. The Temple of *Castor* was Dedicated that Year upon the Ides of *July*, which was resolved upon in the *Latin* War, when *Postumius* was Dictator, whose Son Dedicated it, as being Created Duumvir for that purpose. The Peoples minds were tempted that Year also, with the sweetness of the *Agrarian* Law, and the Tribunes of the People signalized their popular Authority, with a popular Law. The Senate thinking the People were inclined sufficiently, of themselves, to Sedition, abhorred all largesses and encouragements that might invite them to go on in their rash Actions; to which end, the Consuls were a great assistance to the Senate, in resisting the torrent of the People; by which means, that part of the Commonwealth got the upper-hand; and that, not only at present, but the next Year also they made *M. Fabius*, *Cæso's* Brother, and another Consul, (more hateful to the People than he, as being accused by *Sp. Cassius*) whose Name was *L. Valerius*. That Year also, they had a Contest with the Tribunes; the Law was vilified, and the Authors of it, as much, who made a Present to the People to so little purpose; thereby the

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the Fabian Name grew great, after three continued Consulships, which had been all spent in perpetual Contests with Tribunes: wherefore that honour remained for some time, as being well placed in that Family. Then they entered upon the War against the Veians, and the Volscians also Rebelled; but the Romans, though they had almost strength enough to make foreign Wars, abused it, by contending among themselves. In the mean time, to encrease their solicitude, there appeared Coelestial Prodigies, which threatened both the City and Country almost every day; and the Southsayers, concerned to see the gods so angry, declared there was no other cause of it (though they were consulted both publicly and privately, sometimes by Intrails, and otherwhiles by Birds) than that the Religious Rites were not duly performed: but notwithstanding, their fears grew to that height, that Oppia, a Vestal Virgin, was Condemned, and suffered for her Unchastity.

XLIII. Then Q. Fabius and C. Julius were made Consuls; in whose Year, the Discord continued as fierce at home, and the War was more fatal abroad. For the Aequi took up Arms, and the Veians also came in and Pillaged the Roman Dominions: which War, encreasing their solicitude, C. Fabius and Sp. Furius, were made Consuls. The Aequi Attacked Ortona, a City of the Latins; and the Veians, being now loaded with spoils, threatened to take even Rome it self. Which terrors, though they ought to have restrained them, the more encreased the Peoples Animosity; and they, though not on their own accord, refused to go to War, as they had formerly done; for Sp. Licinius, the Tribune of the People, supposing that to be the time when the Senate must, of meer necessity, submit to the Agrarian Law, had undertaken to stop their Preparations for War. But all the envy of the Tribunes Power was thrown upon the Author of that advice; nor did the Consuls Animadvert more severely upon him, than did his own Collegues; by whose assistance, the Consuls made a Levy. By that means, there was an Army raised for two Wars at the same time; to be Commanded by Fabius against the Veians, and by Furius against the Aequi; in whose Country there was nothing done worth taking notice of. But Fabius had somewhat more to do with his own Countrymen, than with the Enemies; for he himself, being Consul, in his own single Person, supported the Commonwealth, which the Army, through their hatred to him, as much as in them lay, endeavoured to betray him. For, when the Consul, besides his other Military Acts, of which he had shewn very frequent Examples, both in preparing for, and managing the War, had so drawn up his Army, that, by sending out the Horse only, he Routed the whole Forces of the Enemies; the Foot would not Pursue them as they fled; nor would they be prevailed upon, (not to say, by their Captains persuasions, whom they hated, but) even to avoid the present publick Dishonour, or the danger which might ensue, if the Enemy should take Courage and Rally, to mend their pace. No, not so much as to pursue the Enemy in a full Body; but, without Command, they Marched back very melancholy, (you would have thought they had been Conquered) into their Camp, cursing one while their General, and another while the Horse, for the Service they had done. Nor did their General endeavour to find out any Remedy for such a pestilent Example: such excellent Persons as he was, stand in more need of Policy to Rule their Citizens, than Skill to Conquer their Enemies. The Consul therefore returned to Rome; without having advanced his Glory upon the account of the War, so much as he had provoked and exasperated the hatred of the Soldiers against him. Yet notwithstanding, the Senate so far prevailed, that the Consulship remained in the Fabian Family; for M. Fabius was chosen Consul, and his Colleague was Cn. U. C. 271. Manlius.

XLIV. And this Year also, there was a Tribune who stood up very much for the Agrarian Law. His Name was Tib. Pontificius; who, as though Sp. Licinius had had good success, trod in the same steps, and, for some small time, obstructed the Levy. Whereupon, the Senate being again disturbed, Ap. Claudius told them, That the Tribunes Power, which was overcome the Year before, was then also, by good fortune, subdued; and by example, was for ever like so to be: for they found, that it fell even by its own weight. For there would never be wanting (some one or other, who would be ambitious to baffle his Colleague, and oblige the Nobility to promote the publick good. That several of the Tribunes, if several were necessary, would be ready to assist the Consuls, though only one were sufficient, in opposition even to all the rest; only, he would have the Consuls, and all the chief Senators to do their utmost endeavour, to oblige and reconcile, if not all, at least, some part of the Tribunes, to the Commonwealth and themselves. The Senate being thus advised by Appius, spoke very courteously to the Tribunes; and all the Consular Party, according to the private relation they had to each of them, obtained so far, partly by Kindness, and partly by Authority, to make the Tribunes Power conduce to the publick welfare; and, by that means, the Consuls, by the help of four Tribunes, in opposition to one, who was an obstructor of Publick good, made their Levy. When they had so done, they Marched to the Veian War, to which, there came Auxiliaries from all parts of Etruria, not so much out of Love to the Veians, as that they were in hopes the Roman State would be Dissolved by Intestine Discords. For the chief men in all Councils, through all the Nations of Etruria, were mightily concerned, That the Power of Rome was like to be everlasting, unless they fell out among themselves; for that was the only Poison, that the only Bane to Opulent Cities, which made great Empires mortal. That the Romans had long endured that mischief, partly by the mis-

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dom of the Senate, and partly by the patience of the People; but that they were now reduced to an extremity; for they were become two Cities out of one; of which, each Party had their peculiar Magistrates, and peculiar Laws. That they used first of all to quarrel at their Levies of Soldiers, and yet obeyed their Generals in the War; for, in whatsoever state the City was, while the Military Discipline continued, they might be restrained: but now, their ill custom of not obeying their Magistrates, had followed the Roman Soldiers even into their Camp: and that in the very last War, when the Army was in Battalia, at the very time of the Fight, the Victory was, even by their own consent, delivered up to the Conquered Aequi: their Ensigns were Deserted, their General left in the Field, and they returned to the Camp without his Order. And now, they might be sure, if they would make good use of that opportunity, Rome might be Conquered, even with its own Soldiers: they had nothing more to do, than to declare and make a shew of War; for the fates and the gods would do the rest for them. These hopes armed the Etrurians, who had been Conquered and Conquerors at several times, in many Battels.

The Roman Consuls, on the other hand, were afraid of nothing else, save their own XLV. Strength and their own Arms; for they were deterred by the memory of that ill Example in the late War, from joyning Battel upon such circumstances, where two Armies were to be feared at the same time. Wherefore, they kept themselves within their Camp, not willing to run such an hazard, and considering, That time, perchance, might soften their furious temper, and heal their minds. In the mean time, the Veians and the Etrurians made so much the more speed, provoking them to fight, first, by riding up to their Camp, and Challenging them forth; and last of all, since that would do no good, Inveighing one while against the Consuls, and another while against the Army; and telling them, That their pretence of Intestine Discord, was but a cloak which they had found out for their fear; and that the Consuls did not so much distrust the good Will of their Soldiers, as they did their Courage: that it was a new kind of Sedition, which could be carried on with silence and sitting still, amongst a Camp of Armed Men: besides which, they upbraided them, by saying what they could, either true or false, concerning the Novelty of their Nation, and its Original. As they made this noise, just under the Rampire and the Gates of the Camp, the Consuls indeed were well enough able to bear it, but the rude Multitude, whose Breasts were filled, sometimes with indignation, and anon with shame, were now also grown averse to their Intestine feuds. They were unwilling their Enemies should go unrevenge, yet at the same time they wished no good success either to the Senate or the Consuls, but their minds were divided between Domestic and Foreign Animosity; till at last the Foreign heats prevailed, for that the Enemy did so proudly and insolently Inveigh against them; wherefore, thronging to the Generals Tent, they desired they might begin the Fight, and beg of him to give the Signal. The Consuls, as if they would deliberate of it, laid their heads together, and had a great deal of Discourse with one another. They had a mind to fight, but yet thought fit to conceal and stifle their inclinations for some time, that by their seeming averlion and delays, the Soldiers, who were already incited, might grow the more eager. For that reason, they made this answer, That what the Soldiers desired was unseasonable; nor was it yet convenient to fight: that they would continue in their Camp; besides which, they made an Order, That no man should stir; and if any one did, they would look upon him as an Enemy. Being thus dismissed, they believed the Consuls had no intentions to fight, but were themselves thereby the more enflamed to be at it. And then the Enemies also came with much more insolence than before, as soon as they understood that the Consuls would not fight; for they supposed they might insult with all the freedom imaginable; that the Soldiers were not trusted with their own Arms; that the business would break out into the extremity of Sedition, and that they should see an end of the Roman Government. In confidence whereof, they ran to the Gates of the Camp, through which, they threw in their taunts and reproaches upon the Romans, and could hardly forbear to Attack it. In the mean time, the Romans, who could no longer endure the Contumely, ran from all parts of the Camp to the Consuls, whom they applied themselves to, not sneakingly, as before, by their Captains, but with loud Clamours, and in a full Body. The matter was now ripe for Action, yet they still made delays; whilst Fabius, seeing the Tumult increase, and having his Collegues consent, who was afraid of a Mutiny, commanded silence, and said, I know, Cn. Manlius! these men can get the Victory, but they themselves have kept me from knowing whether they will or no: wherefore I am resolved, not to give the signal, unless they swear they will return Conquerors from the Battel. The Army have deceived a Roman Consul once already, when they were in the Field, but they will never disappoint the gods. There was one M. Flavoleius, a Centurion [or Captain] who among the rest of the superior Officers was very importunate, and told him, M. Fabius! I will come a Conqueror from this Fight; desiring, if he did not, that Jupiter, Mars, and all the other gods, might show the effects of their wrath upon him. After whom, the whole Army took the same Oath; which when they had done, the signal being given, they armed themselves, and marched into the Field, full both of indignation and hopes, bidding the Etrurians now revile them, or let them see the man that durst say such a word as they had lately done. Indeed the Courage of them all in general, both Senate and People, was very conspicuous that day. But the Fabian Name, and the Fabian Family, was most remarkable: who proposed in that Fight to reconcile the People, who were by many Civil Broils so much exasperated: and thereupon they set the Army in Array.

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XLVI. Nor did the *Veians* and the *Etrurians* refuse the offer; for they were pretty confident, that the *Romans* would not fight with them, any more than they had done with the *Aequi*: yea, that they ought not to despair (now that the Enemy was so incensed, and in such doubtful circumstances) of accomplishing some greater end. But it fell out quite contrary; for the *Romans* never came into the Field with greater Resolution, than at that time; so far had the reproaches of their Foes, and the delay of the Consuls exasperated their Spirits. The *Etrurians* had hardly time enough to Marshal their men, before the *Romans*, upon the first effort, threw down their Javelins in haste, rather than Darted them at the Enemy, and the Fight came to handy-strokes with their Swords, wherein *Mars* is most destructive. Among the Nobility, the *Fabian* Family made an eminent show, and gave a very good example for the rest to follow: one of whom, called *Quint. Fabius* (who had been Consul three years before) being in the Front of the Army, Attacked the Body of the *Veians*; but being unwary and amidst a crowd of his Enemies, was run through the Breast by a *Tuscan*, who was no less vigorous than skilful: so that when the Weapon was drawn out of his Body, he sunk down and died of that Wound. Both the Armies were sensible of the fall of that great man, and that caused the *Roman* Army to retire: 'till *M. Fabius*, the Consul, leapt over the Corps as it lay along, and holding his Shield against them, cried out, *Was this what you swore, fellow-soldiers? That you would return with flight to your Camp? Are you more afraid of such contemptible Foes, than you are of Jupiter and Mars, by whom you swear? I am resolved, though I took no Oath, either to return a Conqueror, or fighting to fall by you, dear Q. Fabius.* With that *Cæso Fabius*, who had been Consul the year before, replied, *Do you think, Brother, to prevail upon them to fight by using such words as those? The gods, by whom they have sworn, will make them do it: but let us inflame their minds, as it becomes men of Honour, as befits the Fabian Name, rather by fighting our selves, than by exhorting them thereunto.* Which he had no sooner said, but the two *Fabii* fell furiously upon the Enemies Van, and with them drew on the whole Army.

XLVII. By this means, the Battel being renewed on one side, the Consul, *Cn. Manlius*, was as industrious in the other Wing to encourage his men: who were almost in the same condition. For as in the other Wing the Soldiers cheerfully followed *Q. Fabius*, so they did in this the Consul *Cn. Manlius*, who was now as it were in pursuit of the routed Enemy. But when being grievously wounded he retired out of the Fight, they supposing him to be slain, gave way, and had quitted the Field, if the other Consul (coming briskly up to them with some Troops of Horse, and crying out, *His Collegue was yet alive, and that he had routed the other Wing,*) had not kept up their drooping spirits. *Manlius* also to reinforce the Battel appeared before them: and then the Soldiers, seeing both the Consuls present, were mightily encouraged; whilst at the same time the Enemy was very indiscreet, in that, relying upon their Multitudes, they drew off their Reserves and sent them to Attack the *Roman* Camp. Into which having made an irruption without much ado, they spent more time in looking after the Plunder, than in opposing the Enemy; so that the *Roman Triarii* [old, and stout Soldiers that were placed in the Rere] who could not withstand their first Shock, sending Messengers to the Consuls with advice how the case stood, returned in a full Body to the *Prætorium* [or Generals Tent] and on their own accord themselves renewed the Fight: besides that Consul *Manlius* also returning to the Camp, set a Guard upon each Gate thereof to block the Enemy up. Which desperate circumstance enflamed the *Tuscans* more with rage, than audacity: for having ran to all places, where-ever they had hopes of getting out, but still to no purpose; a Party of young men among them made up to the Consul himself, who was at that time remarkable for his Armour, which he wore: and though their first Darts were received by those that stood about him, yet afterward their force became insupportable; the Consul had a mortal Wound, of which he presently died, and all the men about him were defeated. Whereupon the *Tuscans* grew much bolder, whilst the *Romans* were in a consternation over all the Camp; nor had they ever recovered themselves, had not some of the Officers, who took away the Consul's Body, opened a Gate and made way for the Foe; who thereby breaking out, and going in confusion away, fell into the hands of the other Consul, who was Victorious, and were a second time by him not only many of them killed, but the rest put to flight. By this means the *Romans* got a glorious Victory, though it was obscured and clouded with the death of two such great men. For which reason, the Consul, when the Senate ordered him to Triumph; and said, *That if an Army could Triumph without their General, they would readily suffer it for the extraordinary service done in that Battel,* made answer, *That he (seeing his Family was all in tears for the death of Q. Fabius his Brother, and the Commonwealth partly destitute, as having lost one of her Consuls) now that he was forced to Mourn both upon a publick and a private account too, would not accept of the Laurels.* Which refusal of his was more honourable than any Triumph that ever was made; so much is glory sometimes advanced by being seasonably contemned. Then he led the two Funeral Poms of his Brother and the Consul, one after another; and made both the Funeral Orations, in which, by giving them their due commendations, he gained a very great share of Elogy himself; remembering well, what he had resolved on in the beginning of his Consulship, which was, to reconcile the People; and distributing the maimed Soldiers among the Sena-

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tors for their Cure. The *Fabii* had a great many allotted to them; nor had any more care taken of them: from whence the *Fabii* grew popular, but that by no other Arts than what were consistent with publick good.

Then *Cæso Fabius* being made Consul with *T. Virginus*, as well by the consent of the People as of the Senate, concerned himself neither in Wars nor Levies of Men, or any other Affair, before he had done his endeavour (now that there was some hopes of an accommodation) as soon as possible to unite the People with the Senate. For which reason, in the beginning of his Year, before there was any Tribune to stand up for the Agrarian Law, he thought fit that the Senate should make their present, and give the People the Land taken from their Enemies, in equal portions; for it was reason and justice that they should enjoy it, by whose blood and sweat it was purchased. The Senate slighted the proposal; and some of them complained, *That through too much glory that once vivid Soul of Cæso was grown luxuriant and effeminate: but after that time there were no more factions in the City.* In the mean while the *Latins* were teased with the Incursions of the *Aequi*; against whom *Cæso* was sent with an Army and plundered all their Country; whilst they themselves fled into their Towns, and were secured within the Walls; nor was there any memorable Battel then fought. But the *Veians* slew a great many *Romans* through the inadvertency of the other Consul; and the whole Army had perished, if *Cæso Fabius* had not come in time to relieve them. From that time they had neither Peace nor War with the *Veians*; but were to one another like so many Robbers. The *Veians* one while gave ground before the *Roman* Legions, and removed into their City; but then again, when they saw the Legions drawn off, made incursions into the *Roman* Territories; by which means, War and Quietness did interchangeably succeed each other: nor could the dispute be either omitted or made an end of. Besides, other Wars either at the present lay upon them (as from the *Aequi* and the *Volsci*, who were never quiet any longer than they smarted for some late Conflict) or it was manifest, that the *Sabines*, who were always their Enemies, would shortly rise against them, together with the whole Country of *Etruria*. But the *Veians*, who were their more constant, than vexatious Foes, disturbed them more by contumely than any danger, which they apprehended; because they could not be either at any time neglected, nor would they give them leave to turn their Arms upon any other People. Whereupon the *Fabian* Family went to the Senate; before whom the Consul spake in behalf of the rest: *The War, said he, (grave Fathers!) against the Veians, lacks a constant rather than a great supply, as you your selves can tell. Do you therefore take care of other Wars, and commit this against them to the Conduct of the Fabii: we'll promise you, the Roman honour shall be secure, being resolved to carry on that War at the peculiar cost and expence of our own Family.* Nor shall the Commonwealth be concerned either in raising or paying the Soldiers. The Senate gave them hearty thanks; and the Consul going out of the Court with a company of *Fabii* following him (who stood at the door to hear what the Senate determined) returned home: and then the Soldiers, being first ordered to come the next day to the Consuls House, went to their several Houses.

This news ran through the whole City, who extolled the *Fabii* up to the skies; *That one Family should undertake the burden of the whole City; that the Veian War was become a private concern, and managed by private Arms; that if there were two more Families in the City of the same strength, let the Volsci and the Aequi demand what they would, all the neighbouring Nations might be subdued, whilst the Roman People were at ease.* The next day the *Fabii* armed themselves and met where they were ordered. The Consul coming forth into his Portal in a Military habit, saw all his Family in Battalia: and being received into the midst of them, commanded the Ensigns to move: nor did there ever any Army either less in number, or more renowned and admired, march through the City. For they were three hundred and six of them, all Patricians, and of the same Family, each one of which was fit to make a General upon any occasion, even in the opinion of the grave Senate; and these men went with the united forces of their Family, protesting, they would be a plague to the *Veians*; but after them there followed a great number, which was made up partly of their friends and acquaintance, (who proposed to themselves no ordinary matters; no hopes, nor cares, but the most glorious things imaginable) and partly of such as were concerned for the publick good, standing amazed to see them, and bidding them go on with courage; go on with success; and make the issue of it equal to their enterprize; then they might hope for Consulships and Triumphs with all other rewards and honours that were in their disposal. As they passed by the Capitol, the Castle, and other Temples, they made their supplications to all the gods, that they either saw or thought of; to prosper that Army with good success, and bring them back to their Parents as well as to their Country, with speed and safety. But they prayed to no purpose; for going out at that unlucky Gate, called *Porta Carmentalis*, near the Temple of *Janus* (which stands on the right hand of it) they came to the River *Cremera*, where they thought fit to make a Garrison. At that time *L. Æmilius* and *C. Servilius* were made Consuls. And as long as the Plunder lasted, the *Fabii* were not only strong enough to defend their Garrison, but also secured the whole Country that borders upon *Etruria*, with ease to themselves, but annoyance to the Enemy, having free ingress into both Confines. After that there was some respite between their Ravages; in which time, the *Veians*, with an Ar-

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my that they got out of *Etruria*, attacked the Garrison of *Cremera*; and the *Roman* Legions led by the Consul *L. Aemilius* fought hand to hand with the *Etrurians* in a pitched Battel: though the *Veians* had scarce time enough to marshal their men; by reason that, upon the first motion, whilst the Army advanced after the Ensigns, and were setting their Body of Reserves, a wing of *Roman* Horse came suddenly upon them, and deprived them not only of conveniency to begin the Fight, but even of ranging their Forces. Whereupon, being routed and driven back as far as the *Saxa Rubra* [or, red Rocks] where their Camp was, they humbly petitioned for Peace; but repented of it, through their innate levity, before the Garrison of the *Romans* marched from *Cremera*.

L. The *Veians* had another Conflict with the *Fabii*, without any greater preparations than before: nor did they only make Incurfions into the Country, with sudden Inroads, but several times fought in the Plains, and at a small distance from each other: in which Battels, one Family of *Romans* won many Victories from the richest City in *Etruria*, as things then stood. That seemed at first very severe and dishonourable in the opinion of the *Veians*; and thence arose their design of laying an Ambuscade for their proud Foes: besides that, they were very glad to see the *Fabii* grow so audacious and insolent by their success. For which reason also they drove Sheep into their way sometimes, as if it had been by chance, when they were plundering the Country; nor only so, but the Country People ran away and let the Land lie waste, whilst the supplies that were sent to hinder such Devastations, fled back again more out of a pretended than any real fear. By this time, the *Fabii* so far contemned the Enemy, that they thought themselves not only invincible, but irresistible at any time or in any place. Which hopes of theirs was such an encouragement to them, that when they saw a flock of Sheep at a great distance from *Cremera*, they ran towards them (though the Enemy appeared here and there in many places) and having, through inadvertency, passed the place where the Ambuscade was planted, they straggled from each other to catch the Sheep, that being frightened (as in such a case they use to be) were dispersed over all the Fields; till on the sudden, the Enemy rose up and opposed them on every side. Whereupon the noise set up quite round the Plains, at first surprized them, and then the Darts, which flew upon them from all parts; and the *Etrurians* gathering into a Body, they were so hedged in with, that as the Enemy came on, they were forced to draw themselves into a narrower compass: which made them appear very few, and the *Etrurians*, very many, now that their Ranks were reduced to their close Order. Then quitting their design of engaging the whole Army, they made toward one place only, and forced their way by putting themselves into a posture called *Cuneus* [i. e. the form of a Wedg.] The way that they took led gradually up an Hill; where they at first stooped; but soon after, having taken breath there, and recovered themselves from the fright they were put into, they drove back the pursuers. By which means, though they were few, they might, with the advantage of the place, have gotten the Victory, had not the *Veians* gone round the Hill and come up to the very top: for by that contrivance the Enemy became a second time too hard for them. Whereupon the *Fabii* were every man of them slain, and their Garrison taken. It is certain, that three hundred and six of them then died; nor was there any more of the *Fabian* Family left, save one young Lad, to be a strong support to the *Roman* People (who were or might be in dubious circumstances) upon many future occasions as well at home as in the Wars.

II. When this slaughter happened among the *Fabii*, *C. Horatius* and *T. Menenius* were Consuls. Of which two, *Menenius* was presently sent against the *Tuscan*, who were now proud of their Victory: but he also had bad success, and the Enemies possessed themselves of *Janiculum*: nor had the City escaped a Siege (for the *Etrurians* having passed the *Tiber* had made all provisions scarce, as well as brought a War upon them) if the Consul *Horatius* had not been recalled out of the Country of the *Volsi*. Yea, so near did that War approach their very Walls, that they fought first upon equal terms near the Temple of *Hope*, and a second time by the Gate called *Porta Collina*. Where though the *Romans* had but little the better of it, yet that Contest made the Soldiers more fit for future Action, because they thereby recovered their former Courage. Then *A. Virginus* and *Sp. Servilius* were created Consuls: and the *Veians* after their late Defeat came no more to a pitched Battel, though they ravaged the Country, and made havock of the *Roman* Territories even from *Janiculum* it self; nor were either the Cattel or the Country People secure from their violence. But they were taken by the same Stratagem, whereby they had taken the *Fabii*; for following the flocks of Sheep, which were driven forth on purpose to invite them that way, they ran headlong into a great Ambuscade, who made a greater slaughter of them. Yea, that was such a provocation to them, as caused a farther destruction among them; for passing the *Tiber* in the night time, they attacked the Camp of Consul *Servilius*, from whence being repelled with great loss of men, they with much ado retired into *Janiculum*. With that the Consul also immediately passed the *Tiber*, and pitching his Camp under *Janiculum*, the next day, early in the morning, being flushed with the success of the day before, but more because he wanted Provisions (which made him too precipitate in his Designs) he hastily led his Men up *Janiculum* to the Enemies Camp; from whence being beaten with more dishonour, than he the day before had routed the Enemy, himself and his men were preserved by the interposition

position of his Collegue; whilst the *Etrurians* were all slain between the two Armies, as they were running away from both of them. Thus was the *Veian* War made an end of by a successful piece of rashness.

Now therefore when the City was at peace, the provisions grew again more plentiful, not only upon the account of Corn that was brought out of *Campania*, but inasmuch as every one, being now no longer in fear of a Famine, produced the stock that they had formerly concealed. Whereupon they enjoyed such store and ease, that they began again to grow wanton, and for lack of mischief at home, to seek it abroad. The Tribunes began to infect the People with their poison, which was, the *Agrarian* Law, inciting them against the Senate who opposed it; and not only against them all in general, but against single Persons too. *Q. Considius* and *Genucius* were the promoters of the *Agrarian* Law and gave *T. Menenius* warning to appear and make his defence on such a day; whose crime was, that he had lost the Garrison of *Cremera*, though his Post, when Consul, was not far from thence. Him therefore they ruined, though the Senate stood up in his behalf as much as they had done for *Coriolanus*; yea, though his Father *Agrippa*'s name was not yet forgotten. But the Tribunes were pretty moderate in the mulct they laid upon him; for when he was convicted, they imposed no greater fine upon him than 34 pounds. Yet even that proved his death; for they say, he could not bear the disgrace and dissatisfaction of it, but died with grief. After whose death there was another accused, and that was *Sp. Servilius* (as soon as he quitted the Consulship) when *C. Nautius* and *P. Valerius* were Consuls; being summoned to his Tryal in the beginning of their Year by *C. Caticus* and *T. Statius*, who were then Tribunes: but he did not (like *Menenius*) oppose the Tribunes fury, either with intreaties of his own or the Senate, but with great confidence in his own innocence and integrity: whose crime was the Battel he fought with the *Tuscan* at *Janiculum*. But he being a man of a stout spirit, behaved himself at that time, in his own case, as he had done formerly in publick danger; and battling not only the Tribunes, but the People also by an Oration that he made, wherein he upbraided them with the *Condemnation and Death* of *Menenius*, (whose Father was formerly the restorer of the People, who by his means obtained those very Laws and Magistrates, which made them then so insolent) by his courage escaped the danger. *Virginus* also his Collegue, being brought as a Witness against him, did him some service by speaking in his commendation; but the Judgment against *Menenius* was most to his advantage; so much were the minds of the People changed.

By this time their Domestic feuds were over; but there arose another *Veian* War, in which the *Sabines* also joyned their Forces. Whereupon *P. Valerius*, being then Consul, and having mustered up the Auxiliaries of the *Latins* and the *Hernici*, was sent with an Army against the *Veii*, and straightway attacked the *Sabine* Camp, which lay before the Walls of their Allies: by which he put them into such a fright, that whilst they ran confusedly in several small Companies to repel the Enemy, he took that Gate where he first made the Assault. After which there happened, within the Bulwark, rather a Massacre than a Battel. From whence the noise got even into the City, as if *Veii* had been taken; and the *Veians* who took up their Arms in great consternation of mind, went, part of them to relieve the *Sabines*, whilst the rest with all their might attacked the *Romans*, as they were endeavouring to possess themselves of the Camp. By which means the *Romans* were for some small time diverted and disturbed from their attempt; but soon after facing about to both Enemies they made resistance, and the Horse being sent in by the Consul utterly routed the *Tuscan*; so that in the same hour two Armies, consisting of two most powerful and very great Nations, were overcome. In the mean time, while these things passed at *Veii*, the *Volsi* and the *Aequi* had pitched their Camp in the *Latin* Territories, where they ravaged all the Country: whom though the *Latins* of themselves, with the sole assistance of the *Hernici*, and without any Commander, or aid from the *Romans*, had forced to Decamp, and had got a vast Booty, besides their own Goods again, yet *C. Nautius* the Consul was sent from *Rome* to fight against the *Volsi*. They were not pleased, I suppose, that their Allies should wage War upon their own strength and their own head, without a *Roman* General or *Roman* Auxiliaries: wherefore they omitted no kind either of calamity or contumely against the *Volsi*; but all would not provoke them to fight a set Battel.

Then *L. Furius* and *C. Manlius* were Consuls: the latter whereof had the *Veians* for his Province: but he did not fight them, because, upon their Petition, they had a Truce granted for forty years, with an order for Corn and Money. But their Peace abroad was straight attended with discord at home; for the people were mad through the instigation of the Tribunes, who stood up for the *Agrarian* Law. In opposition whereunto, the Consuls not at all dismayed either at the condemnation of *Menenius*, or the danger which *Servilius* was in, made great resistance; for which *Genucius* the Tribune accused them when they went out of their office. After them, *L. Aemilius* and *Opiter Virginus* were Consuls; though I find in some Annals, *Popilius Julius* named as Consul, instead of *Virginus*. But this year (whoever were the Consuls) *Furius* and *Manlius* went about to the people in sordid habits like guilty persons (though not to the People more than to the younger part of the Senators) persuading and advising them, To abstain from Honours and the administration or management of publick affairs; nor to think the Falces, the Pretexta, and the Sella Curialis any other than the pomp of a Funeral: that

Ensigns of  
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men who were clothed with the badges of Authority were like Beasts crowned for Sacrifice: but if the Consulship were so inviting a Dignity, let them consider that at that very time it was enslaved and oppressed by the power of the Tribunes; to whose command a Consul must pay as much obedience as if he were their Servant: and if he stirred, gave any respect to the Senate, or believed there was any thing but the People in the whole Commonwealth, he must propose to himself the banishment of C. Marcius, or the Condemnation and Death of Menenius. The Senate being incensed with this Discourse of his, consulted, not publicly, but in private, where few could know their Designs: and having resolved whether the Parties accused should be rescued by fair or violent means, they agreed upon the most severe methods; nor did they lack such as would join with them in their bold attempt. Wherefore upon the day appointed for Judgment, when the People stood in the Forum in full expectation of it, they wondered at first why the Tribune did not come into the Assembly; and after that, growing more jealous by his delay, believed he was deterred by the Nobility, and complained that the publick Interest was deserted and betrayed: till at last, those that attended at the Tribunes House Door, brought word that he was found dead at home. Which when the whole Assembly had notice of, they were dispersed several ways, like an Army when their General's slain. But the Tribunes were most affrighted, as being admonished by the death of their Collegue, that the sacred Laws had now no force at all. Nor did the Senate behave themselves with due moderation in their joy, but were all of them so far from repenting of what was done, that they would fain have been thought altogether guiltless, and publickly declared, That the power of the Tribunes ought to be retrenched by any ill means.

LV.

Upon this Victory, which was of very bad example, the Tribunes being in a fright, the Consuls ordered a Levy, and made it without any intercession at all. At which the People grew very angry, though more upon the account of the Tribunes silence, than the Consuls Commands; saying, *Their Liberty was quite lost, that they were now in their former condition, and that the Tribunes power was now dead and buried at the same time with Genucius: that they must contrive some other way to oppose the Senate; and that could not be done by any likelier method than for the People, since they had no other help left to defend themselves: that the Consuls had four and twenty Lictors [or Serjeants] and those all Commoners: that nothing could be more contemptible or weak, if any one would condemn them; and that each man made such things great and terrible by his own apprehension of them.* When they had instigated each other on this wise, there was a Lictor sent from the Consuls to one Volero Publilius a Commoner, for that having been a Captain, he said, he ought not to be made a private Sentinel. Volero therefore appearing to the Tribunes; but having no body to take his part, the Consuls ordered him to be stripped, and the Rods made ready. To whom Volero cried out, *I appeal to the People: seeing the Tribunes had rather see a Roman Citizen whipt before their faces, than be themselves murdered by you in their beds.* But the louder he bawled, so much the more severe was the Lictor to him. Whereupon Volero, being himself very strong, and with the assistance of some friends that he called to aid him, having repelled the Lictor, whilst the enraged multitude that were concerned upon their own score made a great noise, got into the thickest of the crowd, still crying out, *I appeal to, and implore the patronage of the People! aid me, my fellow-citizens! aid me, my fellow-soldiers! 'tis in vain to expect the Tribunes, who themselves lack your assistance.* With which the People were so much incited, that they prepared as for a Battel; for they thought themselves in great danger, and that nothing, in which they had either a publick or private Interest, would from that time be secure from violence. The Consuls having exposed themselves to this mighty Tempest, were quickly persuaded, that Majesty and Authority can never be safe without strength: for their Lictors were abused, the Fasces [or Rods] broken, and they driven out of the Forum into the Senate-house, being uncertain how far Volero would pursue his Victory. But when the tumult was allayed, and they had ordered the Senate to be called, they complained of the injuries they had received, the violence of the Commons, and Volero's audacity. Upon which occasion having said many sharp things, at last the Seniors carried it, who did not think fit to oppose the Senats anger against the temerity of the Common People.

LVI.

U. C.

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For this reason, the People had so great a love for Volero, that they chose him Tribune for the next Year, in which L. P. Marius and P. Furius were Consuls. But, contrary to all mens expectations, who believed he would permit the Tribunes to teaze the Consuls of the last Year, he preferred the publick good before his own private injury, and saying not one word against the Consuls, brought in a Bill before the People, for the choosing of Plebeian Magistrates in the Assembly, called, Comitia Tributa [i.e. an Assembly of the several Tribes of Rome.] Which though it was a matter of great moment, because it lookt very well at first view, was passed; whereby the Senate were deprived of all the power which formerly they had of making who they pleased Tribunes by the Votes of their Clients. Which action, though it were very grateful to the People, the Senate opposed with all their might; but the Consuls and the Nobility being not able to persuade any one of the Tribunes (which was their only way to make resistance) to interpose in the affair; yet notwithstanding, the case being very important in it self, was protracted with great debates for a whole Year together. Then the People chose Volero Tribune again: upon which, the Senate, supposing that they must fight for it, made

made Ap. Claudius, the Son of Appius (whom for his Fathers sake the People so much hated) Consul; and T. Quintius was his Collegue. In the very beginning of whose Year they treated first of all concerning Volero's Law: of which as he was the Inventor, so also was Lactorius, his Collegue, not only a later but a more earnest asserter of it. For his great glory that he had got in the Wars made him undaunted and bold, for that there was scarce one man of that age who was more active than he. He therefore, whilst Volero talked of nothing but his Law, refraining from Invectives against both the Consuls, began to accuse Appius, who came of a proud Generation, that were extremely cruel to the Roman People; but striving to prove that the Senate had chosen, not a Consul, but an Executioner to vex and butcher the People, his tongue could not utter what he had in his heart; wherefore for want of more words, he told them, *Romans! because I cannot tell any thing so easily, as I can perform what I say, come hither to morrow; and I will either die in your sight, or have the Law passed.* The next day the Tribunes took possession of the Temple; whilst the Consuls and the Nobility assembled to obstruct the Law. Lactorius ordered all those to be put out who had no Voices; though the young Noble-men stood still, and would not stir though the Officer spoke to them: for which reason, Lactorius commanded some of them to be laid hold on. But the Consul Appius said, *a Tribune had nothing to do with any one but a Commoner; for he was not a Magistrate in respect to the People in general, but only to the common People; nor could he lawfully command any one to depart, according to the ancient usage; because the form and method was, to say; Romans! if you think fit, depart hence.* It was calie for him by talking of Law, with contempt, to put Lactorius into a great huff: and so he did; whereupon the Tribune, enflamed with anger, sent a Messenger to the Consul, and the Consul a Lictor to him, saying, that he was a private Person, without any Authority, without any Office: at which time, the Tribune had been very roughly dealt withal, had not the whole Assembly risen up in his defence against the Consul, and a concourse happened of the affrighted multitude, who ran into the Forum from all parts of the City. Yet Appius by his resolution endured the Storm: though they had certainly engaged in a bloody Battel, if the other Consul, Quintius, who had employed several Consular men to get his Collegue by force (if they could not by any other means) out of the Forum, had not mollified the tumultuous People with fair and gentle words; if he had not desired the Tribunes to dismiss the Assembly; to give them time to cool; and told him, that time would not diminish their strength, but would add policy to their strength; for the Senate would in time be at the disposal of the People, and the Consuls in the power of the Senate.

With much ado Quintius appeased the People, but the Senate had more trouble with the other Consul: till at last, when the assembly of the People was dismissed, the Consuls called a Senate; in which, now that fear and anger had mutually changed their minds, the longer time they had to deliberate, the farther they were from quarrelling; so that they gave Quintius thanks, for that by his means the discord was composed: desiring of Appius, that he would not wish the Consular Authority to be any greater than it might well be in a peaceful City: for whilst the Tribunes and the Consuls each of them would draw all things to themselves, there was no strength left between them; that the Commonwealth was distracted and torn apieces by its Magistrates, it being inquired more in whose hands it was, than whether it were secure. Appius, on the other hand, protested before God and man, that the Commonwealth was betrayed and deserted through fear: that the Consuls were not wanting to the Senate, but the Senate to the Consuls: and that they submitted to Laws more grievous, than those that were made in the Sacred Mount. But being overcome by the consent of the Senate he said no more; so that the Law was passed whilst he and his Party held their tongues.

LVII.

That was the first time that the Tribunes were Created in an Assembly called Comitia Tributa: and had three added to their number, being but two before, as Piso tells us; who also sets down their names, which were Cn. Sicinius, L. Numitorius, M. Duilius, Sp. Fufius, and L. Mecilius. In the time of this Sedition at Rome, a War broke out from the Volsci and the Aequi, who had ravaged all the Country; to the end, that if the People should separate themselves, they might come to them for refuge; and then having composed their affairs return back again. Whereupon Ap. Claudius was sent against the Volsci and Quintius against the Aequi. In which expedition, Appius was as fierce as ever he used to be at home; nay, so much the freer, because he was delivered from the controul of the Tribunes; and hated the People more than his Father ever did, because he saw himself out-done by them; and that the Law was passed, which other former Consuls had obstructed with less endeavour, though the Senate never had so great hopes of it from them as from him, who was the only man that stemmed the Tide of the Tribunes power. This rage and indignation that he was now possessed with, incited his furious mind to vex the Army with severe Commands; who had imbibed such an animosity, that it was utterly impossible to tame them. They did all things lazily, idly, negligently, and doggedly; nor did either shame or fear restrain them. For if he had a mind to have the Army march faster, they would go as slow as they could; if he stood by and encouraged them to take pains in any thing, they would all presently abate of their former industry; hang down their heads before him, and curse him to themselves as he walked by; insomuch that his soul, which had formerly always been an unconquered Enemy to the

LVIII.



the People, was sometimes moved. For having tried all ways of severity to no purpose, as being unable to do any good of the Soldiers, he said, *The Centurions had corrupted the Army, calling the Tribunes, many times (as a jeer to them) Plebeians and Voleiros.*

LIX.

The *Volsi* had intelligence of all they did; and were so much the eagerer to fight, because they hoped the *Roman* Army would have the same quarrel against *Appius*, as they had against Consul *Fabius*. But they were much more violent against *Appius* than they had been against *Fabius*: for they did not only refuse to Conquer, as the *Fabian* Army did, but chose to be Conquerors. For being led forth into the Field, they shamefully ran away toward their Camp, nor did they stand still, before they saw the *Volsians* within their Out-works and a dreadful slaughter of their Rere. Then they were forced to fight, in order to remove their victorious Foe from their Rampire: but it appeared plain enough, that the *Roman* Soldiers had a mind not only to have their Camp taken, but some of them rejoiced in the slaughter and ignominy of their Countrymen. At which notwithstanding *Appius* was so stout as not to be any way discouraged, but, more than that, having a mind to be somewhat sharp upon them, he called an Assembly: at which the Military Officers and Tribunes came about him, and advised him, not to make trial of such a kind of power, as consisted wholly in the consent of those that should obey it; that the Soldiers in general said, they would not go to the Assembly; and that they were heard very frequently to desire, that the Camp were removed out of the *Volsian* Territories: that their Victorious Enemy was very lately almost at their Gates and within their Bulwark; and that at this time they did not only suspect a great mischief to hang over them, but had a manifest prospect of it before their eyes. At last being overcome (seeing the Soldiers got nothing there but only the delay of their punishment) dismissing the Assembly and having given order for their March the day following, he gave the signal for it by break of day. As soon as the Army was drawn out of the Camp, the *Volsi*, who were excited by the same signal, fell upon the hindmost; from whom the tumult being propagated even to the Van, put the Ensigns and the Ranks into such a fear and disorder, that they could neither hear what was commanded, nor be put into any convenient posture: nor were any of them mindful of ought, except flight; wherefore they ran away over the dead Bodies and Arms that lay in their way in such confusion and so far, that the Enemy desisted from following them, before the *Romans* stood still. At length having mustered up the Soldiers which were left, after that disorderly escape, the Consul, who had followed and recalled them, but all in vain, pitched his Camp in a quiet Country, and having called an Assembly, inveighed very justly against the Army who betrayed all the rules of Military Discipline, and deserted their Colours, asking each of them, where the Ensigns were, and where their Armies were? because the Soldiers were disarmed and the Standard-bearers had lost the Colours. Besides which he likewise whipt and beheaded several Centurions and others that had left their stations: and the rest of the Multitude were every tenth man of them chosen out by lot for Punishment.

IX.

On the contrary, in the Country of the *Aequi*, the Consul and the Soldiers strove who should oblige each other most; for *Quintius* was not only of a milder disposition, but the unhappy severity of his Collegue made him the more pleased with himself. Whereupon the *Aequi*, seeing this Army and their General agreed so well together, durst not engage them, but suffered the Enemy to Ravage and Plunder all their Country: nor was there a greater booty taken thence in any former War: which was all given to the Soldiers; together with commendations, which please them well as rewards. The Army therefore came home, not only better satisfied with their General, but, for his sake, with the Senate too, and said, *The Senate had given them a Father, but to the other Army a Master.* But this Year, which was spent in the various fortune of War, and fatal discord both at home and abroad, was most remarkable for the *Comitia Tributa*: though that business was more valuable for the Victory that they got when they had once engaged in the quarrel, than for the use they made of it: for there was more of the Assemblies dignity taken off by removing the Senators out of it, than there was strength added to the People or diminished from the Senate.

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The next was a more turbulent Year, in which *L. Valerius* and *Tib. Amilius* were Consuls, not only upon the account of the difference between the several Ranks of *Romans* concerning the *Agrarian* Law, but also by reason of the Trial of *Appius Claudius*; who being a resolute Enemy to that Law, and undertaking to vindicate the possessors of publick Lands, as if he had been a third Consul, was summoned to appear upon such a day before *M. Duilius* and *Cn. Sicinius*. Nor was there ever any man accused before the People, whom the Vulgar so much hated, not only upon his own, but also upon his Fathers account. The Senate on the other hand were scarce ever before so much concerned, that the defender of the Senate, and the asserter of their Honour, who was always an Enemy to the tumults caused by the Tribunes and the Commonalty, and had exceeded his bounds only in one contest, should be exposed to the fury of the rabble. But *Appius* himself, who was one of those Senators, valued not either the Tribunes, the People, or his Accusation: nor could the menaces of the populace, or the intreaties of the Senate ever induce him, not only to change his Cloaths, and go about to beg the favour of the People, but he would not soften or remit so much even as his usual manner of speaking, when he was to make his defence before them. No, he look'd just as before, with the same resolution, and the same spirit in discourse; insomuch, that most part of the People

People feared *Appius* as much when he was upon his Trial, as they had done when he was Consul. He therefore at that time pleaded for himself with the same vehemence as he was always used to do when he accused another; astonishing both the Tribunes and the People so much by his constancy, that they themselves of their own accord gave him a farther day of Trial, and even then put it off again too. To which time though it were not very long, yet before the day came, he died of a Distemper: whose praises whilst the Tribunes of the People endeavoured to hinder, the People would not endure that the death of such a great Man should be unattended with that solemnity: wherefore they heard his Funeral Commendations when he was dead, with as much satisfaction, as they had his Accusation when he was alive, and waited upon his Corps in great numbers.

The same Year *Valerius* the Consul going with an Army into the Country of the *Aequi*, since he could not tempt the Enemy to fight, was going to attack their Camp; but was hindered by a mighty Tempest of Hail and Thunder: though that which afterward increased his admiration, was, that when they were going to Retreat, the Heavens were all calm and serene as before; so that it seemed an heinous crime again to attempt the taking of that Camp which was, as it were, defended by some God. By this means, all the fury of the War turned into Plundering of the Country; whilst the other Consul *Amilius* made War in the *Sabine* Dominions, whose Country was all laid waste, because the Enemy kept within their Walls. But after that, the *Sabines* being provoked, by seeing, not only their Villages, but even the Towns, where there were a great many Inhabitants, burnt down, went out to meet the Ravagers, but going off with no great success, the next day pitched their Camp at a more secure Post: which was enough to make the Consul think, he might give the Enemy over for Conquered, and therefore he Marched off though the War was not yet made an end of.

Whilst these Wars continued, there being still animosities at home, *T. Numitius Priscus*, and *A. Verginius* were made Consuls. And now the People seemed no longer able to endure the delay of the *Agrarian* Law, but prepared all the force they possibly could; yet having notice that the *Volsi* were near at hand, by the smoke which arose from the burnt Villages, and the flight of the Country People, the Sedition, which was now just ripe and ready to break forth, was thereby repressed. The Consuls were forced out of the Temple from the People the more quiet. And the Enemies did nothing else, but, having put the *Romans* into a vain fright, made haste away. *Numitius* went toward *Antium* against the *Volsi*, and *Verginius* against the *Aequi*: where having like to have received a great slaughter by an Ambuscade, the Courage of the Soldiers recovered what the negligence of the Consul had lost. But they used better Conduct against the *Volsi*; who were defeated in the first Battel, and driven into *Antium*, a very rich City (as things then stood;) which the Consul, not daring to Attack, he took from the *Antians* another Town called *Ceno*, not near so rich as *Antium*. In the mean time, whilst the *Aequi* and the *Volsi* employed the *Roman* Armies, the *Sabines* came and Plundered their Country even as far as the Gates of the City: though in a few days after they received from the two Armies (who were led into their Confines by both the engaged Consuls together) more damage than they had done.

In the end of this Year, they had some Peace, but it was, as it always used to be, disturbed by a Contest between the Senate and the People. For the People being disgusted would not come to the Consular Assembly; wherefore the Consuls, whose Names were *T. Quintius* and *Q. Servilius*, were chosen by the Senate and their Clients: whose Year was very like the precedent, Seditious in the beginning, but quieted by a Foreign War. For the *Sabines* marching over the *Crustumine* Plains with all speed, and having made a great slaughter, as well as burnt several places about the River *Anien*, were beaten back almost from the Gate, called, *Porta Collina*, and the very Walls, but notwithstanding drove away before them great numbers of Men and Cattel. Whom *Servilius* the Consul pursuing with a powerful Army, could not indeed come to engage their Forces in a convenient place, but plundered their Country to that degree, that he left nothing untouched by his Arms, and having taken a great Booty, marched back again. Among the *Volsi* too they behaved themselves very well, not only through the Conduct of their Leader, but the industry of the Soldiers too. For there at first they fought upon a Plain, receiving great hurt on both sides, with much blood-shed; and the *Romans*, whose small number made them the more sensible of their loss, had given way, had not the Consul with a seasonable lie (crying out, *That the Enemy fled on one side*) animated the Men; who from thence took Courage, and by thinking themselves Victorious, gained the Victory. The Consul fearing, lest he, by pressing too hard upon the Enemy, might renew the Fight, retreated: and for some days after there was a tacit kind of Truce on both sides. In which time, there came a vast multitude of People from all quarters of the *Volsi* and the *Aequi* into the Camp, not doubting, but that the *Romans*, if they knew of it, would march off in the night time: wherefore about the third Watch they came to attack the Camp. *Quintius* having appeased the tumult that their sudden fear had caused, and commanded the rest of the Soldiers to lie still in their Tents, drew forth a Party of the *Hernici* for a Guard before the Camp, giving orders to the *Cornicines* [such as blew a Military Horn or Cornet] and the Trumpeters

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Trumpeters to mount themselves upon Horses and sound before the Rampire, so as to keep the Enemy in suspense till Morning: by which means, the remaining part of the night, all things were quiet in the Camp, inasmuch that the Romans had also sleep enough to refresh them. This shew of armed Foot, whom they thought not only more than they really were, but Romans too, together with the neighing of the Horses, which having strange Riders, and being hared by the great noise about their Ears, grew very skittish, kept the Volsci in expectation, when the Army would set upon them.

LXV.

As soon as it was day, the Romans, being refreshed with sleep, were drawn out into the Field, where upon the first effort they defeated the Volsci, who were tired with watching and standing all night in their Arms: though the Enemy indeed rather gave way, than was beaten off: because upon their backs there were Hills, to which all but their Front might very safely retreat. The Consul when he came to that disadvantageous place, made his Army stand, though the Soldiers could hardly be stopt, but cried out, and begged of him, *That he would let them pursue their defeated Foes; whilst the Horse came about him, and being more resolute, cried out, That they would go before the Ensigns.* So that whilst the Consul delayed the time, relying indeed upon his Soldiers Courage, but being very diffident as to the place, they all cried out, they would go, and so they did; for fixing their Javelins in the ground, to make themselves the lighter to climb the Hills, they ran up. The Volsci at their first approach threw Darts and kicked Stones that lay in their way, down upon them as they came up, whereby they forced them downward. Inasmuch that the Romans left Wing had given out, if the Consul, by chiding their rashness, and their sloth at the same time had not dispelled their fear, and made them ashamed to retire. Wherefore they stopt, but were at first very obstinate, though afterwards (as much as their strength would permit them to do against an Enemy that stood upon higher ground) they began to move of their own accord, and renewing the clamour, marched up toward the Enemy: against whom they made another extraordinary effort, and overcame the difficulty of the place, so that they were got well nigh to the top of the Hill, when the Enemy turned their Backs; who running away as fast as they could, both they that fled and they that pursued arrived at the Camp in almost one and the same Body: and in that confusion the Camp was taken. Those of the Volsci, that could escape, went to Antium; whither the Roman Army was likewise led; and that City within a few days surrendered, without any new violence from the besiegers, but because the Volsci since that late unhappy Fight, and the loss of their Camp, had lost their Courage too.

## DECADE I. BOOK III.

### EPITOME.

1, 19. Seditions raised about the Agrarian Laws. 18. The Capitol taken by banished Persons and Slaves, was retaken and they slain. 3. A double Tax or Rate made: in the former whereof the Pole came to one hundred twenty four thousand two hundred and fourteen Sesterces, without taking any thing of such as were Fatherless and Motherless, and such like Persons: and in the later, to one hundred thirty two thousand four hundred and nine. 26. When they had had ill success against the Aequi, L. Quintius Cincinnatus was made Dictator, being sent for from the Plow, to carry on that War. 28. He defeated the Enemy and sold them for slaves. 29. The number of the Tribunes of the People was enlarged, so as to make them ten; in the 36th Year from the time that such Tribunes were first made. 31, 32, 33. They sent Embassadors into Attica, who desired and brought from thence a Scheme of their Laws; for the constituting and propounding whereof there were a sort of Officers, called Decemviri, instead of Consuls, created, without any other Magistrate to assist them: which was in the three hundredth and first year after the building of Rome: and as the Government was transferred from Kings to Consuls, so it was from Consuls to the Decemviri. 34, &c. They having set up ten Tables of Laws, and behaved themselves modestly in that honourable station, for which reason it was agreed that the same men should continue in that dignity the Year following, they afterward having done several enormous things, would not lay down their Authority, but kept it even a third Year also: till such time as the lust of Ap. Claudius put an end to their Tyranny. 44, &c. Who falling in Love with a certain Damsel, suborned a Person privately to demand her as his slave; whereby he laid a necessity upon her Father Virginius to take a knife out of the next Shop he came to, and kill his Daughter (since he had no other way to save her) lest she should fall into the hands of one that would certainly destroy her. 50, &c. The People being provoked by this great example of his extravagance, possessed themselves of the Mount Aventine; and forced the Decemviri to quit their Office; among whom Appius and one other of his Collegues, that had been more guilty than the rest, were thrown into Prison; the rest being banished. 60, &c. Contains what was afterward acted against the Sabines, the Volsci, and the Aequi, with good success. 72. And the dishonest Arbitration of the Romans, who being chosen to decide a Controversie between the Ardeans and the Aricians, adjudged that Land to themselves which was the occasion of the Dispute.

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WHEN Antium was taken, Tib. *Emilius* and Q. *Fabius* were made Consuls; that same *Fabius*, who was the only Person remaining of all that Family who were slain at *Cremora*. *Emilius* already in his former Consulship had been the occasion of dividing the Land among the People: wherefore in this his second Consulate also, the *Agrarians* were in Goods of that Law: and the Tribunes, who had often attempted to carry it in opposition to the Consuls, were now very ready to do so again, especially seeing they had one Consul on their side toward the obtaining of their ends. The Consul likewise continued of the same opinion; whilst the Possessors, and a great part of the Senate, complaining, *That one of the heads of the City concerned himself in matters belonging to the Tribunes, and made himself popular by giving what belonged to other men,* cast all the envy of the thing off from the Tribunes upon the Consuls: whereupon there had arisen a great commotion, had not *Fabius* reconciled them by advice which was not disliked of either side; and that was this, he told them, That by the Conduct and good management of T. *Quintius* there was a pretty quantity of Land the last Year taken from the Volsci. That Antium was near at hand, being an opportune City, and near the Sea, to which they might send a Colony; and the People by that means go into the Country without any complaints from the possessors of such Lands as had been formerly taken from the Enemies; so that then the City would be at Peace. This advice of his pleased them: and with that they made a sort of Officers called *Triumviri*, whose names were T. *Quintius*, A. *Virginus*, and P. *Furius*, to divide the Lands; all People, that would have any share, being ordered to give in their Names. But plenty (as it always does) soon made them loath what they before so much desired; wherefore so few of them gave in their Names, that to fill up the number, there were some of the Volsci added to them; whilst the remaining Multitude chose rather to demand the Land at Rome, than take Possession of it in another place. The Aequi Petitioned Q. *Fabius* (who was come into their Country with an Army) for Peace, but made it void themselves by a sudden Incurfion into the Latin Dominions.

Q. *Servilius* the Year following, being Consul with Sp. *Posthumus*, was sent against the Aequi and pitched his Camp in the Latin Territories; where he was forced to stay because his Army was sick. This War was protracted to the third Year, whilst Q. *Fabius* and T. *Quintius* were Consuls: and that Province was allotted to *Fabius* out of course, because he when he was Victorious against them, had granted the Aequi a Peace. He therefore going with great assurance, that the very fame of his Name would make the Aequi submit, sent Embassadors to the Council of that Nation, to tell them, *That Q. Fabius the Consul said, that he brought Peace from the Aequi to Rome, but that he now came from Rome with a War against them, the same right hand being now armed, that he had formerly given them as a confirmation of friendship; whose perfidiousness and perjury was the cause of it, the gods were now witnesses, and would be by and by revengers: yet he, be it how it would be, could still wish, that the Aequi would rather comply of their own accord, than undergo the hardships of War: if they repented, they should have free access to his experienced clemency; but if they went on in their perjury, they were like to make War in opposition to the gods more than their Enemies.* Which Message was so far from having any effect upon them, that the Embassadors had like to have been abused; and an Army was sent into *Algidum* [a Town of the Aequi] against the Romans. Of which when News was brought to Rome, the indignity of the thing more than the danger brought the other Consul out of the City: so that two Consular Armies came to meet the Enemy in such order, as that they could join Battel at the same instant. But it being almost night, one of the Enemies cried out; *This, Romans! is more out of ostentation than any design you have to fight; you set your Army in Battalia, when night is coming on; but we shall need more day-light to make an end of the dispute which we are like to have: to-morrow, at Sun-rising, come again into the Field, and you shall have your fill of fighting, ne'er fear it.* At which words, the Soldiers being incensed (whilst they were led back into their Camp till the next day) thought the night would be very long, ere they should come to fight, and therefore refreshed themselves with meat and sleep. The next day, as soon as it was light, the Roman Army was ready somewhat sooner than the Enemy; but at last the Aequi too marched forth. The Battel was vehement on both sides, for that the Romans fought out of anger and hatred, whilst the Aequi being conscious of the danger they were in by what they had done, and despairing of any future favour, were thereby induced to attempt and try the utmost that they could. Yet the Aequi were not able to withstand the Roman Forces: and therefore being defeated, they fled into their own Confines, where being still averse to Peace, the bold Multitude began to blame their Leaders, for running the hazard of a pitched Battel, wherein the Romans so far out-did them. Saying, That the Aequi were better skilled in Devastations and Incurfions; and that many stragling Parties did more execution with them, than a vast Body of one formed Army.

They therefore leaving a Garrison in their Camp, went out with such a tumult into the Roman Dominions, that they created a terror even in the very City. And that which put them into a greater fright, was, that they could imagin nothing less, than that the Enemy whom they had Conquered, and besieged almost in their very Camp, would remember to Plunder the Country: wherefore the fearful Country folks ran into the Gates, and magni-

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ying not only the ravage or the small Bands of those who committed it, but even all things else by their vain fear, cried out, That the Armies and Legions of the Enemies were come upon them, and were advancing in a full Career toward the City. From these the next took the uncertain Story, and made a worse of it to others; insomuch that the tumult and clamour of this Alarm was very little different from the consternation that a City is usually in upon its being taken. It happened then that Consul *Quintius* was come back from *Algidum* to *Rome*: which was a remedy for their fear. For he having appeased the uproar, and bid them for fearing a Conquered Foe, set a Guard upon the Gates: and then calling a Senate, after he had by their Authority ordered a Cessation of all Judicial proceedings, he went to defend their Confines, leaving *Q. Servilius* Prefect of the City; but found not the Enemy in the Country. The matter was very well managed by the other Consul, who setting upon the Enemy (in the way, which he knew they would come) whilst they were loaded with the Booty, and consequently more uneasy in their March, he made their prey their ruin. For there were but few of the Enemies who escaped the Ambuscade, besides that all the spoils were re-taken by the *Romans*. By which means *Q.* returning to the City put an end to the *Jusitium* [or Intermision of Justice] which lasted but four days. After that there was a Tax made, and a *Lustrum* [or time to take a view of the Citizens] appointed by *Quintius*. In which the Poll-Bill came to an hundred twenty four thousand, two hundred and fifteen Sesterces, without reckoning Orphans, and the like. From that time there was nothing which was memorable done in the Country of the *Aequi*, but they retire into their Towns, permitting all they had to be burned and laid waste; and the Consul, when he had gone over all their Country several times with an Army that Pillaged each part of it, returned to *Rome* with great applause, and equal spoils.

IV. U. C. 288. Then *A. Posthumus Albus* and *Sp. Furius Fusus* were Consuls: the latter of whose Names, some write, *Furius Fusus*; which I take notice of to you, that Readers may not think there is any difference in the man, though there be in the name. There was no doubt of it, but one of these Consuls would make War against the *Aequi*: wherefore the *Aequi* desired aid of the *Volsi* of *Ecetra*: which they being ready to afford (so much did these Cities always strive to shew their hatred to the *Romans*) there were mighty Preparations made for the War. This the *Hernici* perceived, and told the *Romans* before-hand, that the *Ecetrans* had Revolted to the *Aequi*. The Colony of *Antium* was also suspected; for that a vast number of men, when that City was taken, fled thence to the *Aequi*; who, as long as the *Aequian* War lasted, were the keenest Soldiers. But afterward when the *Aequi* were driven into their Towns, that Multitude getting away came back to *Antium*, where of their own accord they persuaded the Inhabitants of that place, who were already disaffected, to Revolt from the *Romans*. But before the thing was brought to an head, the Senate having information, that such a defection was intended, gave order to the Consuls, to send for the chief men of that Colony to *Rome*, and ask them, What the matter was? Who coming thither very cheerfully, and being introduced by the Consuls to the Senate, made such replies to what was asked of them, that they were dismissed more suspected than they came. Whereupon there was no doubt of a War: and in order thereunto, *Sp. Furius*, one of the Consuls (to whom that Province fell) going into the Country of the *Aequi*, found the Enemy Pillaging the *Hernici*: and being ignorant what Multitudes they had (for he never saw them all together) he rashly engaged with them though his Army was too weak. For which reason, upon the first onset being Defeated, he retired into his Camp; though that was not the end of his danger; for all the next night and the day after his Camp was so beset and attacked, that they could not so much as send a Messenger thence to *Rome*. In the mean while the *Hernici* sent word, That they had very ill fortune, and that the Consul together with the whole Army was besieged; which strook such a terror into the Senate, that (in an order of Senate, the form of which always shews an absolute necessity for it) they ordered *Postumius* the other Consul, To take care, that the Commonwealth received no detriment. For they thought best for him to stay at *Rome*, in order to raise what men he could for the War; but to send *T. Quintius* in the nature of a Proconsul to relieve the Camp with an Army of Allies; for the filling up whereof they had commanded the *Hernici*, the *Latins*, and the Colony of *Antium* to supply *Quintius* with some sudden Auxiliaries, which in those days they called *Milites Subitarii*, i. e. Soldiers levied at short warning.

V. In those days they made many motions, and many attempts to and fro, because the Enemy being more in number, began in many respects to disable the *Roman* Forces, who were not strong enough for all occasions. Wherefore they attacked the Camp, and at the same time sent part of their Army to spoil the *Roman* Territories; yea, if fortune favoured them, to make an Attempt upon the very City it self. For which reason, *L. Valerius* was left to Guard the City, and Consul *Postumius* sent to repress the Devastations of the Country. Nor was there any care or pains omitted in any case: for there were Watches in the City, Guards at the Gates, and Sentinels upon the Walls, besides that all process of Justice (which in so great an hurry was but necessary) was for some days intermitted. In the mean time, *Furius* the Consul, who was in his Camp, having at first lain still and endured the Siege, sallied out upon the Enemy at the Gate called *Porta Decumana*, before they were aware of him; but though he could have pursued them, yet he stopt for fear, lest any Attempt might be made upon the other

other side of the Camp. Yet *Furius*, the Lieutenant (who was the Consul's Brother) went after them something too far; nor did he observe (so eager he was in the pursuit) that either the *Romans* retreated, or that the Enemies came upon him in the Rear: by which means being intercepted by the Foe, though he made many attempts to force his way back to the Camp, he was slain, but behaved himself very bravely before he fell. The Consul also, hearing that his Brother was so circumvented faced about to the Fight, but whilst he engaged in the midst of the Enemies more rashly than wisely, receiving a wound, was very hardly saved by some that stood about him; which accident not only much discouraged his men, but made the Enemy more eager; for being animated by the death of the Lieutenant, and the wound that the Consul had received, they could not be by any means withstood; so that the *Romans*, being forced back into their Camp, were again Besieged, as being inferior to the Enemy both in hope and strength. At which time their Empire it self had been in danger, if *T. Quintius* had not come up with the foreign Forces, the *Hernican* and the *Latin* Army. For he, whilst the *Aequi* were intent upon the *Roman* Camp, and shewing the Lieutenants Head with insolence and ostentation, set upon their Rear; whilst those in the Camp, upon a signal by him given at a great distance, sallied out at the same time, and with him circumvented a great number of the Enemies. In the mean time there was a less slaughter, but the flight was more tumultuous of the *Aequi* in the *Roman* Territories; upon whom, as they straggled about to Pillage those parts, *Postumius* made an Attack in several places, where he had planted Garrisons: whereupon those wanderers running away in a confusion, fell into the hands of *Quintius* who was Victorious, and coming home with the wounded Consul. Then the Consul's Army revenged the Consul's wound, with the death of the Lieutenant and the rest of their fellow Soldiers in a remarkable Battel: for there were great losses on both sides at that time; insomuch that it is hard to say exactly, how many fought, or fell, it is so long ago since the thing was done. Yet *Antias Valerius* pretends to give us a true account, that there fell in the *Hernican* Fields, of *Romans* five thousand and three hundred; that of the Pillagers, belonging to the *Aequi*, that ravaged the *Roman* Confines, there were two thousand four hundred slain by *A. Postumius*; but that the rest of the Plunderers, who fell into the hands of *Quintius* were not taken off in numbers near so great. After that, says he, there were cut off four thousand, and (to shew how exactly he could tell you) two hundred and thirty. Then they returned to *Rome*, and the *Jusitium* was remitted. At which time the Heavens seemed to be all on a flame, with several Comets, and other strange sights appeared either to the eyes or the apprehensions of the affrighted People. For the averting of which terrors, there were three *Feriae* [or Holy days] appointed together; during which, all the Temples were filled with crowds of Men and Women, imploring the mercy of the gods. Then the *Hernican* and *Latin* Forces were sent home again by the Senate, after they had received thanks for their industrious service in the War. But the thousand men of *Antium*, because they came too late, when the Battel was over, were dismissed with little less than ignominy.

After that they called a publick Assembly, and made *L. Aebutius* with *P. Servilius* Consuls; who entered upon their Office the first day of *August*, as the beginning of the Year at that time was computed. That was a grievous season, and it chanced to be a Pestilent Year both to City and Country; nor to the Men more than their Cattel. But the fear of being Plundered increased the violence of the Disease, by their taking of Sheep and the like, as well as Country People into the City. For the mixture and conflux of all sorts of Animals, did not only annoy the Citizens with unusual smells, but the Country folks too were crowded up into little huts, where the heat and watching was very offensive to them; yea, the friendly Offices that they were fain to do each other, together with the Contagion it self, promoted the Distemper all over the Town. When they were in this condition, and hardly able to endure their present calamities, the *Hernici* sent Embassadors in haste to tell them, That the *Aequi* and the *Volsi*, having united their Forces, had encamped in their Country, and by that means had pillaged all their Confines. But besides that the thinness of the Senate was an argument to their Allies that the City was afflicted with a Plague, they went away with a very sad answer, That the *Hernici* might joyn with the *Latins* and defend themselves; for that the City of *Rome* was, through the sudden anger of the gods, depopulated by a Disease: not but that, if that calamity should by any means be removed, they would assist their Allies, as they had done the Year before and at all other times. The Embassadors thereupon departed, carrying back a sadder Message than they brought, in that they were to carry on that War by themselves only, which when they were supported even with the strength of *Rome*, they were hardly able to sustain. But the Enemy made no great stay in the *Hernican* Territories; for they Marched on thence into the *Roman* Dominions, which lay deserted even without the injuries of War [now that the Inhabitants were all fled into the City.] Where seeing they met with no body, no, not so much as untill too, without any interruption, they came to the third Stone [i. e. three Miles from *Rome*] in the Road called *Via Gabina*. In the mean time Consul *Aebutius* was dead, nor had his Colleague *Servilius* any great hopes of recovering: besides that many of the Nobility, the greater part of the Senate, and almost all that were of a fit age to make Soldiers, were now infected;

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share the management of the War between them: the one to have the *Volsi*, and the other the *Aequi*, for his Province. With that the Tribunes cried out in the Forum, *That the Volscian War was a story of their own contriving; that the Hernici were always ready to assist them in such lies; and that now the Liberty of Rome was not so much endangered by any foreign force, as eluded by art; for the Aequi and the Volsi, who were almost utterly ruined and destroyed, could not possibly be thought at that time of day to make a voluntary War: that they sought for new Enemies: that a faithful neighbouring Colony was scandalized: that the Antians who were innocent, had the War proclaimed against them, though it were really intended against the People of Rome, whom they would load with Arms, and turn them headlong, in that posture, out of the City; revenging themselves of the Tribunes by the exile and expulsion of the Citizens.* By this means (that they might see the design of it) the Law would be evacuated; unless they took great care, whilst they had power enough, whilst they were at home and continued Romans, not to be put out of possession of the City, lest they should be made slaves. If they had courage, they could not want assistance: for that the Tribunes were all of opinion, there was no cause of fear from without, nor any danger at all; and that the gods took care, the Year before, that they might safely defend their Liberty. Thus the Tribunes.

XI. On the other side the Consuls, sitting at some little distance, made the Levy in their sight. Wherefore the Tribunes ran to them, with all the Assembly at their heels; and upon that, after some few were cited or called (for an experiment, as it were, what they would do) a Tumult presently arose: in which, whomsoever the Licitor, by order of the Consul, laid hold of, the Tribune commanded him to let go. Nor was there any equity or reason in what they did, but each of them strove to gain their ends by force, upon the confidence they had in their own strength. As therefore the Tribunes behaved themselves in obstructing the Levy, so did the Senators in impeding their Law, which was proposed every Conitium or Assembly day. The beginning of the quarrel was, when the Tribunes had ordered the People to depart, that the Senators would not stir. But indeed there were scarce any of the Seniors there: because in that case there was not so much occasion for advice and management, as for temerity and boldness. The Consuls also were very cautious, lest in such a confusion they might bring any dishonour upon their dignity. Among the rest there was one *Cæso Quintius*, a brisk young Man, not only upon the account of his Birth, but his bulk and strength of Body: to which endowments from the gods, he himself had also added many warlike Ornaments, together with Eloquence upon civil occasions; inasmuch that no Man was reckoned more nimble either of his tongue or hands through the whole City. He therefore standing amidst the throng of Senators, much higher than the rest, as if he had born all Consulates and Dictatorships in his sole voice and strength, alone sustained the shock of the Tribunes, and all the popular Storms. For by his Conduct the Tribunes were often beaten out of the Forum, and the People routed. Whomsoever he met, he sent away with some punishment and strip: inasmuch, that if that were the way of proceeding, all the World might see the Law was at an end. Mean time, though all the other Tribunes were much affrighted, *A. Virginius*, one of the Collegues, gave *Cæso* warning to appear on such a day to be tried for his Life: by which he rather enflamed than terrified that furious Man: for he upon that account was the more industrious to hinder the Law, to vex the People, and persecute the Tribunes, as it were, with a just War. The Accuser let him run on, that by his Crimes he might increase the flame and fuel of envy; preferring the Law in the mean time, not so much out of any hopes he had to carry it, as to provoke *Cæso's* rashness. Thereupon many things that were said and done by the young men unadvisedly, were laid to the charge of *Cæso* only: yet notwithstanding the Law was put off. Then *A. Virginius* oft-times asked the People; *Are you satisfied now, Romans! that you cannot have Cæso to continue one of your fellow Citizens, and at the same time obtain the Law that you desire? But what do I talk of a Law? He withstands their Liberty, out-doing all the Tarquins in Pride and Tyranny: stay till you see him made Dictator or Consul, whom now you see, though he be a private Person, already reigning in his own strength and audacity.* Many of the hearers assented to him, and, complaining that they were abused, incited the Tribune to go through with what he had undertaken.

XII. And now the Day of Tryal was come; when all men generally believed their Liberty depended upon the Condemnation of *Cæso*; who being at last forced to it went about to desire the Peoples favour, though with much regret of mind, attended by his Relations and the best men in the City. *T. Quintius Capitolinus*, who had been three times Consul, relating many honourable things of himself and his Family, affirmed, *That there never was either in the Quintian Family, or the whole City of Rome so great a Wit or a Person of such early Courage. That he was his Soldier first of all, and that he saw him oftentimes engage the Enemy.* *Sp. Furius* said, *That Quintius Capitolinus sent Cæso to him to relieve and assist him when he was in great danger (which he did) and that there never was any man before, by whose means the Commonwealth was more supported.* *L. Lucretius*, who had been Consul the Year before, shining with fresh glory, was pleased to let *Cæso* partake in his praises, by remembering the Fights, recounting the noble exploits which they had done sometimes in Skirmishes, and other-whiles in pitched Battels: persuading and telling them, *He was a brave Youth, full fraught with*

with all the gifts both of nature and fortune, and would be the greatest support of any City, wherever he came, though he wished to be a Citizen of Rome rather than of any other place. As to what was offensive in him (his heat and audacity) age daily took off that; and what was lacking in him (prudence) was every day increasing; his wits growing old, and his virtues coming to maturity: wherefore they ought to let such a great Man live in their City till he was an old Man. Among the rest, his Father *L. Quintius*, Surnamed *Cincinatus*, though he did not think fit to repeat his Commendations, lest that might heap more envy upon him, begging Pardon for his error, and youthful carriage, desired them, that they would pardon his Son for his sake, who had never offended any Man living either by word or action. But some of them would not hear his intreaties, either out of modesty or fear, whilst others complaining, that they and theirs were mulcted and abused by him, gave him a cross answer, and resolved to go on with the Tryal.

But there was one crime, besides the common envy of the People, that lay very hard upon him: and that was, that *M. Volscius Fictor*, who some years before had been Tribune of the People, came in as a Witness against him; *That he, not long after the Plague was in the City, came and caught the young Men playing their mad pranks in the street, called Subura: [where the Whores dwell] that there a Quarrel arose, and his elder Brother, who was not yet very well recovered of his Distemper, was knocked down by Cæso, who hit him such a blow with his fist, that he lay for dead: whereupon they carried him home, and thought he thereby got his bane. But he could not prosecute Cæso for the Fact, because of the Consuls that had been for some years last past.* When *Volscius* declared this, the People were so nettled, that they had like to have murdered *Cæso* upon the place: but *Virginius* ordered him to be laid hold on and put in Prison; whilst in the mean time the Patricians opposed force with force. *T. Quintius* cried out, *Whereas they had given warning of a Capital Tryal, the Man they designed so soon to pass Sentence upon, ought not to be so roughly used, before he was convicted, or had spoken for himself.* The Tribune on the other hand said, *He would not punish a Person uncondemned, but yet he would keep him in Bonds till the day of Tryal, that the Roman People might fairly revenge themselves of him for killing one of their fellow Citizens.* Nevertheless the Tribunes being appealed to all together thought fit to mitigate the rigour of their Authority by a moderate Decree between the two extremes; so they ordered him not to be put in Prison: yet that he should appear at the day appointed, and if he did not, should engage to pay so much money to the People: though they had some dispute what the sum should be, and therefore referred it to the Senate: he remaining in Custody whilst they were consulted. They therefore ordered him to give Bail (one of whom they bound in a Recognizance of 3000 l.) but how many should be bound for him was left to the Tribunes; who pitching upon ten, the Accuser let him go upon their security. He was the first that ever gave publick Bail. When by this means he was dismissed out of the Forum, the next night, without the knowledge of the Consuls, he banished himself into *Tuscany*. Wherefore upon the day of Tryal, when they excused or effaigned him, by saying, he had fled his Country and was gone into Banishment, the rest of the Tribunes being Appealed to, though *Virginius* called it, dismissed the Council. But the Money was cruelly exacted from his Father; inasmuch, that when all he had was sold to raise it, he was fain to live beyond the Tiber for some time, like one Exiled, in a pitiful little Cottage.

XIV. This Tryal and the Law being promulged, found the City something to do; for they were not engaged in any Foreign War. When therefore the Tribunes, like Conquerors (now that the Senate was so terrified by the Banishment of *Cæso*) supposed the Law was as good as passed, and that all the Seniors of the Senate had withdrawn themselves from publick business; the Juniors (especially all that were *Cæso's* friends) were more incensed against the People, so far they were from abating in their animosities: but that which proved their greatest advantage was, that they kept their passion within bounds. For when, after *Cæso's* Banishment, the Law was first proposed, though they were ready prepared with an Army of Clients, yet they attacked the Tribunes (alsoon as, by offering any violence to them, they gave them cause) in such a manner, that never an one of them gained more credit or envy by it: but the People complained, *They had got a thousand Cæsos instead of one.* Though upon other days, when the Tribunes did not stickle for their Law, there were no Men more civil and quiet than those Juniors were; for they would speak kindly and familiarly to the Commonalty, invite them to their Houses, be in the Forum, and permit the Tribunes to hold other Assemblies without any disturbance; nor ever look stern or be rough with any Man either in publick or private, save when they talked of that Law: for in other cases those young Men were popular enough. Nor did the Tribunes manage other matters only without any disturbance, but being also continued for the Year following, had not so much as an ill word given them, so far were the young Senators from offering any violence to them. For their main design was to soothe and win upon the People so much as to reconcile them: and by those Arts the Law was eluded for a whole Year.

XV. Then *C. Claudius*, the Son of *Appius*, and *P. Valerius Poplicola* being made Consuls, found the City much quieter than it had been: nor had the new Year brought forth any new accident; for the City was wholly taken up with the thoughts of preferring and the fear of passing that Law. But the more the Junior Senators insinuated themselves into the People,

so much the more industrious the Tribunes were to make the People suspect them, saying, *There was a Conspiracy among them; for Cæso was at Rome; and that they designed to kill the Tribunes and murder the People: that the Senior Senators employed the Juniors to extirpate the Power of the Tribunes out of the Commonwealth; and to reduce the City into the same firm as it was of before they possessed themselves of the Holy Mount.* Besides this, they were afraid of that constant and almost annual War from the *Æqui* and the *Volsci*; though in the mean time another new mischief, more near at hand, surprized them. Four thousand five hundred banished Men and Slaves, possessed themselves of the Castle and Capitol in the night time, under the Command of *Ap. Herdonius*, a *Sabine*: who caused all those in the Castle, that would not enter into the Conspiracy and take up Arms, as they had done, to be immediately slain: whilst the rest being scared, ran headlong amidst the tumult down into the *Forum*: from whom you could hear no words but these, *To your Arms, and, There are Enemies come into the City.* Thereupon the Consuls were afraid as much to Arm the People, as to let them continue without Arms; being uncertain what sudden misfortune, whether Foreign or Domestick, from the Peoples animosities, or villany of their Slaves, had invaded the City. They strove indeed to appease the tumults, but by so doing sometimes the more increased them: for the fearful consternated Multitude would not be ruled by reason. However they distributed Arms; though not to every body, but to such a number only, as that they might have (since it was not known how strong the Enemy were) a sufficient reserve if occasion were. Which having done, they spent the rest of the night in setting of Guards and Sentinels at all convenient places in the City, not knowing either what Country-men or what number the Enemy were. But the next morning discovered both the Foe, and the General of them: and *Ap. Herdonius* tempted all the Slaves out of the Capitol to take their freedom; saying, *He undertook the cause of every poor Man that was in misery; to restore such as had been injuriously Banished, to their own Country again, and take off the heavy yoke of Slavery: that he would rather the People of Rome would do it for him; but if there were no hopes from them, he would try and instigate the Volsci and the Æqui with all extremity.*

XVI.

The thing appeared much plainer to the Senate and the Consuls than to any body else: but besides what was related to them, they were afraid lest that might be a design of the *Veians* or the *Sabines*, with an intention, that now they had got so many Men into the City, the *Sabine* and *Etrurian* Legions should straight come up: and likewise, that their eternal Enemies, the *Volsci* and *Æqui*, might now come, not as before, to ravage their Country, but even to the City, which was now in part taken. Mean while there were many and various fears among them; but among others, the apprehensions they had of their Slaves was the greatest; lest they should each of them have an Enemy in his own House, whom it was neither safe to trust, nor by shewing their diffidence to put him upon doing what he saw they suspected. At this juncture it was scarce possible to make them agree: for at that time, when so many mischiefs spring up so much exceeding any former ones, no one feared the Tribunes or the People. But that seemed a small inconvenience, which always proceeded from a cessation of other evils, and then to be removed by Foreign fears; but indeed, that thing alone was a great addition to their miseries; for the Tribunes were in such a fury, that they said, *It was not a War, but the vain fanstie of a War, that was pretended to have taken up its Quarters in the Capitol, to avert the Peoples minds from any thoughts of their Law: that the Friends and Clients of the Patricians, if they should find by the passing of that Law, that they had rioted to no purpose, would go away more silent than they came:* Whereupon they called a Council to prefer the Law, having persuaded the People from taking up of Arms. In the mean time the Consuls also summoned a Senate, from whence the Tribunes discovered greater terror, than that which the Enemy by coming in the night time had strook into them.

XVII.

When the news was brought, that the Men had laid down their Arms and were departed from their stations, *P. Valerius* (whilst his Colleague held the Senate) ran out of the Court, and into the Temple to the Tribunes, saying, *Tribunes! What's the meaning of this? Do you intend to overturn the Commonwealth by the Conduct and encouragement of Ap. Herdonius? Has he been so happy in corrupting you, who could not prevail upon your Slaves? When your Enemies are over your heads, would you lay down your Arms and make Laws? Then turning to the Multitude; If you, Romans! said he, have no care either of the City or your selves; yet you fear the gods of your Country, who are now taken by your Enemies. Jupiter, the Good and Great, Juno, the Queen of Heaven, Minerva, and other gods and goddesses are besieged: and a Camp of Slaves are now in possession of your publick Deities. Does this look like a well regulated City in your eyes? There are a vast number of Enemies, not only within the Walls, but also in the Castle above the Forum, and the Senate House: yet at the same time there is an Assembly in the Forum, and another in the Senate House; where each one gives his opinion as gravely and as deliberately as if this was a time of the greatest leisure; whilst other Citizens are giving their Votes in other cases. Instead whereof, is it not more fitting that all the Senate and the People, the Consuls, the Tribunes, together with all the gods and men should take up Arms, and run into the Capitol, to deliver and rescue that most august House of the Good and Great Jupiter from violence? Father Romulus! do thou infuse that Courage into thy Race, whereby thou formerly recoveredst this Castle from these same People, when they had taken it with Gold: bid them go that way which then, their Captain, and thy*

thy Army went. Lo I, the Consul, (as far as a mortal Man can go in the steps of a God) will first follow thee. Then the end of his Speech was; *That he intended to take up Arms, and expected all the People of Rome to do the same. If any one obstructed the doing of it, whoever he was, or whereforever (whether in the Capitol, or the Forum) he should take him at that time for an Enemy of the Consuls Power, of the privileges of the Tribunes, and one that had forgotten the sacred Laws. If therefore the Tribunes, who had forbidden People to take up Arms against Ap. Herdonius, should command them to do the same against P. Valerius the Consul, he should make bold to do the same by them, as the first of his Family did by the Kings.* Thereupon they seemed to be reduced to the last extremity, and the Enemy was like to have the satisfaction of seeing Rome in an uproar, for the Law could not be passed, nor the Consul go into the Capitol; though the night put an end to their contentions, and the Tribunes for that reason gave out, as fearing the Consuls strength. When therefore the heads of the Sedition were removed, the Senators went about to the People, and mixing with their Assemblies, talked to them in such language as was at that time most seasonable, admonishing them, *To take care what danger they brought the Commonwealth into: and telling them, the Controversie was not between the Senate and the People, but that the Senate, the People, the Castle, the Temples of their gods, with all religious things, both publick and private, were betrayed and given up at once into the hands of the Enemy.* Whilst these things passed in the Forum, in order to appease the Sedition, the Consuls, in the mean time, lest the *Sabine*, or the *Veian* Army should stir, went and Posted themselves about the Gates and the Walls of the City.

The same night also there was news brought to *Tusculum*, that the Castle was taken, the Capitol seized, and the City in a tumult, *L. Mamilius* being then Dictator of that place. He therefore calling a Senate, and bringing in the Messengers, was strongly of opinion, *That they ought not to stay till Embassadors came from Rome to desire assistance; for that the danger it self, the jeopardy that they were in, who worshiped the same gods, and the Religious Obligation of their Leagues required that from them: nor would the gods ever give them the like opportunity of obliging so puissant, and so near and dear a City.* Whereupon they agreed to send Auxiliaries, and forthwith put all their young Men in Arms; who coming to Rome at break of day, appeared a far off like Enemies, as if the *Æqui* and the *Volsci* had been coming. But when the vain sight was over, they were received into the City in a full Body, and marched down into the *Forum*: where *P. Valerius*, having left his Colleague to Guard the Gates, was now a Marshalling his Army. For the Authority of that Man had won the Commonalty, forasmuch as he assured them. *When he had recovered the Capitol, and quieted the City, if they would let him learn, what treachery the Tribunes palliated under the pretence of passing their Law; that he should remember his forefathers, his Surname, whereby it appeared, that he had the care of serving the People committed and derived down to him from his Ancestors, and would not obstruct the Peoples designs.* Wherefore they following him as their Captain, (though the Tribunes were much against it, but all in vain) drew up upon the side of the Capitol Hill. To them also was added the *Tusculan* Legion: and there, between the Allies and the Citizens, was a contest who should have the honour of regaining the Castle, both Generals encouraging their Men as much as they could. Then the Enemy began to tremble, nor could they trust in any thing, besides the strength of the place: amidst whose fears the Romans fell upon them, as the Allies also did. And they had forced their way into the Porch of the Temple, when *P. Valerius* standing in the Van, and animating his Men to the Battel, was slain. *P. Volturnius*, a Consul fellow, saw him fall; and therefore, commanding some of his Soldiers to cover the Body, ran up to supply the Consuls place. But the Army did not know (so hot and intent they were upon the fight) what great misfortune had befallen them; yea, they got the Victory before they were sensible that they fought without their General. Many of the Banished Persons defiled the Temple with their Blood, and many were taken alive; but *Herdonius* was killed: and so the Capitol was recovered. The Captives were punished according to their quality; as every one was either a Freeman or a Slave; the *Tusculans* had thanks for their pains; the Capitol was purged and lustrated [or Consecrated by Sacrifices] and the People, 'tis said, threw Money into the Consuls House in order to bury him with the greater Pomp and Solemnity.

They having by this means appeased the City, the Tribunes being very urgent with the Senate, to perform what *P. Valerius* had promised, importuned *Claudius* to discharge the Ghost of his Colleague of all imputations of fraud, and to suffer them to treat about their Law. To which the Consul replied, *He would not permit them to debate concerning the Law, before he had chosen himself a new Colleague.* Wherefore these contentions continued till the very time of that Assembly in which the new Consul was to be elected. So in the Month December, by the great endeavours of the Senate, *L. Quintus Cincinnatus*, the Father of *Cæso*, was created Consul, and to begin his Office immediately from that time. At which the People were much disheartened, being to have a Consul who was an angry Man, very powerful in the favour of the Senate, in his own Courage, and three Sons that he had; who were each one of them as stout as *Cæso*, but far beyond him in Prudence and Conduct, whenever the case required it. He therefore, when he entered upon the Office, was as vehement in his reproofs to the Senate, as in his Invectives against the People, saying, *That their sloth was the*

occasion why the Tribunes reigned so perpetually in their calumnies, and other crimes, not as in a Commonwealth of the Romans, but as it sometimes happens in a dissolute Family. That with his Son Cæso, all virtue, constancy, and other glories that usually adorn young Men either in Peace or War, were Banished and Expelled out of Rome: whilst the Tribunes, those prating seditious fellows, who were the Seminaries of all Discord, being twice or thrice together put into the same Office, through their ill Acts lived with all the licentiousness of Kings. Aulus Virginius, said he, for not being in the Capitol, deserved as much punishment as Ap. Herdonius: nay, more indeed, if we consider the thing aright. For Herdonius, if he did nothing else, by confessing himself an Enemy, did as good as give you notice and advice to Arm your selves: but this Man, by denying that there was any Enemy to fight withall, deprived you of those Arms, exposed you naked to your Slaves and Banished Persons: and could you draw your Men up the Capitol Hill (which deference I speak to C. Claudius, and the memory of P. Valerius, who is dead) before you had removed that Enemy out of the Forum? I am ashamed to appear before either gods or men; when I consider, that at the same time that the Foe was in the Castle, and the Capitol; so that the Leader of Slaves and Banditti, having prophaned all things and places took up his Quarters in great *Joves* Temples, the People of *Tusculum* should be Armed before those of Rome; it being a question, whether L. Manlius the *Tusculan* General, or P. Valerius and C. Claudius the Consuls delivered this City. For we, who heretofore would not suffer the *Latins* so much as to touch any Arms even in their own cause, and when the Enemy was in your Country, had now our selves (if the *Latins* had not prevented it) been taken and utterly destroyed. Is this, ye Tribunes! to aid the People? To expose them naked to the Enemies cruelty? I'll warrant you, if any Man, though the meanest of the People (whom you have made your peculiar Province, apart, as it were, from the rest of the Commonwealth) if any Man, I say, of that Quality should tell you his House was attacked by his Servants all in Arms, you would think fit to assist him. Was *Jupiter* then, that good and great God, when hedged about with Armed Slaves and Banditti, worth no Mans help? Or do those men desire to be accounted sacred, to whom the gods themselves are neither sacred nor holy? Do you, who have broken all Laws both Divine and Humane, pretend to say, you'll make a Law this Year? No, if you do, that day on which I was created Consul, the Commonwealth was put into a much worse condition than when Consul P. Valerius died. But, *Romans*, said he, at present, my Colleague and I design, the first thing we do, to lead the Legions against the *Æqui* and the *Volsci*; for I cannot tell by what Decree of Fate, we find the gods more propitious to us in War than Peace: and what danger we should be in from those People, if they knew the Capitol was besieged 'tis better for us to guess by what's past, than make an experiment of it.

XX. The Consuls Speech excited the People, and the Senate were thereby so incouraged, that they thought the Commonwealth restored to its former state. The other Consul was a warmer assistant to him than he was an author of the whole enterprize; and though he freely suffered his Colleague to be the first actor in such a weighty affair, yet he also did what became him as a Consul. Then the Tribunes jeering him, as though he had spoken very foolishly, went on, and asked, *How the Consuls would draw forth their Army, when no Man would suffer them to make a Levy?* We, said Quintius, have no need to make a Levy; for when P. Valerius put the People in Arms to retake the Capitol, they all swore they would rendezvous at the Consuls command, and would not depart without his Order: wherefore we require you all, that took such an Oath, to come to morrow Armed to the Lake Regillus. Then the Tribunes began to cavil; and would fain have discharged the People from their Religious Obligation; saying, that Quintius was but a private Person at that time when they were bound by that Oath. But People did not then slight the gods so much, as now adays they do: nor did every Man make his Oath and the Laws comply with his Inclinations by a Sophistical Interpretation of them, but rather accommodated his own actions to them. The Tribunes therefore, having no hopes to hinder the expedition, began to consult how they might defer it: and that so much the more, because it was reported, That the *Augurs* were ordered to attend at the Lake Regillus; and that a certain place was hallowed, where they might treat with the People in a solemn and a Religious manner: that whatsoever at Rome had been preferred as a Law, by the Power of the Tribunes, should be abrogated in the Assembly there: that all People would comply with the Consuls; there being no Appeal to be brought above a thousand paces from the City: and that the Tribunes, if they came thither, must be subject to the Command of the Consuls, like other Romans. These things frightened them; but that which terrified them most, was, that Quintius often said, He would not hold a Consular Assembly; the City was not troubled with such a Distemper, as that the usual Remedies would heal it: the Commonwealth had need of a Dictator, that whatsoever gave any disturbance to the City, might know a Dictatorship admitted of no Appeal.

XXI. The Senate was in the Capitol; and thither the Tribunes came with the dissatisfied Commonalty; who, with great clamors implored sometimes the Patronage of the Consuls, and otherwhiles that of the Senate. But they prevailed not upon the Consuls, before the Tribunes promised that they would be ruled by the Senate. Whereupon the Consul declaring the desires of the Tribunes and the People, there was a Decree made to this purpose: That the Tribunes should not propose the making of any Law that Year, nor should the Consuls lead the Army out of

of the City: and for the rest, the Senate thought, it was against the Interest of the Commonwealth for those Magistrates to be continued, or the same Tribunes chosen again for the next Year. The Consuls withstood it. Wherefore the Senate also, being unwilling to be outdone by the People, made L. Quintius Consul for the next Year again. Nor was there any thing that whole Year which the Consul said more vehement than this: Can I wonder, grave Fathers! if your Authority be slighted by the People? You your selves make light of it; for you, because the People have broken a Decree of Senate by continuing of Magistrates, your selves do the same thing, lest you should come behind them in folly and imprudence: as though it were an argument of more Power in a City, to be guilty of more levity, and take a greater freedom than ordinary: for indeed it is a more light and foolish action to abrogate our own Decrees than those of others. You, Fathers! imitate the unthinking rabble; and you who should give others good example, will rather offend by your pattern than make them do well by yours; whilst I am resolved, for fear of imitating the Tribunes, I will not be declared Consul contrary to a Decree of Senate. I likewise advise you, Caius Claudius! that you also restrain the People of Rome in this particular; and as for me, assure your self, I will take it so kindly, that I will not think my Honour impaired by you, but my Glory for refusing Honour augmented; besides, that the envy, which by the continuation of it would accrue, will be the less. Thereupon they both put forth an Edict; That no Man should chuse L. Quintius Consul; if any did, they would not give any heed to such a Vote.

Then Q. Fabius Vibulanus and L. Cornelius Maluginensis (the former a third time) were made Consuls. In whose Year there was a Poll: but it was repugnant to their Religion, seeing that the Capitol was taken, and the Consul slain, to make a Lustration. When therefore Q. Fabius and L. Cornelius were Consuls, there were Commotions in the very beginning of their Year, for the Tribunes incited the People; the *Latins* and the *Hernici* brought news of a great War from the *Volsci* and the *Æqui*: that the *Volscian* Legions were already at *Antium*: which Colony they were in great fear would Revolt: upon which score the Tribunes with much ado consented to the War. Then the Consuls divided the Provinces between them: Fabius being ordered to lead the Legions to *Antium*, and Cornelius to stay as a Guard to Rome, lest any part of the Enemies (according to the custom of the *Æqui*) should come to pillage the Country. The *Hernici* and the *Latins* were ordered to supply their Quota of Men by virtue of a League; and the Army was two parts of it Allies, and the third *Romans*. The Allies therefore being come at the day appointed, the Consul pitched his Camp without the Gate called *Porta Capena*: where having purged the Army, he went to *Antium*, near which he late down not far from the Enemy. There seeing the *Volsci*, because the Army was not yet come from the *Æqui* durst not fight, but were making Provisions to secure themselves within their Bulwark, the next day Fabius formed, not one mixt Army of *Romans* and Allies together, but three separate ones of the several People, of which he commanded the middlemost consisting of the *Roman* Legions. Then he ordered them all to observe the common signal, that the Allies too might fall on, and come off again at the same time, if a Retreat were sounded; placing the Flotte to the Rearward of each Body. Thus having put himself into this triple posture he surrounded the Camp, and being very sharp upon them on all sides, the *Volsci* were not able to sustain the shock, and therefore were forced down from their Bulwark. By which means getting over the Fortifications, he drave the fearful crowd, who were bent all one way, out of the Camp: and so, as they were making all speed to get away, the Horse, who could not well climb over the Mounds, but were spectators only of what was done, having gotten them in a spacious Plain, enjoyed a share of the Victory by killing the affrighted Enemies. For there was a great slaughter of those that fled both in the Camp and without the Works too: but the Plunder was more, because the Enemy could hardly take away with them so much as their Arms, and the whole Army had been utterly destroyed, if the Woods had not proved a refuge to them in their flight.

XXIII. Whilst these things passed at *Antium*, the *Æqui* in the mean while, having sent the flower of their Youth before them, surprized the Castle of *Tusculum* in the night time; sitting down with the rest of their Army not far from the Walls of the Town, with design to breadthen and dissipate the Enemies Forces. Which news being told at Rome, and coming from thence to the Camp at *Antium*, made the *Romans* as much concerned as if the Capitol had been laid to have been taken; not only because the *Tusculans* had deserved well of them so lately, but also for the very resemblance of the danger which seemed to challenge their assistance. Fabius therefore omitting all things else, conveyed the Booty as fast as possible out of the Camp to *Antium*: where having left a small Guard, he made all the haste he could with his Army to *Tusculum*; who were permitted to carry nothing along with them, save only their Arms, and what Bread or Meat they had ready dressed; though in the mean time Consul Cornelius sent them Provisions from Rome. So for some Months they were engaged at *Tusculum*; before which Place the Consul with part of his Army attacked the Camp of the *Æqui*, but gave the other part to the *Tusculans* to regain their Castle withall; for he could never get into that by force. But at length Famin made the Enemy remove from thence: whereby being reduced to extreme necessity, they were all sold by the *Tusculans* for Slaves, disarmed, and naked: whom, as they were ignominiously flying home, the *Roman* Consul overtook



overtook in *Algidum*, and killed every Man. Being now Victorious, he pitched his Camp at *Columen* (a Towns name) where he received his Men again: and the other Consul when the Enemy was now beaten from the Walls of *Rome*, and the danger over, went himself also from *Rome*. So the Consuls going two several ways into the Enemies Confines, did the *Volsci* on the one hand, and the *Æqui* on the other, a great deal of mischief. The same Year also, I find in many Authors, that the *Antians* Revolted; but that *L. Cornelius* managed that War, and took the Town, I dare not affirm, because there is no mention of it among the more ancient Authors.

XXIV. When this War was ended, another at home with the Tribunes put the Senate in a fright; for they cried out, *It was a cheat to keep the Army abroad so, and nothing but a trick to hinder their Law from passing: yet for all that they would go through with what they had undertaken.* But notwithstanding, *P. Lucretius*, Prefect of the City, prevailed so far, that the Tribunes complaints were deferred till the coming of the Consuls: about which time, there arose also a new cause of Commotion. *A. Cornelius* and *Q. Servilius* being Questors, had appointed a day to try *Volscius*, for that, without doubt, he was a false Witness against *Cæso*; there being very good evidence to prove not only, that *Volscius's* Brother was never seen abroad after he once fell sick, but also, that he never recovered of his Distemper, but having languished under it for many Months, at last died of the same: nor was *Cæso* ever seen at *Rome* all that time, in which *Volscius* had sworn he was there: for several of his fellow Soldiers came in and testified, *He was with them all the while in the Wars without any furlow: which if Volscius denied, there were a great many who privately offered him to name an impartial Judge.* When therefore he refused to go to his Tryal, all those circumstances agreeing together, made *Volscius's* Condemnation as certain as that of *Cæso* against whom he had been a Witness. But the Tribunes put off the Tryal, by saying, *They would not suffer the Questors to call an Assembly for the Trying of a Criminal, unless they had another first about their Law: so both Causes were deferred till the arrival of the Consuls.* Who when they came in Triumph with their Victorious Army into the City, many People believed, because there was no talk of the Law, that the Tribunes were disheartened. But they (it being now the latter end of their Year) desiring to be a fourth time chosen Tribunes, turned the dispute concerning the Law into a debate about Assemblies. In which though the Consuls were as hot against the continuation of the Tribuneship, as if the Law to diminish their Power had been preferred, yet the Tribunes carried it. The same Year the *Æqui* had a Peace granted them upon their Petition: and the Poll, which began the Year before, was now made an end of, that *Lustrum* [or surveying of the People] being the tenth from the time that the City was first Built. The Rate laid upon the Citizens came to one hundred thirty two thousand four hundred and nine Sesterces. In that Year the Consuls gained great honour both at home and abroad, in that they not only made Peace with their Enemies, and reduced the City, though not to a perfect Concord, yet into such a state, that it was less mutinous than before.

XXV. Then *L. Minutius* and *C. Nautius*, being made Consuls, undertook the two omitted Causes of the precedent Year. In which the Consuls strove as much to obstruct the Law, as the Tribunes to hinder the Tryal of *Volscius*: but the Power and Authority of the new Questors was now greater. For that Year *M. Valerius*, the Son of *Valerius*, and Grandson of *Voleius*, was Questor with *T. Quintius Capitolinus*, who had been thrice Consul: and he, because he saw *Cæso*, a Noble Youth, was utterly lost both to the *Quintian* Family, and the Commonwealth, was justly very zealous to persecute the false Witness, who had not suffered the innocent Man so much as to make his own defence. When *Virginius* on the other side was most importunate of all the Tribunes to pass the Law; the Consuls had two Months given them to consider of it, that when they had shewn the People the Cheat which was designed in it, they might then safely permit them to Vote: and this interval, which was allowed, made all things quiet in the City. But the *Æqui* did not suffer them to be long at rest; for they broke the League which they made the Year before with the *Romans*, and chose *Gracchus Cluilus*, who was the greatest Man at that time among them, their General. Under whose Command they came into the *Lavican* and then into the *Tusculan* Fields in an Hostile manner, and having loaded themselves with Plunder, pitched their Camp in *Algidum*. To which Camp *Q. Fabius*, *P. Volturnus*, and *A. Posthumus* came as Embassadors from *Rome*, to complain of the injuries they had done, and to demand their Goods back again according to the League: but the General of the *Æqui* bid them tell their Message from the Roman Senate to the Oak, and he would mind something else in the mean time (Now that was a great Oak that grew over his Tent, and made it very shady.) Then one of the Embassadors, as he was going away, cried out, *Let this sacred Oak, and all the gods take notice that you have broken the League; for which reason, I beseech them not only to bear our present complaints, but to assist our Arms also, when we shall revenge the violation of Laws at once both Divine and Humane.* When the Embassadors came back to *Rome*, the Senate ordered one of the Consuls to lead their Army against *Gracchus* into *Algidum*; in-joining the other to Pillage the Confines of the *Æqui*. In the mean time the Tribunes, as they used to do, endeavoured to hinder the Levy; and it may be they totally obstructed it, had not a fresh terror surprized them.

There

XXVI. There came a vast number of *Sabines*, who Plundered all the Country even almost to the very Walls of the City; the Fields being all Ravaged, and the City put into a fright. Then the common People were glad to take up Arms, though the Tribunes were never so much against it; and two great Armies were raised; whereof *Nautius* led the one against the *Sabines*; and having pitched his Camp at *Ercutum*, with small Parties, and inroads made for the most part in the night time, did so much damage to the *Sabines* Country, that compared to that the *Roman* Territories seemed as it were untouched. In the mean time *Minucius* had neither the same Fortune, nor Courage to carry on the War; for having pitched his Camp not far from the Enemy, he kept within it for fear, though he had received no very great loss of Men. Which Mans fear; and therefore having attacked his Camp in the night time, against which they found that open force did little good, the next day they enclosed it quite round with Counterworks: which before they had blocked up all the Passes, five Troopers, sent out through the Enemies Guards, carried news to *Rome*, That the Consul and his Army were Besieged. Than which nothing could have happened so surprizing or unlooked for: wherefore they were in such a fear and trembling condition, as if the Enemy had Besieged the City, not the Camp; They therefore sent for Consul *Nautius*, who being little able to help them, they had a mind to make a Dictator, who might recover them out of their present evil circumstances: and so by general consent *L. Quintius Cincinnatus* was pitched upon to be the Man. 'Tis pleasant to hear some Men talk, who contemn all things belonging to Mankind in comparison to riches, nor think any Man deserves honour, or can be brave, who has not a great deal of Money; when at the same time, *L. Quintius*, the sole hope of the *Roman* Government, himself manured a Field of four Acres (called *Prata Quinia*) beyond the *Tiber*, over against that place, where now the Dock is. Where being found by the Embassadors either making a Ditch with a Spade in his hand, or a Plowing, or about some other Country work; after they had saluted him, and he returned their Complement, being desired by them (for his own good, they hoped, as well as that of the Commonwealth) to put on his Gown and hear what the Senates Message to him was, he stared upon them, and asking, *Whether all things were well?* had his Wife *Racilia* fetch his Gown with all speed out of their Cottage; with which being Cloathed, he wiped off the dust and sweat from his face and went forth to them. Whereupon they saluted him as Dictator, wishing him Joy of the Office; told him he was sent for into the City, and what a fright the Army was in. There was a Boat prepared for him at the publick charge; and when he came over the River, his three Sons met him, together with other Relations and Friends of his, and the major part of the Senate; with which Retinue being attended, and with the Lictors before him, he was carried to his House, where there was a great concourse of the People. But they were not at all pleased to see *Quintius*, because he had born too many great Offices, and was a very vehement Man in his Place. That night therefore they sat up till morning.

XXVII. The next day the Dictator coming into the *Forum* before it was light, made *L. Tarquinius*, a Man of Patrician Birth, *Magister Equitum* [Master of the Horse] who though he had been a Foot Soldier because he was poor, yet was accounted the best Warriour of all the young Men in *Rome*. Then coming to the Assembly with the Master of the Horse, he ordered an intermission of Judicial proceedings, commanded all the Shops in the whole City to be shut up, and forbid the doing of any private business. After which, He required all that were fit for Military Service to come with Arms, Provisions for five days, and twelve Pallisadoes a Man before Sun-setting, into the *Campus Martius*: and those who were not fit for War be ordered to Prepare and Cook the Meat for the neighbouring Soldiers, whilst he got himself ready and looked out for his Pallisadoes. This made the young men run about to look for Stakes, which they took where-ever they found them: for no Man was to hinder, but immediately they were all ready according to the Dictators Order. Then having put the Army into such a posture, that it was as ready for fighting as marching (if occasion had been) the Dictator himself led the Legions, and the Master of the Horse his Horse. Both Armies were encouraged according to the nature of their circumstances; being desired, to make haste, for the affair required their speed, that they might come to the Enemy in the night: and being told that the *Roman* Consul and Army was Besieged, having been so for these three days; and that it was uncertain what each day or night might produce: that the greatest and most momentous affairs depended many times upon a minute: wherewithal they cried out, *Make haste Ensign, and march on Soldiers!* which words the Army also, in complaisance to their Commanders, repeated. So at midnight they came to *Algidum*, and there perceiving the Enemy was pretty near, set up their Standard.

XXVIII. Then the Dictator (as well as he could see in the night time) riding round to view the Situation and form of their Camp, Commanded the Tribunes of the Soldiers, To order all the Baggage to be carried into one place, and then that the Soldiers should return with their Arms and Pallisadoes into their Ranks; which was accordingly done. And then, in the same posture as he Travelled, he drew all his Army in a long Train round the Enemies Camp, commanding them all to hollow when he gave the signal: which when they had done, that each Man should make a Trench before himself, and set up his Pallisado. Whereupon when the Dictator



ator gave the word, the signal was given; the Soldiers did as they were bidden, and a great noise rung all round the Enemies; nay, going beyond the Enemies Camp, it went as far as the Consuls, in which it created not only great fear but as much joy also. For the Romans thought it was the clamour of their Countrymen, and congratulating each other that they had aid so near, straight scared the Enemy from their Guards and Watches. The Consul therefore told them, *They must not delay time; for that noise signified not only the approach of their friends, but that they had begun the attack, and that it would be very strange if they were not then attempting the outside of the Enemies Camp: wherefore he had his Men stand to their Arms and follow him.* The Battle began in the night, the Dictators Legions giving notice by their clamour, that they on that side also put the Foe in great jeopardy. By this time the *Aequi* endeavoured to hinder the Romans from making of works quite round them, but the Enemy within having made an effort, they were forced to turn their Arms from those who were raising Works without, to those that were fighting on the inside, lest they should make an eruption through the middle of their Camp; by which means, the Dictator had time all night to perfect his Design. They fought therefore with the Consul till day; but as soon as it was light, being blocked up round by the Dictator, could hardly sustain the shock of one Army. Then the *Quintian* Forces, who immediately after they had done their Work, took up their Arms again, invaded the Bulwark, and began a new Fight, whilst the former continued as hot as before. Whereupon the *Aequi* being sore pressed on both sides, betook them, instead of fighting, to praying, and begged of the Dictator on the one side, and of the Consul on the other, *That they would not place the Victory in the slaughter of their men, but let them go thence without their Arms.* But they were ordered to go from the Consul to the Dictator, who being enraged, imposed this ignominy upon them, *That he would have Gracchus, and all their chief Officers brought to him bound; and that they should quit the Town of Corbio: for he did not stand in need of *Aequian* blood; but they might depart; though they should be publicly sold, to let the World see, their Nation was utterly subdued and vanquished.* The manner of selling their Prisoners of War, was by setting up three Spears, two of them erected, and the third across, like a Gallows, under which [which was called *fugum*] the Dictator made the *Aequi* pass.

XXIX. Having taken the Enemies Camp, which was full of all sorts of Provisions (for he sent them forth naked) he gave all the Booty to his own Soldiers only, and blamed the Consuls Army as well as himself, saying, *You shall go without the spoils of that Enemy, to whom you had like to have been your selves a prey: and thou, L. Minucius! till thou hast the Soul and Courage of a Consul, shalt be only a Lieutenant in these Legions.* So *Lucius* quitted his Consulship, and stayed with the Army according to the Dictators Order. But nevertheless the excellent Conduct of the Dictator so far obliged them to obedience, that the Army being more mindful of his kindness, than of the ignominy which he laid upon them, not only agreed to give him a Golden Crown of a pound weight, but when he Marched away, saluted him by the name of Patron. When he came to Rome, *Q. Fabius*, then Prefect of the City, having called a Senate, gave order that *Quintius*, with his Army, should enter the City with Triumph: the chief Officers of the Enemies being led before his Chariot, their Military Ensigns carried before him; and the Army following laden with spoils. At which time, they say, there were Feasts prepared before every House, and those that partook thereof followed his Chariot with Songs of Triumph and solemn Sports, like Men that are at merry makings. The same day also, *L. Mamilius Tusculanus* was made free of the City by general consent and approbation: and the Dictator had then laid down his Office, if it had not been for the Assembly in which *M. Volscius* the false Witness was to be Tried, which the Tribunes were not able to hinder, for fear of the Dictator. *Volscius* being condemned, went and lived in Banishment at *Lanuvium*; and *Quintius* the sixteenth day after he was made Dictator, for six Months withdrew himself from that Dignity. In which time Consul *Nautius* fought very bravely against the *Sabines* at *Eretum*; where besides the pillaging of their Country, the *Sabines* received a great loss of Men. *Q. Fabius* was made Successor to *Minucius* and sent into *Algidum*; and in the end of that Year the Tribunes began to talk of their Law: but because the two Armies were absent, though the Senate so far prevailed, that no Law should be proposed before the People, yet the Commons were so powerful as to Create the same Tribunes again the fifth time. They say, there were Wolves seen in the Capitol chased by Dogs; for which Prodigy, the Capitol was lustrated [*i. e.* purged by Sacrifice:] and these are the transactions of that Year.

XXX. The next Consuls were *Q. Minucius* and *C. Horatius Pulvillus*: in the beginning of whose Year, though they had Peace abroad, yet at home Seditions sprung from the same Tribunes and the same Law: which had proceeded much farther (so hot their fury was) had not the news come, as it were designedly, that the Garrison at *Corbi* was lost by an Assault of the *Aequi*, made in the night time. Thereupon the Consuls called a Senate, in which they were ordered to raise an Army with all speed, and lead it into *Algidum*. By which means they laid aside their Debate concerning the Law, and raised a new contest touching the Levy: in which the Power of the Consuls was out-done by the assistance of the Tribunes, besides another fear which then also came upon them: For it was reported, *That an Army of Sabines was come down into the Roman Territories for Plunder, and were advancing from thence toward the City.*

City. Which dreadful Message so scared them, that the Tribunes permitted the Soldiers to be raised, though not without this condition; *That seeing they themselves had been fooled for five years together, and that would be but a small security to the People, there should be ten Tribunes made for the time to come.* To which, necessity compelled the Senate to agree: only with this exception, or proviso, *That they should never chuse the same Tribunes twice together.* Wherefore the Tribunes (lest that, as well as other things, should be made void after the War was over) immediately called an Assembly; and in the thirty sixth Year from the time, that the first Tribunes of the People were made, chose ten Tribunes: two out of each Class; and so they ordained them to be afterward elected. Then having made their Levy, *Minucius* went against the *Sabines*, but found not the Enemy; whilst *Horatius* engaged the *Aequi* in *Algidum*, who, having slain all the Garrison at *Corbio*, had now taken *Ortona* also: There he killed a great many Men, and drove the Enemy not only out of *Algidum*, but from *Corbio* and *Ortona* also, the former of which places he likewise demolished for betraying the Garrison.

Then *M. Valerius* and *Sp. Virginus* were made Consuls: in whose time there was Peace both at home and abroad, but they wanted Provisions by reason of the illness of their Waters. There was a Law made for dividing the *Aventine* Mount among the People; and the same Tribunes were chosen again; who, the Year following, when *T. Romilius* and *C. Veturius* were Consuls, extolled their Law in all their Assemblies, and said, *They were ashamed of their number, which was augmented to no purpose, if that affair must lye in their two years continuance, as it had done all the five years before.* But whilst they were so busie in these matters, there came sad news from *Tusculum*, *That the Aequi were in the Country about that place.* Whereupon the late merit of that People made the Romans ashamed to defer their assistance; and therefore both the Consuls being sent with the Army found the Enemy posted in *Algidum*. There then they fell on fighting, and having killed above 7000 of the Enemies, put the rest to flight, and got a great Booty; which, because the Treasury was exhausted, the Consuls sold. But that made the Army hate them, and gave the Tribunes an occasion to accuse them before the People. Wherefore, when they went out of their Office, in the time that *Sp. Tarpeius*, and *A. Haterius* were Consuls, were summoned to their Tryal, *Romilius* by *C. Claudius Cicero*, Tribune of the People, and *Veturius* by *L. Alienus*, Aedile of the People, and both of them condemned, to the great grief of the Senate, *Romilius* in 6750, and *Veturius* in 1125 pounds. But this Calamity of these former Consuls did not make the following Consuls any thing slacker in their Duty: but they said, *They might indeed be condemned as those two had been, yet the People and the Tribunes could not pass their Law.* Then throwing aside the Law, which had been so long talked of, the Tribunes applied themselves to the Senate with more civility, and told them, *That they would at last put an end to all their Debates; and if the Plebeian Laws displeased them, desired they would suffer such Law-makers to be chosen out of the People and the Senate too, as might equally study the benefit and liberty of both sides.* The Senate did not condemn the Proposal, but said, *No Man should propose a Law, unless he were a Senator.* So then, having agreed of Laws, their only difference was about a Law-giver. Wherefore they sent Embassadors to *Athens*, whose names were *Sp. Posthumius Albus*, *A. Manlius*, and *P. Sulpitius Camerinus*, commanding them to Transcribe the famous Laws of *Solon*, and to observe the Institutions, Customs and Manners of other Grecian Cities.

This Year was quiet from all foreign Wars, but the next, in which *P. Horatius* and *Sext. Quintilius* were Consuls, was much more peaceable in that the Tribunes were all the time silent. But that was occasioned first by their expectation of the Embassadors that were gone to *Athens*, and of the Foreign Laws which they should bring back; and afterward by two extraordinary Calamities which befell them, that is to say, a Famine and a Pestilence, which was fatal both to Man and Beast, the Fields being laid waste, the City exhausted with daily Funerals, and many great Families in Mourning. To which you may add, that the *Flamen Quirinalis* [*i. e.* the chief Priest concerned in Sacrifices to *Romulus*] whose name was *Ser. Cornelius*, was dead, and the Augur *C. Horatius Pulvillus* too, into whose place the other Augurs chose *C. Veturius*, so much the rather, for that he had been Condemned by the People: At which time Consul *Quintilius* was also dead, and four Tribunes of the People; for that Year was defiled by a great Mortality, though they were free from disturbance by any Enemy. Then *C. Menenius*, and *P. Sestius Capitolinus* were Consuls; in whose time though there was not any Foreign War, yet there were stirs at home. And now the Embassadors were come back with the *Athick* Laws; which made the Tribunes the more urgent to have Laws drawn up. In order whereunto, they thought fit to make a sort of Officers called *Decemviri* without any Appeal, and so, as there should be no other Magistrate that Year. In that the doing of which, whether the Commons should be permitted to have any share was for some time disputed; but at last it was wholly referred to the Senate, provided they should not abrogate the *Italic Law* concerning the Mount *Aventine*, or any of the sacred Laws, touching the Authority of the Tribunes.

In the three hundred and first Year therefore after the Building of Rome, the form of their Government was again altered, the Sovereign Power being translated from Consuls to *Decemviri*, as it had been formerly from Kings to Consuls. But this change was less signal, because

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cause not lasting. For the joyful beginning of that Magistracy was too luxuriant, and therefore it fell the sooner to decay; inasmuch that the People desired, *The Name and Authority of Consuls might be given to two persons again.* But then the Decemviri were Created, whose names were *Ap. Claudius, T. Genutius, P. Sestius, S. Petorius, C. Julius, A. Manlius, Serv. Sulpicius, P. Horatius, T. Romilius, and Sp. Postumius.* Of whom *Claudius and Genutius* were made amends for the Honour of Consulship, which that Year they were designed to have had by this other honourable Office, and so likewise was *Sestius*, one of the Consuls the Year before, for having referred that matter to the Senate against his Collegues consent. Next to whom were the three Embassadors that went to *Athens*, but that, not only to reward them with Honour for their long Embassy, but because the *Romans* believed, they being well skilled in Foreign Laws would be Men very useful in making of new ones. As for the rest, they only filled up the number: of whom they say, *That they were very old Men, and chosen last, that they might not too perty thwart the Orders or Proposals of the others.* But the command of the whole Magistracy was in *Appius* only, through the favour of the People: for he had so changed his disposition, that he was grown a very *Poplicola* [*i. e.* a Courter of the People] all on the sudden, and mighty ambitious of popular applause, instead of being (what he once was) a violent and severe Persecutor of them. Every tenth day they each of them in their turns administered Justice to the People: on which day he who was the chief Justice for that time had twelve Lictors [or Serjeants] and the other nine of his Collegues had each of them one under Officer, called *Accensus*, to attend him. But there was an exact agreement between themselves (which might sometimes prove disadvantageous to private Persons) though the highest equity in respect of others at the same time. To shew their moderation, 'twill be enough if I give you but this one example of it. Though they were Created without Appeal; yet when a dead Corps, that was buried in the House of one *P. Sestius*, a Patrician, was found out, and brought forth into the publick Assembly, *C. Julius*, being the Decemvir in that case, which was as manifest as heinous, appointed *Sestius* a day for Tryal, and was his Accuser before the People, though he himself was the lawful Judge of it; foregoing his own right, and making an addition to the Peoples Liberty, by what he diminished from the Authority of his own Office.

XXXIV. This way of administering Justice so incorruptly, as from an Oracle, both rich and poor took great notice of; and then they applied themselves to making of Laws: in which affair having raised the Peoples expectation to a pitch, by shewing them the ten Tables, they summoned the Commons to an Assembly; where *wishing all happiness and prosperity to the Commonwealth, themselves, and their Children, they bad them go and read the Laws proposed; for they (as much as ten Men were capable to do) had made such Laws as were equitable and agreeable both to the highest and the lowest rank of Men: but they knew the understanding and advice of the People might make some addition to them.* Wherefore they desired them to weigh every part of them, and to discourse with one another about it, producing their Reasons for what was too much or too little in any case. For the Roman People should have such Laws, as the general consent of all the People might not seem to have passed, when they were preferred so much, as to have preferred them. When therefore the People had conferred concerning each Article of those Laws, and found them correct enough, they were confirmed in the Assembly, called *Comitia Centuriata*, by the Name of the *Laws of the ten Tables*; being to this day even amidst such an heap of other Laws, which have been made one upon another, the fountain of all publick and private Justice. But then there was a rumour spread abroad, That there were two Tables wanting; which if they were added, the Body, as it were, of the whole Roman Law would be compleat. Which expectation, when the day of the Assembly drew nigh, made them have a mind to make the same Decemviri again. For the People, besides that they hated the name of Consuls as much as that of Kings, did not so much as seek after the Tribunes assistance, because the Decemviri allowed one another to hear any great Cause over again, as if they had granted an Appeal.

XXXV. But when the Assembly for choosing of the Decemviri was appointed to be holden 27 days after, there arose such a general ambition among Men, that the very Heads of the City (for fear, I suppose, lest if they should not take it, some mean unworthy fellows would get the possession of that great Honour and Authority) went about to beg Votes, and humbly sued for Honour, which they themselves with all their industry impugned, from that People, with whom they had before contended. Now therefore his dignity being in danger, his being at that Age, and having enjoyed such Honours, so nettled *Ap. Claudius*, that you could not tell whether you ought to have reckoned him among the Decemviri or the Candidates; for he sometimes look'd more like to one that stood for, than one that bore an Office: being used to accuse the Nobility, but extoll even the slightest and meanest of the Candidates, and running into the Forum through the midst of the *Duilians* and *Jeilians*, to recommend himself by them to the People: till such time as his Collegues, who at that time extremely devoted to him, turning their eyes upon him, admired what his design was, and thought there was no sincerity in him; for they said, *His courtesie could not be without some end, in him especially who was a person of so much pride: that he submitted and debased himself too much, and that to converse so much with private Persons was not the part of a Man who was hastening to quit an Office, as of*

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one that sought out means to continue it. But yet not daring to withstand his ambition with open force, they endeavoured to defeat him by a seeming compliance and respect: for they consented to put him, though he was the youngest of them, upon holding the Assembly. But their design was, to hinder him from choosing himself, which besides the Tribunes of the People (who in that shewed a very ill example) no man had ever done. Whereupon he, in good time, he hoped, declaring, *that he was to hold the Assembly*, made that his opportunity which they intended as an obstruction: and having at the meeting degraded the two *Quintii* (*Capitolinus* and *Cincinnatus*) with his Uncle *C. Claudius*, a most constant defender of the Nobility, besides some others of the best Citizens, created *Decemviri* much inferior to them, of which himself was the first: which action all good Men so disapproved, that they did not believe he would have dared to do it. With him were chosen *M. Cornelius Maluginensis, M. Sergius, L. Minucius, Q. Fabius Vibulanus, Q. Patilius, T. Antonius Merenda, Cæso Duilius, Sp. Oppius Cornicen, and Man. Rabuleius.* U. C. 302.

That was the last time that *Appius* took upon him the guise of another Man; beginning from thence forward to live like himself, and to make his new Collegues even before they were got into their places, conform to his own manners. In order whereunto they met every day where no body was by to hear them; and there being inspired with tyrannical designs, which they in secret hatched, they now began to shew their pride, being very seldom accessible, and difficult to be spoken withall, till they brought the matter to bearing upon the Ides of May, which at that time was the solemn time for Magistrates to enter upon their Offices. They therefore at the beginning of that Magistracy made the first day of their Honour very signal by the denunciation of great terror to the People: for whereas the former Decemviri had always used to have the *Fasces* singly, and that Ensign of Sovereignty went round to them all in their turns, they presently appeared each one with twelve *Fasces* [*i. e.* bundles of Rods with Axes in the middle of them] an hundred and twenty Lictors filling the Forum, with Rods and Axes bound up in them. Nor would they keep their Axes at home [but shew them publicly] since they were chosen without Appeal. Inasmuch that they look'd like so many Kings; which multiplied the fears not only of the meanest sort of Men, but even the best of the Senate, who thought they had a mind to find some pretence and occasion for slaughter; so that if any one either of the Senators or the People spoke but a word concerning Liberty, the Rods and Axes might be made ready for a terror to others. For besides that the People had no security, now that their Appeal was taken away, they had by consent abolished that practice also of referring matters, for a second hearing, to one another: though the former Decemviri had permitted the Judgments by them given to be corrected by their Collegues: yea, had referred some things to the People, of which they themselves were the proper Judges. Wherefore for some time all People were possessed with equal fears; which by degrees were all concentrated in the Commons. For they meddled not with the Senators, but were very extravagant and cruel in their designs against the meaner sort of Men. Nor did they at all consider the cause, but the Man; but such Magistrates, as set up favour in the room of equity. For they contrived their determinations at home, and only pronounced them in the Forum. If any one appealed to a Collegue, he went away from him, that he came to, repenting that he had not stood to the Decree of the former. There was also a report (though no body knew the Author of it) that they had not only conspired to do great mischief at the present, but had made a private agreement and sworn to it among themselves, that they would not hold any publick Assemblies; but would make themselves a perpetual Decemvirate by keeping that power in their hands which they were then possessed of.

Thereupon the Commons began to look into the Senators faces, to see if they could find any hopes of Liberty from them, whom they had so much feared would be the Authors of their Slavery, as to reduce the Commonwealth into its present state. But the chief of the Senate all hated both the Decemviri and the People; and though they did not approve of what was done, yet they thought the Commons deserved it; nor would they assist such Men, as running headlong after Liberty had met with slavery instead on't. Yea, they did heap upon them all the injuries they could, to the end, that through the uneasiness of their present condition, they might be brought at length to desire two Consuls and the former state of things again. By this time the great part of the Year was gone, and two Tables of Laws were added to the ten, set up the Year before: nor was there any thing now remaining, if those Laws were once confirmed, to make that Magistracy necessary in the Commonwealth, and People expected, that an Assembly should be suddenly held for the creating of two Consuls. But the Commons chief care was, how they should restore the Power of the Tribunes, that fence of Liberty, which had been so long broken down; whilst in the mean time there was no talk of any Assembly, and the Decemviri, who at first were attended by none but such as favoured the Tribunes (because that was popular and grateful to the Commons) had gotten a Retinue of Patrician Youths about them, who stood in Troops all round the Tribunals. These Men committed what violence they pleased upon the Persons and Estates of the Commons; since fortune (whatsoever they desired) was of the stronger side. Now therefore they abstained not even from corporal punishments; some being beaten with the Rods, and others beheaded with the Ax; which cruelty left it should seem undeserving, the

Estates of them that suffered were made to follow their possessors punishment. By which reward the young Nobility being corrupted, would not only not resist the Tyranny of the Decemviri, but also publicly shewed, that they desired to enjoy their own licentious humour, more than the Liberty of the People.

XXXVIII.

The Ides of May were now come, but no new Magistrates being chosen, those same Persons (though private Men, and not Decemviri) usurping as much authority as ever they did, came forth into the publick with all the Ensigns of Honour. That look'd so like a Kingly Government, that the People lamented the loss of their Liberty which they were never like to regain; for they neither had any present view or future prospect of one to vindicate them. Nor did they only despond among themselves, but began to be contemned by their Neighbours also, who could not endure to see those People Govern, who themselves had lost their Liberty. Wherefore the Sabines made an incursion into the Roman Territories with a great Army; and having pillaged the Country far and near (from whence they had driven great numbers of Men and Beasts without any molestation) they mustered up their stragling Forces, and pitched their Camp at *Eretum*: placing all their hopes in the discord at Rome, which they supposed would be a stop to any new Levies. Whereupon not only Messengers, but the Country folks themselves running about the City possessed the People with fear: the Decemviri consulted what they had best do, whilst Fortune also added new terror to their dubious circumstances, who between the hatred of the Senate and the People were already destitute of any means to help themselves. For the *Aequi* pitched their Camp on the other side in *Algidum*; from whence, Embassadors out of *Tusculum* came, and brought news, that they made excursions and plundered the *Tusculan* Fields, desiring the Romans to assist them. But such a fear seized upon the Decemviri, that seeing two Enemies lay round the City, they were forced to consult the Senate. Wherefore they ordered the Senators to be summoned, though they were not ignorant what a storm of envy was coming upon them; supposing, That the Senate would lay all the guilt of the Countries being pillaged, and the imminent dangers in which the City was, at their door; and that then the Senate would attempt to abolish their Magistracy, if they did not unanimously resist it, and by being severe upon some few bold men prevent the endeavours of others. When the Cryers voice was heard in the Forum, calling the Senate into the Court to the Decemviri, it was so strange a thing (for they had long intermitted the custom of consulting the Senate) that the People wondered, what the matter was, or how they came to resume a thing which they had so long left off; saying, they might thank their Enemies, and even War it self, that any old custom was restored which had been usual in that once free City. Wherefore they began to look all about the Forum for Senators, but finding very few, they look'd toward the Senate-house, in which they saw none but the Decemviri (for the Decemviri themselves knew that their Authority was generally hated, and the People thought the Senators did not meet, because no private Persons (as the Decemviri then were) had Power to summon them;) wherefore they took this for a good opportunity to attempt the recovering of their Liberty, if the People should accompany the Senate, and as the Senators, though summoned, did not appear, so the People should withstand the Levy. Thus the People muttered: whilst there was hardly e're a Senator in the Forum, and but very few in the City; for they were so disgusted at the management of affairs that they were gone into the Country; minding their own business only, but neglecting the publick; and thinking themselves so far out of harms way, as they could get from the conversation or sight of such Tyrannical Masters. They therefore not coming according to the Summons, the Decemviri sent their Officers all about to their several Houses, not only to distrain upon their Goods, but to enquire, Whether they staid away on purpose? But they brought answer back, That the Senators were in the Country. With which the Decemviri were better pleased, than if they had been at home, and refused to obey their Authority. Wherefore they ordered, that they should be all sent for, and appointed a Senate the day following: which being more numerous than was expected, the People thought their Liberty was betrayed by the Senators, for that they appeared at the Summons of such Persons (who being out of Office, were no more, nor had no more Power than private Men, unless they used violence) as though they had called them thither by Legal Authority.

XXXIX.

But though they came pretty readily into the Court, we hear they did not so easily submit in giving their opinions there. For 'tis reported that *L. Valerius Potitus*, after *Ap. Claudius* had spoken, and before their opinions were desired, asking leave to say somewhat of the Commonwealth, the Decemviri with menaces forbid him; whereupon protesting he would go forth to the People, he went and raised a Tumult. *M. Horatius Barbatus* too was as fierce, they say, as he; calling them ten Tarquins, and putting them in mind that the Kings were banished by the *Valerii* and *Horatii*. Not that Men were then weary of the Name of King (for it was a Title fit for Jove himself, and a stile given not only to *Romulus* the founder of their City, but to all the succeeding Kings, being yet also solemnly retained among the Priests) but it was the pride and violence of a King which they hated. If then such voices were not tolerable either in their present King, or the Son of that King, who can brook them in so many private Men? Let them take heed, lest by forbidding Men to speak freely in the Senate-house they provoked them to make a noise when they were out of it. Nor could he see any reason, why he, though a private Man, might

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not as well assemble the People, as they the Senate. Whenever they pleased they might try how much harder it was to vindicate their Liberty, than for them to desire a continuation of their unjust Dominion. They talk of a Sabine War, as if there could be any War more fatal to the Roman People, than what they waged with them; who though they were made on purpose to establish Laws, had left no Law in the City: having abolished all Assemblies, annual Magistrates, and the turns of Governing, which was the only means to make all People equally free, yea, though they were private Men, had the Ensigns and Authority of Kings. There had been formerly, after the Kings were expelled, Magistrates made out of the Patricians, and after that (when the People separated themselves into the sacred Mount) out of the People too; desiring to know, which Order they were of. Of the People? What did they do with the Peoples advice or consent? Of the Nobility? Why had they not had a Senate then almost this whole Year; and now they had one, forbid any Man to speak in behalf of the Commonwealth? He therefore admonished them not to place too much hopes in other folks fears; for Men now thought they suffered more than they feared.

*Horatius* having made this bold Speech, the Decemviri could not tell whether they should be angry or pleased, nor what would become of the business, till at last *C. Claudius*, who was Uncle to *Appius* the Decemvir, made a Speech more like a Petition, than an invective, or reprimand, desiring him, for his Brothers and *Appius's* Fathers sake, to remember that civil Society in which he was born, rather than that cursed League which he had made with his Collegues: that he desired he would so do much more upon his own account than that of the publick. For the Commonwealth would have right done it, if not by Men of violence, at least by some body even against their wills: but that great quarrels commonly arise from great disputes, of which he dreaded the event. Now though the Decemviri forbid any Man to speak of any thing but what they had proposed, yet they could not in modesty interrupt *Claudius*; wherefore he made an end of his Speech, and told them he was of opinion, That no Decree of Senate ought then to be made. Which saying of his, all Men interpreted, as if he had look'd upon the Decemviri as private persons: for upon that score many Consular Men subscribed to what he declared. But there was another opinion amongst them, which though it seemed somewhat harsher, had less force in it; by which it was advised, that the Senators should meet and make an Interrex. For those that were of that opinion, by applying themselves to the Court in such a manner, acknowledged some kind of authority in those that called that Senate, whereas the other party, who would have no Decree made at that time, had made them only private persons. By this means the Cause of the Decemviri growing weak, *L. Cornelius Maluginensis*, Brother to *M. Cornelius* the Decemvir, being reserved, of all the Consular Men, on purpose to speak last, pretended a great concernment for the War, and took occasion thereby to defend his Brother and all his Collegues; saying, He wondered how it should happen, that they who had fought after the Decemvirate so earnestly themselves, should either alone, or more than any others, oppose the Decemviri? Or how it came to pass, that though for so many months when the City was at quiet, no Man made any question, whether they were legal Magistrates that had the sovereign Power in their hands, they should now engage in Civil Quarrels, when their Enemies were almost at their Gates; unless perhaps they thought, amidst such disturbances, it might not so well be discerned what they did. But he thought it not fair or just for any Man, now when their minds should be employed with greater matters, to make any other thing the ground of delay to such a weighty affair. For his part he would agree, that whereas *Valerius* and *Horatius* pretended the Decemviri were out of their Office before the Ides of May, the Senate, when the Wars were over, and the Commonwealth at rest, should debate of it: and that even now *Appius Claudius* should so prepare himself as to give an account of that Assembly, which he, being a Decemvir himself, held for the creating of the Decemviri; and should put it to the question, whether they were created for one year only, or for so long time till what Laws were lacking should be passed. But he thought best at present to omit all other things except the War: concerning which, if common fame was false, and not only other Messengers, but even the *Tusculan* Embassadors also brought them wrong intelligence, they should send out Scouts, to find the certainty, and bring a true relation of it. But if they believed the Messengers and the Embassadors, they ought to make a Levy as soon as they could: and the Decemviri to lead the Armies wherever they pleased, without any other cause to obstruct them.

The Junior Senators so over-voted the rest of the House as to make them comply with this advice. Therefore *Valerius* and *Horatius* rising up again more vehement than before, cried out, They would have leave to speak touching the Commonwealth; that they would speak to the People, if the Faction would not let them do so there: for no private persons could hinder them either in the Senate-house, or any other Assembly; nor would they yield to such imaginary Authority. Then *Appius*, supposing that their Power was like to be ruined, if they did not resist the violence of those Men with equal audacity, cried out, It had been better for you to have spoken to the business in hand; and to *Valerius*, who said, He would not hold his tongue for any private person, he commanded a Lictor to go and seize him. Upon which *Valerius*, at the door of the Senate-house, calling the Romans to witness of what he had done, *L. Cornelius* took *Appius* in his Arms, and though he did not consult the good of him which he seemed to save, decided the contest: so that *Valerius*, by *Cornelius's* means, had leave to say what he would. But his Liberty reaching no farther than words, the Decemviri had their ends. The Consular Men also and the Seniors, by reason of that remaining grudge they had to the Tribunes

Power,

XLI.

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Power, which they thought the People were more in love with than the Authority of the Consuls, were even better pleased afterward that the Decemviri should go out of their Office voluntarily, than that the People should rise again through hatred to them. For if the matter were gently managed, so as to put the Consuls into their former state without popular noise and tumult, the People might possibly (either by the interposition of Wars, or moderation of the Consuls in their Office) be brought to forget the Tribunes. So then the Senate agreed to make a Levy; and the Juniors, seeing the Power of the Decemviri was without Appeal, answered to their Names. When therefore the Legions were raised, the Decemviri chose among themselves fit Persons to go into the War, and to Command the Army. The chief of the Decemviri were *Q. Fabius* and *Ap. Claudius*: but the War seemed greater at home than abroad. They therefore thought that *Appius's* violence was more fit to appease the City Tumults; and that *Fabius*, though a Person of no great constancy in good Actions, was very skillful in Military Affairs. For the Decemviri and his Colleague had so altered this Man, who had been formerly very famous for his Conduct both in Peace and War, that he chose rather to be like *Appius* than himself. To him therefore they committed the management of the War against the *Sabines*, making *Man. Rabuleius*, and *Q. Petilius* his Colleagues; whilst *M. Cornelius*, with *L. Minucius*, *T. Antonius*, *Cæso Dullius* and *M. Sergius*, was sent into *Algidum*; *Sp. Oppius* being, by general consent, left assistant to *Ap. Claudius* in the Government and Defence of the City.

**XLII.** But the Commonwealth was managed no better in the Wars than it was at home: though the Commanders only fault was, that they had made themselves odious to their fellow Citizens; but the rest of the blame lay all upon the Soldiers: who to hinder any thing from being ever done prosperously under the Conduct of the Decemviri, permitted them to be overcome, though to their own as well as their Leaders dishonour. So they were routed not only by the *Sabines* at *Eretum*, but by the *Æqui* in *Algidum*. Whereupon making haft from *Eretum* in the night time they pitched their Camp on a rising ground more near the City, between *Fidenæ* and *Crustumena*: to which place seeing the Enemies pursued them, they never engaged in a fair Battel, but defended themselves by the Situation of the place, and with a Bullwark, not by their Courage or Arms. But their offence in *Algidum* was far greater, and so was their slaughter too: besides that, they lost their Camp also, with all their Baggage, and ran away to *Tusculum*, where they hoped (nor failed they then of their expectation) to live by the kindness and mercy of those old friends they had there. In the mean time such dreadful news was brought to Rome, that laying aside their hatred to the Decemviri, the Senate thought fit to set Watches all about the City: commanding all that could bear Arms to secure the Walls, and stand in Garisons before the Gates. Nor only so, but they ordered Arms and supplies to be sent to *Tusculum*; and that the Decemviri should go from the Castle of *Tusculum* into a Camp: that the other Camp should be transferred from *Fidenæ* into the *Sabine* Territories; and that, by a voluntary Attack upon them, the Enemies should be deterred from making any attempt upon the City.

**XLIII.** To the slaughter received from the Enemy, the Decemviri added two horrid Exploits, the one in the Wars, and the other at home. The first of which was this: There was one *L. Siccus* in the Country of the *Sabines*, who, through the hatred which he bore to the Decemviri, having talked privately with the common Soldiers about creating Tribunes, and of a secession or departure of the People, was sent before as a Scout to view the place where they should incamp; the Soldiers that were sent along with him, being commanded, when they came to a convenient place, to murder him. But they did not do it without some kind of retaliation: for many of the *Ruffians* fell before him as he made resistance; for he defended himself, though surrounded by them, with a Courage proportionable to the mighty strength of his Body. The rest came and brought news to the Camp, that *Siccus* was surprized, but lost his life very manfully, and that some of the other Soldiers died with him. They believed the Messengers, and sent a Party to bury those who were slain, by permission of the Decemviri: who when they saw ne'r a Body there rifled, but *Siccus* lying in the middle, Armed, with all their Bodies turned toward him, and no body or footsteps of any Enemy that either was there or gone away, they concluded he was certainly killed by their own Soldiers, and so brought back the Corps. Whereupon the Camp was filled with envy, and would have had the Body of *Siccus* straight carried to Rome, had not the Decemviri made haste to prepare a Military Funeral for him at the publick expence. So he was buried with great lamentations among the Soldiers, and the Decemviri were very ill spoken of among the vulgar People.

**XLIV.** This was attended with another crime in the City which was occasioned by lust: being no less fatal in the event, than that, which for the Rape and death of *Lucretia*, had expelled the *Tarquins* out of the City and Kingdom: so that the Decemviri did not only come to the same end, as the Kings had done, but the cause also of their losing their Authority was the very same. *Ap. Claudius* was instigated by Lust to ravish an ordinary Plebeian Damself; whose Father, *L. Virginus*, was a Captain in *Algidum*; being a Man of a good life both at home and in the War, nor were his Wife and Children less vertuous. This *Virginus* had espoused his Daughter to one *L. Icilius*, a favourer of the Tribunes, who was a keen Man,

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and very well known to be a great stickler for the People's Interest. *Appius* therefore being inflamed with Love, endeavoured to win this Maid (who was at *Womans* estate, and very Beautiful) by morny and fair promises; but when he saw her every way guarded with modesty and chastity, applied his mind to cruel and outrageous violence. He employed and suborned *M. Claudius*, a Client of his, to challenge her for his Slave, and not to yield to any who should require she might be free 'till the Tryal of her Liberty was over: for he thought; that now her Father was absent, he had the better opportunity to do her wrong. Whereupon, as the Maid was coming into the Forum (where in Shops were petit Schools) the Decemvirs servant laid his lustful hands upon her, saying, *She was the Daughter of his Bondswoman, and herself a Slave*; and commanding her to follow him, or he'd drag her away by force. The poor Girl being amazed at the surprize, her Nurse cried out, and desired the People to assist her, which made a great concourse about them. By which means the crowd, who knew her Father *Virginus* and her Lover *Icilius* to be very popular Men, were upon their account, and the indignity offered to her, ready to help the Virgin. So she was rescued from his violence; but he told them, *They need not make a tumult; he would take a more legal course, and not use force.* He therefore warned her to appear before the Magistrate, whilst those that were present, advised her to follow him. When they came before *Appius*, the Plaintiff tells the story to the Judge (who knew it all before, as being himself the contriver of it,) *That she was born in his House, and thence by stealth conveyed to the House of Virginus, whose Wife brought her up as her own Child: that he could prove, and would prove it by Virginus's own Confession, who was most concerned in that injury: but that, in the mean time, it was but just a Servant, as she was, should go along with her Master.* To which the Girls Advocates made answer, and said, *That Virginus was absent in the service of the Commonwealth, but would be there in two days, if he had notice of the affair: that it was unreasonable there should be any dispute concerning his Children in his absence; wherefore they desired the whole matter might be put off 'till his return: that he would suffer her to have her freedom (according to a Law, which he himself had made) 'till the Tryal were over, and not let a Maid of her Age undergo the hazard of her good Name, before that of her Liberty.*

Then *Appius* told them in a Preface to his Decree, *That very Law, which Virginus's friends brought to back their request, declared how much he favoured Liberty: but that would not be a sure guard for Liberty, where the cause was altered and varied by difference of cases and persons. For to those persons, who were to be made free, because any Man may sue, what they said was Law; but in the case of that Maid, who was in her Father's custody, there was no body else, to whom the Master of her could resign his possession: wherefore he thought fit that her Father should be sent for, though in the mean time he that challenged her should not lose his right, but should take the Girl home with him, upon security, to bring her again into Court, when he came, who was her pretended Father.* Against this unjust Decree there were many who murmured, but ne'r an one of them durst say a word; 'till *P. Numitorius* the Girls Uncle, and her Lover *Icilius* came in: for whom the crowd made way; but just as the Multitude were thinking that by the Interposition of *Icilius* they might be able to thwart *Appius*, the Licitor cried out, *He has Deceed it, and with that put by Icilius, who was very loud upon the point.* Whereupon, though his nature was very mild, he was inflamed by that indignity, and said, *Appius! You should remove me hence with a Dagger, that you may have that kept private which you would fain conceal. Know, I am to marry this Maid, who is to be my chaste Wife. Wherefore call all your own Licitors, and those of your Colleagues too, about you, and bid them make ready your Rods and Axes, yet Icilius's Sweetheart shall not tarry any where without her Father's Doors. No, though you have taken away the Tribunes aid, and their Appeal from the People of Rome (which were the two forts, whereby to defend our Liberty) it does not follow that your Lust must tyrannize over our Children, and our Wives too. Exert your malice upon our backs and necks, but let our Chastity at least be secure. If she suffer any violence, I will conjure the Romans, as she is my Spouse, Virginus the Soldiers, as she is his Daughter, and all of us implore both Gods and Men to vindicate her quarrel; nor shalt thou ever repeat that Decree without first killing of me. I desire thee, Appius, to consider well what thou art going to do: And let Virginus, when he comes, take care what he does concerning his Daughter: only let him know this, that if he does not vindicate her, he must get her another Husband. But in the mean time I'll lose my life in asserting my Mistress's Liberty, rather than my honour by deserting her.*

With that the Multitude was much incensed, and a tumult like to arise; but the Licitors stood about *Icilius*, and so it proceeded no farther than hard words: upon which *Appius* began and said, *Virginus was not defended by Icilius, but a turbulent Man, who even at that time had a great desire to be a Tribune, sought an occasion to move Sedition: though he'd give him no reason at that time. Yet, that he might know, he did not refrain upon the score of his petulance, but for the sake of Virginus (who was absent) out of respect to the name of a Father, and the care he had to preserve every ones Liberty, though he would not pass sentence that day, nor make any Decree, but would desire of M. Claudius, to quit his right in some measure, and let the Girl be vindicated next day, yet if her Father did not then appear, he assured Icilius, and others like him, that his Law should not want an asserter, nor a Decemvirs constancy. Not that he would call together his Colleagues Licitors to correct the Authors of sedition, but would be content with his own. Wherefore*

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the time of Tryal being put off, and the Girls Advocates being gone away, they thought good first of all, that Icilius's Brother, and Numitorius's Son, two active young Lads, should go immediately and fetch Virginius with all speed out of the Camp: for thereupon depended the Girls Life, that the vindicator of the injury done to her, should be present in Court next day, at the time appointed. They therefore went as they were ordered, and being on Horseback Galloped the sooner to carry Virginius the news. In the mean time, he that challenged the Girl, being very urgent to have Security for her appearance (which Icilius said he was seeking as fast as he could, as being mighty industrious to delay the time till the Messengers were got to the Camp) the Multitude all round him held up their hands, and thereby shewed, they were ready each man of them to be security for Icilius. To whom he replied, *I thank you; to morrow I'll make use of you, at present I have Security enough.* So Virginia was vindicated by the Security which her Relations gave. Appius having staid there some little time, lest he should seem to have fate upon that account only, and seeing that all the People neglected their own affairs out of the care and concern they had upon them for that single Damsel, (so that no Body applied themselves to him) he went home, and wrote to his Collegues in the Camp, *That they should not give Virginius any furlow [or leave to come away from his Colours] but, more than that, to keep him in safe Custody.* Which wicked advice was, as it ought to have been, too late: for Virginius having got leave, was come away at the first Watch [about the edg of night] and the Letter for his detainment came to no purpose the next morning.

XLVII. As soon as it was day, the whole City stood in the Forum, full of expectation, till Virginius, clad in sordid Apparel, [as Mourners use to be] led his Daughter (who was in the like attire) down into the Forum, being accompanied with several Matrons, and a great number of Advocates. There going about to get the Peoples favour, he did not beg of them, but challenged their assistance as his due: saying, *That he stood every day in the Army for their Wives and Children; nor was there any other Man that had more strenuous and brisk actions to brag of. What good did it do him, though the City were safe, if his Children must suffer all the extremities of captivity?* Thus he went about talking to the People, as if he had been, in a manner, at a publick Assembly. Icilius also said the like; but the Women that went along with them moved the People much more with their silent tears than they did with all they said. Against all which Appius was very obstinate (so great is the force of madness rather than love) and went up into the Tribunal: where the Plaintiff beginning to complain, *that he was hindered by popular ambition from having justice done him the day before; before either he could make an end of his request, or Virginius be admitted to speak, Appius prevented and interrupted them.* What he said before his Decree (though perchance old Authors have told us true enough, yet) because I find nothing probable to be said in the case of such an unworthy Decree, I think fit to give you that which is certain just barely as it lies, *That he Decreed she should be a slave.* Whereupon all People were at first amazed with admiration to see so heinous a thing done: but then were for some time silent. After which, as M. Claudius amidst all the Matrons went to seize the Maid, being received with a lamentable moan which they made, Virginius offering to strike Appius, told him, *I have betrothed my Daughter to Icilius, not to thee; and have bred her up to make a Wife, not a Whore on. Wouldst thou, like Beasts, make use promiscuously of any bedfellow? I cannot tell, whether these People can endure it, but I hope they will not that have Arms about them.* With that he that challenged the Maid being repelled by the crowd of Women and Advocates that stood about her, the Cryer commanded silence.

XLVIII. Then the Decemvir, having his mind abandoned to lust, said, *He could prove, not only by Icilius's railing, and Virginius's violence, whereof the Roman People were his witness, but by certain evidence also, that there were Cabals in the City all night long for raising of Sedition.* For which reason he, who knew their Design, came thither attended with Men in Arms; not to hurt any Man, that was quiet, but by his Authority to restrain such as disturbed the Peace of the City: therefore it had been better for them to have been quiet. Go, Licor! said he, put by the crowd, and make way for the Master to seize his Slave. As soon as he had so said (with a thundering voice and full of rage) the Multitude removed of their own accord, and the deserted Maid stood there as a prey to injustice. Then Virginius seeing he had no manner of assistance by him, said, *I beseech you, Appius! first to pardon a Fathers grief, if I have said any thing too severe against thee: and then, suffer the nurse, here in the presence of the Maid, to inquire what the matter really is: to the end, that if I am falsely called her Father, I may go hence the better satisfied.* Having obtained leave, he led his Daughter and the Nurse near to the Temple of Cloacina by the Shops, which are now called, *The new ones*, and there snatching a knife from a Butcher, cried out, *Thus, Daughter! (since I can do it no other way) do I vindicate thy Liberty: and with that he stabbed her; looking back toward the Tribunal, and saying, Appius! with this blood I destine thee to Death.* Thereupon a great uproar being made at the sight of such an horrid act, Appius was moved, and commanded Virginius to be laid hold on; but he with his Sword made way wherever he went, till he, and the Multitude also that followed him, came to the Camp. In the mean time Icilius and Numitorius taking up the dead Body, shewed it to the People, deploring Appius's Injustice, the Girls unhappy Beauty, and the necessity of her Fathers doing what he did: Whilst the Matrons that followed cried out, *Was that*

*the consequence of getting Children? Was that the reward of Chastity?* With other expostulations, which in such a case female sorrow the more it drowns their weak reason, with the greater aggravation suggests. But the Men, and especially Icilius, were wholly taken up in exclaiming, that the Tribunes Power, and the Appeal to the People, were taken away, besides other publick abuses.

The Multitude was stirred up, partly by the heinousness of the Fact, and partly through hopes of having then an opportunity to recover their Liberty. Appius gave order one while that Icilius should be called, another while, that if he would not come willingly, he should be dragged thither; and at last, seeing the Serjeants could not get to him, he himself, with a company of Patrician young Men, going through the crowd, commanded him to be carried to Prison. But at this time there were about Icilius, not only the Multitude, but the Leaders of the Multitude also, L. Valerius, and M. Horatius; who, repelling the Licor, told him, *If he were come to take him upon a legal account, they would vindicate Icilius from any private person: and if he endeavoured to take him by force, there were those, that would be hard enough for him.* Hence arose a great squabble, the Licor setting upon Valerius and Horatius, whilst the Multitude broke his Fasces [i. e. Rods] all to pieces. Appius therefore went up into the Assembly; Horatius and Valerius followed him, and then the Assembly would hearken to, though they bawled when Appius spoke. And now Valerius with Authority commanded the Licors to depart from that private Man; inasmuch that Appius, whose heart was broken, being in fear of his life, got into an House near the Forum, unknown to his Adversaries, with his head covered. Then Sp. Oppius, to assist his Collegue, came furiously into the Forum on the other side; but saw the Government overcome by strength. Whereupon advising with several People, and agreeing to every thing they said, he was afraid, though he had many to back him, when he ordered a Senate to be called. Which Action, because great part of the Senators seemed to dislike the Acts of the Decemviri, appeased the Multitude out of hopes which they had that in that Senate their Power would come to an end. The Senate also thought fit not only to avoid provoking the Multitude, but much more to provide, lest Virginius's arrival should cause any commotion in the Army. Wherefore some of the Junior Senators were sent to the Camp, which was at that time on the Mountain Velitius, to tell the Decemviri, *That they must do their utmost to keep the Soldiers from mutinying; among whom Virginius caused a greater disturbance than he had left behind him in the City.* For besides, that he was seen to come with a Party of almost four hundred Men, who, moved by the indignity of his misfortune, had made themselves his Companions, the knife was also naked in his hand, and himself all sprinkled with Blood, which made the whole Camp stare upon him; and the sight of so many Roman Gowns in the Camp made the Multitude of Citizens seem somewhat more than they were. When they asked him, *What the matter was?* he cried, and for a good while said never a word, but after the crowd of those that flocked about him stood still, and silence was commanded, he told them all things in order as they were transacted. Which having done, he held up his hands, and begged of his fellow Soldiers, *That they would not impute that to him which was Ap. Claudius's crime, nor hate him as a Murderer of his own Children. That his Daughter was more dear to him than his life; if she could have lived to enjoy her Liberty and preserve her Chastity: But when he saw her dragged like a Slave to be made a Whore on, he thought it better for him to lose his Child by death than by disgrace. That he through his mercy to her was fallen into a show of cruelty; nor would he have survived his Daughter, unless he had been in hopes, by the help of his fellow Soldiers to revenge her Death. They also he knew, had Daughters and Wives; nor was the lust of Ap. Claudius extinguished by his Daughters death, but that the more he escaped punishment, the more extravagant he would be. That by another Mans calamity they were taught to provide against the like injury. As for his part, his Wife was dead; his Daughter, because she could live no longer in Chastity, died a miserable, but an honest death: wherefore Appius's lust had now no temptation in his house. That he would vindicate his own Body from any other violence which he could offer, with the same Courage that he did that of his Daughter. Let other men look to themselves and their Children.* As Virginius raved out to this purpose, the Multitude answered him with shouts, and said, *They would not be wanting either to revenge his grief, or vindicate their own Liberty.* Upon which the Citizens that were mixt in the crowd of Soldiers, complaining to the same effect, and telling them how much worse things would have look'd if they had seen them, than they were represented; affirming also, that Rome was in a tumult, and that there was news brought of Appius's being almost killed and gone into Banishment, they persuaded them to make an Alarm, to take up the Ensigns, and march toward Rome. The Decemviri being startled at what they saw, as well as that which they had done at Rome, ran to the several parts of the Camp, to appease the tumults. Where though they proceeded with all mildness, they had no answer but this, that if any of them pretended to Government, they [i. e. the Soldiers] were Men and in Arms. So they went into the City with a full body, and sat down upon the Aventine; from whence, as the People came that way, they exhorted them to retrieve their Liberty, and make new Tribunes of the People: nor was there any other angry word heard. Sp. Oppius called a Senate; in which they did not think fit to proceed roughly, for that they themselves had given the occasion for that Sedition: but they sent three Embassadors, who were Consul-

lar Men, viz. *Sp. Tarpeius*, *C. Julius* and *P. Sulpicius*, to ask them in the name of the Senate, By whose Order they left their Camp? or what they meant by posting themselves upon the Aventine? and turning the War from their Enemies, to invade their own Country? To which they wanted not an answer, but only some body to give it; as having yet no certain Leader, nor daring singly to expose themselves to envy. Only this the Multitude said all together, if they would lend *L. Valerius* and *M. Horatius* to them, they would give them their answer.

LI. The Embassadors being dismissed, *Virginis* told the Soldiers, They had wavered in a business of some consequence just before, because the Multitude was without an Head: for their answer was made, though not to their disadvantage, yet more by chance than any unanimous design of theirs. Wherefore he would have them make ten Officers, who should govern in Chief, and in a Military stile, be called the Tribunes of the Soldiers. Whereupon that Honour being first offered to him, he replied, Reserve this your good opinion of me 'till I and you are in better circumstances. My Daughter will not let any Honour be agreeable to me as long as I live, nor is it convenient, whilst the Commonwealth is thus disturbed, for them to govern you, who are themselves most obnoxious to envy. If you have any occasion for me, I'll serve you nevertheless though I am a private person. So they made ten Tribunes Military. Nor did the Army in the Sabine Country lie still: for there also *Isilius* and *Numitorius* had persuaded them to a Revolt from the Decemviri; the death of *Siccinius* being remembred with as much abhorrence, as the late news of *Virginis* being so basely attempted, was heard. *Isilius*, when he heard that there were Tribunes of the Soldiers made in the Aventine, lest the Assemblies in the City should follow the example of the Soldiers, and chuse the same Men Tribunes of the People, he (who was well versed in popular affairs, and had a mind to that Dignity) himself also, before he went to the City, took care to have the like number chosen among his Soldiers, with the same Authority. After that, they enter the City at the Gate *Collina* with their Colours Displayed, and marched in a full Body through the middle of the City up to the Aventine. Where joining the other Army, they imployed the twenty Tribunes of the Soldiers, to chuse two out of themselves, who should have sovereign Authority. They therefore chose *M. Oppius* and *Sex. Manilius*. In the mean time the Senate being concerned for the publick, though they fate every day, spent more time in wrangling, than sober consultations. The Murder of *Siccinius*, *Appius's* lust, and the dishonours of the War were laid upon the Decemviri; though 'twas at last resolved, that *Valerius* and *Horatius* should go into the Aventine. But that they refused to do, unless the Decemviri would lay down the Ensigns of that Magistracy, which they should have quitted an Year before. At which the Decemviri complaining, that they were affronted, said, They would lay down that Authority, 'till they had established those Laws, upon the account of which they were first made.

LII. The People having notice by *M. Duilius*, who had been Tribune of the People, that by reason of their daily contentions, there was nothing done, they removed out of the Aventine into the sacred Mount; *Duilius* affirming to them, That no care would sink into the Senators hearts, before they saw the City deserted: that the sacred Mount would put them in mind of the Peoples constancy; and then they would know, that unless their Power were restored, there could be no hopes of Peace. Thereupon they marched along the Way called *Via Mœniana* (but at that time *Piculiensis*) and pitched their Camp in the sacred Mount, following the example of their Fathers modesty, and doing no hurt. The People too all followed the Army, nor did any stay behind whose age would give them leave to go. Yea, the Wives and Children also went along, demanding of their Husbands and Fathers in a most miserable accent, Who they would leave with them in that City; in which neither Chastity nor Liberty was secure, and free from violence. Now therefore since at Rome an uncouth solitude had made the City look like a Desert, and that in the Forum there was no body but a few old Men (for even that too appeared like a forsaken place, now that the Senators were all summoned into their House) a great many more besides *Horatius* and *Valerius* cried out, What is it, Grave Fathers! that you stay for? Will you let all things decay and come to ruin, because the Decemviri will not comply? Pray tell me, you Decemviri! what is that Authority, that you are so obstinate in asserting? You will ere long talk Law to the Houses and Walls. Are not you ashamed that there should be as many Licitors of yours seen in the Forum as of Citizens and others? What will you do if an Enemy come to the City? What if the Commons, when they see us unconcerned at their departure, should come all in Arms? Will you not lay down your Authority upon the account of the City? I am sure we must have Tribunes of the People, or have no People at all. We shall sooner want Patrician Magistrates, than they Plebeians. They forced our Fathers to make that new sort of Magistrates which they had never had any experience of, much less will they now endure the lack of them, since they are pleased with the sweetness of their administration: especially seeing that we our selves give them cause even from our management of things to think they want assistance. These kind of Speeches being cast forth from all parts of the House, and the Decemviri out-voted, they declared, They would be, since the Senate would have it so, at the disposal of that Court; desiring and admonishing them only this, that they would have a care they did not expose them to envy; nor would cause the People by tasting their blood to long for that of the Senators.

LIII. Then *Valerius* and *Horatius* being sent to recall the People by what means they thought fit, and to compose all differences, were likewise ordered to take care that the Decemviri might be

be secure from the rage and violence of the Multitude. They therefore going were received by the People with great joy into the Camp; as being their undoubted Deliverers both in the beginning of the Commotion and in the issue of it: upon which account they had thanks given them. Then *Isilius* made a Speech before the Multitude, and again, when they came to treat of the Conditions, (the Embassadors asking what the Peoples demands were) he having contrived the matter before the arrival of the Embassadors, said, they desired that they might have reason to put more trust in the equitable management of affairs, than in their Arms: For they demanded the Tribuneship and the Appeal again, which had been the great aids of the People before the Decemviri were created; and to let the World know the truth of it, had stirred up the Soldiers or the People to regain their Liberty by a secession. Only their Demands touching the punishment of the Decemviri was very cruel: For they desired to have them surrendered up into their own hands, and threatened, they would burn them alive. To which the Embassadors answered: That which you demanded like sober Men, was so reasonable that we could have granted it on our own accords; for those things were only guards for their own Liberty, not a License to offend others. But we must rather pardon than indulge your passion; because, out of hatred to cruelty you run into it; and even before your selves are well free, would be lording it over your Adversaries. Will our City never be quiet from punishments, which either the Senate inflict upon the People, or the People upon them? You want a Shield more than a Sword: he is a good Citizen enough, that lives without doing or suffering any wrong. If ever you grow dreadful, 'twill be when you have recovered your Magistrates, and your Laws, so that the power is all in your hands; then you may determine of our lives and fortunes according to the nature of each case; but at present I think it sufficient for you to redemand your Liberty.

Whereupon the Multitude all cried out, they might do what they pleased, the Embassadors replying, They would return very speedily with all things perfected. So when they came and told the Senate what the People said; the other Decemviri, seeing there was mention of their punishment (as they expected there should have been) did not at all refuse to comply. But *Appius*, a Man of a cruel disposition, and extraordinary envious, measuring the hatred of others toward him by his toward them, said, Fortune favours no sluggard. Now I see the contest against us was deferred 'till our Adversaries were Armed: our Blood must be sacrificed to envy. Were it not for that, I should not care how soon I quitted the Decemvirate. Then there was a Decree of Senate made; That the Decemviri should quit their Office as soon as possible; that *Q. Furius* the High-Priest should create Tribunes of the People; and that the secession of the Soldiers and the Commons should not turn to any Mans disadvantage. These Orders of Senate being passed, and the Senate dismissed, the Decemviri came forth into the Assembly, and publicly laid down their Office to the great joy of all the People. This news was carried to the Commons, all the Men that were left in the City attending upon the Embassadors, who were met by another glad Multitude out of the Camp; both of then congratulating each other for the Liberty and Concord which was restored to their City. Then the Embassadors in an Assembly made this Speech. For the good, happiness and prosperity of your selves and the Commonwealth, return into your Country, to your Household-gods, your Wives and Children: and since you have lived here with that modesty, as not to injure any Mans estate to supply even the necessities of such a Multitude, carry the modesty with you into the City: go into the Aventine, from whence you came: in that happy place, where you laid the first foundations of your Liberty, you shall make Tribunes of the People: the High-Priest will be ready to hold the Assembly. To which they lowdly and cheerfully gave their assent, approving all that he said. With that they faced about with their Ensigns, and marching toward Rome, vied in joy with all they met. But though they were in Arms, they went silent through the City into the Aventine, where the High Priest immediately calling an Assembly, they created Tribunes; of which the first of all was *A. Virginis*, then *L. Isilius*, and *P. Numitorius*, the Uncle of *Virginia*, who were the cause of the secession. Then *C. Sicinius* descended from him, who is reported to have been the first Tribune of the People made in the sacred Mount: and *M. Duilius*, who had been an honourable Tribuneship before the Decemviri were created, nor had been wanting to the People in their Conflicts with the Decemviri. Then out of hope more than for any desert, they elected *M. Titinius*, *M. Pomponius*, *C. Apronius*, *P. Villius*, and *C. Oppius*. At his entrance into the Office, *L. Isilius* immediately preferred a Bill to the People, and they agreed to it, That the secession from the Decemviri should turn to no Mans disadvantage. And then *M. Duilius* got another passed for creating of Consuls with Liberty of Appeal; all this being done by a Council of the People in the *Prata Flaminia*, now called *Circus Flaminius* [i. e. a place for Exercises.]

Then *L. Valerius* and *M. Horatius* were created Consuls by an Interrex [one that Governed when there was no chief Magistrate] who immediately from that time began their Office: whole Consulate, though it were managed without any injury to the Senate, yet, being popular, gave offence. For whatsoever was done in favour of the Peoples Liberty they thought diminished their Power. First of all; when it was as it were a Moot point, Whether the Senate should be obliged by any order of the People, they made a Law in the *Comitia Centuriata*, That what the Commons established in their Tribes, should bind all the People: by which Law they gave a keen Weapon to the Tribunes. After which they not only restored, but also

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also for the future fortified another Consular Law about Appeals (which was the sole guard to their Liberty, but had been overthrown and evacuated by the Power of the Decemviri) by passing a new Act; That no Man should make any Magistrate without Appeal; or if he did, it should be lawful to kill him; nor should the killing of him be counted a Capital Crime. When they had thus fortified the Commons, on the one hand with Liberty of Appeal, and on the other with the aid of the Tribunes, they made the Tribunes also Holy or Inviolable (which was a thing almost quite forgotten) by renewing of some very ancient Ceremonies. Nor did they make them so only in a Religious sense only, but in point of Law too; ordaining, That whoever should offer any injury to the Tribunes, Aediles, Judges, or Decemviri [for so the Tribunes here are called from their number] should be reckoned a publick Enemy, whom any one might kill, and his Goods be sold at the Temple of Ceres, Liber, and Libera. By which Law the Learned say no Man is made Holy or Inviolable; but that he who hurts any of them, is ordained to be lookt upon as \* cursed. Therefore an Aedile may be seized, and carried away by a Superior Magistrate; which though it be not legally done (for it is hurting him, who by this Law is not to be injured) yet it is an argument, that an Aedile is not reckoned Holy or Inviolable: but, they say, that the Tribunes are Inviolable by an old Oath and Obligation that the Commons were under, when they first created that Authority. There have been some, who have said, that by this same Horatian Law provision was made for the Judges and Prators also, because they were created with the same Ceremonies as the Consuls: for they called a Consul, *Judex*, i. e. a Judge. Which Interpretation is easily confuted, because in those days it was not yet the custom to call a Consul, Judge, but Prator. These then were the Consular Laws. But it was ordained also by the same Consuls; That the Acts of the Senate should be carried to the Temple of Ceres, to be kept by the Aedile of the People: they being formerly suppressed and vitiated at the pleasure of the Consuls. Then M. Duilius, a Tribune of the People, preferred a Bill, and the Commons passed it, That, whoever left the People without Tribunes, or created a Magistrate without Appeal, should be whipt with the Rods, and then beheaded with the Axes. All these things, though they were done against the Patricians minds, yet they did not oppose them; because there was no severity yet used against any one particular Man.

LVI.

By this means, having laid the foundation both of the Tribunes Power and the Peoples Liberty, the Tribunes supposing it to be now both safe and seasonable to set upon single Persons, made Virginius the first Accuser, and Appius the Party accused. When therefore Virginius had summoned Appius, and Appius was come amidst a throng of Patrician young Blades into the Forum, all People presently called to mind his Tyrannical Authority, seeing him with his Myrmidons about him. Then Virginius, Oratory, said he, was invented in matters doubtful: wherefore I will neither spend time in accusing him, from whose cruelty you were slain by your Arms to vindicate your selves; nor will I suffer him to add impudence to his other crimes, by making any defence. Now therefore, Appius Claudius! for all that thou hast so maliciously and impiously done these two years following, I give thee thanks. Only for one crime, when thou wert Judge, and wouldst not let my Daughter vindicate her Liberty, I cannot pardon but command thee to be carried to Goal, unless thou clear thy self. Appius had no hopes to rely upon either in the aid of the Tribunes, or in the judgment of the People; yet he appealed to the Tribunes, and, though no body cared for it, being seized by an Officer, cried out, *Provoco*, i. e. I Appeal: so that the same voice being heard to vindicate Liberty, which had refused all legal proceedings in order to it before, caused a deep silence. But soon after, when every one muttered to himself, That there were gods at last come into the World, who did not neglect Mankind; that Pride and Cruelty at length suffered, though late, not slight penalties; that he appealed, who had taken away all Appeals; that he implored the Peoples aid, who had disannulled all the rights of the People; and that he was dragged into fetters, wanting the privileges of Liberty, who had adjudged a free-born Maid to Slavery; they over-heard Appius's voice amidst the murmur of the Assembly, begging the assistance and favour of the Roman People, and commemorating the deserts of his Ancestors upon the Commonwealths account both in Peace and War; saying, That his was an unhappy zeal for the Commons of Rome, in that he quitted the Consulate to the great displeasure of the Senate to make righteous Laws; Laws, which though they were still in force, the maker of them must be dragged to Goal. But he hoped to shew what good or hurt he had done, when he had leave to speak for himself. At present, he desired that, according to the common usage of the City, and as he was a Roman, he might have a day given him to make his defence, and see what the People of Rome would please to determine of it. For he did not fear the malice of any body so much, as to have no hopes in the equity and mercy of his fellow Citizens. But if he must be dragged to Prison without being heard, he would again Appeal to the Tribunes, and admonish them not to imitate those they hate. And if the Tribunes owned themselves under the same obligation to evacuate all Appeals, as they said the Decemviri conspired to do, he said, he appealed to the People, begging the benefit of those Laws concerning Appeals, that were made by the Consuls and Tribunes too that very year. For who should Appeal, if he might not, who was uncondemned, nor had yet pleaded for himself? What ordinary Plebeian fellow could have any security from the Laws, if Appius Claudius had none? He therefore was like to be an argument, whether Dominion or Liberty were asserted by their new Laws; as also, whether the privilege of an

an Appeal in opposition to the injustice of Magistrates were only written for vain shew and ostentation, or really passed into a Law and allowed.

On the other side Virginius said, that Ap. Claudius, above all others, was unacquainted with all Laws, and a stranger to all civil, human obligations: Let the People look back to his Tribunal, which was the Fort and Castle of all wickedness: where that perpetual Decemvir, who was an Enemy to the fortunes, Bodies and Blood of his fellow Citizens, threatening all People with Rods and Axes; a contemner of Gods as well as Men, and guarded with a company of Executioners instead of Lictors, having now turned his mind from rapine and slaughter to Lust, gave an ingenious Virgin (in sight of all the Romans, as if she had been a Captive of War) out of her Fathers embraces, into the hands of a Client of his, who was his Valet de Chambre: where by his cruel Decree, and denying of common Justice, he had armed the hand of a Father against his Daughter: where he ordered the Lover and Uncle of the Maid, who took away the dead Body, to be dragged to Prison, being more concerned that his base design was interrupted, than that the Damsel was killed. That he built a Prison, and was wont to call it, The common People of Romes dwelling House. Wherefore, as often as he Appealed, he would as often refer it to any competent Judge. Whether he did not deny his Daughter the ordinary process for asserting her Liberty; and if he would not accept of that proffer, he ordered him to be carried to Goal as a condemned person. Now as no body disapproved of what Virginius said or did, so there was a strange commotion in Peoples minds, when he was cast into the Prison, the Commons themselves being of opinion, that seeing they could punish so great a Man, their Liberty was grown too excessive. But the Tribune gave him a longer day of hearing. At this juncture there came to Rome Embassadors from the Latins and the Hernici, to congratulate the concord between the Senate and the Commons, bringing an Offering to great Jupiter in the Capitol, which was a Golden Crown of a small weight; according to their ability in those days, when Religious Duties were performed with Piety more than Magnificence. They likewise informed the Romans, that the Aequi and the Volsci were preparing for War as fast as they could. Wherefore the Consuls being ordered to divide the Provinces between them, the Sabines fell to Horatius's, and the Aequi and Volsci to Valerius's lot. When therefore they had given notice of a Levy to be made for those old Soldiers came in and gave their names as Volunteers: so that the Army was much the stronger, not only in numbers, but also in the sort of Soldiers, since the Veterans were mingled among them. But before they marched out of the City, they set up in publick the Decemviral Laws, called the Laws of the twelve Tables, all cut in Brass: though some say the Aediles did this by order of the Tribunes.

C. Claudius, who hated the Villany of the Decemviri, and was above all an Enemy to the pride of his Brothers Son, had retired to Regillum the ancient Country of his Family; but now, though very old, came back to deprecate his dangers, whose vices he had shunn'd; and going through the Forum in a sordid habit, with his Kinsfolks and Clients about him, begged the favour of the People; intreating them, That they would not lay such a blot upon the Claudian Family, as to think any of them deserved a Goal and Fetters: nor let a Man, whose Image would be honourable to all posterity; a contriver and maker of the Roman Laws, lie bound among Thieves and Robbers. That they would turn away their minds a little while from wrath, and consider the case; and rather pardon one Claudius, when so many begged for it, than out of hatred to one, slight the prayers of so many. He himself did the very same thing out of respect to the name and family; for he was not friends with the person, whose misfortunes he notwithstanding would fain relieve. That by their courage they had regained their Liberty, and that by their clemency the concord of all orders among them might be established. Hereupon there were some whom he moved more by his piety and regard to the honour of his Family, than upon the score of him for whom he pleaded. But Virginius desired them, That they would rather pity him and his Daughter; and would not hear the Petitions of the Claudian Family, who were Tyrants to the Commons, but those of three Tribunes, nearly allied to Virginia; who, as they were created to aid the People, so now on the other hand implored that Peoples favour and assistance. The tears seem the most just; and therefore Appius, having no hopes left him, before the day of his Tryal came, killed himself. Then Sp. Oppius, being the next object of envy, was seized by P. Numitorius, because he was in the City when his Colleague gave that unjust Judgment in the case of Virginia. But the injury done by Oppius brought upon him more envy, than what he did not hinder: for there was a witness produced, who, though he had been extraordinarily in seven and twenty several Campaigns, and eight times extraordinarily rewarded with gifts that he had then about him, shewed his back all torn with the Rods, and desired nothing, but that if Oppius could say he was in any fault, he should, though a private Man, inflict all the cruelty upon him that he had done before. So Oppius also was carried to Prison, and before the day of Tryal put an end to his days. The Tribunes confiscated the Goods both of Claudius and Oppius too; whose Collegues went into Banishment, their Estates being disposed of in the same manner. Then Claudius, who challenged Virginia as his Slave, being condemned on the day appointed, had the extremity of his Sentence taken off even by Virginius himself, and went to Tibur, where he lived in Banishment. So that the Soul of Virginia (more happy when she was dead than being yet alive) having wandered through so many Families for revenge, at length, when no criminal was left, enjoyed its rest.

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LIX. Upon this the Senate was possessed with great fears; for the Tribunes look'd very like the Decemviri, till M. Duilius, a Tribune of the People, giving a gentle and wholesome check to their extravagant power, said, *We have had enough of Liberty, and taken sufficient revenge of our Enemies: wherefore, this Year, I will not hereafter suffer any Man either to be summoned to Justice, nor put in Prison: for besides that I am not willing to repeat old faults, that have been long obliterated, since even new ones have been expiated by the punishment of the Decemviri; the perpetual care of both the Consuls also in the defence of your Liberty, engages there shall be nothing done that may require the Tribunes aid.* At first this moderation of the Tribunes removed the Senates fears, though it increased the Consuls envy; that they should be so much the Peoples creatures, that a Plebeian Magistrate should sooner take care of the Senates life and liberty, than a Patrician: and that their Enemies should sooner be weary of punishing them, than they should obviate such licentious proceedings: besides that there were many Men who said the Senate were very Cowards in agreeing to such Laws as they made, nor did any body question, but, in that troublesome state of the Commonwealth, they did it merely to comply with the times.

LX. The Consuls having composed all affairs in the City, and laid a foundation for the Government of the Commons, went into their several Provinces. Of whom Valerius design'dly kept off the War in *Algidum* against the united Forces of both the *Aequi* and the *Volsci*; whereas, if he had committed the event to fortune immediately, I question, whether that Battel (considering what thoughts the Romans as well as their Enemies had of the Decemvirates unhappy Conduct) might not have been much to their disadvantage. He therefore kept his Army in a Camp a thousand paces from the Enemy; whilst they stood ready in Battalia between their two Camps. From whence though they challenged the Romans to fight, there was no one that made them any answer. At last the *Aequi* and the *Volsci* being tired with standing, and vain expectation of the fight; believing that the Romans did as good as yield the Victory, went part of them into the Country of the *Hernici*, and part among the *Latins* to forage; leaving in their Camp a Garrison only rather than Men enough to engage the Enemy. Which when the Consul perceived, he returned the terror which they before had infused into his Men, and setting his Army in Battalia attacked the Foe. Who being conscious what numbers of their Forces were absent, and therefore declining the Fight, made the Romans presently far more brisk than before, insomuch that they look'd upon the Enemies (now that they trembled and lay within their Bulwark) to be already Conquered. But when they had stood ready for the Battel all day, in the night they retreated; and the Romans being full of hopes made much of themselves; whilst the Enemy, who were not half so merry, sent Messengers all about with speed to recall the foragers. Accordingly the Messengers went, and came straightway back with the Soldiers from all adjacent places; but the more remote straglers could not be found. As soon as it was day, the Romans marched out of their Camp, designing to invade the Enemies Bulwark, if they would not give them an opportunity to fight. So therefore, when the day was pretty far spent, seeing the Enemy did not stir, the Consul gave command to begin the Attack. But when the Army began to move, the *Aequi* and the *Volsci* being filled with indignation, that two Victorious Armies should defend themselves with a Rampire, rather than their own Courage and Arms, petitioned their Leaders also, and had the signal of Battel given them. And now some part of them were got out at the Gates; whilst others followed in Rank and File, when the Roman Consul, before the Enemies Army was all in Array, began the fight. So that attacking them before they were all come forth, or those that were, well ranged, he set upon a floating crowd of fearful Men, that look'd to and fro upon one another (like People amazed) being yet more scared and disturbed with the clamour and violence of the congress. At first therefore the Enemy retired; but afterward, when they had recovered their Courage, and their Commanders asked them, *What? would they yield to those they had conquered?* they renewed the fight.

LXI. The Consul on the other side, bad the Romans remember, that they were then engaged as freemen, in their first Battel for the free City of Rome; being like to Conquer for themselves, and not to be, when Conquerors, a prey to the Decemviri. That they did fight now under the Conduct of Appius, but Consul Valerius, who was descended from those that freed the Roman People, he himself also being their deliverer, desiring them, that they would make it appear, it was the Generals not the Soldiers faults they did not get the Victory in former Battels. And telling them, that it was degenerate to shew more Courage against their fellow Citizens than against their Enemies, or to fear servitude more at home than abroad. That Virginia was the only Person whose Chastity was in danger in times of Peace; and that Appius was the only Citizen whose lust was then dangerous; but if the fortune of War should then incline to the Enemy, all their Children were in danger from so many thousand foes. That he would not forebode what Jupiter, and their great Father Mars would never suffer to befall a City built by such a Heavenly Commission. Then he admonished them of the Aventine and the sacred Mount, with exhortations, that, where they some few months past procured their Liberty, thither they would carry back their Government inviolate; and shew, that the Romans had the same inclinations now since the Decemviri were expelled, as they had before the creation of them; nor was the Roman Courage diminished, though their Laws were pruned. Having said thus among the Foot, he ran to the Horse, and said, Con-

rage,

rage, brave Youths! do you endeavour to out-do the Foot as much as you excel them in honour and quality. The Foot at the first onset removed the Foe; do you ride in and drive them out of the Field. They cannot sustain the shock; for even now they tarry here for a show, rather than make any resistance. With that they spurred on their Horses, and riding up with a full career to the Enemy, whom the Foot had already put into disorder, broke through their Ranks quite to the Rear; where part of them wheeling about in the plain Field, kept a great many of the Enemies, who were flying away, from getting into their Camp, and deterred those that would have rode by them. In the mean time the Foot, the Consul himself, and all the stress of the War was turned upon the Enemies Camp; which being taken with great slaughter, the Romans had a far greater booty. The fame of this Battel was carried not only into the City, but also into the *Sabines* Country to the other Army. Whereupon there was indeed great joy in the City, but glory in the Camp inflamed the Soldiers minds with mutual emulation. For *Horatius* by exercising them with excursions and light skirmishes, had made them so expert, that they trusted in their own Courage and Conduct more than they remembered the disgrace had advanced them to the highest pitch of hopes. Yet the *Sabines* did not stick, as being fleshed with success the Year before, to provoke and urge them with these questions; *Why they ran forward and backward in such small numbers, to spend time, like so many Robbers? dividing the glory of one pitched Battel into so many little velitations and bickerings? Would they set to it with all the Forces they had, and hazard all at once?*

LXII. Which when the Romans heard, though they had armed themselves with sufficient resolution before-hand, were all inflamed with the indignity: that the other Army was like just then to return into the City with Victory, but that the Enemy insulted over them with contumelies, and disdainful language: yet when should they be, if they then were not, fit to engage the Enemy? When the Consul perceived that the Soldiers murmured thus in the Camp, he called an Assembly, and told them, *I suppose, fellow Soldiers, you have heard how the business was carried in Algidum; where the Army was such as the Army of a free People ought to be, and the Victory was gained by the Conduct of my Colleague, and the Courage of his Soldiers. As for my part, fellow Soldiers, I am resolved to take such measures as you shall think good. The War may be very well protracted, and yet, at the same time, soon made an end of. If you will have it protracted, I'll do (what I have done hitherto) my daily endeavour by good Discipline to augment your hopes, and raise your Courage; but if you have enough of that already, and be minded to fight it out presently, come on, give a shout like what you use to make when you are going to Battel, as a testimony of your willingness and Courage.* Thereupon they having set up a mighty shout with great alacrity, he told them, He would comply with their desires (to good purpose he hoped) and would lead them next day into the Field: the remainder of the day being spent in preparing their Arms. The next day, as soon as the *Sabines* saw that the Romans were setting their Men in Array, they also, greedy of coming to it, marched forth: and the Fight was as between two Armies that were very confident in themselves, the one upon account of the standing and perpetual honour that they had won, and the other, as being proud of a late Victory. But the *Sabines* added policy also to their strength; for though they had evened the Front of their Army, and so adjusted it that all their Forces seemed to be therein comprised, they reserved two thousand over and above, to make an impression upon the left Wing of the Romans in the time of the fight. Which supernumerary forces whilst they flanked that Wing, and almost surrounded it, about six hundred Horse out of two Legions dismounted, and running into the head of their own Men, as they were giving back, at the same time charged the Enemy. By which means the danger being first made pretty equal, they put the Foot to the blush; who were ashamed to see the Horse fight in their own and another capacity too, and that the Foot was not comparable to the Horse even when they fought upon the ground.

LXIII. Then they went to their post again from whence they came; and in an instant the fight was not only renewed, but the *Sabines* Wing also gave way. The Horse that were mixt among the Foot, betook themselves to their Horses; and then riding over to the other side, to tell their Party how they had got the day, at the same time briskly attacked the Foe, who was now very much dismayed, seeing their strongest Wing was routed: nor was there any party in that Battel whose Courage was more signal than that of these Horsemen. Mean while the Consul was very careful and active, praising the Valiant, and chiding any that he saw backward in the Fight: and the Soldiers when corrected, did the part of brave fellows. For some were as much excited by shame, as others by commendations. Then giving another shout, they all fell on with might and main from every side, and force the Enemy to give ground; nor could the Roman force be from that time sustained. Whereupon the *Sabines* being routed, and made to fly all over the Fields, left their Camp a prey to the Enemy. There the Romans recovered not their Allies Goods, as they had done in *Algidum*, but their own, which they had lost by the Devastation of their Country. Now though in this case two Victories were supplications for the Consuls upon one day only. But the People met in great numbers and went to Prayers a second day, though without any order; and this accidental popular supplication drew full as much company together, as that which was publicly enjoined. The Consuls



Consuls out of design came the same two days to the City, and called forth the Senate into the *Campus Martius*; where talking of things that they had done, the chief of the Senators complained, *That they called a Senate among the Soldiers on purpose to scare them.* Wherefore the Consuls, to avoid all objections, called them thence into the *prata Flaminia* [Meadows so called] where now stands the Temple of *Apollo* (they then called it *Circus Apollinaris*) where when they were denied a Triumph by the almost unanimous consent of the House, *L. Icilius*, Tribune of the People, preferred a Bill to the People touching the Consuls Triumphant. Many as they came forth were dissuaded, especially when *C. Claudius* cried out, *The Consuls would Triumph over the Senate not their Enemies: and that they desired thanks for their private desert toward the Tribune, not honour upon the account of their Courage.* That the People never meddled before in the business of Triumphs; but that the Senate were always the proper Judges when and why that Honour was to be granted. That even the Kings themselves did not diminish the Authority of that highest Order. That it was not fit the Tribunes should arrogate so much to their Authority, as not to suffer any publick Determinations. For the only way to make the City truly free, and the *Laws* just and equal, was for every Order to observe and stick to their own Privileges and their own Authority. But notwithstanding what he said, and all that the rest of the Senior Senators added to the same purpose all the Tribes accepted of *L. Icilius's* proposal; and that was the first time that ever any one Triumphed by order of the People without the approbation of the Senate.

LXIV. This Victory of the Tribunes and the People turned to an almost fatal Luxury; there being a Conspiracy among the Tribunes to chuse the same Tribunes again; and to make their own ambition the less conspicuous, they would continue the Consuls also in their Office. But they blamed the Senate's unanimity, in that they generally consented in what would wrong the People and disparage the Consuls: *What, said they, would have become of us, since the Laws are not yet confirmed, if the Consuls had set upon the new Tribunes by your Factions? For they would not always have Valerius's and Horatius's for Consuls, who would prefer the Peoples liberty before their own welfare.* It fell out very opportunely at that time, that *M. Duilius*, a prudent Man, who saw envy hanging over their heads if they continued in their Office, was President of the Assembly: who denying that he would have respect to any of the old Tribunes, (so that his Collegues were very urgent with him to put the Tribes upon voting for it, or let them manage the Assembly, and that he would hold Assemblies rather according to Law, than the pleasure of the Senate) and having raised a Debate, sent for the Consuls, and asked them, what they designed to do in that Consular Assembly; to which they answered, *They would create new Consuls.* Whereupon he, finding he had those to back his popular opinion, who themselves were no popular Men, he walked along with them to the Assembly. Where the Consuls appearing before the People, and being asked, *If the Roman People remembering the Liberty which by their means they recovered at home, and in respect to their Military performance abroad, should make them Consuls again, what they would do?* were still of the same opinion: *Duilius* therefore commending the Consuls for persevering to the last in sentiments different from those of the Decemviri, proceeded to hold the Assembly. In which having made five Tribunes of the People, and seeing that there were more Candidates that stood for the Office, than could be regularly Voted for by the Tribes, he dismissed the Council. Nor did he call them any more upon that score, because, he said, *he had satisfied the Law, which ordained that the Tribunes should not be limited to any certain number, but that those, who were first created, might take in what Collegues they pleased; and repeated the Bill that was preferred in that case, where-in it was said, If I design to make ten Tribunes of the People, and there are fewer this day chosen; these shall have power to take in their own Collegues, who shall be as legal Tribunes of the People, as those whom you the Commonalty shall this day create.* *Duilius* having persevered, even to the last, in denying, that the Commonwealth could have 15 Tribunes, (inasmuch that he frustrated the ambition of his Collegues) was equally caressed both by the Senate and the Commons, and laid down his Office.

LXV. The new Tribunes in the choice of their Collegues submitted to the will of the Senate, and chose two Patricians of Consular rank; to wit, *Sp. Tarpeius* and *A. Haterius*. The Consuls that were created were *Lar. Herminius* and *T. Virginus Caelimontanus*, who being no greater favourers of either the Senate or the People, enjoyed their ease both at home and abroad. *L. Trebonius* a Tribune of the People, who was no friend to the Senate, because, he said, he was deceived by them, and betrayed by his Collegues in the choice of the Tribunes, preferred a Bill, that whoever went about to Petition the Roman People for the making of Tribunes, should not exceed the number of ten; and bore his Tribuneship so, as that he continually inveighed against the Senate, for which reason he was Surnamed *Asper* [Rough.] Then *M. Geganius Macerinus* and *C. Julius* were made Consuls, who appeased the differences between the Tribunes and the young Nobility, without diminishing either the Power of the one, or the Honour of the other, and keeping the People in fear of a Levy for a War against the *Volsci* and the *Aequi* cleared the City from all Seditions. They said, that if the City were quiet all things else would be so abroad, for that by their civil Discords they increased the insolence of Foreigners; by which means, their care of Peace in general became the cause of intestine Unity at home. But the one order of Men was always vexatious to the others modesty; for the young Noble Senators

Senators began to molest the quiet Commons. Whereupon though the Tribunes were assiduous to the meaner sort, it did at first but little good. Yea, they themselves were soon after abused, especially in their last Months, by the Nobility, when all their strength began to languish; and the Commons thought they might repose some hopes in the Tribuneship, if they had Tribunes like *Icilius*; for they had only Titular Tribunes the last ten Years. On the other hand, the Senior Senators, as they were of opinion that their young Men were too fierce, so they desired, that if any excess were to be made, it might rather appear in the Courage of their Party than their Adversaries: so hard it is to preserve a moderation in the defence of Liberty; whilst every Man, pretending to wish that all things were adjusted, extols himself so far as to depress another; and by taking too great care that others may not live in fear, makes himself dreadful; so that we throw an injury which we keep off from our selves upon another, as if it were necessary either to do or suffer it.

Then *T. Quintius Capitolinus* (the fourth time) and *Agrippa Furius* being made Consuls, LXVI. had no Sedition at home or War abroad; though both were like to befall them. For now no longer could the Discord of the People be repressed, the Tribunes and the Commons too being incited against the Senate, and new heats every day arising in their Assemblies upon the account of a certain Nobleman being summoned to his Tryal. At the first noise of which, as it were by a signal, the *Aequi* and the *Volsci* were Alarmed, besides that their Leaders, who were desirous of a Plunder, persuaded them that the Levy which was ordered to be made two years before could not be had, now that the Commons resisted the Authority of the Senate; for that reason there were no Armies sent against them; that the manner of making War was dissolved by their licentiousness, nor did they look upon Rome as their common Country: that whatsoever quarrels or feuds they had with Foreigners, were all turned upon themselves, and that these Wolves of Rome being blinded with intestine rage gave them a good occasion to destroy them. They therefore joining their Forces together, first ravaged the Latin Territories; where, since they met with no opposition, they followed their exulting Leaders even to the Walls of Rome, pillaging all the Country till they came near the Gate called *Porta Esquilina*, to shew the City what havoc they made in despite of them. From whence when they were returned without molestation, but with a vast Booty, in a Body back to *Corbio*. Quintius the Consul called the People to an Assembly, where, I am told, he spoke to this purpose.

"Romans! though I am not conscious of any crime, yet I came into this Assembly with LXVII. the greatest shame that could be; that you should know, and that Posterity should one day hear, that the *Aequi* and the *Volsci*, who were of late scarce equal to the *Hernici*, should come to the Walls of Rome, when *T. Quintius* was in his fourth Consulship, all in Arms, without any resistance made against them. This ignominy (though we have lived so long this great while, and such is the present state of Affairs, that I foresee no good that can befall us) if I had known it had been destined for this Year above any other, I would have avoided either with Exile or Death, if there had been no other way to escape being Consul. Is it so then, that if Men had been Masters of those Arms, which were at our Gates, Rome might have been taken when I was Consul? Then I had enjoyed my Estate and lived long enough; nay, should have died when I was in my third Consulship. Whom, I pray, did the most Slothful and Cowardly of the Enemies contemn? Us Consuls? or you Romans? If the fault be on our side, take away the Authority from Men that are so undeserving of it; yea, if that be too little, inflict what punishment you will upon us: but if it be on your side, Romans! I wish no God or Man may punish you for your offences, though I would have you repent of them. They did not contemn your Sloth, nor were they confident of their own Courage; for having been so often Routed and Defeated, forced out of their Camp, deprived of their Country, and sold for Slaves, they knew both themselves and you. The Discord of the several Orders of Men is the bane of this City. The differences between the Senate and the Commons, whilst we have no certain bounds set to our Authority, nor you to your Liberty; whilst you are awary of the Patrician, and we of the Plebeian Magistrates, have raised your Spirits. For Gods sake, what would you have? You desired Tribunes of the People, and we for quietness sake granted your request; you desired Decemviri, and we suffered them too to be created; you were awary of the Decemviri, we made them lay down their Office: yea, whilst your animosity continued against them, as private persons, we permitted the noblest and most honourable Men (some of them) in the whole City to undergo Death and Banishment for your satisfaction. You would create Tribunes of the People again; you did so. You would have the Consuls be of your Party; though we saw it was quite contrary to the inclinations of the Senate, we saw the Patrician Magistracy made an offering and a Sacrifice to the People. You had the assistance of the Tribunes, the Appeal to the People, and the Determinations of the Commons imposed as Laws upon the Senate: under the pretence of making the Laws just and equal, we then did and still do suffer all our rights to be invaded. What will be the end of these Discords? When shall we have the City at Unity? When will this be the common Country? Are we more content to be Conquered than Conquerors? Is it enough that you are dreadful to us? You took the *Arventine* Hill against us, as you did the sacred

"Mount in like manner. But none of you removed the *Volscian* Enemy, when they were like to take the *Esquiline*, and climbing up the Rampire: it is against us that you are Men, and take up Arms.

LXVIII. "But let me persuade you all, who have besieged the Senate here, made the *Forum* a dangerous place, and filled the Prison with Noblemen, to march forth beyond the *Esquiline* Gate with the same resolutions: or if you dare not do this, look from your Walls into the Fields, how they are laid waste by Fire and Sword, the Cattel driven away, and the burnt Houses smoking. For the Government in general is now in a sad condition; the Country is burnt, the City besieged, and the Glory of War is with the Enemies. What matter is it in what state your private affairs are? You'll every one shortly hear of your losses in the Fields. What have you at home to make them up again? Will the Tribunes restore and give you back what you have lost? They'll give you as much talk and words as you can desire, with crimes laid to the charge of the Nobility and Laws one after another made in a great many Assemblies; but none of you ever returned home from those Assemblies a penny the richer. Did any Man carry any thing back to his Wife and Children except hatred, feuds, and quarrels both publick and private? from which you have always been defended, not by your own virtue and innocence, but by the assistance of others. But (oh! *Hercules*) when you were Soldiers under me, not under the Tribunes, and in the Camp, not in the *Forum*; when in the Field the Enemy, not the *Roman* Senators in an Assembly, heard and were afraid of your shouts; when you took your Country from the Enemy, and returned home in Triumph to your household gods, loaded with riches, and crowned with Glory both publick and private; can you now suffer the Foe to go away laden with your Fortunes? Stay here, if you please, fixt to your Assemblies, and live in the *Forum*; but the necessity of a War which you so industriously avoid, will still pursue you. Was it hard for you to go against the *Aequi* and the *Volsci*? The War is even at your Gates: if it be not driven thence, it will be shortly within your Walls; it will scale the Castle and the Capitol, and persecute you into your very Houses. 'Tis two years ago since the Senate ordered a Levy to be made, and an Army to march into *Algidum*: yet we sit lazily at home, like Women, scolding at one another, content with our present Peace, and not foreseeing that from our ease there will shortly arise a manifold War. I know I might say many other things that would please you better than this: but necessity compells me to tell you truth instead of what may be grateful, though my own genius did not prompt me to it. I must confess, I should be glad to please you, *Romans*! but I desire much more to preserve you, whatever you may hereafter think of me. Is it natural for him, who speaks before the Multitude in his own behalf, to be more accepted than a Person whose mind aims at nothing but publick good? unless perchance you think, those publick Flatterers, those Courtiers of the People, who will not let you be either in Arms or at rest, incite and spur you on for your own sakes. No, when they have raised you to an animosity, be sure they gain either honour or riches by it: and since they see they are never like to thrive if the several Orders of *Romans* are at unity, they chuse to be the ring-leaders of an ill thing, rather than nothing at all, that is, of troubles and seditions. Of which, if you can at last be awary, and will assume the antient manners of your fore-fathers and your selves, instead of these new ones, I will submit to any punishment, if I do not force these Ravagers of our Country in a few days out of their Camp, and transfer the terror of this War, with which you are now so astonished, from our Walls and Gates to their Cities.

LXIX. There hardly ever was any popular Speech of a Tribune more welcome to the People, than this of that grave Consul at that time. The young Men also, who amidst such fears, used to make the refusal of a War the sharpest Weapon against the Senators, were inclined to take up Arms; for the Country People running into Town, out of the Fields, where they were spoiled and wounded, and relating things more barbarous than what appeared to the Citizens eyes, put all the City in a rage. When he came into the Senate, all Peoples eyes were turned upon *Quintius*, whom they look'd upon as the only preserver of the *Roman* Honour, the Senior Senators saying, That his Oration became the dignity of a Consul, and was worthy of his so many former Consulates, as of all his whole life, that had been full of Honours often received, but oftner deserved. That other Consuls either betrayed the Dignity of the Senate to please the Commons, or by being too rough in the defence of their rights, provoked the People to be more obstinate by endeavouring to subdue at that rate. That *T. Quintius's* Oration had a special regard not only to the Majesty of the Senate, but to the concord of the several ranks and the present juncture of affairs. Wherefore they desired him and his Colleague to undertake the management of the Commonwealth: and that the Tribunes would join unanimously with the Consuls to remove the War from their City Walls, and make the People in those doubtful circumstances obedient to the Senate: yea, they said their common Country called on the Tribunes and implored their aid, now that the Fields were all laid waste, and the City almost besieged. Whereupon by general consent they ordered and made a Levy: and the Consuls having declared in the Assembly, That that was not a time to try Causes, but that all the younger sort of Men must be the next day as soon as 'twas light in the Campus Martius: that they would find a time when the War was over to hear their excuses who did not give in their names, and that he should be punished as a Deserter of the publick Interest whose reason they did

not

not approve of; all the Youth came thither next day; the Cohorts or Regiments chose their Centurions; two Senators being set to command in chief over every Regiment. And all this I am informed was done so soon, that the Ensigns which were brought out of the Treasury by the Questors that very day into the Field, were carried thence as they marched away, by ten of the Clock: and the new Army who had only some few Regiments of old Volunteers among them, lay the same day ten miles from the City. The next day brought them within sight of the Foe; near to whose Camp they pitched theirs, at a place called *Corbio*. The third day, the *Romans* being enraged, and the Enemy, who had so often rebelled, being conscious of a fault for which they despaired of being pardoned, they made no more ado, but engaged each other.

Now in the *Roman* Army, though the two Consuls had equal Commissions, *Agrippa* resigned all his Power (which is the best course in the management of great affairs) to his Colleague. For which condescension of his, *Quintius* was very kind to him, and advising with him as well as commending of him, made him equal with himself. In the Field *Quintius* commanded the right Wing and *Agrippa* the left, whilst *Sp. Postumius Albus* the Lieutenant led the main Body, the other Lieutenant called *Serv. Sulpicius*, being made Captain of the Horse. The Foot in the right Wing fought bravely, and the *Volsci* made a very brisk resistance. But *Serv. Sulpicius* broke through the middle of the Enemies with his Horse; from whence though he could have retreated to his own Party, before the Enemy could compose their disordered Ranks, yet he thought it better for him to fall upon the Rear of them, by which means he had in a moment dissipated the whole Body, had not the *Volscian* and *Aequian* Horse given him a diversion for some time with the same sort of fighting that he used. Whereupon *Sulpicius* cried out, *It was no time for his Men to dally, for that they were circumvented, and divided from the rest of the Army, and in great danger to be lost, unless they charged with all the violence and resolution imaginable. It was not enough for them to rout the Foe, but they must kill both them and their Horses, for fear they should return into the Battel, and renew the fight: nor could they resist that force, which had made the main Body of their Army give way.* They heard very well and minded what he said; insomuch that at one charge they defeated the whole Body of Horse, and killed a great many, whom and their Horses they ran through with their Javelins: and that was the end of the Horse engagement. Then setting upon the Foot, they sent the news of what they had done to the Consuls, who by this time had got the better of it; which when they heard, it put new Courage into the Conquering *Romans* as much as it dejected and disheartened the retiring *Aequi*. They were first overpowered in the main Body, where the Horse that had been sent that way before had disordered their Ranks: and then the left Wing began to yield to Consul *Quintius*; but they had much ado with the right. *Agrippa* being in that Post, who was a very strong and stout Man, and seeing they had better success in all parts of the Battel, than where he stood, took the Ensigns from the Bearers of them, and carrying them up toward the Foe, threw some into the middle of them: the fear of which ignominy so incited his Soldiers that they ran upon the Enemy, and the Victory was by that means equal on all hands. Then there came a Messenger from *Quintius*, to tell them, *That he was victorious and just entering into the Enemies Camp; but that he would not break in, before he knew that they in the left Wing had gotten the better: that if Agrippa had routed the Enemy there, he would have him march up and join him, so that the whole Army might enjoy the Booty all together.* *Agrippa* being also Victorious, came with mutual congratulations to his Conquering Colleague and the Enemies Camp; which there being but few to defend, and those too in a moment overcome, they broke into the Works without any trouble; and led their Army back again, not only laden with vast spoils, but having also recovered the things which they had lost by the Plunder of their Country. I do not find that they either desired, or that the Senate offered them any Triumph. Nor is there any cause assigned why they neglected, or did not hope for such honour, but as far as I can guess at such a distance of time, seeing that Senate had denied a Triumph to the Consuls *Valerius* and *Horatius*, who besides the *Aequi* and the *Volsci* had the honour of making an end of the *Sabine* War, these Consuls were ashamed to desire a Triumph for doing only half so much as those: for fear lest if they had obtained their request, the Senate might have seemed to have had more respect for persons than to their deserts.

But this honourable Victory gained over their Enemies, was attended by a very unjust and unworthy Judgment, which the People of *Rome* gave concerning the Confines of their Allies. Those of *Aricia* and *Ardea* having fought several times for a piece of Ground that was in dispute between them, and being tired with so much slaughter on both sides, made the *Roman* People Umpire in the Controvercie. When they came to plead the Cause, and the Magistrates had assigned a Council of the People to hear, it was argued with great eagerness: but when the Witnesses were produced, the Tribes called over, and the People just going to give their Votes, one *P. Scaptius* an old Commoner stood up, and said, *If I may speak, Consuls! touching the Commonwealth, I will not suffer the People to err in this affair.* But when the Consuls said he ought not to be heard, as being an idle fellow, and ordered him to be taken away (whilst he cried out all the while that the publick Cause was betrayed) he appealed to the Tribunes. The Tribunes, as they are for the most part more ruled by the Multitude than

they rule them, permitted *Scaptius*, for the sake of the Commons, who were greedy of hearing him, to say what he would. Then he began, *That he was 84 years of Age, and had been a Soldier in that very place, which was then under dispute, not only when he was a young fellow, but in twenty several Battels, of which the last was when they engaged at Corioli: by which means he could tell them of a thing, which though obliterated by tract of time, was still fixed in his memory; to wit, that the ground in question did belong formerly to Corioli, which being taken, it became the publick possession of the Roman People by right of War. That he admired how the Aricians and the Ardeans should hope to hinder the Roman People (whom, instead of Lords, they had made Judges of it) from enjoying that tract of Ground, which they had never any right to whilst Corioli was in prosperity. That he had but a little time longer to live; yet could not forbear, even now he was so old, to vindicate with his tongue (the only weapon he had left) that Land, which, when a Soldier, he had done his best with his Arms to take: and therefore that he advised the People by all means, not to desert their own Cause through any disadvantageous modesty.*

LXXII. The Consuls observing that *Scaptius* was heard, not only with silence, but assent also, took both the Gods and Men to witness, that he had put the People upon doing a very great piece of injustice. Wherefore they sent for the chief of the Senate; with whom they went about to the Tribunes, and desired them, "That they would not do a thing which was so very evil in it self, and would be of far worse example; for Judges to make themselves parties in the Cause, especially since, though it were lawful in them so to do, they ought to have a care of their Interest in this case; for they were not like to gain half so much by seizing the Land, as they would lose by alienating the minds of their Allies from them by the injury; the loss of their reputation and credit being above any value. Would they suffer the Embassadors to carry that news back with them to *Aricia* and *Ardea*? Would they let the World know it? their Allies hear of it? their Enemies be acquainted with it? With what grief would the former, and with what joy the latter, receive such tidings? Could they think that the neighbouring Nations would lay the fault upon *Scaptius* an old talkative Assembly Man? That the *Scaptian* Family would be honoured with an Image upon this score: that the Roman People ought to bear the Name and Character of an Informer, or one that intercepts anothers right: for who, that were Judges even in a private case, would adjudg the thing in controversy to himself. No, *Scaptius* himself, though he had out-lived all shame, would not do it. Thus did the Consuls and the Senators cry out; but covetousness and *Scaptius* the Author of it were more prevailing: so the Tribes being called, adjudged the Land to be the publick possession of the Roman People. And doubtless so it had been very justly determined to be, if others had been Judges of the Case: but now the dishonour of their Judgment is not at all lessened by the goodness of their Cause, or justice of their Pretensions: nor did it appear worse, or more severe to the *Aricians* and *Ardeans* than to the Roman Senate. The remaining part of that Year was free from all disturbances either at home or abroad.

## DECADE I. BOOK IV.

### EPITOME.

I. &c. The Law concerning the Marriage of the Senators and the Commons was pass'd by the Tribunes with great earnestness, though the Senate was against it. 6. Tribunes of the Soldiers. The publick affairs of Rome were managed for some Years by this kind of Magistrates, both at home and abroad. 8. Censors also were then first made. 11. The Ardean Land which was taken from them by the Judgment of the Roman People, after a Colony had been sent thither was restored to them again. 12, 13, &c. When there was a Famine at Rome, Sp. Maelius, a Roman Knight, gave the People Corn at his own charge: by which having gained the love of the People, so far as that it made him affect being a King, he was killed by C. Servilius Ahala, Master of the Horse, at the command of Quintius Cincinnatus the Dictator. 16. L. Minutius was honoured with a Monument in form of a Golden Bull. 17. The Roman Embassadors being murdered by the Fidenates, because they died upon the account of the Commonwealth, had Statues set up for them before the Rostra [a place where Orations were made.] 19. Cornelius Cossus, Tribune of the Soldiers, having killed Tolumnius King of the Veians, got rich spoils a second time. Manerius Aemilius the Dictator having reduced the Censorship, which used to be held five Years together, to an Year and half, was for that reason taken notice of and punished by the Censors. 31, 34. Fidenæ was taken, and a Colony sent thither: who being all slain, the Fidenates revolted from the Romans, but were Conquered by Manerius Aemilius the Dictator, and Fidenæ retaken. 45. The Conspiracy of the Slaves detected. 50. Posthumius, a Tribune of the Soldiers, was killed by the Army for his cruelty. 59. That was the first time that the Soldiers had their pay cut of the Treasury. 60, 61. Many exploits against the Volsci, the Veians, the Fidenates and the Falisci.

I. AFTER them succeeded M. Genutius and P. Curtius, whose Consulship was full of disturbances both at home and abroad. For in the beginning of that Year C. Canuleius a Tribune of the People, promulgated a Bill touching the Marriage of the Senate and of the Commons: by which the Senators thought their blood would be stained, and the privileges of their

their Families confounded. Besides which, the mention that was first made cautiously and privately by the Tribunes, about having one of the Consuls chosen out of the Commons, proceeded at last so far, that nine of the Tribunes promulgated a Bill, *That the People should have Power to make Consuls either out of the Senators, or the Commons, as they pleased.* Which if it passed, they supposed, that the Sovereign Power would not only be communicated to Men of the meanest quality, but rather quite removed from the Nobility to the Populace. The Senators therefore were glad to hear, that the *Ardeans* revolted upon the score of their Land which was taken away by the late Judgment; as also that the *Veians* had wasted the Roman Borders, and that the *Aequi* and the *Volsci* were offended that *Verrugo* was fortified: so much did they prefer even an unhappy War before ignominious Peace. Wherefore making more of these things than they really were, to the end that the Tribunes mouths might be stopped amidst the noise of so many Wars, they ordered a Levy to be made, and other preparations for the War, with all speed; yea, with more expedition, if it were possible, than when T. Quintius was Consul. Then C. Canuleius declaring briefly in the Senate, *That the Consuls endeavoured to little purpose to divert the People by fears from the thoughts of new Laws; for they should never make any Levy as long as he lived, before the Commons had established what he and his Collegues had promulgated,* immediately called an Assembly.

At the same time the Consuls incited the Senate against the Tribune, and the Tribune the People against the Consuls. The Consuls said, *The fury of the Tribunes was now no longer sufferable: it was come to the extremity; that there was more of a War at home than abroad; nor did that come to pass, more by default of the People than the Senate, or of the Tribunes than the Consuls. That whatsoever was attended with a reward in the City, that still increased most: that by that means Men were made good both in Peace and War: that at Rome the reward of Sedition was the greatest; for that brought a general and a particular Honour to every Man concerned in it. That they would remember what Dignity they had received, as Senators, from their Fathers, and then consider, what they were they were like to leave to their posterity; whether they should be able to boast, as the Commons could, that they had increased and amplified their Authority. He therefore told them, there would be no end on't, as long as the Authors of Sedition were made as honourable as their designs successful. What great alterations did C. Canuleius attempt? a confusion in Families, and in all auspices both publick and private; lest there should any thing remain that were free from mixture or corruption: that all discriminations being removed, no man may know either himself or his relations: for what other end could promiscuous Marriages have, but to make the Senate and the Commons mix with each other almost as Beasts do? so that he that is born shall not know of what blood he is, or what holy Rites he ought to perform, but be half Senator and half Plebeian, divided, as it were, in his very nature. They did not see, that all things both Divine and Human were like to be put into disorder: That now the disturbers of the People were aiming at the Consulate; and first of all had attempted, in words at least, to make one of the Consuls be chosen out of the Commons: but now desired, that the People might chuse the Consuls out of the Senate or the Commons, as they thought fit: and every seditious person would be sure to make them out of the Populace. That then they should have Canuleius and Icilius made Consuls; but Jupiter forbid, that the Sovereign Power should fall into such hands: and that he would die a thousand deaths rather than they should permit so dishonourable a thing to be done. He was sure, that if their Ancestors had foreseen, that by granting what they did, they should have made the People not more tractable toward them, but so much the rougher, and still craving one thing after another without any reason or equity, they would have undergone any hazard whatsoever, rather than have suffered those Laws to be imposed upon them. Because they then granted the People a power to chuse Tribunes, must it be granted a second time? That there could be no end of their disturbances, till either the Senators or the People were removed out of that City; either this Order or that Magistracy must away, and it were better late than never to obviate their boldness and temerity. Are such Men to be endured who first of all sowing discord cause a War with our Neighbour Nations, and then hinder the City from taking up Arms, and defending it self against those Enemies whom they have raised? yea, when they themselves have as good as sent for an Enemy, that they should not suffer an Army to be Levied against him? But that Canuleius should dare to declare in the Senate, that unless that House would receive his Laws, as if he were a Conqueror, he would obstruct the Levy; What is this else but to threaten that he would betray his Country? that he would suffer it to be attacked and taken? What courage will such a declaration put (not into the Roman People, but) into the Volsci, the Aequi, and the Veians? Will not they hope, that under the Conduct of Canuleius, they shall scale the Castle and the Capitol, if the Tribunes who have bereft the Senate of all its rights and authority, take from them their Courage and Resolution too? But nevertheless that the Consuls were ready to engage against the enormities of their fellow Citizens, sooner than against the Arms of their Enemies.*

Whilst these things were hotly debated in the Senate, Canuleius spoke for his own Laws, and against the Consuls, to this effect: "Romans! I have often told you heretofore how the Senate contemn you, and how unworthy they thought you to live within the same Walls with them: but now they seem to do so more than ever, in being so mightily offended at my Proposals; in which what do I do other than put them in mind that we are their fellow Citizens, and though we have not the same quantity of riches, yet live in the same Country?" By the

II.

III.



"one of my Bills, I desire an Intermarriage; which is usually granted to Neighbouring and Foreign Nations: nay, we gave the freedom of the City (which is more than an Intermarriage) even to Enemies that we had Conquered. By the other I propose no new thing, but only demand back and would vindicate that which is the Peoples Right; to wit, that the Roman People may confer honours upon whom they will. Why must the Laws needs put all things into confusion? Why had I like just now to have been set upon in the Senate? Why don't they tell us plainly they will not forbear any longer, but will violate the sacred Power of the Tribunes? Cannot this City stand, though the Roman People have their Votes free, to give the Consulship to whom they please; or, unless a Plebeian, though he be worthy of the greatest honour, be cut off from all hopes of ever enjoying it? Is the Government ruined? Why then to say, Can a Plebeian be Consul, is as much as if a Man should say, Can a Slave or one made free, that was a Slave, be in that Office. Are you sensible in what contempt you live? If they could they would deprive you of half the Sun's light: they are mad that you breath, that you speak, or that you have the shapes of Men: and then (good Gentlemen!) they say 'tis an horrid thing for a Plebeian to be made a Consul. I pray you, Gentlemen! consider: though we are not admitted to the Registers and Commentaries of the High-priests, yet we know what even all Foreigners are not unacquainted with, That Consuls succeeded in the room of Kings: and that they have no right or authority, but what was in the Kings before. Do you believe that *Numa Pompilius*, who was not only no Patrician, but not so much as a Roman Citizen, was sent for out of the *Sabine* Territories and Reigned at *Rome*, by the Order of the People, and consent of the Senate? That after him, *L. Tarquinius*, who came not only not of a Roman, but not so much as of any Italian Race (being the Son of *Demaratus* a Corinthian, and an inhabitant of *Tarquinius*) was made King, whilst *Ancus's* Children were alive? That *Servius Tullius* after him, born of a Cornuculan Captive, having no Father, and a Slave to his Mother, gained and kept the Kingdom by his Policy and Courage? What should I speak of *Titus Tatius* the *Sabine*, whom *Romulus* himself, the Father of this City, made his Co-partner in the Kingdom? By which means, whilst no stock of Men was despised, in whom there appeared any eminent virtue, the Roman Empire grew. Now see if you can think so ill of Plebeian Consuls, when our Forefathers did not refuse even Foreign Kings: nor was the City shut even when the Kings were expelled, against the virtue of strangers. We received the *Claudian* Family, after the Kings were banished out of the *Sabine* Country, not only into the City, but also into the number of the Patricians. Now shall a stranger be made a Patrician, and then a Consul? yet a Roman Citizen, if he be a Plebeian, be cut off from all hopes of ever coming to that honour? Do we not think it possible, that a stout brave Man, who has behaved himself well both in Peace and War, though he be a Plebeian, may be like *Numa*, *L. Tarquinius*, or *Serv. Tullius*? Or, if he be, shall not we suffer him to rise to the honour of managing the Commonwealth? and rather choose to have Consuls like those Villains, the Decemviri, who were all made out of the Senate, than like the best of Kings, who were strangers?

IV.

"But no Consul, say they, was ever chosen out of the Commons since the Kings were expelled. What then? May no new thing be ever done? or ought what has never yet been done (as many things there are, that among us, who are but a new People, were never yet done) not to be now done, if it be for publick good? There were no Pontifices [or High-Priests] and Augurs in *Romulus's* time: but they were created by *Numa Pompilius*. There was no Pole or Rate in the City, nor any division made of it into Centuries and Clashes: but it was made by *Servius Tullius*. There had never been any Consuls; but when the Kings were banished, they were created. There never had been any such thing known as either the Authority or the Name of a Dictator: but the Senate were the Authors of both. There were once no Tribunes of the People, no Aediles, or Questors: but they were thought fit to be made. We created a sort of Officers called Decemviri to make Laws, and abolished their Authority again within these ten Years. Who questions, but in this City, which was built for an everlasting Duration, and shall grow up to an infinite extent of Empire, new Honours, Priesthoods, with rites of Families, and Men may be invented and ordeined? Did not the Decemviri make that Law, that the Senators should not intermarry with the Plebeians, some few years ago, to the disadvantage of the Commonwealth in general, and the great damage of the Populace in particular? Can there be any greater, or more signal disgrace, than for one part of the City, as though it were polluted, to be held unworthy of intermarrying with the other? What is this but being banished within the same Walls? left we should be mingled among them by way of affinity or relation. They are afraid to be allied in blood: What? If this pollutes your Nobility, which most of you, who are descended from the *Albines* and the *Sabines*, have not by birth or blood but by being chosen into the Senate, either by the Kings, or after their expulsion, by the Order of the People; could not you keep it clear by your own private resolutions, neither to marry any Plebeian, nor to let your Daughters or Sisters marry out of the rank of Senators? No Plebeian would offer violence to any Patrician Virgin: the Patricians are the lustful Persons. No Plebeian would have compelled any Man to make a Marriage compact against his will. Oh! but there's a Law against the Marriage of Senators with Plebeians. And that is a great

"great disparagement to the People: For why don't you make another Law, that rich Men shall not marry into poor Families? For that which was always at the choice of private Persons; that a Woman might be married, wherever she got a good Husband, and a Man take any Woman that he liked, out of any Family, for his Wife; you have restrained by the obligations of a tyrannical Law, whereby you divide all civil Society, and make this City two instead of one. Why don't you make a Law, that no Plebeian shall live near a Patrician? that he shall not Travel the same Road? that he shall not go to the same Feast? that he shall not stand in the same Forum? For what is there else in the case, if a Plebeian marries a Patrician? or a Patrician a Plebeian? What Priviledge, I pray, is changed? The Children follow their Father; nor is it any thing that we desire by marrying with you, save that we may be reckoned among the number of Men, and their fellow Citizens: nor do you (unless you take delight to promote our disgrace and ignominy) contend for any thing at all.

"In fine, is the sovereign Power in the Roman People or in you? When the Kings were expelled, did you only gain Dominion, or the whole Commonwealth an equal Liberty? 'Tis fit the Roman, if they please, should make a Law. Shall you, as soon as any Bill is proposed, straight order a Levy as a penalty for so doing? And when I, as Tribune, begin to call the Tribes to Vote, will you, as Consul, give the young Men a Military Oath, and lead them forth into a Camp? Will you threaten the People and the Tribunes? What have you found by experiment, if not this (twice over) how much your menaces prevailed against the consent of the Commons? Good Men! you kept from mutinying, because you consulted our good. Or rather, did you not therefore abstain from quarreling, because that Party which was the stronger was also the more moderate? But you are not like, even now, neither, Romans! to see any violence offered by the People: they will try what your inclinations are; they will not try your strength. Wherefore the People, Consuls! is ready to follow you to those Wars, whether false or real, if by admitting them to make intermarriages you do unite this City; if they be joyned, allied, and mixed among you by private Relations: if stout and brave Men may hope to have the way to Honours open: to be Sharers and Partners in the Commonwealth: if (which is but the effect of equal Liberty) they may mutually Obey and Command in regard to annual Offices. If any one shall obstruct these things; make Speeches, and prate of as many Wars as you will, no Man will give in his Name, or take up Arms, to fight for Tyrants, with whom they have no share, either in the Commonwealth, of Honours, or in their private capacities of Matrimonial Alliance.

V.

"Then the Consuls also coming into the Assembly, the business was altered from long harangues to wrangling; so that when the Tribune asked, *Why a Plebeian might not be made a Consul?* the Consul replied, though truly, perhaps, yet not so seasonably for the present purpose; *Because no Plebeian had any thing to do with the auspices:* and that therefore the Decemviri took away the priviledge of marrying where the People pleased, lest the auspices should be confounded by an uncertain breed of Men. At that the People were much enraged, that they should be denied the use of auspices, as if they had been hated by the gods: nor was there any end of their contentions (the Commons having got a vehement Tribune on their side, whom they themselves also endeavoured to out-vie in resolution) till the Senators were over-powered, and fain to submit to the making of the Law touching intermarriages: for by that means they thought the Tribunes would either totally lay down the Controversie concerning Plebeian Consuls, or defer it till the War was over, and that the People, being content in the meantime with marrying into Patrician Families, would be ready for the Levy. But now since *Canuleius* was grown so great by having overcome the Senate, and in the favour of the People, the other Tribunes were as eager to engage in the same quarrel, and contended very stiffly for the passing of their Bill: insomuch that though the noise of a War increased every day, they obstructed the Levy. The Consuls therefore, seeing they could do nothing in the Senate, now that the Tribunes interposed, had Cabals of the Nobility at home: wherein it was evident, that they must give up their Victory either to the Enemy or the People. *Valerius* and *Horatius* were the only two, who were not at those Consults. *C. Claudius's* opinion armed the Consuls against the Tribunes: but the several judgments of the *Quintii*, *Cincinnatus* and *Capitolinus* were mighty avers from slaughter, or violating those Officers whom by a League made with the People they had accepted of as sacred. By these consultations the business was brought to that pass, that they would suffer Tribunes Military with Consular Authority to be promiscuously made out of the Senators and the Commons: though nothing should be altered in the choice of Consuls: with which the Tribunes and the People too were all content. Thereupon an Assembly was appointed for the chusing of three Tribunes, who should be of Consular Authority: which was no sooner done, but all those Persons, who had either said or done any thing tending to Sedition, (especially such as were of the Tribunes Party) began to run about the Forum and beg Peoples Votes, as Candidates for the new Office. In which affair, though the Patricians first despaired, seeing the People were so provoked, of gaining that Honour, and secondly thought it below them to bear any Office in Partnership with the Commons, yet at length being forced to it they did apply themselves to the Nobility; lest they might seem to quit the possession of the Commonwealth. But the Result of that Assembly demonstrated, that Mens minds are very different,

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when they contend for Liberty or Honour, from what they are when they have laid aside all animosities and freed themselves from prejudice: for the People chose all the Tribunes out of the Patricians, being content with that respect which had before been shewn to Plebeians. Where can you find, at this day, that moderation, equity and height of mind in one single Man, that then was in all the People together?

VII. In the Year 310. after the Building of Rome, the Tribunes of the Soldiers first entered upon their Office in the room of Consuls, their names being *A. Sempronius*, *L. Atilius*, and *T. Cecilius*, in whose time Concord at home procured Peace abroad also. There are some that say, these three Tribunes were created upon necessity; for that the *Veians* as well as the *Æqui* and the *Volsci* made War against the Romans, at the same time that the *Ardeans* Revolted from them; and so two Consuls were not able to manage so many Wars (without any mention of a Law being promulgated for the chusing of Consuls out of the Commons) and likewise that they had both the Authority and Ensigns of Consuls. But yet the Power of that Magistracy was not of long continuance; for the third Month after they entered upon their Office, they, by the Augurs Decree, as if they had been irregularly made, laid down their Honour; and the reason was, because *C. Curiatius*, who was President of the Assembly, had not taken the Tent as he ought to have done. Then Embassadors came from the *Ardeans* to Rome, making such a complaint concerning the injury done them, that if they had redress in that point, it was manifest they would, upon the restoration of their Land, stand to their League, and continue in friendship with the Romans. But the Senate told them, *The judgment of the People could not be rescinded by the Senate, not only because they had no right or example so to do, but also upon the score of preserving that Concord which now was between the several ranks of Men. If the Ardeans would stay 'till they had an opportunity, and would leave the method of redressing that injury to the Senate, they should not, in time, repent that they had checked their passion; but should also be convinced, that the Senate took as much care to prevent any injury that might be done to them, as to repair it when it was offered.* So the Embassadors, telling the Senate they would relate the whole matter to their Masters at Ardea, were kindly dismissed. Then the Patricians, seeing the Commonwealth was without a chief Magistrate, met, and created an Interrex: before whom the Debate, whether they should chuse Consuls or Tribunes Military, lasted for several days. The Interrex and the Senate contended for a Consular Assembly; but the Tribunes of the People, and the People, would needs have an Assembly for the chusing of Tribunes Military. At last the Senate carried it, because not only the People, who were resolved to confer either one or the other Honour upon Patricians, would strive no longer to no purpose; but the heads also of the Commons were most desirous of such an Assembly, in which they should not be at all regarded, thn where they might be pass'd by as unworthy: yea, the Tribunes of the People too would stickle no more in compliance to the Nobility. Thereupon *T. Quintius Barbatus* the Interrex created two Consuls, whose names were *L. Papirius Mugilanus*, and *L. Sempronius Atratinus*. In whose time the League was renewed with the *Ardeans*: and upon them there is this remark, that their names who were Consuls that Year, are not found either in the ancient Annals or in the Books of the Magistrates: of which I suppose the reason to be, because the Tribunes Military governed at the beginning of the Year, and therefore the names of these Consuls, who were made in their room, were omitted, as if those Tribunes had continued the whole Year round. But *Licinius Macer* tells us that they were to be found in the *Ardean* League, and in the Linnen Books which lay in the Temple of *Juno Moneta*. In their time also, though so many terrors appeared from the neighbouring Countries, there was Peace both abroad and at home.

VIII. This Year (whether it had Tribunes only or Consuls also put in the room of those Tribunes) was attended by another, in which the Consuls names were well known, being *M. Geganius Macerinus* a second time, and *T. Quintius Capitolinus* a fifth time. This Year was likewise the beginning of the Censorship; a thing, which though it sprang from a small original, yet afterward increased to such a degree, that the regulation of Manners and Discipline among the Romans was subject to it; the Senate and the Centuries of Knights, the Power distinguishing between decency and undecency was within the jurisdiction of that Magistrate; yea, the ordering of all places both publick and private, and the Customs or Tribute of the Roman People were at the disposal and in the hands of that Officer. Now the first reason, why Censors were made, was, because the People having been Unpolled, or Rated for so many Years, that business could neither be deferred, nor had the Consuls leisure to mind it, they had so many Wars to provide against. Thereupon the Senate said, *It being a troublesome business, and unbefitting the Dignity of a Consul, it ought to have a Magistrate peculiar to it; who should have Clerks under him, together with the keeping and making the Tables of Rates, as well as power to prescribe the form of every particular Mans Pele.* The Senators gladly received the proposal, though it was a small matter, because it increased the number of Patrician Magistrates in the Commonwealth: supposing also, I suppose, (what afterward came to pass) that in a short time the riches of those that should bear that Office, would make an addition of State and Majesty to the honour it self. The Tribunes also (considering the present circumstances) look'd upon it to be necessary rather than a specious

specious piece of service, and therefore, lest they should seem to thwart the Senate in such small things, were willing to comply. Since therefore this dignity was slighted by the chief of the City, the People Voted, that *Papirius* and *Sempronius*, whose Consulship occasioned some dispute, should make up their Year in that Office of Censorship; being called *Censores*, à censendo [i. e. from Taxing the People, &c.]

IX. Whilst these things were transacted at Rome, Embassadors came from Ardea, desiring the Romans for old Alliance sake, and the late League renewed between them, to send aid to their City which was almost ruined: for they could not enjoy that Peace which they had wisely preserved with the Roman People, for their intestine broils, the original of which, is said to be the difference between several Factions, which always have been, and still will prove more fatal to many People than Foreign Wars, than Famine or Diseases, or any other thing, that men ascribe to the wrath of Heaven, as the most deplorable of all publick calamities. Two young Men made love to a Damsel of the Plebeian rank, who was very beautiful: the one of them being of the same quality with her, and relying upon his Guardians, who themselves also were of the same condition: the other, being a Nobleman, was taken with nothing but her beauty only. Him therefore the Nobility assisted so far, that both the Rivals came a Wooing to her at the same time. But the Noble Youth prevailed upon the judgment of her Mother, who had a mind to have her Daughter married into a great Family: whilst the Guardians stickled all they could for their Pupil; being in that also mindful of their privileges, as Plebeians. At length, seeing the matter could not be determined within those Walls, they went to Law about it: where when the Mother and the Guardians had been heard, the Magistrates gave it as their opinions, that the Mother might dispose of her Daughter in Marriage as she pleased. But force was above Law; for the Guardians complaining openly in the Market place, among People of their own Quality and Party, of the injustice of the Decree, got a Band together, and forced the Maid out of her Mothers House: against whom a stronger company of Noble Youths rising up in Arms followed the young Man, who was much concerned at the indignity, and occasioned a fierce encounter. In which the populace having the worst on it, went, nothing like the Roman Commonalty, out of the City Armed, and having possessed themselves of a certain Hill, made excursions into the Lands belonging to the Nobility with Fire and Sword: yea, they prepared to Besiege the City also, and the rich Citizens that had been concerned on neither side, calling out all the Mechanicks, in hopes of Plunder, to assist them. And now the face of War and Slaughter appeared in all its shapes, the City being as it were infected with the madness of two young fellows, that contended for a fatal Marriage through the ruin of their Country. Each Party had but a small force either at home or abroad; wherefore the Noble Men sent to the Romans to come and relieve their Besieged City, whilst the Commonalty instigated the *Volsci* to help them in the taking of Ardea. The *Volsci* came first under the Conduct of *Cluilius*, and made a Rampire against the Enemies Walls. Which being told at Rome, immediately *M. Geganius*, the Consul marching forth with an Army, pitched his Camp three thousand paces from the Enemy, and being it was late in the day, bid his Soldiers refresh themselves. After which, about the fourth Watch he marched forth; and the Work which he began was carried on with such speed, that at Sun-rising the *Volsci* saw themselves enclosed by the Romans with a stronger Bulwark than that which they had made against the City: the Consul having also made a Line of Communication up to the Wall of Ardea, whereby his friends might come to him out of the Town.

X. The *Volscian* General who had to that day maintained his Men not with Provisions prepared before-hand, but with Forage and Plunder that he took out of the Country for his present occasion; seeing himself encompassed on a sudden with such a Mound, and being unprovided of all necessities, desired the Consul to let him speak with him, and told him, *That if the Romans came to raise that Siege, he would draw the Volscians off from thence; to which the Consul answered, That those who were Conquered ought to take, not to make Conditions of Peace; nor should the Volscians go away as they came to oppose the Allies of Rome, at their own pleasure: but he commanded them to surrender their General, lay down their Arms, confess themselves Conquered, and obey his Commands: otherwise both those that went away, and those that stayed there too should find him such an Enemy as would rather carry back to Rome a Victory over the Volsci, than an unfaithful Peace.* The *Volscians* therefore put little trust in their Armies, and having found that all other means were quite cut off, engaged, besides other inconveniences, in a place which was very incommodious to fight in, and worse to run away from: by which means, being killed on every side, they turned from fighting to praying; and having delivered up their General, together with their Arms, underwent the disgraceful ceremony of being made Captives of War by going under a Gallows made of three Javelins, and then with one Garment on their backs were dismissed, after they had suffered so much ignominy, and lost so many of their Men. And soon after, as they sat down together not far from the City *Tusculum*, being unarmed, they were set upon and suffered for an old grudge between them and the *Tusculans*, insomuch that there were hardly two Men left to carry the news of their slaughter. The Roman Consul in the mean time composed the *Ardean* Sedition, Beheading the Ringleaders of it, and Confiscating their Goods into the publick Treasury.

jury of that City. Then the *Ardeans* were of opinion that the *Romans* had made them full satisfaction for the injury which was done them in the judgment concerning the Land; but the Senate thought they ought to do something more still to obliterate the remembrance of such a publick piece of avarice. The Consul therefore came back with Triumph into the City, *Cluilius* the *Volsian* General being led before his Chariot, and the spoils too carried before, of which he had disarmed the Enemies Forces, when he made them pass under the Jutum or Gallows. Mean while *Quintius* in his Gown (which is not easie) equalled the Glory of his Collegues in Arms. For he took such care at home to preserve Concord, by moderating the Laws in respect both to the highest and the lowest, that the Senate thought him a severe Consul, and the Commons believed him mild enough. He likewise gained more upon the Tribunes by his Gravity and Authority, than by contending with them. In fine, five Consulships managed all after the same rate, and all his life having been spent in the affairs belonging to the Consuls made him full as venerable as the Dignity he bore: for which reason there was no talk of the Tribunes Military in the time of these Consuls.

XI. U. C. 312. The next Year they chose for Consuls *M. Fabius Vibulanus*, and *Postumus Æbutius Cornicen*; who considering they succeeded two such Men that had gained so much honour by their Conduct both at home and abroad (but especially, that their Year was very memorable among their Neighbours, whether Allies or Enemies, for the great care that they had taken to relieve the *Ardeans* in their necessity) they endeavoured so much the more studiously to raze the memory of that infamous Judgment out of the minds of Men, by making an Order of Senate. That seeing the City of *Ardea* was reduced by their intestine tumults to a small number, there should a Colony be sent thither as a Guard against the *Volsians*. This was set up in Tables publicly, to conceal the design they had of rescinding the Judgment from the People and the Tribunes. For they had agreed, that a far greater number of the old *Rutilian* Colony, than of the *Romans*, should be taken in, and that no Lands should be divided among them, but what had been taken away by that infamous Judgment, of which no one Clod should be assigned to any *Roman*, before all the *Rutulians* were served. Thus their Land came again into the hands of the *Ardeans*. The three that were appointed to carry the Colony to *Ardea*, were *Agrippa Menenius*, *T. Clælius Siculus*, and *M. Ebuicius Ælua*; who, having offended the People in acting so much against their minds, when they assigned that Land to their Allies, which the *Romans* had judged to be their own; and having likewise disobliged the chief Senators in not shewing any extraordinary respect to e're an one of them, were fain to stay in that Colony, which could testify for their Integrity and Justice, to avoid vexatious Accusations at *Rome*, where the Tribunes had appointed a Day for their Tryal.

XII. U. C. 313. There was Peace both at home and abroad all this and the following Year, in which *C. F. Pacilus*, and *M. Papirius Crassus* were Consuls. Then the Games which the Decemviri, in the time of the Peoples secession from the Senate, had designed, were performed. *Petilius* sought to move sedition, but in vain; for though when he was Tribune of the People, he declared the very same things again, he could not only not get the Consuls to leave the matter, touching the division of Lands among the Commons, to the Senate; but besides that, when he had with much ado obtained that the Senate might be Consulted, whether they would have any Assemblies for Consuls or Tribunes, there was an Order made for the chusing of Consuls: so that they slighted the Tribunes menaces, when he threatened to hinder the Levy; for their Neighbours being all at quiet, there was no need of War or any Preparations for it. But after this calm season of Affairs, there came an Year (in which *Proculus Geganius* *Macerinus*, and *L. Menenius Lanatus* were Consuls) remarkable for many sorts of death and dangers; for Seditions, Famine, and the Peoples receiving almost the yoke of Kingly Government upon their necks through the sweetness of a bounteous largess made among them: There wanted only a Foreign, with which if they had been oppressed, they could hardly have withstood, though all the gods in Heaven had taken part with them. Their Calamities began with a Famine (whether the Year was unreasonable, or that the People, allured with the pleasure of being at Assemblies and in the City, had neglected the manuring of their Land, I know not; for both causes are assigned) for which the Senate accused the Commons as slothful, and the Tribunes of the People blamed sometimes the knavery and sometimes the negligence of the Consuls. At last the Commons prevailed, with the Senates consent too, that *L. Minucius* should be made Prefect of the Provisions, who was more likely to be successful in that Office as to the preservation of his Liberty, than diligent in his business: though at last he was much beloved and honoured (as he deserved) for the Provisions which he raised. He therefore, after many Embassies had been sent round about to the neighbouring Nations, both by Sea and Land, but all in vain (save that some small quantity of Corn was brought out of *Etruria*) having got no considerable quantity of Provisions together, and being reduced to an extremity, did, by compelling People to produce their Corn, and sell what remained above enough for a Month; as likewise by defrauding Servants of some part of their days allowance, accusing and exposing the Corn-Merchants to the fury of the People, rather discover than relieve their want, many of the Common People being now without all hopes, rather than live in Torment, threw themselves headlong into the *Tiber*.

Then

XIII. U. C. 315. Then *Sp. Mælius*, a very rich Man, of the Knightly Order, as the City then was, began a business, which though it were to publick advantage, was of very ill example, and a worse design. For he having bought Corn in *Etruria* with his own Money, by means of his Acquaintance and Clients (which very thing, I believe, was the cause why they could not buy Provisions at the publick Charge) began to make largesses of it among the People; whom he drew after him wherever he went, with much more vanity and pride than became a private Person; they being pleased with his gifts, for which they promised him, through their favour, he should be Consul. But he, as Mans mind is never satisfied with what Fortune promises, was ambitious of higher things, that were not to be allowed of; and therefore, seeing the Consulship must be wrested from the Senators, began to consult of his being King: for that he thought was the only reward that could requite all that trouble and pains, which he must undergo because he attained even to a Consulship. And now the Consular Assembly was at hand; which, since his designs were not yet ripe for execution, destroyed his enterprise. For *T. Quintius Capitolinus* was the sixth time made Consul, who was a Person very unlikely to favour one that would make any innovation; and his Collegue was *Agrippa Menenius*, Surnamed *Lanatus*; at first made for an uncertain time, as long as occasion required is not known, there being no evidence of it, but his name, as Prefect, put in the Linnen Books among the Magistrates both Years. This *Minucius* taking the same care of the Commonwealth, as *Mælius* privately had undertaken to do, since there were the same sort of Men in both their Houses, discovering the matter, told the Senate, That there were Arms carried into *Mælius*'s House, and that he had Meetings at home, which without doubt were Consults how to gain a Crown: that the time for execution was not yet come, but all things else were agreed on. That the Tribunes also were bribed to betray their Liberty; as likewise that the several Commissions were given to those that should head the Multitude. That he came to tell them somewhat later, than was consistent with their safety, lest he should have informed them of what he did not know to be certainly true. Which when they heard, the chief of the Senate did not only chide the last Years Consuls for suffering such largesses or conventions of the People to be in any private House, but blamed the new Consuls also, for tarrying till the Prefect of the Provisions came and informed the Senate of a thing so weighty, which might require a Consul, not only for its detector, but revenger too. Then *T. Quintius* told them, The Consuls were not at all to blame; who being bound up by Laws that were made concerning Liberty of Appeal in order to dissolve Authority, had not so much strength in their Office as they had Courage to revenge that audacious attempt according to the heinousness of it: that would require not only a stout Man, but also one that were free and disengaged from the fetters of Law. Wherefore he would make *L. Quintius* Dictator; for he had a soul equal to that great Authority. Thereupon when they all approved of the proposal, *Quintius* at first refused it; and asked them, What they meant to expose such an old Man as he was to so much difficulty and danger? But soon after, when they all around him cried out, that there was more Policy and Courage too in that old Soul of his than in all the rest that were there; commending him as he deserved, whilst the Consul continued of the same mind, *Cincinnatus* having made his supplication to the gods, that his old Age might not prove either a damage, or dishonour to the Commonwealth in such dangerous circumstances, was declared Dictator by the Consul; and made *C. Servilius Ahala* Master of the Horse.

XIV. The next day having planted Guards in several places, he came down into the Forum, where the People stared upon him as a new and wonderful sight: the *Mælians*, and their Leader, saw the force of that great Authority designed against them: those that knew nothing of a design to make *Mælius* King, asked, What Tumults, what sudden War required a Dictator, or *Quintius* to be Governour of the Commonwealth when he was above eighty years of Age; whilst in the mean time *Servilius*, Master of the Horse, being sent to *Mælius* by the Dictator, told him, The Dictator would speak with you: to which he in a fear replying, What would he have with me? *Servilius* answered, You must make your defence against *Minucius*, who hath accused you before the Senate. Whereupon *Mælius* retired into the crowd of his followers, and first, looking about him, was very unwilling to move; but at last the Apparitor [or Serjeant] dragging him along by the Order of the Master of the Horse, he was rescued by those that stood about him, and running away, implored the favour of the Roman People: saying, He was oppressed by consent of the Senate, for having been kind to the Commonwealth; and desiring, that they would assist him now in his last extremity, nor suffer him to be murdered before their eyes. As he bawled out to this effect, *Ahala Servilius* overtook him and slew him: by which means, being bespattered with the blood of the Party slain, and guarded with a Company of Patrician young Men, he carried the news to the Dictator; that *Mælius* the Multitude upon them, had what he deserved: upon which the Dictator said, Go and prosper, *C. Servilius*! in thy Courage, now thou hast freed the Commonwealth.

XV. Thereupon seeing the Multitude in a Tumult, because they were divided in their opinions of the matter, he ordered an Assembly to be called, in which he told them, That *Mælius* was justly slain, though he were not guilty of a Design to be King, for not coming to the Dictator when the Master of the Horse called him; for he was then sitting to hear the Cause; which



when he had examined, Mælius should have had as much favour as the case would have born. That he who made what resistance he could rather than submit to the Law, was restrained by violence; nor ought a Magistrate to have dealt with him like a fellow Citizen, who though he were born among a free People, among Laws and Privileges, in a City, from whence he knew all Kings were banished; and where, the same Year, the Sons of a Kings Sister, and of the Consul that delivered his Country, were Beheaded with an Ax for a Plot in which they were known to be engaged, for bringing in of the Kings again: a City, from whence Collatinus Tarquinius the Consul, out of hatred to the name, was forced to quit his Office, and go into banishment: a City, in which Sp. Cassius suffered after some Years for a design he had to be King: a City, in which of late the Decemviri were amerced in all their Estates, and punished with Exile or Death for their Kingly pride. He, I say, should not have been dealt with like a fellow Citizen, that would hope, as Sp. Mælius did, to make himself King. And pray what a Man is he? that he should aspire to Dominion without any Nobility of birth, any honours or deserts. For though the Claudii and the Cassii were high-minded, they had the Consulships, the Decemvirates, and other honours of their Ancestors and the splendor of their Families to brag of, so that it was no fault in them. But that Sp. Mælius, who should rather wish, than hope, to be Tribune of the People, who was only a rich Corn-Merchant should hope to buy the Liberty of his fellow Citizens for two pounds of Wheat apiece, or should think that by giving them a meals Meat he could wheedle a People into slavery, who had conquered all their neighbour Nations; or that the City should suffer him to be King, whom they could scarce find in their hearts to make a Senator, and to have all the Ensigns of State and all that Power which Romulus their Founder, who was descended from the gods, but now was one of their number, had, was not more wicked than monstrous. Nor was it enough that he atoned for it with his blood, except his House too were demolished, in which so much madness was conceived; and his Goods, that were infected with the Design of their being the price of a Kingdom, all confiscated. Wherefore he ordered the Questors to sell those Goods, and put them into the publick Treasury.

XVI. Then he commanded his House, that the place where it stood might be a monument of the frustration of his wicked purpose, to be immediately Demolished; and the space was called *Æquimelium*. L. Minucius was honoured with a figure of a Golden Bull, without the Gate called *Porta Trigemina*; nor were the People unwilling to have it so, because he divided Mælius's Corn amongst them at an *As* [i.e. a Bushel.] I find in some Authors, that this same Minucius went over from the Senate to the People, being made the eleventh Tribune of the Commons, and appeased the Sedition caused by the death of Mælius. But it is scarce credible, that the Senate suffered the number of the Tribunes to be augmented; or that such an example should be introduced by a Patrician especially. Nor is it likely that the People ever obtained such a Priviledg, or so much as stickled for it. But, above all, it is plainly confuted by a Law that pass'd some few years before; That the Tribunes should not have the power to take in any Collegue above their just number. Q. Cæcilius, Q. Junius, and Sext. Titinius were the sole Persons of all the College of Tribunes, that did not favour the Law touching Minucius's honour, but accused, one while Minucius, and another while Servilius, before the People, complaining perpetually of the foul murder of Mælius. By which means they brought it to pass, that an Assembly should be held for the chusing of Tribunes Military rather than Consuls; not doubting but, since there were six to be chosen (for that was now their legal number) some Plebeians, that should profess themselves revengers of Mælius's death, would be elected. The Commons though, that Year, they were disturbed with many and various Commotions, created no more than three Tribunes with power Consular; among whom was L. Quintius, Cincinnatus's Son; from the envy of whose Dictatorship they sought an occasion to raise a Tumult: but Mamercus Æmilius, a Man of great Quality, was chosen before Quintius, and L. Junius was the third.

XVII. In the time of their Magistracy, Fidenæ, a Roman Colony, revolted to Lar. Tolumnius King of the Veians, and to the Veians. But there was a worse offence added to that Revolt. For by the command of Tolumnius, they killed C. Fulcinius, C. Julius Tullus, Sp. Nautius, and L. Roscius, the Roman Embassadors, that came to know the reason of their new designs. Some extenuate the Kings fault, and say, that as he threw a lucky Cast at Dice, his doubtful words, being taken by the Fidenians as though he had meant they should kill them, was the cause of their Death. But that is incredible; that when the Fidenates, his new Allies, came to him to consult about a Murder that was like to break the Law of Nations, his mind should not be off from his Game: nor that afterwards he should be concerned for the fact. It is more likely, that the People of Fidenæ had a mind to be so engaged by that action, that being conscious of its heinousness, they might never after hope for any friendship from the Romans. The Embassadors, who were slain at Fidenæ, had their Statues set up publicly in the *Roftra*. And now a bloody Fight drew nigh, in which they were to engage with the Veians and the Fidenates, who, besides their being two neighbour Nations, occasioned a War by such an horrid Act: wherefore the People and their Tribunes being at quiet, that publick affairs might be the better managed, there was nothing said to the contrary, but that M. Geganius Macerinus (a third time) and L. Sergius Fidenas, should be made Consuls; of which the latter, I suppose, took his Surname of Fidenas from the War which he then waged. For he was the

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the first that fought on this side the River *Anien* with any success against the King of the Veians; but he did not obtain a bloodless Victory. Wherefore the Romans were more grieved for the Citizens they had lost, than they rejoiced at the Defeat of their Enemies: and the Senate, as in a case of extremity, ordered Mamercus Æmilius to be proclaimed Dictator. Who was no sooner made, but he created L. Quintius Cincinnatus (a Youth very worthy of such a Father) who had been of the College the last Year, when they were Tribunes Military together, with power Consular. To the Levy which the Consuls made were added the old Centurions, who had experience in Warlike affairs, and the number of those that were lost in the late Battel made up. The Dictator commanded Quintius Capitolinus and M. Fabius Vibulanus to follow him as Lieutenants. As therefore he had greater authority than ordinary, so the Man was equal to his Commission; for he drove the Enemy out of the Roman Territories beyond *Anien*, where they took possession of the Hills betwixt that and *Fidenæ*, removing their Camp backward: nor did they descend into the Plains, before the *Faliscan* Legions came to their assistance: and then at length the *Etrurians* Camp was pitched before the Walls of *Fidenæ*. In the mean time the Roman Dictator fate down not far from thence at the meeting of the two Rivers upon the Banks of them both, and raising his Out-works as fast and as far as he could to defend himself for the present, the next day, led his Army into the Field.

There were several opinions among the Enemies. The *Faliscans*, being a great way from Home, very uneasy in a Campaign, and confident in their own strength, desired to engage: but the *Veians* and the *Fidenates* thought best to protract the War. Tolumnius therefore though he was better pleased with the sentiments of his own Countrymen, yet left the *Faliscans* should undergo too much hardship, declared, He would fight the next day. The Dictator and the Romans were the more encouraged, when they saw the Enemy declined the Battel; and the day following, when the Soldiers murmured among themselves, and said, that they would attack their Camp and City, if the Enemy would not come out to fight, both the Armies marched forth into the Plain between their two Camps. The *Veians* abounding in numbers, sent a Party round the Mountains to attack the Roman Camp in the time of the Battel. The Army of those three Nations stood in such order, that the *Veians* were in the right Wing, the *Faliscans* in the left, and the *Fidenians* in the middle. On the other side the Dictator with his right Wing engaged the *Falisci*, and Capitolinus Quintius with the left Wing, the *Veians*; whilst the Master of the Horse marched with his Cavalry against the main Body. For some small time there was silence and quiet; the *Etrurians* resolving not to joyn Battel, unless they were compelled to it, whilst the Dictator look'd back to the Castle at Rome, to observe when the Augurs, by the flying of the Birds, thought fit to give the appointed signal: which as soon as he beheld, he sent the Horse out first with a shout against the Enemy. Then the Foot marched after and fought very smartly; insomuch that the *Etrurian* Legions were not able in any part to sustain the shock of the Romans. Their Horse made the least resistance, and amongst them all the King himself, who was by far the stoutest Man they had, riding up to the Romans in a full Career, prolonged the Fight.

There was at that time among the Horsemen a certain Tribune, named A. Cornelius Cossus, a very handsome shaped Man, and of equal Courage and Strength, who being mindful of his noble Birth and Family (which he made much more renowned among Posterity) and seeing the Roman Troops very hard put to it by Tolumnius, which way soever he bent his Forces, no sooner discovered him, as he flew in a Kingly Habit to and fro over the whole Army, but he cried out, *Is this the breaker of Human Leagues, and the violater of the Law of Nations? I'll presently make him a Sacrifice (if the gods will permit any thing here on earth to be sacred) to the Ghosts of our Embassadors.* With that setting spurs to his Horse, and riding full Tilt at him, he with his Spear dismounted him; but so, that Tolumnius, leaning on his Javelin, lit upon his feet: from whence rising up to strike at Cossus again, he knock'd him down with his Buckler, and repeating his strokes upon him, with his Spear stuck the King to the Ground. Then having rifled his Body, cut off his head and got it upon the point of his Spear, to shew his Victory over him, he routed the Enemy with pure terror which they were in to see their King slain: and by that means also the Horse were defeated, who alone had made the Victory doubtful. The Dictator in the mean time pursuing the routed Legions, drove them into their Camp, where he slew them. A great many of the *Fidenates*, being acquainted with the Country, fled into the Mountains; whilst Cossus with the Horse, passing over the *Tiber*, carried a vast Booty with him to the City. But in the midst of the Fight they had another Engagement on the back of their Camp with part of the Enemies Forces whom Tolumnius, as I said before, had sent round the Hills. There Fabius Vibulanus at first defended the Rampire with a Company of Men whom he planted all round it: but whilst the Enemy was intent upon that part, going out at the right-hand Gate of the Camp with a Party of *Triarii* [commonly the best Soldiers the Romans had] he so surprized them, that they were all in a fright; and though the slaughter was less, because they were fewer, yet they ran away with as much consternation as the rest did out of the Field.

Having had such great success upon all occasions, the Dictator, by order of the Senate and consent of the People, returned Triumphant into the City. But that which made the greatest show of all the Triumph was Cossus's carrying the rich spoils of the King whom he had

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had slain: whilst the Soldiers sung extemporary Verses of their own making to his praise, comparing him even to *Romulus*. Those spoils he fixed with great solemnity as an Offering in the Temple of *Jupiter Feretrius*, (near the spoils of *Romulus*, which were the first that were called *Spolia Opima* [i.e. rich spoils] and the only ones at that time there) turning the eyes of the People from the Dictators Chariot upon himself, and being almost the only person that enjoyed the benefit of that day. The Dictator offered a Crown of Gold of a pound weight, made out of the publick stock, by the Peoples Order, to *Jupiter* in the Capitol. Now in this affair, having followed all Authors that have written before me, I have told you, that *A. Cornelius Cossus* a Tribune of the Soldiers, was he that brought the second rich spoils into the Temple of *Jupiter Feretrius*. But besides, that those are properly called rich spoils, which one General takes from another, nor do we call any one a General, but him under whose Conduct a War is managed, the title it self, inscribed upon the spoils, convinces both them and me, that Consul *Cossus* took them. And since I heard *Augustus Caesar* himself, who was the Builder or restorer of all the Temples in the City, when he went into the Temple of *Jupiter Feretrius*, which he repaired, (it being ready to fall down for age) read the same thing, which was written upon a Linnen Breast-plate, I thought it almost sacrilegious to rob *Cossus* of such a witness of his spoils as *Caesar*, the Rebuilder of that very Temple was. But if there be any mistake in the case, because not only the ancient Annals, but the Magistrates Linnen Books, laid up in the Temple of *Moneta*, which *Macer Licinius* quotes, make *A. Cornelius Cossus* to be Consul seven Years after with *T. Quinctius Pennus*, yet mine is the common received opinion. But for a farther argument, that such a famous Fight cannot be transferred to that Year, we know, that about the time that *A. Cornelius* was Consul, there was no Wars for almost three Years together, besides that there happened a Pestilence, and great scarcity of Fruits: insomuch that some Annals, to shew the fatality of that time, give us nothing but the names of the Consuls: and the third Year from *Cossus's* Consulship, he is said to have been Tribune of the Soldiers with power Consular. That the same Year also he was Master of the Horse, and in that Dignity fought another famous Battel on Horseback: in which I leave every one to their own free conjecture. But in this case I am apt to think Men will take the freedom to question the truth of any thing if they make a doubt of it; when the Warrior himself laying the fresh spoils in the Holy-place, and looking in the face of almost *Jupiter* himself, and *Romulus*, such venerable witness of his false Title, wrote himself *A. Cornelius Cossus, the Consul*.

XXI. U. C. 318. When *M. Cornelius Maluginensis*, and *L. Papirius Crassus* were Consuls, there were Armies led into the *Veian* and the *Faliscan* Territories: from whence they drove great numbers of Men and Cattel, but found no Enemy in all the Country, never had any occasion of fighting, nor attacked any of their Towns, because the Plague was in them. At the same time there were Seditions attempted at home, but not accomplished, by *Sp. Maelius*, Tribune of the People, who thinking he could make some bustle upon the score of his Name, had not only summoned *Minucius* to his Tryal, but likewise preferred a Bill for the Confiscation of the Goods of *Servilius Ahala*: saying, that *Maelius* was falsely accused by *Minucius*, and that *Servilius* had killed a Citizen uncondemned: but the People slighted what he said more than they did himself. In the mean time, though they were much concerned for the sickness which grew very fatal among them, as likewise for those terrible Sights and Prodigies which appeared; but most of all for that they were told the Houses in the Country tumbled down with frequent Earthquakes. Wherefore the People, with the *Duumviri* going before them, made publick Obsecrations to the gods. But the next Year, when *C. Julius* (a second time) and *L. Virginus* were Consuls, being much more Pestilential, made such a Desert of the City as well as the Fields, that (not to say, that no body went a foraging out of the *Roman* Confines, or that the Senate and People were careless of their Warlike affairs) the *Fidenates* on their own accord, who at first had secured themselves either in some Town, the Mountains, or within their Walls, came down to Plunder the *Roman* Territories. From whence sending for the *Veian* Army (for the *Faliscans* could not be persuaded to renew the War, either by the Mortality among the *Romans*, or the intreaties of their Allies) those two Nations crossed the *Anien*, and set up their Standards not far from the Gate *Collina*. Thereupon they trembled as much in the City as in the Country: wherefore *Julius* the Consul planted all their Forces upon the Rampire and Walls; whilst *Virginus* consulted the Senate in the Temple of *Quirinus*: where they thought fit to make *A. Servilius* Dictator, whose Surname, some say, was *Priscus*, and others, *Structus*. But *Virginus* staying till he had consulted his Collegue, had his permission, and declared *Servilius* Dictator in the night, and he made *Postumus Ebutius Elus* his Master of the Horse.

XXII. Then the Dictator commanded all the People to be, as soon as it was day, without the Gate *Collina*: and accordingly all that were able to bear Arms appeared: whereupon the Ensigns were brought out of the Treasury to the Dictator. Which being done, the Enemy betook themselves into higher places, into which the Dictator with his Army followed them, and not far from *Nomentum*, joyning Battel, routed the *Etrurian* Legions; whom he drove thence into the City *Fidenæ*, and surrounded that City with a Bulwark. But the Town was so high and well Fortified, that it could not be so much as scaled, nor was there any hardship felt all the time

time of the Siege: because they had Corn not only enough to supply their necessities, but to spare also, their store was so great, which they had formerly laid in. So therefore having no hopes of taking by Storm, or forcing it by Famine to surrender, the Dictator began in places which, being adjacent, he was acquainted with, and on the back part of the City which was most neglected, as being naturally Impregnable, to dig a Mine into the Castle. About which, when he had set his Miners to work, he himself approaching the Walls in several very distant places, with his Army divided into four parts, to succeed each other in the Fight, by keeping the Enemy employed upon the Walls continually night and day, gave them no leisure to be sensible of his design; till having digged from his Camp quite through the Hill, they had made a way streight up into the Castle; insomuch that whilst the *Etrurians* were apprehensive of vain threats instead of certain danger, the noise of the Enemy above their heads showed that the City was taken. That Year *C. Furius Pacilus*, and *M. Geganius Macerinus* being Censors, approved of the *Villa Publica* [a Place raised in and made convenient for publick uses] in the *Campus Martius*, and the Pole of the People was then first managed in that place.

I find in *Macer Licinius* that the same Consuls, to wit, *C. Julius* (a third time) and *Virginius* (a second time) were made again the Year following. But *Valerius Antias*, and *Quintus U. C. 320.* *Tubero* say that *Marcus Manlius*, and *Q. Sulpitius* were Consuls for that Year; and yet though they differ so much in their account, both *Tubero* and *Macer* acknowledg the Linnen Books to be their Authors for what they say: nor does either of them deny but that old Authors say there were Tribunes of the Soldiers that Year. *Licinius* questions not the Authority of the Linnen Books, though *Tubero* makes some doubt; granting that among other things that time has made uncertain, this may be one. The People of *Etruria* were in a great fright after the taking of *Fidenæ*; nor did the *Veians* only dread the like misfortune, but the *Faliscans* too, when they considered that they had joyned with them in the War, though when they first rebelled they were not with them. Wherefore when those two Cities, sending Embassadors round about to all the two and twenty Nations of *Etruria*, had desired of them, that there might be a convention of all *Etruria* at the Temple of *Voltumna*, the Senate, seeing a great storm, as it were, acoming, ordered *Mamercus Æmilius* to be again declared Dictator: by whom *A. Postumius Tubertus* was made Master of the Horse: and the preparations for that War were so much the greater, by how much there was more danger to be feared from all *Etruria*, than from those two Nations only.

But that affair was something easier than any body expected. Wherefore when the Merchants brought news, That the *Veians* were denied any aid, and told, that seeing they had begun a War on their own heads, they might end it with their own Forces, and not seek partners in their adversity, with whom they had not communicated the blessings of their prosperity; the Dictator, for fear he should have been created to no purpose, now that the occasion of gaining glory in War was taken away, desiring to do something even in Peace, that might be a Monument of his Dictatorship, endeavoured to lessen the Censorship, either because he thought their power too great, or that he was offended, not so much at the greatness of their honour, as at the length of their continuance in the Office. He therefore calling an Assembly, told them, The gods had undertaken to manage the affairs of the Commonwealth abroad, and keep all things safe: that he, as for what was to be done within the Walls, would consult the Liberty of the Roman People. And the best way to preserve that, was, not to suffer great Offices to be long in one Magistrates hands; but to bound that with time, to which the Law had set no bounds. That other Magistrates were annual, but that the Censorship was of five years continuance: that it was hard for the People to live so many years, a great part of their life, obnoxious to the same persons; wherefore he would make a Law, that the Censorship should not last above a Year and half. Accordingly, the next day, with general consent of the People he passed the Law: and then told them, Romans! that you may see I don't at all fancy Offices of long continuance, I at this instant lay down my Dictatorship. Whereupon having quitted his own Office, and limited that of others, he was attended to his House with great applause and favour of the People. The Censors taking it ill, turned him out of his Tribe, for having diminished a Magistracy of the Roman People, and setting a rate upon him of eight times as much as he ought to pay, made him only a Tributary to the State. Which thing they say he bore with great courage, as considering the cause of his disgrace, more than the disgrace it self: and that the chief of the Senate, though they had desired before to have the Censors powers restrained, did now much more approve of it, being offended to see such an example of their severity: for each of them foresaw he might be longer and oftner subject to the Censors, than he should bear the Office. But the People were so enraged, that no body, save *Mamercus*, could have kept them from laying violent hands upon the Censors.

XXV. The Tribunes of the People, by their daily assemblies, obstructing the Consular Convention, so that the matter was almost reduced to an Interregnum, they at last prevailed to have Tribunes of the Soldiers chosen with Consular Authority. But they had not what they desired (though they carried the day) which was, to have a Plebeian chosen; for they were all Patricians, and their names were *M. Fabius Vibulanus*, *M. Fostius*, *L. Sergius Fidenas*. That Year a Pestilence kept them from minding any thing else; and a Temple was vowed to *Apollo* for the recovery of the People; the *Duumviri* doing many things prescribed in their Books,

Books, to appease the wrath of the gods, and turn the Plague away from the People. But for all that they could do, there was a great Mortality in the City and Country both of Men and Cattel: Yea, they feared a Famine too, for want of Men to Till the Land, and therefore sent into Etruria, Pometia, to Cumæ, and at last even into Sicily for Corn. In the mean time there was no talk of any Consular Assembly: but there were Tribunes of the Soldiers made with Consular Authority, and all Patricians, whose names were *L. Pinarius Mamercus*, *L. Furius Medullinus*, and *Sp. Postumius Albus*. That Year the force of the Disease was abated, nor was there any danger of their wanting Corn, they had so much before-hand. Mean while there was a Council held among the *Æqui* and the *Volsci*, and in Etruria, at the Temple of *Voltumna*, concerning a War. But there they put off the business for a Year, and made a Decree, That no Council should be held before such a time: whilst the *Veians* to no purpose complained, That the same fortune attended *Veii*, by which *Fidenæ* was destroyed. Whilst this was done, the heads of the Commons at Rome, having long waited in hopes of greater honour, (but all to no end) whilst there was peace abroad, they began to call Conventions into the Houses of the Tribunes of the People. And there making secret Cabals, they complained, That the People so despised them, that though for so many Years there had been Tribunes of the Soldiers made with Consular Authority, no Plebeian was ever yet admitted to that Honour. That their Ancestors indeed were very provident in taking care, that no Patrician should ever be a Plebeian Magistrate, or else the Tribunes of the People had been most commonly Patricians; so despicable were they even in the sight of their own Party, nor contemned less by the Commons than by the Senate. Thereupon some began to acquit the People, and lay the blame upon the Senate; That by their ambition and ill arts it was, that the Peoples way to honour was blocked up: if the People could but once be rid of their intreaties, mixt with menaces, they would betrink themselves and Vote for Commons; and having the assistance of the Tribunes, would vindicate the Authority of the Commons. Then it was thought fit, in order to the taking away all canvassing for Offices, that the Tribunes of the People should promulgate a Law, That no Man should make his Garment whiter than ordinary, when he went to get Votes: which Law, though it now may seem a small matter, and scarce worth serious consideration, yet then inflamed the Senate and the People to a very great degree. At last the Tribunes got the day and past their Law: and it appeared very plainly, when their minds were provoked, that the People would for the future favour their own Party. Wherefore, lest they should be totally free to do what they pleased, there was an Order of Senate made, for the holding of a Consular Assembly. At which juncture there was a sudden tumult in the City, caused by the news which the *Latins* and the *Hernicans* brought from the *Æqui* and the *Volsci*.

XXVI. Thereupon *T. Quintius*, the Son of *Lucius*, Surnamed *Cincinnatus*, (and *Pennis* too) and *C. Julius Mento* were created Consuls; nor was the terror of the War any longer deferred. By U. C. 323. a sacred Law, which with those People is of greatest force for the raising of Soldiers, they having made a Levy, two mighty Armies marched forth and met in *Algidum*; where the *Æqui* and the *Volsci* fortified their Camps apart from each other; their Generals being at that time more industrious than ever before they had been, not only to defend, but to exercise their Men: which put the *Romans* into a greater fear. Then the Senate ordered a Dictator to be made; because those Nations, though they had been often Conquered, yet still rebelled again with greater spirit than ever before: besides that some part of the *Roman* Youth was taken off by the sickness; but, above all, the private quarrel between the two Consuls, and their thwarting of each other in all their Counsels, increased their dread. There are, who say, these Consuls had but ill success in a Battel in *Algidum*, and that that was the reason why a Dictator was created. But this is manifest, that though they disagreed in other things, they consented even against the will of the Senate in this one thing, that they would not make a Dictator; till one thing coming still more terrible after another, and yet the Consuls would not submit to the Senate, *Q. Servilius Priscus*, one who had bore the greatest Offices with extraordinary applause, applying himself to the Tribunes, said, You, Tribunes of the People! since things are come to such an extremity, the Senate Appeals to; that you, in such a dangerous case as the Commonwealth is now in, would force the Consuls by your Authority to create a Dictator. Which when he had said, the Tribunes thinking they had gotten a good occasion to augment their Power, withdrew; and soon after, in the name of the College, declared, It was their pleasure, that the Consuls should submit to the Senate; and if they any longer opposed the Will of that most honourable Order, they would command them to be carried to Goal. The Consuls chose rather to be out-done by the Tribunes, than by the Senate, saying, That the Sovereign Authority was betrayed by the Senators, and the Consulship put in subjection to the Power of the Tribunes: seeing that now the Consuls might be compelled by Power of the Tribunes, and (than which, what has any private Person more to fear?) be carried to Goal too. It fell to *T. Quintius's* lot (for the Collegues could not agree upon it very well) to name the Dictator, and accordingly he declared *A. Postumius Tubertus*, his Father-in-law, a very severe Governor, Dictator; by whom *L. Julius* was created Master of the Horse. At the same time also, there was a stop put to all Judicial proceeding; nor was there any thing done all over the City, but what was in order to preparations for the War. The hearing of their defence that did not take up Arms, was deferred till the War was over: but indeed so ready all People

ple were, that even those who might possibly have been excused gave in their names; and when the *Latins* and the *Hernici* were ordered to bring in their Quota: they both very readily obeyed the Dictator.

All this was done with great celerity: and *C. Julius* the Consul being left to Guard the City, with *L. Julius*, Master of the Horse, who staid to provide with all speed for their present necessities in the Camp; the Dictator, with *A. Cornelius* the High-Priest going before him, vowed to Celebrate the *Ludi Magni* [or great Games, Celebrated not above once in an Age] upon the score of that War: and then marching out of the City, and having divided the Army between himself and *Quintius* the Consul, came up to the Enemy. As therefore they saw the Foe had two Camps at a small distance from each other, they likewise a nearer to *Lanuvium* pitched their Camps. So four Armies and as many entrenchments had the Plain before them, in the middle, which was wide enough not only to make little excursions for skirmishing, but even to set their whole Armies on both sides in Battalia. Nor were they, seeing their Camps were opposite to each other; at any time disengaged from those little Rencounters; the Dictator being very willing, that his Men, by trying the Enemies strength in such light bickerings, might be able to tell him, what hopes they had of the general Victory. Wherefore the Enemy despairing of any success in a pitched Battel, attacked the Consuls Camp in the night time, and put the whole affair to the hazard of a doubtful event. Whereupon the sudden shout which they made alarmed not only the Consuls Sentinels, and consequently the whole Army, but awaked the Dictator also, who was then asleep. The Consul, though he were so surprized, wanted neither Courage nor Conduct; setting part of his Men to guard the Gates, and the rest round about the Rampire. In the other Camp, where the Dictator was, the tumult being less, made them the more careful of their business. Wherefore they immediately sent reliefs to the Consuls Camp, under the Command of *Sp. Postumius Albus*, a Lieutenant, whilst the Dictator himself marched a little about to a place most remote from the noise, that he might attack the Enemy in their Rere, before they were aware of his coming. When he went away, he left *Q. Sulpicius*, a Lieutenant, Master of the Camp, and *M. Fabius*, another Lieutenant, to Command the Horse, bidding him not to stir before day, because he knew the Horses were hard to be managed in such Nocturnal Conflicts. In short, he did and said all things that an active and a prudent General in such a case ought either to say or do. But that was an extraordinary instance of his Courage and Conduct, and a thing for which he was highly to be commended, that he on his own accord sent *M. Geganius* with a choice Party to attack the Enemies Camp, from whence, as his Scouts brought word, they were marched with the greater part of their Men. So that *Geganius* setting upon them, whilst they were intent upon the event of that danger which others were in, and neglected their own safety, took their Camp before the Enemy well knew themselves to be attacked. Then, as they had agreed, he gave the sign by making a great smoak; which when the Dictator saw, he cried out, The Enemies Camp's taken; and commanded the news to be told through all the Army.

By this time it was day-light and all things were visible; so that *Fabius* with his Horse charged up to them, and the Consul made a Sally out of his Camp upon the trembling Foe: whilst the Dictator, on the other side, giving Battel to the Body of Reserves, and the middle part of the Army, opposed the Enemy (who were in great distraction upon such different clamours and sudden hurly-buries) on all sides with his Victorious Horse and Foot. By which means, being now environed in the middle, they had every Man of them suffered for their Rebellion, had not *Messius Vechnus*, a *Volscian*, more famous for his Actions than his Birth, when his Countrymen were now putting themselves into a circular posture, crying out with a loud voice, asked them, What? will you stand here to be pelted by your Enemies without making any defence, or being revenged of them? Why then have you any Arms? or why were you the aggressors in this War? Are you tumultuous in Peace, and slothful in War? What can you hope for whilst you stand here? Do you think some God will protect you, and snatch you hence? No, you must make your way with your Swords, as you see me do before you. Courage then; all you that intend to see your own Houses, your Parents, or your Wives and Children any more, come along with me. 'Tis not a Wall or a Bulwark but armed Men that can oppose armed Men. You are equal to the Enemy in Courage, but in the necessity of your present circumstances, which is the last and greatest Weapon you have, you far out-do them. When he had said this, and did as he said, they set up another shout and followed him; making an Attack upon that side where *Postumius Albus* was with his Party: and indeed they made him, though he had then the better of it, give ground, till such time as the Dictator came up to assist his retiring friends: and that turned all the Fight the other way. The fortune of the Enemy depended upon one single Man, which was *Messius*, though there were many wounds on both sides, and a great many Men killed. Nor did the *Roman* General now fight without some loss of blood; but though *Postumius*, and he only, having his head broke with a stone, went out of the Field, yet the Dictator, for all he was wounded in the Arm, nor *Fabius*, though he was almost nailed to his Horse with a thrust through his Thigh, nor the Consul, though his Arm was cut off, would not stir out of so hazardous a Battel.



XXIX. But *Messius* made such an effort through the slaughtered Enemy, with a company of stout young Men about him, that he got into the *Volscian* Camp, which was not yet taken; and thither therefore the whole Army bent their Forces. The Consul pursuing them even to the Rampire, attacked both that and the very Camp it self: whilst the Dictator came up with his Men on the other side. Nor was their storming of the Camp less smart than the Fight had been: and they say the Consul also flung an Ensign over within the Rampire; to make the Soldiers more eager to scale it: and that the first effort was made to regain their Ensign. Mean while the Dictator having broke through the Bulwark, was fighting within the Camp: whereupon the Enemies, most of them, threw down their Arms and surrender'd themselves, being all, except Senators, (now that they and their Camp were taken) sold. Part of the Booty was given to the *Latins* and the *Hernicans*, according as every Man knew what was his own: the rest the Dictator made publick sale of: and having left the Consul to Command in the Camp, he coming with Triumph into the City laid down his Dictatorship. These Authors make the memory of his famous Dictatorship very grievous, who say, that he beheaded his Son for leaving his Post, and fighting without Orders, though he came off with Victory. But I am not apt to believe it, (though among so many Opinions I may if I will) and my reason is, because such severities are called *Imperia Manliana*, not *Postumiana* [i. e. *Manlius's*, not *Postumius's* Commands] and to be sure, he that was the first Author of such a barbarous example, would have the proverbial remark upon his cruelty. *Manlius* was also Surnamed *Imperiosus*, whilst *Postumius* was not distinguished by any infamous title. Mean while *C. Julius* the Consul Dedicated the Temple of *Apollo* in his Collegues absence, without casting Lots for it: which *Quintius* took very ill, and when he had disbanded the Army, returning into the City, complained of it in the Senate, but to no purpose. In this Year which was so signal for great Actions, there happened a business which at that time seemed not at all to concern the Roman State, and that was, that the *Carthaginians*, who were in time to be such mortal Enemies to them, then first sent over an Army into *Sicily* to assist one of the Factions of the *Sicilians* who were then seditionously up in Arms.

XXX. The Tribunes of the People in the City, indeavoured to have Tribunes of the Soldiers created with Consular Authority; but could not obtain their ends. *L. Papirius Crassus*, and *L. Julius* were made Consuls. Then the Embassadors of the *Equi* having desired a League with the *Romans*, (instead of which, the Senate told them they ought to surrender themselves) at last obtained a Truce for eight years. The *Volscian* State, upon the Defeat which they received in *Algidum*, was torn all to pieces with quarrels and seditions among such as stikled for Peace and War: but the *Romans* were at ease on all hands. Then the Consuls hearing by one of the College of Tribunes, who betrayed the secret to them, that the Tribunes had a design to prefer a Bill for the commuting of Mulets [which were formerly taken of Cattel, into Money] they prevented them and did it before, as knowing it would be very acceptable to the People. Then *L. Sergius Fidenas* [a second time] and *Hofus Lucretius Tricipitinus* were Consuls; in whose time there was nothing done worth the speaking of. U. C. 325. To them there succeeded *A. Cornelius Cossus*, and *T. Quintius Pennus*, a second time: in whose U. C. 326. Year the *Veians* made excursions into the Roman Territories. And the report went, that some of the *Fidenean* Youth were concerned in that ravage; which was referred to *L. Sergius*, *Servilius* and *Mamercus* *Emilius* to be inquired into. Whereupon some of them were banished to *Hofia*, because they could not give a good account why they were absent from *Fidene* at that time: and then the *Romans* augmenting that Colony, divided the Lands, that belonged to those who were slain in the War, among them. That Year there was a very great droughth: nor did they want rain only, but the Earth also being bereft of her native moisture, could scarce supply the running streams: insomuch that in some places the defect of water, about those dried Rivers and Fountains, caused a great many Cattel to die for thirst, whilst others were taken off by the murrain. Yea, there was a Contagion very rife at last among Men also, which though at first it seized upon the Country folks and Servants, soon after filled all the City. Nor were their Bodies only infected, but their Minds also with many sorts of Religion, and those most Foreign too; whilst those whose gain it is to make People mad with superstition, introduced new Rites of Artifices and Propheying, into several Families; so long, till the chief of the City were ashamed, when they saw in all the Streets, and Chapels, strange and unufal Offerings made to appease the angry gods. Wherefore the *Aediles* were ordered, To take care that none but Roman gods should be worshipped, nor in any other manner, than what had been the constant usage of their Country. Their revenge upon the *Veians* was deferred till the next Year when *C. Servilius Ahala*, and *L. Papirius Mugilanus* were Consuls. And then too Religion hinder'd them from declaring War so soon as they would have done, or sending out their Armies: for they thought fit to send Heralds first to demand back what was taken from them. They had fought with the *Veians* lately at *Nomentum* and *Fidene* in a pitched Battle; after which they made a Truce only, not a Peace: of which Truce, both the time was out, and they also before the day had risen again up in Arms. Nevertheless the Heralds were sent, but though they swore, after their Country fashion, when they demanded back the Plunder, were not at all regarded. Thereupon arose a Controverfie, Whether the War should be proclaimed by Order of the People, or whether an Order of Senate would be sufficient. At length

length the Tribunes prevailed so far, by threatening that they would hinder the Levy, that the Consuls did refer the declaring of the War to the People, who in all their Centuries allowed from being chosen for the next Year.

There were four Tribunes of the Soldiers created with Consular Authority, that is to say, XXXI. *T. Quintius Pennus*, (sometime Consul) *C. Furius*, *M. Postumius*, and *A. Cornelius Cossus*: of U. C. 328. whom *Cossus* had the Government of the City, and the other three having made a Levy more than one General. For they by inclining each one too much to his own opinion, as being of different Judgments, gave the Enemy an opportunity of doing their business: and accordingly the *Veians*, whilst the Roman Army was at a stand which Officer they should obey, (one ordering the signal to be given for Battle, and another to sound a retreat) took the occasion to fall upon them, and putting them into disorder made them run away; but their Camp being near received them: so that they suffered more disgrace than loss of Men. The City was very sad, as being not used to be Conquered, and hating the Tribunes that red a Dictator, for in such a Person they thought all the Cities hopes lay: but seeing that in that case also Religion hindered them, so that a Dictator could not be declared but by a Consul, the Augurs being consulted removed that scruple. So *A. Cornelius* declared *Mamercus* *Emilius* Dictator, and himself was by him made Master of the Horse: so that as soon as the fortune of the City stood in need of true Courage, the Censors severity was no impediment, but that the Conduct of affairs might be committed to a Person of a branded Family. The *Veians*, proud of their success, sent Embassadors all over *Etruria*, to brag, that they had defeated three Roman Generals in one fight: and though they could not get any of those People formerly to joyn in an alliance with them, yet they now came in as Volunteers, in hopes of booty, from all parts of the Country. Only the *Fideneans* resolved to rise again, and, as though it had been a crime not to begin their War with some wicked action, they having embred their Weapons in the blood of the new Colony then, as of the Embassadors before, associated themselves to the *Veians*. Then the heads of those two Nations consulted, whether they should make *Veii* or *Fidene* the seat of War. *Fidene* seemed the more opportune place; and therefore the *Veians*, passing over the *Tiber*, transferred the War to *Fidene*. There was a great consternation at *Rome*; insomuch that having sent for their Army from *Veii*, which upon the score of its ill success there was much disheartned, they placed their Camp before the Gate *Collina*; and planting Soldiers upon the Walls, they ordered a Stop of Justice in the Forum, all the Shops being shut up, and every thing looking like the face of a Camp more than a City.

Then, seeing the City in so much fear, the Dictator sent Cryers or Beadles through all the Streets to summon the People to an Assembly, wherein he chid them, for being so anxious upon such a slight occasion; that they should fear the *Veians* whom they had so often conquered, upon the account of so small a loss which they had received (and that too not through the Courage of the Enemy, or the sloth of the Roman Army, but the dissention of the Generals among themselves) or *Fidene* either, which they had taken even almost more often than they had attacked it. That the Romans and the Enemies were the same Men they had been for so many Ages; having the same Courage, the same strength of Body, and the same Arms: and that he also was the same Dictator, *Mamercus* *Emilius*, who formerly defeated the Armies of the *Veians* and *Fidenates*; yea, when the *Faliscans* too were joyned with them, at *Nomentum*. Besides which, that *A. Cornelius* would be Master of the Horse and in the Army, being the same Person, who in the former War being a Tribune of the Soldiers, when *L. Tolumnius* King of the *Veians* was slain in sight of the two Armies, brought the rich spoils into the Temple of *Jupiter Feretrius*. Wherefore remembering that Triumphs, and Spoils, and Victory, were all on your side; and on the Enemies part a great deal of guilt for their horrid crimes, murdering the Embassadors against the Law of Nations, killing the Colony at *Fidene* in time of Peace, breaking the Truce, and that their seventh unhappy defection, he advised them to take up their Arms: and told them, he was confident, that as soon as ever they had joyned Camp to Camp, the wicked Enemy would not only quickly cease to Triumph in the ignominy of the Roman Army, but the Roman People likewise would understand, how much better they deserved of the Commonwealth that made him the third time Dictator, than they, who because he abrogated the tyrannical Power of the Censors, would have laid a blot upon his second Dictatorship. Then having made his Vows he marched forth, and pitched his Camp a thousand and five hundred left by the River *Tiber*. He therefore commanded *T. Quintius Pennus* to take possession of the Mountains, and plant himself privately upon that part of them which was behind the Enemies: and himself the next day, seeing the *Etrurians* march forth full of Courage upon the account of their former success which was owing to a good occasion rather than any thing which they did, he having staid a little while too, till his Scouts brought word that *Quintius* Body of Foot in Battalia at an ordinary rate of marching against the Enemy: commanding the Master of the Horse, That he should not begin the fight without his order: for that he, when there was any need of the Horses coming in, would give the signal: and likewise, that remembering

the fight with the King, the rich Offering, Romulus and Jupiter Feretrius, and behave himself accordingly. The Legions engaged with a mighty force, and the Romans being incensed with indignation, called the Fidenians Villains, the Veians Robbers, but both of them Truce-breakers, and saying, that they were polluted with the barbarous slaughter of their Embassadors; that they were embued with the blood of their Colony, being perfidious Allies, and cowardly Enemies, revenging themselves upon them both by words and deeds.

XXXIII.

For immediately upon the first onset they had shock'd the Enemy; when on a sudden, the Gates of Fidenæ being opened, a new Army fallied forth, which came in such a manner as had never been heard of or in use before that time: for a great Multitude, all armed with fire, and blazing all over with burning Torches, ran furiously upon the Enemy as though they had been mad: which strange kind of fighting did for some time a little startle the Romans. Then the Dictator sending for the Master of the Horse with his Cavalry, and likewise for Quintius out of the Mountains, himself ran up to the left Wing, which being affrighted at the flames, that lookt more like a Town on fire, than an Army, and with a loud voice spoke to them in this manner: Will you yield to an unarmed Enemy, and be driven away from your Post like an hive of Bees with smoke? Will you not extinguish their fires with your swords? Will you not take these very Torches, if you must fight with fire and not with any other more proper Weapons, away from them, each of you one, and manage them your selves against the Enemy? Courage, remember the Roman name, the valour of your Fathers and your own, and turn this fire upon the Enemies City; demolish Fidenæ with its own flames, which by your kindness you could not reconcile: the blood of your Embassadors, and of your Colony, besides your Plundered Country exacts this at your hands. With that upon the Dictators Command all the Army was moved; and the Torches were partly received as they were thrown at them, and partly taken away from the Enemy by force; so that both Armies were now armed with fire. The Master of the Horse also put the Horse too upon a new way of fighting; Commanding them to take their Horses Bridles off; and he himself was the first, that setting Spurs to his Horse rode without a Bridle into the midst of the fires: all the other Horses charging up full speed to the Enemy in the same manner. By which means the dust being raised and mingled with the smoke, made the Men and their Horses too almost blind; but that which frightened the Riders, did not at all scare the Horses: so that wherever they attacked the Foe, the Horsemen made a slaughter, like a general ruin. Then there was heard a new noise, which, seeing it startled both the Armies, the Dictator cried out; that Quintius the Lieutenant, and his Men had set upon the Enemies Rere, whilst he himself, with another shout, fell on more briskly than before. And now, since two Armies, and those in two different kinds, press'd hard upon the Etrurians both before and behind, so that they had no way to escape, either into their Camp, or back to the Mountains, from whence the fresh forces came down upon them, the Horses, which were unbridled, having scattered their Riders into all parts, the Veians, most of them, ran toward the Tiber, and the Fidenians, all that were alive, made toward Fidenæ. But, being in a consternation, their flight only exposed them to the fury of their Enemy; and they were killed upon the banks of the River: some of them, who were forced into it, being sucked in by the Whirlpools, and even those who could swim, being so weary, so mortally wounded, and in such a fear, that they sunk. Some few indeed among many got over, whilst the others fled through their Camp into the City, whither the Romans also followed them as fast; especially Quintius, and his Men, that came so lately from the Mountains, who were best able to undergo the fatigue, because they came last into the fight.

XXXIV.

They therefore having mix'd themselves among the Enemy, and got into the Gate, climb'd up upon the Walls, from whence they gave their friends the signal of the Towns being taken: which when the Dictator saw (for by this time he himself also was come into the Enemies deserted Camp) he led his Men, who would fain have fallen on plundering, to the Gate, in hopes, as he persuaded them, that they should have more Booty in the City. So, being received within the Walls, he marched to the Castle, whither he saw the crowd of the Enemies run. Nor was there less slaughter in the City than there had been in the Fight, till throwing down their Arms, they desired nothing else save their lives only, and surrendered themselves to the Dictator. Thereupon they rifled all the Camp and City; and the next day each Horseman and Centurion having one Captive, which they cast Lots for, and those who had behaved themselves extraordinarily, two, the rest were publicly sold, and the Dictator led his Victorious Army, laden with spoils, in Triumph back to Rome. Where ordering the Master of the Horse to quit his Office, he himself also laid down his the sixteenth day, restoring that Command in Peace, which he had taken in War upon a crisis of State. There are some Authors, that will tell you, there was also a Naval Engagement with the Veians at Fidenæ; a thing not only difficult, but incredible; for the River is not broad enough even at this day for such a Fight, which at that time, as I have it from ancient Writers, was somewhat narrower: unless perchance, whilst they magnifie (as People use) the concurrence of Ships to hinder the Enemies passing over the River, they had a mind to make you believe a strange Story of a Naval Victory.

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The following Year produced Tribunes Military with Consular Power, whose names were A. Sempronius Atratinus, L. Quintius Cincinnatus, L. Furius Medullinus, and L. Horatius Barbatus. In whose time the Veians had a Truce granted them for twenty Years, and the Aequi for three, though they desired to have it of a longer date; the City being now free from all Seditions. The next Year was very remarkable; for there was not any War abroad, or Sedition at home, but the Games, which were vow'd in the War being then celebrated made it extraordinarily signal upon the account of the preparations, which the Tribunes Military made, and the great concourse of neighbouring Nations. The Tribunes had Consular Power, and their names were, A. Claudius Crassus, Sp. Nautius Rutilus, T. Sergius Fidenes, and Sex. Julius Fulus: and the show was more grateful to the strangers, who came to it by publick consent, upon the score of their civil entertainment. After the Games were over, there were seditious Assemblies of the Tribunes of the People, who chid the Multitude, for that they, standing in admiration of those whom they hated, kept themselves in eternal slavery; and, besides that they durst aspire to any hopes of ever gaining the Consulate, did not so much as remember themselves or their friends even in the case of choosing Tribunes Military; which was to be done in a common Assembly both of the Senate and People. Wherefore they might well cease to wonder, why no body talked of the interest of the People: for People used to be at the expence of labour and danger in no affairs, save where there were some hopes of profit or honour: but Men would attempt any thing, if the reward would answer the greatness of the enterprise. If a Tribune of the People should run himself, like a blind Man, into quarrels and great danger to no purpose; for which he were sure, that the Senate, against whom he contended, would persecute him with an irreconcilable hatred, he should not be a whit the more esteemed among those very Commons upon whose score he engaged: no, that's a thing that he must neither hope nor desire. That great seals are made by great honours; and that no Plebeian, since they were now in general no longer contemned, ought to contemn or disparage himself, but try in one or two instances, whether any Plebeian were fit to bear any great and honourable Office, or whether it were a Prodigy and a Miracle for any stout and brave Man to be found among the Commons. That it was obtained by mere dint of resolution, that the Tribunes of the Soldiers should be invested with Power Consular, and chosen out of the People: and that several Men had sought that honour who had behaved themselves very well both at home and abroad: but for all that, they, the first Years, were lashed with Satyr, repulsed and laughed at by the Senate, insomuch that they at last thought fit no longer to expose themselves to contumely. Nor did he see any reason why that Law should not be abrogated, which made that lawful which was never likely to be put in execution: for there would be less ground for shame if there were no such just and reasonable constitution, than there is now, when Men are past by out of contempt.

This and such kind of speeches, heard with applause, incited some Men to sue for the Tribuneship of the Soldiers, who professed, each one of them, they would do something in their time for the good of the Commons. They gave the People some hopes, that the publick Lands should be divided amongst them, and new Colonies Planted; besides an overture, that a Tax should be laid upon the Tenants of such Lands, out of which the Soldiers should be paid. But then the Tribunes of the Soldiery took an occasion, when People went into the Country, to summon the Senators back against a certain day, and make an Order of Senate in the absence of the Tribunes of the People; contriving the matter so, that, since there was a report, that the Volsci were gone out a foraging into the Territories of the Hernicians, they themselves might be employed to see what the business was, and a Consular Assembly be held in the mean time. When they marched out they left Appius Claudius, Son of the Decemvir, Governor of the City; who from his very Cradle had a natural hatred to the Tribunes and the People: and by this means the Tribunes of the People had no opportunity to quarrel (the thing being effected) either with them, who were absent, though they had made the Order of Senate, or with Appius.

Then C. Sempronius Atratinus, and Q. Fabius Vibulanus were made Consuls; in whose Year a Foreign thing, but very well worth our observation, is said to have been done: and that is, that Vulturum, a City of the Etrurians, now called Capua, was taken by the Samnites, having its present appellation from their General, whose name was Capys, or (which is more likely) from Campus which signifies a Champaign place. The Samnites took it, after they had first tired the Etrurians out with a long fatigue of War, and were made sharers both in the privileges of the City and the Lands therunto belonging: for then, upon an Holy-day, in the night time, the new Inhabitants killed the old ones when they were drunk and asleep. When this was done, the Consuls, that I just now spoke of, began their Magistracy upon the Ides [i.e. the 13th] of December. And now not only they that were sent upon that errand, brought word the Volscian War was at hand, but Embassadors also from the Latins and the Hernici told the news; that the Volsci were never more intent upon their choice of Officers, or raising an Army; for that the common People generally murmured and said, that either they must for ever lay by their Arms, and not think of a War, but take the yoke upon their necks; or else not yield to those with whom they contended for Empire, either in Courage, Resolution, or Military Discipline. This was no slight report; though the Senate was not so much concerned at it; and C. Sempronius, to whose Lot that Province happened to fall, relying upon Fortune, as his most constant

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constant friend, because he led a Conquering Army against a Conquered Nation, carried every thing very rashly and negligently: insomuch that there was more of the *Roman Discipline* in the *Volscian*, than in the *Roman Army*; wherefore Fortune, as often it uses to do, attended upon their industry. The first time, *Sempronius* joyned Battel without any caution, or advice, and they engaged before they strengthened themselves with reserves, or Posted their Horse as they should have done. The extraordinary and frequent shouts made by the Enemy was the first argument which way the business was like to go; for the *Romans* made a confused, unequal, faint, though often repeated noise, and by their uncertain clamors betrayed the fear of their minds. For that reason the Enemy came on the more briskly, pressing forward with their Shields, and brandishing their glittering Swords. On the other side the *Romans* shew'd by the motion of their Helmets that they look'd behind them; for they were at a stand and trembled, retiring to the Body of the Army. By which means, the Ensigns of them that fought were either quite deserted by the *Antesignani* [such as fought in the Front, before the Ensigns] or received into the Maniples [i.e. Companies of Soldiers, whose Ensigns were anciently Bottles of Hay;] so that neither their flight was certain, and determined any more than the Victory, but the *Romans* seemed to be rather protected than to fight. Mean while the *Volsci* bore up, and lying very hard upon them, saw more likelihood of their killing all the Enemy, than that they would run away.

XXXVIII. And now the *Romans* gave ground on all sides, though *Sempronius* the Consul chid and exhorted them; for neither his Command nor Authority prevailed upon them; and they had certainly soon turned their backs upon the *Foe*, had not *Sext. Tempanius* a Decurion [somewhat like a Sergeant or Corporal in our Forces, [one that had the Command or Regulating of ten Men] when they were just a going, recovered them by his Courage. For he having cried out, That all those Horsemen, who desired the preservation of the Commonwealth, should alight off their Horses, all the Troops were as much moved, as it had been at the Consuls Command; and then he told them, If this Party, said he, does not give a check to the Enemies career, the Empire's ruined. Follow then, said he, my Spear instead of a Standard, and show both the *Romans* and the *Volsci*, that there are neither any Horse like you on Horseback, or any Foot equal to you when on Foot. His exhortation was approved by a shout, he going with his Spear up aloft, they forced their way wherever they went. But they made, with their Shields before them, to that part most, where they saw their own Men most put to it: by which means the Fight was restored in all places where they came in; nor was there any question, but, seeing so few could do the whole business of the day, the Enemies would turn their backs.

XXXIX. Now therefore seeing they were too strong for him in all parts, the *Volscian* General gave Order, that his Men should make way for those new Footmen of the Enemies, till such time as they were carried in so far among them as to be cut off from their own Army. Which being accordingly done, they were enclosed, and could not get back the same way they came, because the Enemy had doubled their Files upon them to obstruct their return. The Consul therefore and the *Roman* Legions, having lost the fight of those who were so lately the defence of the whole Army, left the Enemy should destroy so many brave fellows by so enclosing them, ventured into any danger. Whereupon the *Volsci* being divided several ways to receive the Consul with the Legions on the one hand, and on the other to press upon *Tempanius* with the Horsemen (who seeing, though they had made several attempts, they could not break through to their own Party, got upon a small Bank and defended themselves in a circular posture, nor were unrevenge'd of the Enemy) the Fight continued till night. For the Consul, following his blow on all sides, as long as there was any day-light, kept the Enemy in play, till night parted them upon an even lay; each Army being in such a taking to think of the uncertain event of the Battel, that leaving their wounded Men and great part of their Carriages, both of them fled, as though they had been Conquered, into the adjacent Mountains. But yet, the Bank was surrounded till after midnight; though when the news was brought to them that fate about it, that their Camp was deserted, they fancying their Army to be Conquered, themselves ran which way soever their fear, in the dark, carried them. *Tempanius* for fear of a wile, kept his Men there till day; and then going himself with a few after him to see how things stood, he, understanding by the wounded Persons belonging to the Enemy, that the *Volscian* Camp was deserted, called the rest of his Men with joy down from the Bank, and went quite through into the *Roman* Camp. Where when he saw all things lying waste and forsaken, as he found it in the Enemies Camp, before the *Volsci* knew their error and came back, he taking as many of the wounded as he could along with him, as being ignorant which way the Consul was gone, marched the nearest way toward the City.

XL. The report of their ill success, and of the Camps being deserted, was brought to Town before-hand: and above all, the Horsemen were lamented not with private more than public grief. *Fabius* the Consul (for the City too was in a great fear) kept a Guard before the Gates: who when they saw the Horsemen at a distance, not knowing who they were, at first were terrified, but soon after discovering them to be friends, turned their fear into so much joy, that a shout ran through the whole City, congratulating the safe and Victorious return of the Horsemen: and instead of mourning in their Houses, as they had done a little before, when they

they gave them up for lost, the People ran out into the Streets; yea, their fearful Mothers and Wives, forgetting the Rules of decency through their excess of joy, ran to meet the Troop, embracing them not only with their Bodies but their very Souls also, so (almost) mad they were for joy. The Tribunes of the People therefore, who had assigned a day for the Tryal of *M. Postumius*, and *T. Quintius*, for that by their means the Battel was lost at *Veii*, took an occasion, by this fresh quarrel against *Sempronius* the Consul, to renew their former grudge against them. Wherefore calling an Assembly, when they had declared aloud, That the Commonwealth was betrayed at *Veii* by the then Generals, and that, because they escaped unpunished, the Army was likewise betrayed in the *Volscian* Territories by the Consul; and the stout Horsemen being delivered up to be butchered, and the Camp basely deserted; *C. Julius*, one of the Tribunes, commanded *Tempanius* the Horseman to be called, and before them, said, *Sext. Tempanius*, I desire to know of you, whether you think, that *C. Sempronius* the Consul did either enter into the Battel in time, or fortifie the Army with reserves? yea, that he did any good office belonging to a good Consul? and whether you your self did not, when the *Roman* Legions were defeated, make your Horsemen alight, by that means recovering the fight? Then, when you were shut out from the rest of our Army, whether the Consul either himself came, or sent any body else, to assist you? In fine, whether the next day you had any succours at all? or whether you and your Men did not by pure Courage break through into their Camp? whether you find any Consul, or e'er an Army there? or whether you found the Camp deserted, and the wounded Soldiers left behind? This you must tell us, at this time, upon your faith, and the reputation of that Courage to which alone the Commonwealth in this War owes its preservation. Besides which, we must know, where *C. Sempronius* and our Legions are? whether you were deserted or did desert the Consul and the Army? and lastly, Whether we are Conquered or Conquerors?

In answer hereunto *Tempanius*, they say, made indeed a rough Speech, but it was grave, as became a Soldier, and neither stuffed with his own praises, nor swelled with accusations against others. For he told them, It was not for a private Soldier to judge what the abilities of *C. Sempronius* his General, were in point of Military Discipline; but the *Roman* People should have look'd to that when they in their Assembly chose him Consul. Wherefore he begged of them, that they would not expect to know of him what his Commanders designs were, or what measures Consuls ought to take, those being weighty matters to be considered by Men of great Parts and Understanding; but what he saw he could tell them. He saw the Consul, before he himself was inclosed by the *Foe*, fighting in the Front of the Battel; encouraging the Men amidst the *Roman* Ensigns and the Enemies Arms: and that afterward when he was out of sight of his own Countrymen, yet by the noise and shouts that they made, he perceived that the Battel was continued till night: nor did he believe it possible for them to break through so far as the Bank, where he lay, for the vast multitude of the Enemy. That he did not know where the Army was; but he supposed, that, as he, when his circumstances were so bad, had secured himself in a well guarded Post, so the Consul, to preserve his Army, had taken some safer place to encamp in. Nor did he believe, that the *Volsci* were in any better condition than the *Romans*; but that the night put them all under the same mistake: with that, desiring that they would not detain him any longer, as being tired and faint with the fatigue of the War, and his wounds that he had received, he was dismissed with no less commendation for his Moderation than his Courage. Whilst these things were transacted at *Rome*, the Consul was now got in the Rode to *Lavicum* as far as the Temple of *Rest*: to which place they sent Wagons and other conveniences from the City to meet the Army which was weary with fighting and marching in the night time. Soon after the Consul came into the City, where he took as much care to give *Tempanius* his due commendations, as he did to clear himself. But the City being much concerned for their ill fortune, and angry with the chief Officers, *M. Postumius* who had been Tribune of the Soldiery, instead of Consul, at *Veii* (to satisfy them) was Tried and Condemned in a Fine of ten thousand *L.* though all the Tribes acquitted *T. Quintius*, his Collegue (because he had been prosperous not only when he was Consul against the *Volsci*, under the Command of the Dictator *Postumius Tubertus*, but at *Fidenæ* too, when he was Lieutenant to another Dictator, *Mamercus Emilius*) as laying all the blame of that affair upon *Postumius* who was before Condemned. Some say, that the memory of his Father *Cincinnatus* did him a great kindness, who was a venerable Person, besides the intercession of an old Gentleman, called *Capitolinus Quintius*, who begged of them, that they would not let him, who had so little time to live, carry such a sad message, as the Condemnation of a Son, to his Brother *Cincinnatus* in the other World.

The People made *Sext. Tempanius*, *A. Sellius*, *L. Antistius*, and *Sp. Icilius* Tribunes of the People, in their absence: the Horsemen having chosen them before for their Centurions [i.e. Captains] by the advice of *Tempanius*. The Senate being offended, out of hatred to *Sempronius*, with the very name of Consul, ordered Tribunes Military to be created with Consular Authority. Accordingly *L. Manlius Capitolinus*, *Q. Antonius Merenda*, and *L. Papirius Mugillanus* were chosen: In the beginning of whose Year, *L. Hortensius*, a Tribune of the People, appointed *C. Sempronius*, who was Consul the Year before, a day for Tryal: and when his four Collegues, in the face of all the *Roman* People, desired of him, That he would not vex their innocent General, who had no other fault save only ill fortune; *Hortensius* could hardly bear it, supposing that they did it to try his resolution, and that the offender did not trust so much

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to the intreaties of the Tribunes, which were made for shew only, as to their assistance. Wherefore turning sometimes to him, he asked, *Where were those Patrician spirits, where was that mind that relied upon and trusted to its own innocency?* and said, *That under a shew of Tribuneship there lay a Consular Design: and anon to his Collegues; And what will you do, if I Condemn him? Will you wrest your right from the People, and overthrow the Tribunitian Power of the Commons?* To which when they replied, *That the People of Rome had the sovereign Power, not only over Sempronius, but any other Person also: wherefore, that they neither would nor could take away the jurisdiction of the Commons; but, if their Prayers would not prevail for their General, who was as dear to them as a Father; they would change Cloaths with him.* Hortensius made answer, and said, *The People of Rome shall never see their Tribunes in such a sordid habit. I do not value the pardoning of C. Sempronius, since he has gained so much in his Generalship, as to be beloved by the Soldiers.* In this case the piety and good nature of the four Tribunes was not more pleasing to the Senate and the People, than was the disposition of Hortensius, who was so easily appeased upon their just intreaties. But now fortune no longer indulged the *Aequi*, who had taken the doubtful Victory of the *Volsi* for their own.

XLIII. U. C. 333. The next Year, when Numerius Fabius Vibulanus, and T. Quintius Capitolinus, the Son of Capitolinus, were Consuls, under the Conduct of Fabius, to whose share that Province fell, there was nothing done worth the speaking of; in that the *Aequi* did no more than shew a frightened Army, before they were put to a dishonourable flight, though with no great reputation to the Consul: to whom a full Triumph was for that reason denied. But, because he had taken off the ignominy of Sempronius's defeat, it was allowed that he should come into the City Ovant [*i. e.* with a lesser sort of Triumph.]. As the War was ended with less ado than they feared; so in the City a sudden heap of Discords arose between the Senate and the People, which sprung from the number of the Questors being doubled: which thing (that, besides the two City Questors, there should be two more to assist the Consuls in Military Affairs) being proposed by the Consuls, the Senate very much approved; but the Tribunes of the People, in opposition to the Consuls, would needs have part of the Questors (who to that time had been all Patricians) chosen out of the Commons. Which demand of theirs was at first denied with all the vehemency imaginable both by the Senate and the Consuls; though afterward yielding, that as they had made Tribunes with Consular Authority, so the People should have the same liberty in chusing of Questors, but seeing that they got little by it, they laid down the whole business of augmenting the number of Questors. The Tribunes took it up again, adding unto some other Seditious pretensions also; among which was that of the Agrarian Law. Upon account of which commotions, the Senate being more inclined to make Consuls than Tribunes, and yet there could not any Order of Senate be made for the interposition of the Tribunes, the Commonwealth returned from Consular Government to an Interregnum, but that not without great contention; the Tribunes hindering the Patricians to assemble. When therefore part of the new Year had been spent by the new Tribunes of the People and some Interreges [*i. e.* Persons that governed in the time when there was no Chief Magistrate] the Tribunes one while hindering the Patricians from having any Assembly to make an Interrex, and another while interrupting the Interrex, so that he could not make an Order of Senate for the holding of a Consular Assembly. At last L. Papirius Mugillanus being declared Interrex, by rebuking sometimes the Senators, and other-whiles the Tribunes of the People, told them, that the Commonwealth, though deserted and neglected by Men, was taken care of by the Providence of the Gods, and stood upon the Truce made with the *Veians*, and the delays of the *Aequi*. So that if there should be any danger, they must be ruined without a Patrician Magistrate; for that there was no Army, nor General to raise any. Would they keep off a Foreign by a Civil War? Which if they should happen together, the very Gods themselves were scarce able to preserve the Roman State from ruin. He therefore advised them rather to remit each of them something of their Priviledges, and by a middle way make up their breach; the Senate by suffering Tribunes Military to be made instead of Consuls; and the Tribunes of the People by permitting four Questors to be chosen promiscuously out of the Senate and the Commons by a free Vote of the People.

XLIV. U. C. 335. First then a Tribunitial Assembly was held, and Tribunes made with Consular Power, all Patricians, whose names were, L. Quintius Cincinnatus (the third time) Sex. Furius Medullinus (the second time) M. Manlius, and A. Sempronius Atratinus. Which last having called an Assembly for the chusing of Questors, and the Son of Antistius, a Tribune of the People, standing for the place, among other Plebeians, together with the Brother of another Tribune of the People, called Sex. Pompilius, neither their Authority nor their Votes carried it; but they preferred them whose Fathers and Grandfathers they had known Consuls upon the score of their Birth. Whereupon all the Tribunes of the People were enraged, and above all Pompilius and Antistius, being incensed at the repulse which their Relations met withall; crying out, *What was the meaning of that? Could not any Plebeian either for the good turns they had done, or upon the score of injuries done to them by the Senate, or lastly for the pleasure of using their Authority, now that it was lawful to do what formerly they could not have done, (if not a Tribune Military) be made so much as a Questor? Could not a Fathers intreaties for his Son, or a Brothers* for

for his Brother, even from Men that were Tribunes of the People, which was an Office whose sacred Authority was created for the preservation of the Peoples Liberty. Sure there was fraud in the case, and A. Sempronius shewed more art than honesty in that Assembly; and their relations were put by the Honour through his contrivance. Wherefore seeing they could do no good up on him, who was not only safe in his own innocency, but in the Authority he then had; they turned their malice upon C. Sempronius, Atratinus's Cousin-German: to whom, for the ignominy which they suffered upon account of the *Volsian* War, they, with the assistance of their Collegue M. Canuleius, assigned a day of Tryal. The same Tribunes also ever and anon made mention in the Senate of dividing the Lands, to which Proposal C. Sempronius had always been a bitter Enemy; supposing as it happened, that either he would lay down his Cause and so grow less esteemed by the Senate, or persevering in it 'till the time of his Tryal, would more and more offend the Commons. But he chose rather to be the object of his Adversaries envy, than be wanting in his duty to the publick; continuing in the same opinion, that no largesse should be made to ingratiate those three Tribunes among the People: saying, *That they did not then desire the Lands for the Commons, but sought an occasion to make him odious: yet he would undergo even that tempest too with a stout heart; for neither he nor any other Citizen ought to be so dear to the Senate, as that they, to favour one Man, should do a publick injury.* He therefore, keeping up his Spirit, when the day came, pleaded his own Cause; but though the Senate tried all ways to mitigate the Peoples fury, was Condemned in a Fine of fifteen thousand Sesterces. The same Year Postumia, a Vestal Virgin, was Tried for unchastity, who though she were innocent, yet was suspected to be guilty, because she went finer and was more gay in her conversation than became a modest Maid. Wherefore her Tryal was first put off 'till another day, and then she was acquitted by the opinion of the College, though the Pontifex Maximus, or Chief-Priest, told her, *She must leave her Gayety, and dress herself modestly rather than modishly.* The same Year also Cumæ, a City which the Greeks were then Masters of, was taken by the *Campanians*.

The Year following Agrippa Menenius Lanatus, P. Lucretius Tricipitinus, Sp. Nautius, and C. Servilius were Tribunes of the Soldiery with Authority Consular. But this Year was more remarkable for a great deliverance which the Romans had from danger, than for any hurt which they received. The Servants had conspired to set the City on fire in several distant places; and whilst the People were employed in helping to quench it, resolved in Arms to seize the Castle and the Capitol. But Jupiter averted these damned Designs; and the Conspirators, who were discovered by two of the Gang, suffered for it; the informers being rewarded with ten thousand Sesterces (which then was thought an Estate) besides their freedom. Then the War from the *Aequi* began to be renewed, and the new *Lavican* Enemies to join with the old ones; which was told at Rome for a certain truth. And indeed the City expected a War from the *Aequi* as much as they did any Anniversary. Then Embassadors, that were sent to *Lavici* [a Town in *Latiūm*] having brought thence a doubtful answer, whereby it appeared, that there was no preparations yet made for a War, though the Peace with them would not long continue: the *Tusculans* were ordered to take care, that no new tumult should arise in that Town. The next Year, when L. Sergius Fidenas, M. Papirius Mugillanus, and C. Servilius, the Son of Priscus (in whose Dictatorship Fidenas was taken) were Tribunes of the Soldiery with Consular Authority, there came Embassadors to them, as soon as they entered upon their Office, from *Tusculum*, with news, that the *Lavicans* were up in Arms, and having, with the *Aequian* Forces, ravaged the *Tusculan* Fields, had pitched their Camp in *Algidum*. Whereupon there was a War Proclaimed against the *Lavicans*; but after an Order of Senate was made, That two of the Tribunes should go to the Wars, and the other look after their affairs at Rome, there presently happened a dispute between the Tribunes, each of them thinking himself the fittest Man to be a General, and despising the care of the City as ungrateful and inglorious. When the Senate saw that undecent contention between the Collegues, they all wondered at it, but Qu. Servilius told them, *Seeing you have neither any reverence for this honourable Order, nor respect to the Commonwealth, the Authority of a Father shall decide this Controversie: my Son shall be Governour of the City without casting Lots for it; and I wish those that desire to go to the Wars may behave themselves more considerately, and shew more concord than they do in the pursuit of their desires.*

But they ordered a Levy to be made, not out of all the People in general, only ten Tribes being allotted; out of which they Lifted all the young Men, whom the two Tribunes led to the War. The contention which began between them in the City grew much hotter in the Camp through the same ambition of being chief. For they were not of the same opinion in any point, but defended each his own Sentiments, and would have his own Designs and Commands to be alone authentick. In short, they contemned and were contemned by each other, 'till the Lieutenants reproving them for it, at last it was so ordered, that they should have the Sovereign Power by turns every other day. Which news being brought to Rome, they lay, Qu. Servilius, a Person of years and experience in the World, beseeched the Gods, That the Discord of those Tribunes might not prove more fatal to the Commonwealth than that at *Veii*: and, as if he foresaw that ill fortune should certainly attend them, was urgent with his Son, to raise more Men and provide more Arms. Nor was he a false Prophet: for

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for under the Conduct of *L. Sergius*, when it was his day to govern, having got into an inconvenient place near the Enemies Camp (for the Enemy pretending fear, was retired into their Trenches; by which means they were drawn thither in vain hopes of taking the Camp) they were driven by a sudden effort of the *Aequi* upon them down a declining Valley, many of them being destroyed and slain as they tumbled headlong one over another, their defeat looking more like a ruin than a flight. Whereupon the next day, their Camp, which even that day they were hardly able to maintain, being great part of it surrounded by the Enemy, they basely forsook, and ran away from it out at the back Gate: the Generals and the Lieutenants with all the Forces that were about the Ensigns going to *Tusculum*. The rest stragling about the Country several ways, went to *Rome* and carried news of a greater misfortune than they had really suffered. At which the City was the less concerned, because the event was answerable to all Peoples apprehensions, and because there were supplies provided by the Tribune of the Soldiery to assist them in such dangerous circumstances. And by his Order also, when the inferior Magistrates had quieted the City tumults, there were Scouts sent with all speed, who brought word, that the Generals and the Army were at *Tusculum*, but that the Enemy had not moved their Camp out of the place. But that which gave them most encouragement, was, that *Q. Servilius Priscus*, being declared Dictator by an Order of Senate (being a Person whose providence and foresight in things belonging to the publick as the City had many times before had experience of, so especially in the event of that War, he being the only Man who had an ill opinion of the contention between the Tribunes before their overthrow) and having made his own Son (that Tribune of the Soldiery by whom himself was declared Dictator) Master of the Horse (as some say, though others write, that *Abala Servilius* was Master of the Horse that Year) went to the War with a new Army, and sending for them who were at *Tusculum*, pitched his Camp two thousand paces from the Enemy.

XLVII. And now the pride and negligence which had been in the Roman Generals was, upon the score of their success, got into the *Aequi*. Wherefore the Dictator having at the very beginning of the fight, by sending his Horse in upon them, put the Enemies Van into disorder, he ordered the Legions immediately to advance; killing one of his Ensign-bearers for not making haste. And so eager they were to fight, that the *Aequi* could not sustain the shock; but being defeated in the Field, and making as fast as they could toward their Camp, the Romans took that in less time and with more ease than they had fought the Battle. Their Camp therefore being taken and rifled, when the Dictator had given the Soldiers the Plunder, and the Horse, who pursued the Enemy flying from their Camp, brought word back that all the *Lavicans* were vanquished, and a great part of the *Aequi* fled to *Lavici*; the next day the Army was led to *Lavici*, and the Town being begirt was taken with Ladders and Pillaged. Then the Dictator marched with his victorious Army back to *Rome*, laid down his Office the eighth day after he was created. Thereupon the Senate very opportunely, before the Tribunes of the People could make any Agrarian tumults about dividing the Lands belonging to the *Lavicans*, thought fit, in a full House, to send a Colony to *Lavici*: and accordingly a thousand five hundred Planters, who were sent from the City, had each of them two Acres apiece. When *Lavici* was now taken, and after that, Tribunes of the Soldiery created with Consular Authority, whose names this Year were *Agrippa Menenius Lanatus*, *L. Servilius Structus*, *P. Lucretius Tricipitinus* (who had all of them born that Office once before) and *Sp. Rutilius Crassus*, and the next Year *A. Sempronius Atratinus* (a third time) and *M. Papirius Mugillanus*, with *Sp. Nautius Rutilus* (a second time) there was Peace abroad for those two Years together, though Discord at home by means of the Agrarian Laws.

XLVIII. The disturbers of the Commons were *Sp. Maelius* (a fourth time) and *Metilius* (a third time) Tribunes of the People, who were both created in their absence. These two having promulgated a Law, That the Lands taken from the Enemy should be divided among the People to each man his share, and the Estates of a great many Noblemen like to be by that popular Decree taken from them (for there was hardly any spot of ground, (as belonging to a City Founded in anothers Dominions) but what was got by force of Arms; nor any ever assigned or sold, but what the People had) the proposed dispute seemed very severe both to the People and the Senate. Nor could the Tribunes of the Soldiery, though they sometimes spoke of it in the Senate, and sometimes at private Consults among the chief of the City, find out any expedient, till *Appius Claudius*, the Grandson of him who was Decemvir for making of Laws, (though the youngest Man at that time in the Senate-house) as 'tis reported, said, He had an old and a familiar remedy to tell them: and that was, that his Great Grandfather *Appius Claudius* shewed the Senate the only way to dissolve the Tribunes Power, to wit, by the interposition of their Collegues. For new Men would easily be brought from their opinions by the authority of their Chiefs: especially if a Man sometimes have more regard, in what he says, to time, than authority: their minds being always like their fortunes. Now therefore, since they saw the principal Collegues had got so far before the rest into the Peoples favour by their cunning management, so that there was no room now left for them, they would not stick to comply with the Senate in any thing, whereby to oblige that whole Order, and the chief of the Senators in particular. This all approved of, and especially *Q. Servilius Priscus*; who commended the young Man for that

he did not degenerate from the *Claudian* Race, and in pursuance of it, agreed, that every one should tempt as many of the College of Tribunes as he could to an Interposition. The Senate therefore being dismissed, the Tribunes were courted by the Nobility; with persuasions, advice and promises, That it would not only be an acceptable thing to every single Person, but to the Senate in general, they brought over six to make an Interposition. And the next day, when there was a reference made, by compact, to the Senate, touching the Sedition which *Maelius* and *Metilius* were raising by a largess which would prove of very bad example; there were such Speeches made by the chief of the Senate, that they all said they could not tell what to do for themselves; for they did not see any other help for them, save in the assistance of the Tribunes. That the Commonwealth, being now oppressed, fled, like some private poor Man, to them for protection. That it was a glorious thing for them, and an honour to their authority (not to vex the Senate, and make discord between the several Orders, but) that they had more strength than was sufficient to resist their wicked Collegues. With that there was a great humming through all the Senate, whilst the Tribunes were called to from all parts of the House. At length, when they had made silence, those who were prepared by the Nobility, declared, that they would oppose that Bill which their Collegues had promulgated, because the Senate was of opinion that it would be the ruin of the Commonwealth. The Senate thanked those Intercessors; whom the preferrers of that Bill (in an Assembly which they summoned) calling, Betrayers of the Peoples Interest, and Slaves to Consular Men, with other the like invectives, laid down their pretensions.

The next Year had produced two continual Wars, (when *P. Cornelius Cossus*, *C. Valerius Potitus*, *Quintius Cincinnatus*, and *Numerius Fabius Vibulanus* were Tribunes of the Soldiery with Consular Authority) had not the *Veian* War been deferred through the superstition of the Nobility; whose Lands the *Tiber*, overflowing its Banks, had most of all laid waste by the ruins of several Villages. And then at the same time also the defeat which the *Aequi* received three Years before, kept them from aiding the *Volans*, a People of their Country. For they had made excursions into the adjacent Territories belonging to *Lavicum*, and brought a War upon the new Colony there. Which injury though they hoped they should defend by the consent of all the *Aequi*, they were deserted by their Country-men, and lost both their Town and Country without so much as a memorable War for it, or any thing besides a Siege and one slight Encounter. Then *L. Sextius*, Tribune of the People, attempted to pass a Bill, for the sending of a Colony to *Volæ* as well as *Lavicum*: which was dismissed through the interposition of his Collegues, who declared that they would suffer no Bill to pass among the Commons, but what the Senate approved of. Having recovered *Volæ* the Year following, the *Aequi*, and the Colony sent thither, fortified the Town with new Forces, *Cn. Cornelius Cossus*, *L. Valerius Potitus*, *Quintius Fabius Vibulanus* (a second time) and *M. Postumius Regillensis* being Tribunes of the Soldiery with Consular Power. To the latter of them was committed the menage of the War against the *Aequi*, though he was an ill-minded Man; as the Victory at that time, more than the War demonstrated. For having raised an Army very speedily, and led it to *Volæ*, after he had broken the *Aequians* hearts in light skirmishes, at last he forced his way into the Town: where from the Foe he turned all his severity upon his fellow Citizens; for though he had declared, whilst they were storming of it, that the Soldiers should have the Plunder, when the Town was taken he broke his word. Now I am apt to believe that to be the reason of the Armies disgust rather than because there was less Booty in the City and new Colony when Sacked, than the Tribune had talked of. But he augmented their heats, when being sent for by his Collegues upon account of the Tribunital Seditions he returned into the City. For he was heard to say a very foolish and (almost) mad thing in a publick Assembly, which was, that, when *Sextius* a Tribune of the People preferred the Agrarian Law, saying withal, that he would propose the sending of a Colony to *Volæ*, and that it was fit that they who by their Arms had taken it, should enjoy the *Volan* City and Lands, he said, Let my Soldiers look to it; for I'll swing them if any of them stir. Which saying of his did not only offend that Assembly but even Senate also: wherefore the Tribune of the People, who was a sharp Man, and not uneloquent neither, having gotten among all his Adversaries a proud disposition and a lavish tongue to deal with, which by provoking and exciting he could make to say such things as would bring an odium not upon himself alone, but upon his Cause and the whole Order also, he had not any Debates with any Person in the College of Tribunes more frequently than with *Postumius*. And then reflecting upon that cruel and inhuman saying of his, *Roman!* said he, Do you hear him threatening his Soldiers as Men do their Slaves? Yet this Beast must be thought more worthy of such honour, than those who give you a City with Lands belonging to it and send you into Colonies; that provide a Seat for you in your age, and contend for your interest against such cruel and proud Adversaries. Do you begin now to wonder, why so few at this day undertake your cause? What can they hope for from you? Honours, which you give to the adversaries rather than the Defenders and Patrons of the Roman People? You sighed and groaned just now when you heard his words. But what's that to the purpose? if any thing should be this minute put to the Vote, you will prefer him that threatened you with mischief, before such as have a mind to settle you in good Lands, Seats and Estates.

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- L. This saying of *Postumius* being carried into the Camp, caused much more indignation among the Soldiery, who said, *What, a rascal that has cheated us of our Plunder to threaten the Soldiers with mischief also?* Whereupon there being a great hubbub, which the Questor *P. Sestius* thought might be as easily restrained as it was occasioned: but sending a Liſtor to seize a bawling Soldier, upon which a noise and a quarrel arose, he received a knock with a stone, and went out of the crowd: with this check from the Party that gave him the blow, *That the Questor had what the General threatened to inflict upon the Soldiers.* *Postumius* being sent for to appease this Tumult, made all things worse by cruel tortures and grievous punishments. At last, now that he set no bounds to his passion, there being a concourse caused by the cries of those whom he had ordered to be put to death under an Hurdle, he ran down as if he had been mad from the Tribunal to them that would have interrupted the Execution: where when the Liſtors and Centurions thrusting the People aside incensed the Rabble, their indignation grew so high, that the Tribune of the Soldiers was stoned to death by his own Army. Which horrid act being related at *Rome*, the Tribunes of the Soldiers designed to have inquired in the Senate concerning the death of their Collegue; but the Tribunes of the People interposed: though that contention depended upon another cause. For the Senate were afraid lest the Commons being provoked by the dread of Tortures, should create Tribunes Military out of the People, and therefore strove with all their might to have Consuls chosen. But the Tribunes of the People not suffering them to make any Order of Senate, and opposing the Consular Assembly also, the business came again to an Interregnum; and then the Senate got the day.
- LI. *Q. Fabius Vibulanus*, being Interrex, held an Assembly, in which *M. Cornelius Cossus*, and *L. U. C. 342. Furius Medullinus* were chosen Consuls; in the beginning of whose Year an Order of Senate was made, *That the Tribunes should make a report to the Commons as soon as possible concerning the question of Postumius's death, and that the Commons should commit the enquiry to whom they pleased.* They therefore by consent of the People in general appointed the Consuls to hear the matter: who managing the affair with all lenity and moderation by the punishing of some few, who 'tis believed laid violent hands upon themselves, yet could not gain so far upon them, but that the common People took it very ill, *That those Sanctions which were established for their interest should lie so long unexecuted; but a Law made touching their life, and to punish them, should be presently put in execution, and have so great a force.* Wherefore this was the best opportunity, when they had quieted the Seditions, to sooth the People with the division of the *Volan* Lands among them: by which they might probably take off their desire to pass the *Agrarian* Law, which would dispossess the Senate of that publick Land which they injuriously detained in their own hands. But then this indignity also augmented their animosities, *That the Nobility was not only resolute in detaining of publick Lands, which by force they held, but would not divide even that untenanted part which was lately taken from the Enemy among the Commons; that being like, as all the rest had been, to be a prey to some few particular Persons.* The same Year the Legions were led by *Furius* the Consul against the *Volsci*, who were ravaging the Confines of the *Hernici*: who not finding the Enemy there, took *Ferentinum*, whither a great Multitude of the *Volsci* were fled. But the Plunder was less than they hoped for: for the *Volsci*, being in small hopes of defending themselves, packed up all they had and in the night time left the Town; which the next day was taken almost empty. The Land it self was given to the *Hernici* as a Present.
- LII. The next Year, though quiet through the moderation of the other Tribunes, was something disturbed by *L. Icilius* a Tribune of the People, *Q. Fabius Ambustus* and *C. Furius Pacius* being Consuls. For he in the very beginning of it, as though he had thought it the duty of his Name and Family, did all he could to stir Seditions by promulgating the *Agrarian* Laws. But then there happened a Plague, which, as it threatened more mischief than it did, turned Mens thoughts from the Forum and publick Controversies homeward, to take care of their Bodies: and they believed, that would have been less mischievous than the Sedition was like to have been. The City therefore having had a great many in it sick, but few that died of it, a scarcity of Corn, for want of Tillage (as it commonly happens) succeeded that Pestilent Year, *M. Papirius Atratinus* and *C. Nautius Rutilus* being Consuls. And now the Famine was like to be more grievous than the Pestilence had been, if there had not come supplies of Corn from all those Nations that live upon the Coast of the *Tuscan* Sea and the *Tiber*, to whom they sent Embassadors for that end. But the *Samnites* living at *Capua* and *Cuma*, proudly denied the Embassadors any Commerce; whilst on the other hand, the Kings of *Sicily* treated them very kindly, and the *Etrurians* readily afforded them great quantities of Provisions which were brought to *Rome* by the *Tiber*. Then the Consuls found a perfect solitude in the sick City; being forced, seeing they had had not above one Senator for each Embassy, to add two Knights. Except the Distemper and the Dearth, there was no inconvenience happened that Year to the *Romans* either at home or abroad: but as soon as they were rid of these misfortunes, all things, wherewith they used to be disturbed, both War abroad, and Discord at home, returned again.
- LIII. When *Mamercus Aemilius* and *C. Valerius Potitus* were Consuls, the *Aequi* prepared for a U. C. 345. War; with whom the *Volsci*, though not in a publick manner, took Arms and joyned as Volunteers, for pay. Upon the news of which Enemies (for they were now fallen into the

the Territories of the *Latins* and the *Hernici* as *Valerius* was making a Levy, *M. Menius*, a Tribune of the People, and the preferer of the *Agrarian* Law, endeavouring to hinder it (by whose assistance every one that was unwilling was excused from taking the Military Oath) on a sudden news was brought, that the Castle at *Carventus* was taken by the Enemy. Which disgraceful loss, as it was the occasion of the Senates hating *Menius*, so it gave the other Tribunes, who were before prepared to interpose against the *Agrarian* Law, a juster ground to resist their Collegue. Wherefore when the business had been deferred a great while by mutual wranglings on both sides, the Consuls taking the Gods and Men to witness, that whatsoever was already received either of disgrace or damage from the Enemy, or like to befall them hereafter, must be all laid to *Menius's* charge, who hindered the Levy; whereupon *Menius* on the other hand crying out, *That if the unjust Lords would quit the possession of the publick Lands, he would not put any stop to the Levy;* the other nine Tribunes by interpoling a Decree decided the quarrel, and declared, as the Opinion of the whole College, *That they would assist C. Valerius the Consul upon account of the Levy, against the interposition of their Collegue, in laying any Mult or other Penalty upon them, that refused to give in their Names, and to go to the Wars.* The Consul therefore, armed with this Decree, having \* haled some few of them to Justice by the neck, who \* *Quum collum torisset,* appealed to the Tribunes, the rest for fear took the Oath. Then leading the Army to the Castle of *Carventus* (though he were hated for his cruelty) the Consul, upon his first arrival, vanquished those that were in Garrison there, and retook it. The Pillagers that through negligence stragled out of the Garrison gave him the occasion to invade it. And by reason of their continual Plunderings, all that they got being conveyed into that secure place, there dragged was some booty, which the Consul had the Questors set publicly to sale, and keep the Money in the publick Treasury; though he had declared at the same time, *That the Army should share in it, because they were willing to come to the War.* This increased the Soldiers animosities against the Consul: and therefore when he came into the City *Ovanti*, there were rude Verses alternately thrown out and licentiously by the Soldiers; in which the Consul was blamed, but *Menius's* name celebrated, whilst the crowding People strove, every time his name was mentioned, with their applause and assent to out-do the Soldiers in kindness to him. Which thing gave the Senate more trouble than even (almost) the insolence of the Soldiers to the Consul: and therefore as though it had been certain that *Menius*, if he stood for it, would be Tribune of the Soldiers, he was excluded from the Consular Assembly.

Then *Cn. Cornelius Cossus* and *L. Furius Medullinus* were again made Consuls: In whose Year the People shewed resentment more than ever, that the Tribunitial Assembly was put into their management: and that resentment they as plainly shewed and revenged in the Assembly for choosing Questors, by putting Plebeians into that Office, that being the first time it ever had been so. So that, in making of four, they left but one place for a Patrician, and that was *Cæso Fabius Ambustus*, there being three Plebeians, *Q. Silius*, *P. Atilius*, and *P. Pupius*, who were preferred before young Men of the noblest Families. I find that the *Scilii* were the cause of that freedom in the Peoples Votes, being Men of a Family that was mortal Enemies to the Senate; out of which there were three Tribunes of the People chosen in one Year. And they, making great pretences to the greedy People of what mighty things they would do for them, declared, *They would not meddle with any thing unless the People had Courage enough to do in the questorian Assembly (the only one now left in common between them and the Senate) which they so long had desired, and which so long had been lawful.* That therefore was a great point gained by the Populace; for they did not so much value the honour of being Questors, but by that there was a way laid open for new Men to come to the Consulate and Triumphs. The Senate on the other hand were discontented, not because the Senate shared them, but because they by this means lost or were like to lose their honours; and said, *If things went so, it was in vain to get Children; who being turned out of their Ancestors places, and seeing others in possession of their Dignities, would be left as the *Salm* and *Flamines* (two sorts of Priests) to do nothing but sacrifice for the People, without any Command or Authority.* They therefore being on both sides provoked, after the People had resumed their spirit, and got three Leaders of great note to head the popular Cause; the Senate foreseeing that all things would go the same way in the Questorian Assembly, where the People had all liberty, were inclined to call a Consular Assembly, which as yet was not promiscuous. The *Scilii* on the contrary said they ought to make Tribunes of the Soldiers, that the honours of the Commonwealth might be once in their lives communicated among the Commons.

But they could do no Consular act to hinder that which they desired: for news was brought on a sudden, the *Aequi* and the *Volsci* were come out a foraging beyond their own borders into the *Latin* and the *Hernican* Territories. For which War the Consuls beginning to make a Levy, the Tribunes strongly opposed them, saying, *That that was the business of them and the Commons.* There were three of them, all very acute Men, and generous for Plebeians; whereof two took each of them a Consul into their daily custody, whilst the thirds business was, at Assemblies, sometimes to retain and sometimes to provoke the People. By this means neither did the Consuls accomplish the Levy, nor the Tribunes that Assembly which they desired. But afterward when fortune inclined to the Peoples side, there came a Message, *That the Aequi, having killed some few that were left to keep possession of it, had invaded the Castle at Carventus, whilst*

\* *Quum collum torisset,* i.e. having collared them, or dragged them by the throat to Justice.

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whilst the Soldiers that were in Garrison there were gone a foraging; and had slain of the rest, some as they were coming back to the Castle, and others stragling in the Fields. That misfortune then happening to the City, increased the strength of the Tribunes Power: for it was now in vain to strive to make them desist from hindering the War, seeing they were invincible, both in respect to the publick calamity, and their own envy; insomuch that they prevailed to have an Order of Senate for the chusing of Tribunes Military, with a proviso, that there should be no notice taken of any one who that Year was Tribune of the People; nor any one be made Tribune of the People again for the next Year: the Senate taking particular notice of the Icilius, whom they accused of an ambition to be Consuls, as a reward for their seditious Tribuneship. Then the Levy was made, and provisions made for the War by consent of all the Orders or Ranks of Men. Both the Consuls went to the Castle of Carventus, though several Authors make it uncertain whether one of them did not stay at Rome to hold an Assembly. But this is certain, and they none of them deny it, that they retired from that Castle after they had a long time in vain attacked it: that Verrugo (a Town in the Volscian Territories) was retaken by the same Army; great plundering and spoils being made both in that and the Aequian Dominions.

LVI. U. C. 347. Mean time, at Rome, as the Peoples Victory lay in their having that Assembly which they most desired, so in the event of it the Senate got the better; for contrary to all Mens expectations Tribunes of the Soldiery were created with Consular Power, of whom three were Patricians, to wit, C. Julius Tullus, P. Cornelius Cossus, and C. Servilius Ahala. In which affair they say, the Patricians used art, (of which the Icilius also then accused them) and by mingling a company of unworthy Candidates with Men that were worthy, averted the Peoples inclinations from the Plebeians, out of the hatred which they bore to some of them who were most signally sordid. Thereupon news was brought, that the Aequi and the Volsci, either because they were encouraged by having still kept the Castle at Carventus, or enraged that they had lost the Garrison at Verrugo, were risen with all their forces: that the Antians were the cause of it, whilst, and that both their Embassadors went about to all the neighbouring People Nations, reproving their sloth, That they would lye hid within their Walls and let the Romans, not only the Year before come and pillage all their Countries, but suffer the Garrison of Verrugo to be taken: that now not only Armies, but Colonies also were sent into their Dominions; nor had the Romans themselves alone their Lands divided among them, but had given the Aernici also Ferentinum, which they took from them. At this their minds being inflamed, they raised an Army of young Men as fast as they came from City to City. By which means the Youth of all those Towns being gathered to Antium, they pitched their Camp there and waited for the Enemy. Which being told at Rome with much more noise than the thing deserved, the Senate presently (as in difficult circumstances it was their last refuge to do) ordered a Dictator to be appointed: At which Julius and Cornelius, they say, were vexed, and that the business was carried with great heat of mind. Whereupon when the chief of the Senate in vain complaining, that the Tribunes Military were not in the Senates disposal, at last also appealed to the Tribunes of the People, and said that the Consuls had been forced by their Authority upon such an occasion ere that time, the Tribunes of the People, who were glad to see the Senate at variance, made answer [by way of Irony] That they could never assist them, who were not fit to be reckoned in the number of Citizens, or so much as Men: if their honours ever became promiscuous, or the Commonwealth were shared among them, then they would take care, that the Orders of Senate should not be evacuated by the pride of any Magistrates; but in the mean time the Patricians who were void of all respect to Law or Magistracy might assume the Tribunes Power also, if they pleased, and act as they would themselves for them.

IVII. This contention had seized upon the thoughts of Men at a very unreasonable time, when they had such a War upon their hands; till Julius and Cornelius having long alternately discoursed, That it was not just, the honour conferred upon them should be taken from them by the People, Ahala Servilius, a Tribune of the Soldiers, said, He had held his tongue so long, not because he was not resolved in his opinion (for what good Citizen could divide his own interest or designs from the publick?) but because he had more mind that his Collegues should yield to the Senates Authority on their own accord, than suffer the Tribunes of the Peoples aid to be implored against them: yea, at that time also, if the thing would have permitted him, he would willingly have given them time to recede from his resolute opinion; but since the necessities for a War would not bear any humane deliberations, he valued the Commonwealth more than the good will of his Collegues; if the Senate continued in the same mind, he would declare a Dictator that night: and if any one interposed to hinder any legal Decree of Senate from being made, yet he would be satisfied with their Authority and approbation. By which having gained a great deal of just commendations and good will among all People, he declared P. Cornelius Dictator, and was himself by him made Master of the Horse. He therefore was an example to his Collegues and all others that took notice of him, that favour and honour sometimes are found to court those Men who are not ambitious of it. But this War was not very memorable; the Enemies being slain at Antium in one slight Conflict. After which, the Army being Victorious, pillaged the Volscian Territories, stormed the Castle that stood upon the Lake Fucinus, and in it took three thousand Prisoners, forcing the rest of the Volsci into their Walls, because they could not defend their Country.

Country. Then the Dictator having so managed the War as that he seemed only to attend upon fortune, returned into the City with more felicity than glory, and laid down his Office. The Tribunes of the Soldiers seeing there was no talk of a Consular Assembly (I suppose out of anger which they conceived upon the score of making a Dictator) appointed an Assembly for chusing of Tribunes Military. Whereupon the Senate was much more concerned, observing that their Cause was betrayed by their own Party: and therefore, as the Year before they had made even worthy Men odious by being competitors with the most rascally of the Plebeians; so at that time, preparing all the chief of the Senate with splendour and favour to stand for it, they got all the places; so that no Plebeian could be admitted. At which time the four that were chosen were all Men that had before born the same Offices, and their names L. Furius Medullinus, C. Valerius Potitus, Numerius Fabius Vibulanus, and C. Servilius Ahala: which last of them was made again, and continued in his Office, as for his other virtues, so also through the late favour which he only by his moderation gain'd.

That Year, because the time of the Truce with the Veians was out, they began to demand things back by their Embassadors and Heralds: who coming to the Frontiers of that Country, the Veians Embassadors met them; desiring, That they would not go to Veii, before they themselves had been with the Roman Senate. The Senate upon their Petition granted, that seeing the Veians were under some intestine discontents, there should be no demands made of any thing back again; so far they were from taking the advantage of other Peoples misfortunes for their own ends. Then they received a Defeat in the Volscian Territories by losing the Garrison of Verrugo: where there was so much importance as to time, that though they could have succoured the Soldiers who were there besieged by the Volsci, and begged their assistance, if they had hastened, the Army that was sent as supplies to them, came up at such a juncture that finding all the Enemy stragling about the Country for Plunder, after their late slaughter, they overthrew them. In this case the Senate were the occasion of their slowness more than the Tribunes: who, because they heard the Garrison made a brave defence, thought nothing could be too hard for them: for indeed they were stout fellows, nor were they unrevenge of their Foes either whilst they lived, or even after death. The Year following, P. and Cn. Cornelius Cossus, Numerius Fabius Ambustus, and L. Valerius Potitus, being Tribunes of the Soldiery with Consular Authority, the Romans made War upon the Veians, for a proud answer made by the Veian Senate to their Embassadors, when they came to demand a reprisal, which was, That if they did not get them gone as fast as they could out of their City and Country, they would serve them as Lar. Tullius had formerly done some of their Predecessors in that employment. Which answer of theirs the Senate took so ill, that they decreed, the Tribunes of the Soldiery should propose to the People the declaring of a War against the Veians as soon as possible. Which when it was first offered, the young Men began to murmur, and said, They had not yet done with the Volsci: that two Garrisons of theirs were lately quite disabled, and still kept with great hazard: that no Year passed, in which they had not some Battel: and now, as if they were sorry they had no more work for them, they must needs prepare for a new War with a People that were their most powerful Neighbours, and like to engage all Etruria in their quarrel. This was what they said of their own accord; but ever and anon the Tribunes of the People also helped to blow the Coals; saying, That the greatest War, they had, was between the Senate and the Commons; whom they industriously teased with warfare, and exposed to mortal Enemies, sending them a great way from the City, lest, being at home, they might in Peace remember their Liberty, the Colonies, the publick Lands, or consult how to vindicate the freedom of their Votes. And, to cokes the old Soldiers, they reckoned up the Campaign they had each one served in, with their wounds and scars therein received. What whole place, said they, have you in your Bodies to receive new wounds? What blood remaining, to be shed for the Commonwealth? By this kind of method, both in their Discourses and Speeches, they having made the People averse to the undertaking of a War, the time was protracted for proposing of that Law, which it was manifest, if then it were made liable to the Peoples envy, would be annulled.

In the mean time they thought fit, that the Tribunes Military should lead the Army into the Volscian Dominions; Cn. Cornelius being the only Person left at Rome. The three Tribunes therefore finding that the Volsci had no Camp in any place, nor would put themselves upon the hazard of a fight, divided them into three Parties, and went several ways to plunder the Country. Valerius marched to Antium, and Cornelius to Ecetra; ravaging the whole Country, which way soever they went, to keep the Volsci afunder. Fabius (which was the great design) attacked the Town of Ansur without any pillaging of the Country: which Ansur was the same place that is now called Terracina, lying upon a Marsh, on which side Fabius began his Assault. Then four Regiments sent about under the Command of C. Servilius Ahala, having taken possession of an Hill, that lies above the City, from thence (it being an Avenue unguarded) with great noise and tumult invaded the Walls. At which the Men, who defended the lower part of the City being amazed, gave Fabius an opportunity to use his scaling Ladders. By which means all places were full of the Enemy, and there was upon the Walls for a long time a slaughter, not only of such as ran away, but those that made resistance either with Arms or without. They therefore being subdued were forced, having no hopes

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LIX.

hopes to be saved by yielding, to fall a fighting. Whereupon it being declared all on a sudden, that no Men, except such as were in Arms, should be injured, the rest of the Multitude all voluntarily laid down their Arms: of whom there were two thousand and five hundred taken Prisoners: but *Fabius* kept the Soldiers from taking any other booty, till his Collegues came; saying, that those Armies also had taken *Ansur*, who had availed the *Volsci* from the defence of that place. Who when they came, the three Armies rifled the Town, which was very rich in Money and Goods which the People had laid up for many years: and that bounty of the Generals first reconciled the Commons to the Senate. But after that also, there was an addition made to it by the seasonable munificence of the Nobility especially, which was, that, before any mention of the People or the Tribunes, the Senate should Decree, That the Soldiers should be paid out of the publick Treasury, whereas before that time every Man had born his own Charges.

LX.

Nothing, they say, was ever more kindly taken by the Commons; who for that reason flocked to the Senate-house, and, catching hold of the Senators hands as they came out, said, they were truly called *Patres*, i. e. Fathers; and that they had now so brought it about, That no Man in Rome, as long as he had any strength left, would spare either his body or blood. For they were not only pleased with what they received, but very much satisfied, that their Estates would be quiet, at least whilst their bodies were employed in the service of the Commonwealth; besides, that it was freely offered to them, being never proposed by the Tribunes, or desired by themselves: for that redoubled their joy, and made it much the greater favour. The Tribunes of the People being the only Persons that had no share in the common joy and concord of the two Estates, said, That would not prove so pleasant and prosperous to all the Senators as they believed: and that their design was more plausible at first view than in the end it would appear. For how should they raise that Money but by laying a Tax upon the People? so that they had given away other Mens Estates. Nor would they, who had been old Soldiers, though others did, suffer them, that were now concerned, to go to the Wars on better terms than they had done; or be willing, since they had formerly maintained themselves, to pay others. With this kind of discourse they instigated part of the Commons: but at last the Tribunes also, when the Tax was imposed, declared, They would be assitant to any one that would not pay his share towards the Tax for maintaining the Soldiers. The Senate therefore having begun a good work were as persevering in the defence of it; themselves first paying their proportion. And because their Money was not yet Coined, certain Persons conveying the heavy Bullion in Waggon to the Treasury made the Collection look very great also. When the Senate had given in their Quota with all integrity according to their Estates, the chief of the Commons, who were friends of the Nobility began by agreement to bring in their allotment. Whom when the Common People saw, not only commended by the Senate, but look'd upon by all Men, of a Military Age, as good Citizens, they presently despised the Tribunes encouragement, and strove who should pay first. Then, when the Law was pass'd for declaring a War against the *Veians*, the new Tribunes of the Soldiers, who had Consular Power, led an Army to *Veii*, made up great part of Volunteers. Now the Tribunes were *T. Quintius Capitolinus*, *T. Quintius Cincinnatus*, *C. Julius Fulus* (a second time) *A. Manlius*, *L. Spurius Medullinus* (a second time) and *Manius Emilius Mamercinus*.

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LXI.

They first besieged *Veii*; at the beginning of which Siege, there being a full Assembly of the *Etrurians* at the Temple of *Voltumna*, it was not agreed upon, whether the *Veians* should be defended by a publick War of the whole Nation. But that Assault was more slow the Year after, part of the Army with the Tribunes being called away to the *Volscian* War. That Year produced Tribunes Military with Consular Authority, whose names were *C. Valerius Potitus* (a third time) *Manius Sergius Fidenas*, *P. Cornelius Maluginensis*, *Cn. Cornelius Cossus*, *Cæso Fabius Ambustus*, and *Sp. Nautius Rutilus*, who was now (a second time) in that Office. They engaged with the *Volsci* between *Ferentinum* and *Ecetra*; the *Romans* happening to win the day. But after that the Tribunes began to lay Siege to *Artena*, a Town belonging to the *Volsci*, whereinto the *Romans* took occasion to break, as the Enemy, who were all forced into the City, were sallying forth; and besides the Castle, taking all other places; for a crowd of Armed Men got up into that, which was naturally fortified and defended it; though a great many Men were killed and taken under it. Then next they besieged the Castle; but could not take it either by storm, because, for the bigness of it, it was well manned, nor had any hopes of a surrender, since all the Corn was carried into the Castle, before the City was taken: insomuch that they had been forced after a long fatigue to retire thence, if a Slave had not betrayed it to the *Romans*. For the Soldiers, being let in by that fellow at a steep place, took it: by whom the Sentinels being first killed, the rest of the multitude were in such a sudden consternation that they submitted to a surrender. When therefore they had demolished the City and Castle of *Artena*, they led the Legions back out of the Country of the *Volsci*; and all the *Roman* force was turned against *Veii*. The Traytor, besides his Liberty, had for a reward the Goods of two Families, being afterward called *Servius Romanus* [i. e. the *Roman* Servant.] There are some who think that this City of *Artena* belonged to the *Veians*, and not to the *Volsci*; which error was occasioned by there being a Town of the same name between *Cære* and *Veii*: but that the *Roman* Kings demolished. And besides that belonged to the

Cærians,

*Cærians*, not to the *Veians*, this other of the same name, of the sacking whereof I have just now spoken, being in the *Volscian* Territories.

## DECADE I. BOOK V.

## EPITOME.

2. At the Siege of *Veii* there were Winter Quarters prepared for the Soldiers: which being a new thing offended the Tribunes of the People, who complained, that the People had no respite for War; even in the Winter season. 7. The Knights began then first of all to serve in the Wars upon their own Horses. 15. There having happened an inundation of the *Alban* Lake, they took a Prophet from the Enemy to interpret the meaning of that accident. 21. *Furius Camillus* the Dictator took *Veii*, after it had been besieged ten years. 22. He carried the Image of *Juno* from thence to Rome. 23. He sent the tenth part of the Booty to *Apollo* at *Delphi*. 27. He also, being Tribune of the Soldiers, whilst he besieged the *Falisci* [a People of *Tuscany*] sent back certain Children, that were betrayed into his hands, to their Parents: whereupon they immediately surrendered the City, by his Justice thus Conquering the *Falisci*. 31. *C. Julius* one of the Censors being dead, *M. Cornelius* was put in his place. But that was not done any more afterward; because in that *Lustrum* [space of five years] Rome was taken by the Gauls. 32. *Furius Camillus*, being summoned to his Trial by *L. Apuleius*, Tribune of the People, went into banishment. 36. &c. When the Gauls, called *Senones*, were besieging *Cluthum*, and the Embassadors sent by the Senate to make a Peace between them and the *Cluthians*, stood and fought in the *Cluthian* Army against the Gauls; the *Senones* were so enraged at this action of theirs, that they attacked the City with a mighty Army, and having routed the *Romans* at the River *Allia*, took the City, all but the Capitol, into which the Youth had gotten. They killed all the old People, as they sat in the Porches of their Houses, with the badges of those honours about them that each of them had born: and when they had got up on the back-side, to the top of the Capitol, they were betrayed by the gagling of Geese, and forced down again by *M. Manlius*. 48. After that, when the *Romans* were reduced to such a strait by famine, that they were fain to give 1000 l. of Gold, and with that purchase the raising of the Siege. 49. *Furius Camillus* being created Dictator in his absence, came with an Army, as they were weighing the Gold, and after six Months time drove them out of the City and killed them. 50. There was a Temple built to *Aius Loquutus*, in the place, where, before the City was taken, a voice was heard to say, The Gauls are coming. 'Twas said, they must remove to *Veii*, by reason that the City was burnt and ruined. 51. Which design was defeated by the advice of *Camillus*. 55. The People were likewise concerned at what a certain Centurion said, who coming into the Forum had said to his Men: Stand, fellow Soldiers! it will be best for us to stay here.

HAVING made Peace with all others, the *Romans* and the *Veians* were in Arms, with so much spite and rage, that it was evident that side which happened to be Conquered, would be totally destroyed. The Assembly [for chusing Magistrates] of both those People was managed at a quite different rate [to what it had been.] For the *Romans* increased the number of their Tribunes Military, who had Consular Power; and made them eight, more than ever before they had been: whose names were *Manius Emilius Mamercinus* (a second time) *L. Valerius Potitus* (a third time) *Ap. Claudius Crassus*, *M. Quintilius Varus*, *L. Julius Fulus*, *M. Postumius*, *M. Furius Camillus*, and *M. Postumius Albinus*. The *Veians* on the other side, being weary of their annual canvassing, which was sometimes the occasions of discords among them, chose a King. Which thing offended the minds of the *Etrurians*, who hated not a Monarchy more than the Person of that King. For he had formerly been very grievous to that Nation through his wealth and pride, in that he had violently disturbed their solemn sports, which it was a sin to intermit; when for madness, that he was repulsed, and another Priest chosen before him, by the suffrage of those twelve People he took away the Artists, of whom great part were his own Servants, from the midst of the Action. Wherefore that Nation above all others being so much the more given to Religion, in that they knew best how to perform Holy Duties, Decreed, That they would not lend the *Veians* any aid, as long as they were under a King. Which Decree was not much spoken of at *Veii* for fear of the King; who look'd upon every Man that, he heard, should say any such thing as the ring-leader of a Sedition, and not the Author of a vain story. The *Romans*, though they heard of no disturbance like to come out of *Etruria*, yet, since news was brought them, that that affair was debated in all their publick Assemblies, made Lines of Circumvallation and Contravallation; the former toward the City and against the Sallies of the Townsmen, and the latter toward *Etruria*, as a bar to any succours that might possibly come from thence.

Now seeing the *Roman* Commanders had more hopes in a Siege, than an Assault, they began to build Winter Huts (which was a thing altogether new to the *Roman* Soldiers) and designed to continue the War by quartering there all the Winter. Which when it was told to the Tribunes of the People at Rome, who long since sought but could not find out any cause of Innovation, they ran forth into the publick Assembly, and there put scruples into the Peoples heads, saying, This it was, that made the Soldiers have so much Money allowed them:

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II.

and he saw very well, that that gift would be anointed over with the poison of their Enemies. That the Peoples Liberty was bought and sold: that the Youth of Rome was for ever removed and banished from the City and the Commonwealth: that now they gave not way even to Winter or the season of the Year, or had time to visit their own Houses and look after their Estates. What did they think was the reason, why the Campaign was continued? Why truly they would find it to be no other, than left by the number of those young Men, in whom all the strength of the People lay, there should be any thing done for their advantage: besides, that they were vexed and kept under with greater severity than the Veians. For they spent the Winter under their own roofs, defending their City with curious Walls and the natural situation of the place; whilst the Roman Soldier continued in toil and pains, all over snow and frost, under his Hutt, and did not lay down his Arms so much as in the Winter time, which usually gives a Cessation to all Wars both by Land and Sea. That neither the Kings, nor, (before the Tribunes Power was set up) those proud Consuls, nor the severe Commands of a Dictator, nor the importunate Decemviri ever enjoined them so much servitude, as to make a Campaign perpetual; though the Tribunes of the Soldiers took the liberty to tyrannize at that rate over the Roman Commonalty. What would they have done, had they been Consuls or Dictators, who made the Proconsulate, which was but the image (as it were) of Consular Authority, appear so fierce and severe? But that indeed that fell upon them not without reason; since there was not so much as one place for a Plebeian among eight Tribunes of the Soldiers. That the Patricians formerly used to fill up three places with the greatest zeal imaginable: but that now they go, as though they were all eight yoked together, to get their Commands, and no Plebeian can come amongst them: who, if he did nothing else, might put his Collegues in mind, that their Children and fellow Citizens were in the Wars, and not their Slaves; who ought in the Winter at least to be brought home to their own Houses; and once in the Year visit their Parents, Children and Wives; use their liberty and chuse Magistrates. Whilst they bawled out to this effect, they created to themselves an adversary, who was full hard enough for them, viz. Ap. Claudius, who was left by his Collegues to restrain and suppress the Seditions of the Tribunes: a Person used even from his youth to Plebeian Contests, and who, 'tis said, some Years before advised his Collegues, by their intercession, to dissolve the power of the Tribunes.

III. He therefore at that time, being not only of ready wit, but beaten to it by custom too, made this Speech. "Romans! if you ever doubted, whether the Tribunes of the People were always the Authors of Seditions upon yours or their own accounts, I am certain that cease this Year to be a doubt: and as I rejoyce that you at last are confuted out of so long an error, so I congratulate with you, and, for your sakes, with the Commonwealth, that this error is removed by your happiness more than any thing else. Is there any Man, that doubts whether the Tribunes of the People were ever offended and provoked with any injuries of yours (if perchance you ever did them any) so much as at the Senates largesse to the People, when they allowed such a sum to each Soldier? What do you believe they either at that time feared, or would at this day disturb but the concord of the several Orders? by which means they suppose they may best dissolve the Tribunes Power. Thus they, like drudging Artificers, that love to be doing, seek themselves work; and desire that there may always be some grievance in the Commonwealth, that they may be by you employed to cure it. For do you defend, or oppose the Commons? Are you the Adversaries of the Soldiery? or do you plead their Cause? Unless you'll say, whatever the Senate does displeases us; whether it be for or against the People. And as Masters forbid their Servants to have any thing to do with strangers, as thinking it fit for them to be equally unconcerned with them either in good or ill Offices, so you deny the Senate all commerce with the People: left we by our courtesie and munificence should oblige the Commons, or they be subject and obedient to us. How much rather should you, if you had any (I do not say, civility, but) humanity in you, favour, and (as much as in you lies) indulge the courtesie of the Senate and the obedience of the People? Between whom, if there were a perpetual agreement, who may not dare to promise, that this Empire would in a short time be the greatest among all our Neighbour Nations?"

IV. "Now I shall tell you anon, how this Design of my Collegues not drawing the Army off from Veii before they had done the business, was not only advantageous, but necessary too: though at present I intend to discourse touching the very condition of them that are Soldiers there. Which Speech of mine, I believe, might seem very just, not only before you, but even in the Camp, if it were made there, before the very Army themselves. In which, if I could think of nothing to say my self, I might well be content with what our adversaries have already said. They lately denied, that the Soldiers ought to have a largesse given them, because they never had any such thing before: how then can they be angry now, that they, who have a new advantage given them, should have a new proportionable trouble enjoined them? There never is any pains without some profit, nor profit, for the most part, without pains. Pains and pleasure, though very unlike each other in their natures, are yet joyned one to the other by a kind of natural connection. The Soldiery heretofore took it ill, that they should serve the Commonwealth at their own charge: and yet the same Persons were very glad, that they could till their Ground part of the Year, and get enough to maintain them and their Family both at home and in the Wars. But now they are very well satisfied that

"the Commonwealth is a gain to them and receive their stipend with great joy. Wherefore he ought to be content to be a little longer than ordinary absent from his House and Family, who is at no great charge. If the Commonwealth should call him to account, might it not justly say, you have an yearly stipend, do the work of an Year? Do you think it just for you to receive a whole Years pay for six Months service? I am unwilling, Romans, to dwell upon this part of my Speech: for they ought to say thus, who have to do with Mercenary Soldiers: but we would deal as with fellow Citizens, and think they ought to deal with us as with their Country. Either the War ought not to have been undertaken, or it ought to be carried on according to the dignity of the Roman People, and should be made an end of as soon as possible. Now it will be made an end of, if we press the besieged; if we do not draw off, before we have put an end to our hopes by taking of Veii. If there were no other reason, the very indignity ought to engage our perseverance. There was a City heretofore besieged ten years together, for the sake of one Woman, by all Greece: How far from home? How many Countries, how many Seas distant? And yet we are weary of attacking a Town but one Year, which lies within twenty Miles, almost within sight of our City: because, forsooth, the occasion of the War was so small: and there is no sufficient reason to encourage our perseverance. Why they have rebelled seven times; nor were they ever faithful in time of Peace: besides that they have pillaged our Country a thousand times. They forced the Fidenates to revolt from us, killed our Colony there, and were the occasion (against the Law of Nations) of our Embassadors being barbarously murdered. They would have set all Etruria against us; and endeavour so to do even to this day: nor were they far from offering violence to our Embassadors, when they demanded back what was our due.

"Should we wage War with these kind of People gently and by degrees? If our just hatred does not move us, will not these things, I pray you, stir us up? Their City is surrounded with great Works, wherewith the Enemy is enclosed on every side: so that they have not manured their Ground, and what was Tilled is all laid waste by the War. Now therefore, if we bring back our Army, who doubts, but that they (not only out of a desire to revenge themselves, but also) out of meer necessity that is laid upon them to plunder their Neighbours, will invade our Territories? Wherefore by that means we do not differ the War, but take it into our own Confines. What? must that which properly belongs to the Soldiery, from whom the good Tribunes of the People would extort their stipend, be just now on the sudden inquired into, of what nature it is? They have made a Bullwark and a Trench, both which cost a great deal of labour, of such a length: they built Forts, at first a few, but afterward when the Army increased, many more: and planted Fortifications, not only toward the City, but toward Etruria also, lest any Auxiliaries should come from thence. Why should I talk of the Galleries, Towers, and Tortoises, with other instruments used in attacking of Cities? Since they have been at such pains, and are now at last come to the end of their work; do you think these things are to be left, that they may undergo the same toil again at Summer in making them anew? when it is easier for us to defend the Works we have made? to press on, persevere, and perfect our design? For indeed the business is but short, if it be done without interruption, and we our selves do not by intermissions and intervals make our hopes more slow: I speak of work and loss of time. What? Will these so frequent Assemblies of Etruria, touching their sending of Auxiliaries to Veii, suffer us to forget the danger, that we run into by deferring the War? As the case now stands, they are angry, they hate [the Veians] and say, they will send them no assistance; and therefore, for all them, we may now take Veii; but who will promise, that if we defer the War now, they shall be in the same mind hereafter? since, if you give them leisure, they may send greater, and more frequent Embassies: since that, which now offends the Etrurians, viz. the King which they have chosen and set up at Veii, may be altered by tract of time, either by consent of the City, to reconcile the Etrurians, or of the Kings own free will, who may be unwilling, that his grandeur should obstruct the good of his Citizens. Do but consider how many great inconveniences attend that way of proceeding: the loss of Works that cost so much pains in the making: an imminent devastation of our Country: and an Etrurian War raised instead of a Veian. These, Tribunes, are the methods; much like, as if a body should give a sick Man, who, if he suffered himself to be diligently look'd after, might soon be well, any grateful meat or drink that was at hand, and so throw him into a tedious and perhaps an incurable Distemper.

"If it did not really conduce to the perfecting of this War, yet it would be of very good consequence toward Military Discipline at least, to have our Soldiers inured, and not only to enjoy a Victory when they had got it; but, if the business were somewhat more tedious than ordinary, to endure the fatigue on't, and expect the event even of slow hopes: so as that if a War be not ended in Summer to stay till Winter, and not, like Summer Birds, look about in Autumn for shelter and recesses. I pray you, since the pleasure of Hunting hurries Men through Snow and Frost into the Woods and Mountains, shall we not employ as much patience about the necessities of War, as even our sport and pastime prompts us to? Do we think the Bodies of our Soldiers are so effeminate, and their spirits so weak, that they cannot endure



"endure a Camp, or be absent from home one Winter? as if they were to engage in a Sea Fight, where they must watch all Storms, and observe the time of Year? Can they not endure neither heat nor cold? Surely they would blush, if a Man should tell them so: and would be willing to persuade you, that they had a manly patience both in their bodies and their minds, and could wage War as well in Winter as in Summer: and that they did not give the Tribunes any order to patronize sloth and effeminacy, but remembered, that their forefathers created this very Power, not in the shade, nor in any House. These things are becoming the Valour of your Soldiers, and sute with the Roman name; not only to look upon Veii and this War, that is before you, but to gain Fame and Renown toward other Wars and against other Nations for the future. Do you believe the difference in point of opinion is so small; whether our Neighbours think the Romans to be such a People, as that if any City can but bear their first short effort, it need fear nothing after that; or whether the terror of our name be such [as that Men may believe] that neither the toil of a long Siege, nor the severities of Winter can once remove a Roman Army from before a beleaguered City? seeing they know no other end of War, but Victory? nor wage War with force more than perseverance? which as it is necessary in all sorts of warfare, so most especially in Sieges of Cities: many whereof, though they are well fortified, and by their natural situation rendred almost impregnable, are yet in time overcome and taken by mere hunger and thirst: as Veii will be, unless the Tribunes of the People assist the Enemy; and the Veians find those succours in Rome, which they vainly seek for in Etruria. Is there any thing that can fall out so luckily for the Veians, as that, first of all the City of Rome should be filled with Sedition, and then, as it were by Contagion, the Camp? But indeed among our Enemies there is so much modesty, that they have made no innovations for all the tediousness of the Siege, or the uneasiness of a Monarchy: the Etrurians denying them assistance did not disturb their minds: for he must presently die, that is the Author of Sedition; nor may any man say those things, that among you are said without any notice taken of them: but he deserves a Cudgelling, who either leaves his Colours or quits his Guard. Those that persuade, not one or two Men, but whole Armies to fly from their Colours, and desert the Camp, are publicly heard in the Assembly; so that, whatever a Tribune of the People says, though it be in order to betray his Country, or to ruin the Commonwealth, you have used to hear: and yet you are so taken with the sweetness of that Power, that you suffer any evil actions to lie hid under that cover. What remains but that they say the same things in the Camp, before the Soldiers, as they bawl out here; that they corrupt the Army, and keep them from being obedient to their Commanders: because that forsooth is the liberty and priviledge of Rome not to shew any respect to the Senate, Magistrates, the Laws, the Customs and Institutions of our Forefathers or the Discipline of War.

VII.

Thus Appius was now equal, in publick Assemblies, to the Tribunes of the People, when on a sudden, a misfortune which they had (from whence no body could have believed) at Veii, not only made Appius superior in the case, but caused a greater union among the several Orders, and a more vehement inclination resolutely to besiege Veii. For when a mound was raised just at the very City, and their Galleries now almost fixed to the Walls, whilst their Works were more intently carried on in the day, than looked after in the night; the Gate on a sudden was opened, and a vast Multitude, armed, most of them, with Torches, threw fire into them, and in a moment of an hour both the Rampire and the Galleries, which had been so long a making, were all on fire; and many People there, who vainly endeavoured to assist, were consumed by Fire and Sword. Which when it was told at Rome, made all People sad, but filled the Senate with care and fear, lest at that time more than ever the Sedition in the City, and in the Camp too, might become intolerable, and the Tribunes of the People insult, as if they themselves had subdued the Commonwealth: When on a sudden, those that had Knights Estates, though they had no publick Horfes assigned them, having first consulted among themselves, went to the Senate: and having permission granted them to speak, promised, that they would serve in the Wars upon their own Horfes. Who being thanked by the Senate in very gracious expressions, the noise of it was got all over the Forum and the City, and thereupon was there a sudden concourse of the Commons to the Senate-house; who said, They were as yet of the Plebeian Order who fought on Foot, and promised the Commonwealth their pains out of course, whether they would lead them to Veii, or any whither else: but if they were carried to Veii, they said, they would not return thence before they had taken the Enemies City. With that their joy grew very unruly: for they were not ordered to be commended as the Horsemen were, by a Magistrate chosen on purpose; nor were any of them called into the House, to receive the Senates answer, or was the Senate contained within the House, but each of them from the higher place [where they stood] made signs of publick joy to the Multitude that stood in the Court, both with their voice and hands, crying, Oh! happy Rome, that art invincible and eternal in this union: commending both the Knights, the Commons, and the very day it self: and confessing that the courtesie and bounty of the Senate was now out-done. The Senate and the People strove, they were so transported with joy, that the very tears flowed from them; till the Senators being recalled

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into the House, there was an Order of Senate made, That the Tribunes Military, calling an Assembly, should give the Foot and Horse thanks: and tell them that the Senate would be mindful of their piety towards their Country: as also that they thought good, that all those, who had declared themselves Volunteers out of course, should receive pay: besides which, there was a certain sum assigned them for keeping of their Horfes. Then it was that Knights began first to serve in the Wars on Horseback. The Volunteer Army being led to Veii, did not only restore their ruined Works, but also made new ones: and Provisions were brought from the City with greater care than before, lest there should be any thing lacking that might be for the use of so deserving an Army.

The following they chose for Tribunes Military with Consular Power, C. Servilius Ahala (a third time) Q. Servilius, L. Virginus, Q. Sulpicius, A. Manlius (a second time) and Manius Sergius (a second time.) Now whilst the care of all things in order to the Veian War was committed to these Tribunes, the Garrison at Anxur being neglected for want of Men and by commonly receiving the Volscian Merchants, was taken by a surprise upon the Watch that was at the Gates: but no great number of Men was lost, because except those that were sick, all the rest traded like Sutlers, all over the Country and about the Neighbouring Cities. Nor did the affairs succeed any better at Veii, which was then the chief Seat of all their publick cares: for not only the Roman Generals had more quarrels among themselves, than animosity against their Enemies; but the War also was augmented by the sudden approach of the Capenates and the Faliscans. These two Nations of Etruria, being next adjacent to the Conquered Veians, believed, that they should be next also in the course of the Roman War (the Faliscans, as being obnoxious upon their own account, for having been formerly concerned in the Fidenate War) and therefore sending Embassadors to and fro, and being by Oath obliged to each other they came on a sudden with their Armies to Veii. They happened to attack the Camp in that part of the Country, which was under the Government of Manius Sergius: and put them into a mighty fear; for that the Romans believed that all Etruria was up in Arms and come in a full body against them: and the same opinion put the Veians also into confusion in the City. By this means the Roman Camp was attacked on both sides: so that they ran together, carrying their Ensigns to and fro; nor could they well keep the Veians within their Works, or defend their own Fortifications, and save themselves from their Enemy without: but their only hope was, if they were succoured from the bigger Camp, that some of their Legions might fight on one side against the Capenate and Faliscan, and the rest withstand the Sallics of the Townsfolk. But Virginus commanded the Camp, who was privately hated and an Enemy to Sergius. He therefore, when it was told him, that several of their Forts were attacked, that the Enemy had got over the Fortifications, and made their way in on both sides, kept his Men in their Arms; saying, That if there were need of his assistance, his Colleague would send to him. But the obstinacy of the other equalled his arrogance; for he, lest he should seem to desire any aid from his Enemy, chose rather to be overcome by the Enemy than conquer by the help of his fellow Citizen. The Romans for a long time were killed in the midst between their two Enemies; but at last, forsaking their Works some few of them got into the bigger Camp; though the greatest part, and Sergius himself, made their escape to Rome: where laying all the blame upon his Colleague, it was ordered, that Virginus should be sent for from the Camp, and the Lieutenants Command it in the mean time. Then the matter was debated in the Senate: and the Collegues inveighed against each other; whilst few regarded the Commonwealth; but most of them took this or the others part, as their private love and favour inclined them.

The chief of the Senators, whether that ignominious defeat was received through the default or infelicity of the Generals, were of opinion, That they ought not to expect the due time of the Assembly, but forthwith to create new Tribunes of the Soldiers, who should enter upon their Office on the first of October. To which opinion of theirs there was so general a consent, that the rest of the Tribunes Military did not at all gainsay it. But yet Sergius and Virginus, for whose sake it was manifest that the Senate repented of the Magistrates for that Year, first of all begged pardon for that ignominy, and then interposed against the Order of Senate, saying, That they would not go out of their Office before the 15 of December, which was the solemn day for Magistrates to enter upon their Offices. Hereupon the Tribunes of the People, who had held their tongues against their wills, when they saw such an agreement among the People and the City in so happy a state, began very fiercely to threaten the Tribunes Military, that if they would not submit to the Senates Authority, they would order them to be carried to Prison. Then C. Servilius Ahala, a Tribune Military, said, As for your parts, Tribunes of the People, and your menaces, I truly would willingly try how little justice these threats have in them more than we have resolution: but that 'tis a great crime to contend against the Authority of the Senate; wherefore do you cease, whilst we are quarrelling, to seek occasion of charging any injury upon us, and my Colleague shall either do what the Senate orders, or if they persist in their resolutions, I'll immediately nominate a Dictator, that shall force them to quit their Offices. Which Speech of his being approved on by all general assent, the Senators were glad, that there was some other greater force found out, besides the dread of the Tribunes Power, to curb the Magistrates: and so they, being over-powered by universal consent held the Assembly for choosing Tribunes Military, who

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IX.

who were to enter into their Office upon the Kalends of October, and quitted their own Offices before that day.

X. By *L. Valerius Potitus* (who was now Tribune Military a fourth time) *M. Furius Camillus* (a second time) *Manius Aemilius Mamercinus* (a third time) *Cn. Cornelius Cossus* (a second time) *Cæso Fabius Ambustus*, and *L. Julius Iulus* (being all of them invested with Consular Authority) there were many exploits done both at home and abroad: for they were engaged in many Wars at the same time, not only at *Veii*, but at *Capena*, *Falerii*, and against the *Volsci*, to recover *Anxur* from the Enemy: besides, that at *Rome* they took a great deal of pains in making their Levy, and gathering the Tribute; and had a mighty contest about taking in the Tribunes of the People; nor did the judgments passed by them, who a little before had been dignified with Consular Authority, cause any small animosities. The Tribunes Military thought fit first of all to make the Levy, nor were the younger People only enrolled, but the elder also forced to give in their names, in order to secure the City. But look how much the number of the Soldiers was augmented, so much the more Money was necessary to pay them: and that was raised by a Tax, to which the Persons that paid it were very unwilling to consent, at least such of them, who staid at home, because they were to undergo the duty of Soldiers and serve the Commonwealth in defending the City. Now though these things were grievous in themselves, the Tribunes of the People by their seditious Speeches made them seem much more intolerable: saying, *That the Soldiers had Money raised for them, upon no other account, but to destroy and undo the Commons, partly by War, and partly by Taxes.* That one War had been protracted now for three Years together; and was ill managed out of design; that they might keep it on foot the longer. That afterward, there were Forces raised at one Levy for four Wars, and that even Boys and old Men were taken for Soldiers. That now there was no difference between Summer and Winter, left the poor Commons should ever have any rest: who were now also at last made Tributary too; so that when they came home again with their bodies quite tired out, all over wounds, and broken with age, and found all places unmanured by reason of the long absence of the owners, they must pay Tribute out of their decayed Estate; and return their pay, (as though they had taken it up at Use) to the Commonwealth manifold. Amidst the Levy, the Tribute, and the many greater affairs wherewith their minds were taken up, the number of the Tribunes of the People could not be made up at the Assembly: wherefore they contended, to have Patricians chosen into the void places: which seeing they could not obtain, yet, to invalidate the Trebonian Law, it was so brought about, that *C. Lacerius* and *M. Acutius* were taken in to be Tribunes of the People, and that, no question, by means of the Patricians.

XI. It happened that that Year *C. Trebonius* was Tribune of the People; who seemed to behave himself like a just Patron of that name and Family in defending the Trebonian Law. For he, crying out, that what some of the Senate had in vain desired (as being repulsed upon the first attempt) the Tribunes of the Soldiers had extorted, said, *That the Trebonian Law was evacuated, and that the Tribunes of the People were chosen [into the void places] not by the Votes of the People, but by the command of the Patricians: and that the matter was come to such a pass, as that the Tribunes of the People must be look'd upon either as Patricians or retainers to them. That the sacred Laws were taken away, the Tribunes Power wrested from them, and that done, by the fraud of the Patricians, and the knavery and treachery of their Collegues.* Now since not only the Senate, but the Tribunes of the People also, (they that were taken in, and those that chose them too) had incurred the envy and hatred of the People; three of the College, viz. *P. Curatius*, *M. Metilius*, and *M. Minucius*, being concerned for their own private affairs, inveighed against *Sergius* and *Virginus*, the Tribunes of the foregoing Year; and by summoning them to Tryal, turned the fury and envy of the People from themselves upon those two: saying, *That they had given all those, to whom the Levy, the Tax, the tedious Campaign, or the length of the War was grievous (as also to them, who had reason to be sorry for the defeat received at Veii; and them, who, having lost Children, Brothers, Kindred or Relations, had their Houses full of sorrow) Authority and Power to revenge their grief both private and publick upon those two guilty Persons: for the original causes of all their mischiefs were in Sergius and Virginus.* Nor did their accusers prove that upon them more than they confessed it; who being both guilty laid the blame upon one another: *Virginus* by charging *Sergius*, that he ran away, and *Sergius* *Virginus*, that he betrayed him: whose madness was so incredible, that it was much more probable, that what they did was done by compact and the common fraud of the Patricians. That by these Persons the *Veians* had formerly opportunity given them to set fire on their Works, in order to protract the War, and that now the Army was betrayed; the Roman Camp delivered into the hands of the *Faliscans*; and all things done, that the young Men might grow old at *Veii*: nor could the Tribunes appeal to the People concerning the publick Lands, or any other conveniences of the common People, or get any considerable number in the City to back them in their actions, and to resist the Conspiracy of the Patricians. That there was a Judgment passed upon those guilty Persons already both by the Senate, the Roman People, and their own Collegue, for they were not only removed from the Commonwealth by an act of Senate; but when they refused to lay down their Offices, were constrained and checked by their Collegues with the fear of a Dictator: and that the Roman People had created Tribunes, who were not to enter upon their Office on the Ides of

December,

December, which was the solemn day, but immediately upon the first of October: because the Commonwealth could not have stood any longer if these Persons had continued in their Offices. And yet, that they, though marked and fore-judged by so many sentences already, come to be judged by the People: think themselves acquitted, and that they have suffered sufficiently, in having been made private persons two Months sooner than their time; not understanding, that they had then only the power of doing hurt taken from them, but no penalty inflicted on them: for their Collegues too were turned out of their Office, though they had done no harm. That the Romans ought to resume those thoughts, which they had, when they received the late defeat, when they saw a frightened Army running away, full of wounds, and marching with dismay into their Gates; accusing neither fortune, nor any God, but these two Commanders only. For he was sure, that there was never a Man in that Assembly, who, at that time, did not curse and detest the Persons, Families, and Fortunes of *L. Virginus* and *M. Sergius*. Wherefore it was absurd for any body, when he might and ought, not to use his Power against those Persons whom he had curs'd. That the Gods themselves never laid hands on the guilty; it was sufficient for them to arm those that were injured with an occasion of revenging themselves.

With these kind of Speeches the Commonalty was so animated, that they condemned the Persons accused in 10000 l. whilst *Sergius* in vain accused the common chance and fortune of War; and *Virginus* begged, that he might not be made more unhappy at home than he was in the War. So the fury of the People being thus turned upon them, had caused the admission of the Tribunes and their fraud against the Trebonian Law, to be almost forgotten. Now the Tribunes, having carried the day, (to the end that the Commons might have a present reward for their judgment) promulgated the *Agrarian Law* [concerning division of Lands] and forbade any Tax to be gathered; since they wanted Pay for so many Armies, and their affairs abroad were so successful, that they arrived not at the end of their hopes in any War: for at *Veii*, the Camp, which they had lost, was retrieved and strengthened with new Forts and Guards. The Tribunes Military that Commanded there were *M. Aemilius* and *Q. Fabius*: there were no Enemies found without their Walls by *M. Furius* in the *Faliscan*, nor by *Cn. Cornelius* in the *Capenate* Dominions: so that they drove away all the Booty that they found, laid the Country waste by burning their Villages and Fruits; but neither attacked, nor besieged their Towns. But in the *Volscian* Territories, after they had ravaged the Country, they attempted *Anxur* to no purpose, which was seated upon a high place, and afterwards, since 'twas to no purpose to make an Assault, begun to be besieged with a Bullwark and a Trench. *Valerius Potitus* happened to have the *Volsci* for his Province. At this juncture of Military Affairs, a Domestick Sedition arose with greater violence than their Wars were carried on: and seeing the Tax could not be raised for the Tribunes, nor any Pay sent to the Officers, though the Soldiers were very earnest to have their Money, the Camp had like to have been disturbed by the Contagion of the City Sedition. Amidst these heats of the People against the Senate, though the Tribunes of the People said, that was the time to establish their Liberty and to transfer the chief Authority from such as *Sergius* and *Virginus* to Commoners that were stout and brave fellows; yet they went no further, than to create one Plebeian (and that only to shew their right) viz. *P. Licinius Calvus*, a Tribune Military with Consular Authority. The rest were all Patricians, as, *P. Mænius*, *P. Titinius*, *P. Mælius*, *L. Furius Medullinus*, and *L. Publilius Volsius*. For which reasons all the Commons wondered, that they had gained so great a point, and not only he that was created; who was a Man that had never born any honourable Office, but was only an ancient Senator and very old. Nor is it well known, why he was first chosen and look'd upon as the fittest Person to receive that new honour. Some think he was pitched upon for the sake of his Brother *Cn. Cornelius*, who had a Tribune Military Year before, and given the Horsemen treble Pay: others, that he made a seasonable Speech about the union of the several Orders, which pleased both the Senate and the People. Now the Tribunes of the People were so over-joyed at this their Victory in the Assembly, that they, to the great damage of the Commonwealth, remitted somewhat of the Tax: but the rest was paid very obediently and sent to the Army.

*Anxur*, in the *Volscian* Country, was soon retaken, when the Watches upon an Holy day neglected the defence of it. This Year was remarkable for a very cold and snowy Winter; inasmuch that the Roads were dammed up, and the *Tiber* become unnavigable. But the price of Provisions, by reason of the stores, which before were bought in, did not rise at all. And because *P. Licinius*, as he had got the Office [of a Tribune] without any tumult, so also bore it with greater joy to the Commons, than indignation in the Senate, the People had a desire, at the next Choice of Tribunes Military to put in Plebeians. And accordingly *M. Veturius* was the only Patrician of all the Candidates, that got a place: but most of the Centuries Voted for Plebeians to be the other Tribunes of the Soldiers, whose names were *L. Titinius*, *P. Mænius*, *P. Acilius*, *Cn. Genutius*, and *L. Racilius*: That severe Winter, either through the ill temper of the air, that changed on a sudden for the contrary, or for some other reason, was attended by a Summer which was as hurtful and pestilent to all sorts of Animals. Of which incurable Distemper seeing they could not find either the Reason, or Cure, the *Sybil's* Books were, by Order of the Senate, consulted: and the *Duumviri*, appointed

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pointed to do Sacrifice, having then first prepared an Holy Feast in the City of Rome, for eight days together appeased *Apollo, Latona, Diana, Hercules, Mercury* and *Neptune*, upon three Beds made [in a Temple] and set out as splendidly as possibly they then might be. That sacred [Feast] was also kept privately too: for they lay the whole City, setting open their doors, and making all things common, entertained all Persons, whether friends or strangers, that came to their Houses: that they laid all quarrels and debates aside, and talk'd very courteously and kindly even with their Enemies: that against those days, those that were in Prison had their Bonds taken off; and that it was afterward look'd upon as an horrid crime to imprison them, whom the Gods had in that manner released. In the mean time their dread at *Veii* was become manifold, since three Wars were united into one. For in the same manner as before, now that the *Capenates* and *Faliscans* were come to relieve that place, they were fain to fight both forward and backward, about their Fortifications, against three Armies at once. That which did them most good was the remembrance of *Sergius* and *Virginius's* Condemnation: wherefore a Party brought about, in a short space, from the bigger Camp, whence before they had no succour, attacked the *Capenates*, who charged upon the Roman Bullwark, in the Rere. Thence therefore the Fight began, and terrified the *Faliscans*, who were opportunely forced back in a consternation by a Sally out of the Camp: whereupon the Conquerors pursuing, made a great slaughter among them. Nor was it long before the Pillagers of the *Capenian* Territories, who were now stragling about, and met them, as it were, by accident, destroyed those that were left at the Fight: besides, that many of the *Veians*, who fled back into their City, were slain at the Gates, whilst the foremost, for fear, lest the *Romans* should get in along with their Men, shut up the passes and kept out the hindmost of their own Party. These things were transacted that Year.

XIV. And now the Assembly for chusing Tribunes Military was come; for which the Senate were full as much concerned as for the War: because they saw the chief Authority not only communicated to the Commons, but now almost quite lost. Wherefore though they had prepared the most eminent in the City on purpose to stand for that Office, whom they thought the People would be ashamed to refuse; yet they themselves, as if they had been all Candidates, tryed all manner of means, and drew over, not only Men, but even the Gods too to their Party, making the Assemblies of the last two Years a matter of Religious consideration. For they said, *That the Year before, they had an intolerable Winter, which was terrible in many Divine Prodigies: and that the Year next to that, they had not Prodigies indeed, but the event of them, viz. a Pestilence raging all over their Country and City, which was, no question, the effect of the Gods wrath upon them: whom to appease, in order to remove that Plague, it was found expedient in their fatal Books: That at an Assembly, which was held by the direction of the Soothsayers, the Gods thought it an undecent thing, that honours should be prostituted to the vulgar, and the differences of Families confounded.* Hereupon the People were so astonished, not only at the Majesty of the Candidates, but with Religious awe too, that they chose Tribunes Military with Consular Power, who were all Patricians, and those most part of them the most honourable Persons; as, *L. Valerius Potitus* (a fifth time) *M. Valerius Maximus*, *M. Furius Camillus*, (a third time) *L. Furius Medullinus*, (a third time) *Q. Servilius Fidenas*, (a second time) and *Q. Sulpicius Camerinus*, a second time. Whilst these Men were Tribunes, there was nothing memorable done at *Veii*: for all their force was employed in pillaging. The two chief Officers brought away vast Booties, *Potitus* from *Falerii*, and *Camillus* from *Capena*; leaving nothing entire that could be injured by Fire or Sword.

XV. In the mean time there were many Prodigies spoken of: whereof most were disbelieved and slighted, not only because they had but one Author, but also because, the *Etrurians* being their Enemies, they had no Soothsayers to atone for them. Wherefore all their care was employed upon one only; which was, that the Lake in the *Alban* Grove, without any rain, or any other apparent cause, to make it less than a Miracle, swelled to an unusual height. There, upon there were Deputies sent to the Oracle at *Delphi*, to enquire what the Gods foretold by that Prodigy: but a nearer Interpreter was by Destiny prepared for it, being an old Man of *Veii*, who, amidst the *Roman* and *Etrurian* Soldiers, who were wrangling in their Stations and upon their Watches, said, like a Prophet, *That the Romans should never take Veii, before the Water was let out of the Alban Lake.* Which Prophecy of his was at first despised, as a rash word, but soon after began to be more seriously considered; till at last one of the *Roman* Soldiers asking the next Townsman to him (for the War had continued so long, that they now conversed with one another) who that was, who spake so mysteriously of the *Albane* Lake; when he heard he was a Soothsayer, he, being a Man not altogether void of Religion, pretended, that if he had any leisure, he would consult him about the expiation of a private Prodigy, and so got the Soothsayer to discourse with him. And when they were both got a good way from their Party, unarmed, and without any fear; the lusty young *Roman* being too strong for him, forced the feeble old Man in sight of them all away, and, for all the *Etrurians* could do, carried him to their Post. Who, when he came to the General, and from thence was sent to the Senate at *Rome*, they enquiring of him, what that was, that he had said concerning the *Albane* Lake, he replied, *That the Gods were really angry with the Veians that day, on which they had put it into his mind to discover how his Country should be destroyed.* And therefore what

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he then said, as being moved by a Divine impulse, he could neither recall so as to unspeak it, but might perhaps commit as great a crime in concealing, what the Gods would have divulged, as by revealing what should be kept secret. Now therefore it was so delivered in their fatal Books, and by the Tradition of the *Etrurians*, that when the *Alban* Water had swell'd, then if the *Romans* before that was, the Gods would never forsake the Walls of *Veii*: Then he went on and told them, what was the solemn method of drawing it. But the Senate looking upon him as a vain babbler, and not creditable enough in such a weighty matter, decreed, that the Embassadors, and the answer of the *Delphick* Oracle, should be expected home again.

But before the Deputies returned from *Delphi*, or the atonement for the *Albane* Prodigy was found out, the new Tribunes invested with Consular Authority; viz. *L. Julius*, *L. Furius Medullinus*, (a fourth time) *L. Sergius Fidenas*, *A. Postumius Regillensis*, *P. Cornelius Maluginensis*, and *A. Manlius*, entered upon their Office. That Year the *Tarquinius*, a new Enemy, rose up, because they saw the *Romans* engaged in so many Wars (as, that against the *Volsci* at *Anxur*, where their Garrison was besieged; against the *Equi* at *Lavici*, who attacked the *Roman* Colony there; and besides these, in the *Veian*, *Faliscan* and *Capenian* War) all at the same time: and that their affairs were as unsetled within their Walls too through the contentions between the Senate and the People. Wherefore supposing this juncture a good opportunity to set upon them, they sent several expediate Troops a foraging into the *Roman* Territories; for they thought that either the *Romans* would not revenge the injuries done to them, for fear of burthening themselves with a new War, or would pursue them with a small, and consequently a weak Army. Now the *Romans* resented the indignity more than they valued the ravage that the *Tarquinius* made. Wherefore this business was neither undertaken with any extraordinary concern, nor long deferred: but *A. Postumius*, and *L. Julius*, without any regular Levy (for they were hindered by the Tribunes of the People) but with a Party of Men, who were in a manner Volunteers, that they by persuaasions got together, went forth through the *Cæretian* Territories cross the Country, and surpris'd the *Tarquinius* as they came back from Plundering, and loaded with Booty: killing many of them; but took all their Plunder from them, and so, having retrieved the spoils of their own Dominions, returned to *Rome*. There was two days given the owners to find out their Goods; and the third day, such things as were not owned (among which there were many things belonging to the Enemies themselves) were publicly sold; and the Money, made of them, divided among the Soldiers. The other Wars, and especially the *Veian*, on the Fates and Gods; when at last the Embassadors came from *Delphi*, with the Oracles answer, which was agreeable to what the Captive Prophet had told them; being this, *Romans! have a care, lest the Alban Water be kept in the Lake; but do not let it run into the Sea down its own Channel: let it out and sprinkle it all over the Fields, and make drains to exhaust it. Then do thou press hard upon the Enemies Walls, remembering that the Victory over the City, which thou hast besieged so many years, was given thee by direction of this Oracle, that now reveals it. When the War is over, and thou art Conqueror, bring a large Present to my Temple; and perform thy ancient Country Sacrifices, the care of which thou hast omitted, according to custom.*

From that time the Captive Prophet began to grow great, and the Tribunes of the Soldiers, *Cornelius* and *Postumius* made use of him to atone for the *Albane* Prodigy, and appease the Gods after the due manner; and it was found out at last, that when the Gods were angry that the Ceremonies were neglected, or the solemnities intermitted, the meaning of it was nothing else, but that the Magistrates were not rightly chosen: that that did duly Celebrate the *Latin* Holy-days, and perform the sacred Rites in the *Albane* Mount: that it was the only expiation of those things, for the Tribunes Military to lay down their Office, for the auspices to be again repeated, and an interregnum set up. All which was accordingly performed by order of the Senate. Thereupon there were three Interreges [or Persons that ruled, when there were no chief Magistrates besides] viz. *L. Valerius*, *Q. Servilius Fidenas*, and *M. Furius Camillus*. But in the mean time they had continual disturbances; for the common People made a tumult in the Assembly, till it was first agreed upon, That the greater part of the Tribunes Military should be chosen out of the Commonalty. Which whilst they transacted, the States of *Etruria* met at the Temple of *Volumna*: where seeing the *Capenates* and *Faliscans* required, that all the People of *Etruria* should, with one consent, rescue *Veii* from the Siege that was laid to it, answer was made, That they had denied the *Veians* that before; because they ought not to expect aid from them, whom they had not consulted about so weighty an affair: besides, that at this time their very condition denied them, especially in that part of *Etruria*: for a Foreign Nativance of Peace or War. Yet they would be so kind to their own blood and name, and shew so much regard to the dangers of their Kindred, that if any of their Youth would go voluntarily into that War, they would not hinder them. Then there was a report at *Rome*, that such a vast number of Enemies were come; and thereby their intestine discords began (as it usually happens) to be allayed.

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XVII.



XVIII. It was not against the Senates will that the Tribes by their Prerogative chose *Licinius Calvus* Tribune of the Soldiers, who was a Person of known moderation in his former Office; but at that time very old: and it was apparent that all those of the College in the same would be chosen again; viz. *L. Titinius*, *P. Menenius*, *Cn. Genutius*, and *L. Atilius*: who before they were declared, *P. Licinius Calvus*, by the permission of the Interrex, made this Speech to the Tribes: *Romans! I see you have a desire to make the ensuing Year, at this Assembly, the omen of concord (which is a thing most advantageous to you at this time) by the remembrance you bear of our Magistracy: in that you chuse the same Collegues again, who are now grown better by experience. But you see me now not the same Person, but left like the shadow and name of P. Licinius. My strength is decayed; the sense of my eyes and ears grown dull; my memory fails me, and the vigour of my mind is enervated. See here, said he, (and took his Son by the hand) the Effigies and Image of him, whom you heretofore first made Tribune of the Soldiers out of the common People: this Boy, who has been educated by me, I give and dedicate to the Commonwealth as my Vicegerent; and I beseech you, Romans! that you would bestow that honour which you have freely offered me upon this Candidate, for the sake of those intreaties which I have added upon his account.* Thereupon the Fathers Petition was granted, and his Son *P. Licinius* was declared Tribune of the Soldiers with Power Consular, along with those whom I mentioned before: *Titinius* and *Genutius*, two of the Tribunes Military, going against the *Faliscans* and the *Capenates*, whilst they carried on the War with greater Courage than Conduct, ran headlong into danger. *Genutius* suffering for his rashness by an honourable death, fell before the Ensigns in the Van. But *Titinius*, having retrieved his Men out of a consternation to the top of an high Hill, rallied again, but he did not engage the Foe in a convenient place. Yet he got more disgrace than he lost Men: though that had like to have occasioned a mighty Defeat; by reason that they were so terrified, not only at *Rome*, (where there were many several reports of it) but in the Camp at *Veii* too. For there the Soldiers were with great difficulty kept from running away, when a rumour had fled through all the Camp, that their Generals and their Army were slain, and that the *Capenate* and *Faliscan* had got the Victory; as also, that all the Youth of *Etruria* was not far from that place. But they fancied greater danger than this at *Rome*, viz. that the Camp at *Veii* was now attacked, and that part of the Enemies were coming in a dreadful Body toward the City. Wherefore they ran up upon the Walls, and the Matrons, whom the publick fear had forced from their Houses, made their supplications in the Temples; where they prayed to the Gods, That they would guard the Houses of the City, the Temples and the Walls of *Rome* from ruin and destruction; and would turn that dread upon *Veii*, if their Holy Rites had been rightly renewed, and Prodigies duly atoned.

XIX.

By this time the Games and Latin Holy-days were Celebrated: and now the Water was let out of the *Albane Lake*, and the destruction of *Veii* was at hand. Wherefore *M. Furius Camillus*, a fatal General, not only to ruin that City, but to preserve his Country, was declared Dictator, and made *P. Cornelius Scipio* his Master of the Horse. The changing of their General made a sudden alteration in all things; for now they had other hopes, other sentiments, and the fortune of their City seemed quite another thing. First of all he punished those who in that consternation had fled from *Veii*, according to the rules of War: and brought it so to pass, that the Soldiers should not fear their Enemy above any body. Then having appointed a day for the Levy, he himself in the mean time posted over to *Veii* to encourage the Soldiers there. And thence he returned to *Rome* to raise the new Army; nor did any one refuse to be Listed. Yea, the Foreign Youth of the *Latins* and *Hernicans*, promising their service, came to that War: whom when the Dictator had thanked in the Senate, and prepared all things necessary for the War, he vowed, by Order of the Senate, that he, when *Veii* was taken, would set forth the Grand Games: and would Dedicate the Temple of the Goddess *Matuta*, which was now repaired, and formerly Dedicated by King *Servius Tullius*. Going from the City with his Army, which raised Peoples expectation beyond their hopes, he engaged the *Faliscans* and the *Capenates* first near *Nepete*; where all things were carried with the greatest caution and Conduct, and fortune (as in such cases she usually does) attended on him. For he not only routed his Enemy in the Battel, but forced him out of his Camp too: where he got a vast Booty, the greatest part whereof was brought to the Questor, and not much of it given to the Soldiers. Thence the Army was led to *Veii*, and the Forts there made thicker: and the Soldiers were drawn from making farther approaches, (as they did many times very rashly between the Bullwark and the Wall) to work, by an Order, That no Man should fight unless he were commanded to it. Now the far greatest, and most toilsom work, was a Mine, which began to be made into the Enemies Castle. Which Work that it might not be interrupted, nor their continual labour under ground quite tire the same Persons, he divided the Workmen into six parts, and made each company work six hours at a time, as it came to their turns: so that they never left off, night nor day, till they had made a way into the Castle.

The Dictator seeing the Victory now in his hands; that so rich a City was taken, and that there would be more Booty than had been got in all the Wars before, (put them all together) he, lest he should gain any ill will from the Soldiers by the unequal division of the

the spoils, or envy from the Senate by his prodigal largess, sent a Letter to the Senate, That through the blessing of the immortal Gods, his Conduct, and the Soldiers patience, *Veii* would now be in the hands of the Romans; [and desired to know] what they would have him do with the spoils? Now the Senate were of two opinions: one of which was that of *P. Licinius*, who, they say, being asked by his Son about this matter, first said; That the People thought fit to declare, that whosoever would share in that booty, should go into the Camp at *Veii*: and the other, the opinion of *Ap. Claudius*, who finding fault with a new, prodigal, unequal, and unadvised largess, said, If they look'd upon it as unlawful, that Money taken from an Enemy should be put into their Treasury, though now exhausted by so many Wars, he advised them at least to pay the Soldiers out of it, that the Commons might pay the less Taxes: for all Houses would feel the benefit of that gift alike. That by that means the greedy hands of idle Citizens who are so ready to seize on all they can get, would not rob stout Soldiers of their rewards; though it most commonly so falls out, that he who is most forward to venture upon toil and danger, is slowest in carrying off the booty. *Licinius* on the contrary said, That Money would be always suspected and hateful, and would give occasion for Appeals to the Commons, and thence for Seditions and new Laws. Wherefore it was better, that the People should be reconciled by that gift: that they, who had been exhausted and drained by the Taxes of so many years should be relieved; and should reap some benefit by the booty out of that War, in which they were almost grown old. That that would be more acceptable, and welcome to them, which every Man brought home with him after he had taken it from the Enemy, than if he received three times as much from the disposal of another Man. That the Dictator himself strove to avoid envy upon that score, and therefore left it to the Senate: and that the Senate also ought to leave the matter (though referred to them) to the People, and suffer them to have what the fortune of War has given each one of them. This seemed to be the safer opinion, to make the Senate popular. Wherefore it was ordered, that all who had a mind to share in the *Veian* spoils, should go into the Camp to the Dictator: upon which so vast a Multitude went, that they filled the Camp.

Then the Dictator having consulted the Soothsayers went forth, and when he had given his Soldiers orders to stand to their Arms, said thus, O Divine Apollo, 'tis under thy Conduct, and by the Inspiration of thy Deity, that I go to destroy the City *Veii*, and from henceforward I solemnly promise thee the Tib of the prey: And I beseech thee *Juno*, preserver of *Veii*, to follow us Conquerors into the City, which in a short time will be thine and ours; where thou maist have a Temple fit to receive thy Greatness. After this Prayer, he goes with a vast Company from all parts to the City, to lessen the sense and apprehension they had of danger from the Mine. The Men of *Veii* little thinking that they were now cheated by their own Diviners, and by Foreign Oracles, that some of the Gods were intreated to partake of their Prey, that others were invited out of their City to behold the Temples and new Seat of the Enemies, and that they were now breathing their last day; fearing nothing less than the undermining their Magazines, or taking their Tower, run up and down upon the Walls in their Armour, wondering that the Romans, who had not stirred (so much as a Man) from their stations in so many days time, should now, as if they were driven by some sudden Fury, run so unadvisedly to the Walls. And here 'tis reported, that as the *Veietian* King was sacrificing, the voice of the Soothsayer, that divided the Entrails of that sacrifice, and promised him Victory, was heard so plain in the Mine, that it moved the Roman Soldiers to open the Mine, and carry away the Entrails to the Dictator. But it is sufficient if such ancient stories as these, which are but probable, be received as true. These things are fitter to be admired, to maintain the ostentation of such a joyful Scene, than to be believed; neither will it be worth ones while either to affirm or deny them. Out of the Mine, that was then full of choice Soldiers, on a sudden there sprang Armed Men in the Temple of *Juno*, which was in the *Veientan* Tower, and some of them set upon the Enemies that ran away upon the Walls; others tear back the Bars, others fling fire into those Houses, from whence the Women and Servants threw Stones and Tiles. The noise of them, being scared with fear and dread, being made up of the several cries and complaints of Women and Children filled all places with horror and amazement. The Soldiers being presently dismounted the Walls, and the Gates open, the City is filled with Enemies, some of which climb the forsaken Walls, others ran in throngs up and down the Streets, so that there was nothing but fighting in all places. After much slaughter, the heat of the skirmish was over, and the Dictator commanded the Cryers to make Proclamation that they should no longer kill Women and Children: whereupon the shedding of blood ceased, and the unarmed Crew began to deliver up themselves. Then the Soldiers, by the permission of the Dictator betake themselves to pillaging the richness and abundance of which, when it was brought before him, did so far surpass his hopes and expectations, that with lift up hands to Heaven, (as 'tis said) he prayed, That if any Gods or Men thought the fortune of the Romans too great, they would mitigate their envy by laying some private affliction upon him, and not at all injure the publick concerns of the Roman People. As he thus prayed, 'tis reported that he fell down in turning himself, which Omen (as some conjecture) seemed to preface the Condemnation of *Camillus* himself to Banishment, and the destruction of *Rome*, which happened not many years after. Thus that day was spent in killing Enemies, and pillaging the riches of that wealthy City.

XXI.

XXII. The next day the Dictator sold the Freeman, and that was the only Money allotted for public use: at which the common People was much disturbed, in regard that Priests was not acknowledged to be received from their General who had referred the matter to the Senate, to find out the Authors of such a mischief; nor from the Senate, and the Father was the Author and giver of such popular Advice. When they had carried out all the Wealth that belonged to the Men, they began to remove that which was Consecrated to the Gods, but rather like Worshipers than Pillagers. For the choicest young Men in all the Army being appointed to carry Queen *Juno* to Rome, all in white, and with Bodies cleansed from all filthiness, entered the Temple with Veneration, and put their hands towards her with Reverence, it being customary among the *Etrurians*, that none but a Priest of some trusty Nation should handle that Image. And when one of them, either by Inspiration or by way of Jest, said, *Wilt thou go to Rome, Juno?* the rest cried out that she nodded to him, and 'twas afterwards said, that the voice of her, saying, *That she would*, was heard. I heard that she was removed from her Seat, and carried to Rome with so great ease, that she did as it were follow them, and there seated for ever on the Mount *Aventine*, where *Camillus* the Roman was required to pay his Vows, and where afterwards he Dedicated a Temple to her. This was the fall of *Veii* the richest City among the *Etrurians*, that shewed its greatness even to the last. For after the Siege of ten Years together, and giving more overthrows than they received, at last by the compulsion of Fate, they were Conquered more by Works and Stratagems than force.

XXIII. As soon as the news of *Veii*'s being taken came to Rome, though the Prodigies were taken off, the Responses of their Wise Men and Oracles were known; though according to the best of Mens advice, they had declared *M. Furius* their Commander the greatest of Generals; yet because they had several brushes with them for so many Years together, and had many discomfitures, their Joy was beyond measure, being as it were unhopd for: and before an Order of the Senate could pass for it, the Temples were thronged with Roman Mothers giving thanks to the Gods: The Senate Decree that they should Sacrifice four days, more than ever was known in any War before. The coming of the Dictator also was Celebrated by all sorts of Men that ran out in great companies to meet him, beyond the examples of former times, and the honour of his Triumph somewhat exceeded their customary solemnities on such occasions. He himself sits in State in the view of all, coming into the City in his Chariot drawn with white Horses; (which seemed to be not only somewhat affected, but unkind also to those that had Triumphed before.) The Horses of *Jupiter* and the *Sun* carried the Dictator (now their equal) to sacrifice; upon which account chiefly the Triumph was not so pleasing as Honourable. Then he built a Temple on Mount *Aventine* to Queen *Juno*, dedicating it to her under the Title of *Mature Maker*. And when he had performed these Divine and Humane Offices he resigned his Dictatorship. Then the matter began to be debated about *Apollo*'s Present. For though *Camillus* said that he vowed to him the Tith of the Pillage; yet the High-Priests might be of opinion that the People should be free from the Vow; so that they could not easily hit upon a way to make the People bring back the Pillage. At last they light upon that which was easiest, viz. That he that would free himself and Family from the Vow, should, when he had set a price upon his Prey, bring the value of the tenth part of it into the publick, that therewith, according to the condition of the Roman People, they might buy a present of Gold befitting the Deity of the God, and the greatness of his Temple. And truly this Collection alienated the minds of the Commonalty from *Camillus*. At which time Embassadors came from *Volsci* and *Aequi* requesting Peace, which was granted, more recruiting the wearied City after so long a War, than that the Petitioners deserved it.

XXIV. Upon subduing *Veii* there were six Tribunes or Colonels appointed over the Soldiers the following Year, viz. *P. P. Cornelius*, *Cossus* and *Scipio*, *M. Val. Maximus*, twice in the Office, *Cæso Fab. Ambustus* thrice, *Lucius Furius Medullinus* five times, and *Quintius Servilius* thrice. The War with *Faliscæ* fell to the *Cornelius*'s, and *Capena* fell to the Lot of *Valerius* and *Servilius*, they did not set upon the Cities, but destroyed and pillaged the Fields, for that there was not so much left as a good Tree, or any good thing behind them. That damage brought in the People of *Capena*, and upon their request Peace was granted them. But their War still continued with the *Falisci*; mean while there was a great Sedition, and to appease it, they thought fit to enroll a Colony of 3000 Roman Citizens among the *Volsci*, and the *Triumviri* created for that purpose had three Acres of Ground and three Septunces a Man divided among them. But that Largess began to be despised, in regard they thought 'twas given them to divert their minds from greater hopes. For why should the Commons be translated among the *Volsci*, when the *Vientan* Fields were in view, much larger and fruitfuller than those about Rome? The City also was esteemed better then as to its situation, or the Magnificence of publick or private Buildings and Places. But they had thoughts of going to *Veii* most of them (especially when Rome was taken by the *Gauls*) designing it to be inhabited partly by the Commons and partly by the Senate, it being not impossible that two Cities should be in common to the Romans, which the Nobles were so much against, that they said they would sooner die in the fight of the Roman People, than any such Bill should be proposed to the Senate: For if there were so much Dissention in one City, what would there be in two? Was it not fit to prefer the Conquered Country before that which Conquered

quered it, or to let the condition of the Captives be better now than when they were at Liberty? lastly, that they would never be brought to relinquish their Country and Citizens, to leave their God *Romulus*, the Son of a God, the Parent and Builder of Rome, and *T. Sicinius* (the framer of that Bill) to *Veii*.

XXV. While they were warmly Debating their matter (the Senators having drawn some of the Tribunes of the Commons on their side) nothing kept the common People so much from striking, as the Senators offering themselves in the midst of the Brawls, and commanding the People to assault, strike, and kill them. Whereupon the Commons kept in their hands from violating Men of that Age, Dignity and Honour, and modesty set a stop to any such attempts. *Camillus* also made a Preachment every where, That 'twas no wonder the City should be in an uproar, when they were more careful in worldly concerns, than paying their Vows, saying nothing of the Collation, which was rather Wages than Tythes, when the People were free from that Vow, to which every particular Man obliged himself. But for his part his conscience would not let him be silent in it, especially because only the tenth part of their moveable Pillage was designed, there being no mention made of the City and Fields, which were also within the compass of the Vow. The Senate finding some difficulty in the matter, sent it to the High-Priest, and, *Camillus* being convened, 'twas the Judgment of the College, that the tenth part of whatever was *Veientan* before his Vow, and the Romans after, was sacred to *Apollo*: so that the City and Fields estimated, Money taken out of the Treasury, and Charge given to the Military Tribunes of the Consular Dignity to buy Gold with it; and there being not enough, the Matrons came together in Council, and by a common Decree obliged themselves, and brought their Gold and Ornament to the Treasury, to be disposed of by the Military Tribunes, which thing pleased the Senate exceedingly, and 'tis reported they had the Honour of riding in Litters to the Temples and publick Shews, in Chariots upon Festivals and Working days, conferred upon them for that their Munification. The Gold being received from every one of them, and valued, they thought fit to buy a Golden Cap to be carried to *Delphos*, and presented to *Apollo*. As soon as they were free from the Vow, the Tribunes of the Commons blow up Sedition anew: The Multitude rise up against the Nobility, especially *Camillus*. Those that were absent cry out that by Collations and Vows they have brought the *Veientan* Prey to nothing; those that were present are now modest, because the Senators offered themselves voluntarily to their anger: and when they saw the matter almost at an end for that Year, they make the same Tribunes Legislators for the other, and the Senate endeavoured to make the same Intercessors (who were to give a Negative Voice) for that the same Tribunes were for the most part made again.

XXVI. At the Assembly for chusing Military Tribunes the Senators made it plain that *M. Furius Camillus* ought to be created one; by reason of the Wars in hand, they made as though 'twas better to make a General, but there was a stop like to be set to the passing that Bill for the Tribunes. However with *Camillus*, *L. Furius Medullinus* being in that Office six times, *C. Æmilius*, *L. Valerius Poplicola*, *J. Postumius*, *P. Cornelius* twice in that Office, were created Tribunes, all Men of Consular Power. The Tribunes of the Commons did not stir the beginning of the Year; till *M. F. Camillus* was gone against *Falisci*, against whom his Commission was directed; and even then by delays the matter cooled, and *Camillus* whom they were most afraid of, became glorious at *Faliscæ*. For first the Enemies kept themselves within their Walls, thinking that the safest course, but when they saw their Fields wasted, and their Villages burned, they come out of the City about a Mile (being afraid to adventure farther) and then they pitch their Camp, relying upon nothing more than the baseness of the way to them, and the roughness and cragginess of those high Rocks and Mountains that were about them. But *Camillus* getting a Captive for his Guide, and removing his Camp late at night, till break of day shews himself upon the Hills. The Romans made their Fences three manner of ways, the other Army stood ready for Battel, and as they endeavoured to hinder their Fortifications, *Camillus* routs them and puts them to flight. Whereupon the *Falisci* were so greatly afraid, that breaking out of their Camp, which was pretty nigh, they ran as fast as they could to the City. Many were killed and wounded before they could get within the Gates. The Camp is taken, and the Prey brought to the Treasurers, not without great grumbling among the Soldiers, but being forced to submit to the severity of the Command, they did as well admire as dislike the Power that commanded it. Then they besieged the City, and thereupon the Soldiers and Townsmen would fall out against the Roman Stations, and raise little skirmishes, spending the time without much hope on either side. For the besieged had more plenty of Corn and other Provisions (before laid in) than the besiegers, and truly the Siege in all probability had been as long and laborious as that of *Veii*, had not fortune put the Roman General in remembrance of his Valour and Experience in Warlike affairs, and so given him a seasonable Victory.

'Twas customary among the *Falerians*, that their Childrens Schoolmasters should be their Companion too; and many Boys (which custom continues still in Greece) were committed to the care of one Master, and he that appeared to be the greatest Scholar, was made choice of to instruct the Nobility. Now the Schoolmaster of this Town being used in the times of Peace to lead his Lads out to play, he left not this custom in the time of War, but one

one day he drew them a little way, another day somewhat farther from the Gate. At last by variety of Play and Discourse he drill'd them on farther than ever, and having opportunity, he goes with them among the Roman Guards: from thence to the Camp, afterwards he leads them even to Camillus's Pavilion, and there he makes a Speech more horrid than the baseness of the Fact. *That he had (forsooth) delivered the Falerians into the hands of the Romans, in giving those Children into their Power, whose Parents were in all things the Heads and Governours of the Place.* Which when Camillus heard, *Thou art come, O base fellow, with thy abominable Present to a People and General not like thy self: We never had any Alliance with the Falerians by Human League or Treaty; but what nature has implanted in us, does and shall continue between both. There are Laws in War as well as Peace, which we know how to execute with Justice as well as Courage. We draw not our Swords against that Age, which we spare even upon our taking Cities, but against our Soldiers and those very Men who without any provocation or injury offered them, opposed the Roman Camp at Veii: Thou as much as lay in thy Power hast conquered them by a new sort of wickedness; but as for my part, I will conquer by the Roman Arts and Stratagems, by Arms and Valour.* After this, when he strip'd him, he tied his hands behind him, he delivered him to his Boyes to bring him back to the Falerians, and gave them Rods to lash the Traytor into the Town; whereupon the People ran out wondering at such a strange sight, and the Magistrates were assembled upon this unheard of occasion, their minds being so suddenly changed, that whereas they were before for being utterly destroyed, rather yielding themselves up upon terms of Peace; the whole City were now for desiring Peace, and publicly Celebrating the Roman Fidelity, and the Justice of their General in the Court and Forum. And by the Counsel of all, they sent Embassadors to Camillus into the Camp, and by his permission to the Senate at Rome, to tell them, that the Falerians freely yielded up themselves: when they were admitted to the Senate, 'tis reported they said thus. *We, O Senators, being conquered by such a Victory, which neither Gods nor Men can envy, do here give up our selves to you, being persuaded we shall live better under your Government (than which there is nothing in the World more honourable) than our own Laws. The event of this War has produced two examples beneficial to Mankind: you prefer Fidelity in War before present Victory, and we being thereupon encouraged have yielded up our selves. Send men to take our Arms, our Pledges, our Cities, the Gates being open to receive them, neither shall you ever repent of your Fidelity, or we of being under your Government!* The Enemies as well as the Citizens gave thanks to Camillus. The Falerians were commanded to pay the Soldiers for that Year, to ease the Roman People. Peace was granted, and the Army brought back to Rome.

XXVIII. When Camillus being thus signalized for his Justice and Fidelity returned, he went through the City with far greater praise, than when he was a little before drawn through it with white Horses in Triumph, and the Senate to free him from his Vow did with all speed send a Golden Cup as a present to Apollo at Delphos. The Messengers were L. Valerius, L. Sergius, and A. Manlius, who being sent in a Galley not far from the Sicilian Sea, were taken by the Lyparensian Pyrates and carried to Lypara. In which City they used to divide the Prey as in a common warfare. The chief Magistrate in that City for that Year, was by chance one *Tamasibens*, a Man more like the Romans than his own People, who himself bearing some Reverence to the name of the Messengers, their Present, the reason of sending it, and the God to whom it was sent; satisfied the Multitude, that are always for bearing sway, of the Justice and Religion of it: and after a publick Treat made them, he Guarded them with a Fleet to Delphos, and brought them back safe to Rome. And there by an Order of the Senate he is entertained, and Presents are given in publick. The same Year they had Wars with *Aequi*, but so various and uncertain, that neither the Armies themselves nor the Romans could well tell whether they were the Conquering or Conquered Party. C. *Emilius* and *Spurius Posthumus* Military Tribunes were the Roman Generals. They first joyned their Forces together, and when they had routed the Enemy, *Emilius* was pleased to go with a Guard to *Verrugo*, and *Posthumus* to destroy the bordering Places; and as he was marching on somewhat carelessly by reason of his success, with a disordered Army, the *Aequi* set upon him, and put his Soldiers into such a fright that they were driven among the next Hills, nay, their fear carried them to *Verrugo* where the other Guards were: *Posthumus* when he had received all in safety, calls them in together and chides them for their fear and cowardise, telling them that they were discomfited by a Lazy and Cowardly Enemy; the whole Army made answer, that they deserved to be told of it, and they that did, confessed they had committed a great fault, but they would mend it: neither should the Enemies joy continue long, desiring him to lead them to the Enemies Camp (which was in sight upon the Plain) immediately, refusing no punishment, no not the Conquering it even before night; whereupon he commended them, bidding them refresh themselves and be ready at the fourth Watch: And the Enemies being there about to hinder the Romans that were among the Hills from flying by night to *Verrugo*, they met them, and the Moon shining all night, they joyned Battel before day, and fought as well as if it had been by day: but the noise of this being carried to *Verrugo*, they thought the Roman Camp had been set upon, and were so much afraid, that notwithstanding all the endeavours and entreaties of *Emilius* they were disperfed

disperfed and fled to *Tusculum*; from thence a report fled to Rome, that *Postumius* and his Army were slain, who when day had removed all fear of dangers that might proceed from those that followed in abundance upon them, and when he had rid through the Army repeating his promises, inspired them with so great courage that the *Aequi* were not able to sustain the first brunt. Hence it came to pass, that the slaughter of those that fled away, being such as proceeded more from Anger than Valour, was to the destruction of the Enemy, and a Laureate Letter sent by *Postumius* followed the sad news from *Tusculum* (a City frighted for nothing) and gave them to understand that the Victory was the Romans, and that the Army of the *Aequi* were utterly routed.

The Proceedings of the Tribunes for the Commons finding yet no end, the Commons endeavoured to continue the Tribuneship to the Legislators, and the Senate to make new Intercessors (to have a negative Voice when Bills were proposed) but the Commons were too hard for them. Which grievance the Senate redressed by making an Order that Consuls (a sort of Magistracy never liked by the Commons) should be created. After 15 years Cessation, L. *Lucretius Flavius*, and *Servilius Sulp. Camerinus*, were made Consuls. At the beginning of the Year, the Tribunes of the Commons, because none of their Society was about to withstand them joyning briskly their forces to carry on a Law, and the Consuls as briskly resisting them, the whole City being quite taken up about that one affair the *Aequi* beat the *Vitellian* Colony of Romans out of their Territories, and the greatest part of them, in regard the Town was treacherously taken by night, safely fled through the back parts of the City and got to Rome. The management of which affair fell to L. *Lucretius* Consul, who went with an Army and overcame the Enemy in Battel, returning Conqueror to Rome to a Contention somewhat greater, the day was set for A. *Virginus* and Q. *Pomponius* Tribunes of the Commons for the two last Years, whom the whole Senate was obliged to defend, neither could any Man accuse them of any other crime either in their lives or Magistracy than that, to gratifie the Fathers they withstood the Bill for continuing Tribunes: but the fierceness of the Commons balked the favour intended them by the Senate; so that the innocent Men were fined in 10000 l. of Mony payable by weight, a bad example sure! which the Fathers resented ill. *Camillus* accused them publicly of their wickedness, telling them, That by setting themselves against their own Officers they did not consider that by wicked Judgment they took away from the Tribunes the priviledg of their negative Voices, and by taking away that, they destroyed their Power. And whereas they thought the Senators would order that rudeness and licentiousness which the Tribunes took, they were mistaken. If Tribunes force could not be repelled by the assistance of Tribunes, the Senate would find out another way (telling them of Consuls) and no longer suffer those Tribunes who stood up for their authority, to mis of the favour of the publick, and hold their peace.

Thus he every day made Speeches publicly, whereby he increased their anger; neither did leave off stirring up the Senate against that Law, telling them, *That they should not come into the Forum, when the day came for making the Law upon any other terms, than as Men keeping in memory that they ought to fight for their Religion, the Temples of their Gods, and the Land of their Nativity.* As for his own private concerns, if 'twere fit to have respect to his own glory amidst those scuffles of his Country, 'twas Honour enough to him that frequent mention was made of the City which he had took; that he took pleasure every day in that monument of his Glory, and that he had always before his eyes that City for which he triumphed, that all People trod in the footsteps of his praises. But he accounted it a wicked thing to inhabit a City forsaken by its Gods, or that the Romans should live in a place which they had taken, or exchange the Conquering Country for that which was Conquered. The Fathers, the Nobles, old Men and young being hereby stirred up and encouraged, throng into the Forum, when the Law was made, and being divided into their respective Tribes, each particular Tribe caught hold on one another, begging with tears in their eyes, that they would not forsake that Country for which themselves and their Progenitors had fought with great Courage and Success, bragging of their Capitol, *Vesta's* Temple, and other Temples of the Gods built all about them, that they would not banish the Roman People from the Land of their Nativity, and Household Gods, into an Enemies City, and bring the matter to that pass, that it had been better we had never taken *Veii*, than that we should forsake Rome. Since they did not act by force, but by intreaties, and frequent mentioning their Gods, the greatest part of them thinking themselves obliged to it by Religion, unanimously abrogated the Law they had before made: And this Victory was so grateful to the Fathers, that the day after an Order of Senate was made and reported by the Consuls that the Commons should have seven Acres a Man of the *Veientan* grounds divided among them, neither should this division belong only to the Fathers of the Family, but every free Person therein, not excluding their Children from such hopes.

When the Commons were appeased with this gift, no man withstood the chusing of Consuls, so that L. *Val. Potitus*, M. *Manlius*, afterwards called *Capitolinus*, were made Consuls. These Men ordered great Shews, which M. *Furius*, Dictator, vowed in the *Veientan* War. The same Year a Temple is Dedicated to Queen *Juno*, vowed by the same Dictator in the same War; and 'tis reported that the Dedication was Celebrated by the great care of Matrons. There was then a War at *Algidum* with the *Aequi*, but not very considerable, in regard the Enemy



Enemy was almost routed before they joyned Battel. The Senate Decree a Triumph to *Valerius*, because he killed and pursued the Enemies farther than *Manlius*, who entered the City with Ovation, or the lesser Triumph. The same Year there arose a War with the *Volturnians*; but by reason of a Famine and Plague at *Rome*, which proceeded from too much dryness and heat, an Army could not be led thither. Whereupon the *Volturnians* having procured the Assistance of the Inhabitants of *Salpinum*, were puffed up that they made an inroad upon the *Roman* Territories. Then War was Proclaimed against them both, *C. Julius* the Censor died, into whose Place was chosen *M. Cornelius*, which proving ominous, because that Lustrum *Rome* was taken, there was never afterwards any Censor chosen into a dead place, and when their Consuls were very sick, they had an Interregnum, daily making use of their Soothsayers; and when the Consuls by an Order of Senate had resigned their Office, *M. Furius Camillus* is made Interrex, who chose *P. Corn. Scipio* Interrex, and he *L. Val. Potitus*, who created six Military Tribunes, Men of Consular Power, that the Commonwealth might not be at a loss for Magistrates, if any of them should fall sick.

XXXII. On the Calends of *July*, *L. Lucretius*, *S. Sulpitius*, *M. Aemilius*, *L. Furius Medullinus* the seventh time in that Office, *Agrippa Furius*, *C. Aemilius* the second time. Of these the management of the War with the *Volturnians* fell to *L. Lucretius* and *C. Aemilius*; and the care of the *Salpinatian* War fell to *Agrippa Furius* and *S. Sulpitius*. They first engaged with the *Volturnians*; the War was not sharp, though famous for the number of Enemies: the Army fled at the first onset, and 8000 of their armed Men being stop'd by the Horsemen, laid down their Arms, and delivered up themselves. The fame of this War hindered the *Salpinatians* from joyning Battel; they therefore mounted the Walls, and there stood upon their defence. The *Romans* every where pillaged the *Volturnian* and *Salpinatian* Country, no Man withstanding them: until the *Volturnians* being tired out with the War obtained a Truce for twenty Years, upon condition they would make restitution to the *Romans*, and pay their Army for that Year. The same Year *M. Cædicius*, one of the Commons, told the Tribunes, that about mid-night, in the way where there is now a Chappel, he heard a Voice over the Temple of *Vesta*, somewhat louder than a Mans, which commanded him to tell the Magistrates that the *Galls* were coming. The mean condition of the Author (as it commonly happens) made this thing not much regarded, the Nation also being a good distance from them, and therefore the more unknown to them. Neither when the hand of Fate was thus upon them, did they only despise the warnings of the Gods, but human assistance also, which was present with them, in removing *M. Furius* from the City: who, upon a day appointed by *L. Apuleius*, a Tribune of the Commons, concerning the *Veientan* Prey, those of his own Tribe also, and his Clients, who were no small part of the Commons, being summoned to the House (at that time also having lost his Son) ask'd them concerning the business, and their answer was, that they would give him as much as the Fine was, but they could not acquit him of it. Whereupon he is forced into Banishment, beseeching the immortal Gods that if he were innocent, they would, the first opportunity, let the ungrateful City know the want of him. In his absence he is fined fifteen thousand pound of Money to be paid by weight.

XXXIII. Thus he is Banish'd, who, had he staid, (if human assistance can afford any certainty) had kept *Rome* from being taken. When the fatal destruction of the City approach'd, Ambassadors came from *Clusium* desiring help against the *Galls*. 'Tis reported, that that Nation being much taken with the sweetness of their Fruit, especially the strange deliciousness of their Wine, passed the *Alps*, got possession of the Fields before Tilled by the *Etrurians*, and carried over into *Gallia* some Wine to entice their Nation thither. Some say that *Aruns* of *Clusium*, whose Wife was vitiated by *Lacuman* his Pupil, a stout young Man, and not punishable but by Foreign aid, led them over the *Alps*, and was the Ringleader at the siege of *Clusium*; but 'tis clear enough, that those that assaulted *Clusium* were not the *Galls* that first passed the *Alps*. For the *Galls* got over into *Italy* two hundred years before the siege at *Clusium*, or taking *Rome*: neither was their first encounter with the *Etrurians*, but long before they often fought with those that live between the *Apennine* and the *Alps*. The wealth of the *Tuscans* being an open encouragement to them both by Land and Sea, long before the *Roman* Empire, even the upper and lower Sea, wherewith *Italy* is encompassed like an Island: and the names of those Seas are an argument for it; for the *Italians* call the one the *Tuscan* Sea after the common name of the Nation, and the other the *Adriatick* Sea, from *Adria* a Colony of the *Tuscans*. These Men extending their Territories to both Seas, inhabited 12 Cities first on this side the *Apennine* towards the lower Sea, and forwards on the other side having sent as many Colonies as were requisite to impeople the Country. And these had all places beyond the River *Padus* to the *Alps* in their Possession, except that corner of the *Venetians* who inhabit a Bay of the Sea. And without question they were the original of the *Alpin* Nations, especially the *Rætians*: whom the very places having made so barbarous, that they retain nothing of their ancient Language besides the sound of it, and that too not without corruption.

XXXIV. Concerning the *Galls* passage into *Italy* I have been thus informed. In the Reign of *Tarquinius Priscus*, the sole management of *Celtæ*, which is one third of *Gallia*, did belong to the *Biturigians*,

*Biturigians*, who gave them a King, this King was *Ambigatus*, a Man virtuous and rich in himself and his People. For that part of *Gallia* under his Command did so abound with Men and Plenty, that he had enough to do to govern them. Being therefore honourably born, and desiring to rid his Kingdom of some of the Multitude, he declares that he will send *Bellovesus* and *Sigovesus*, his Sisters Sons, two smart young Men, into whatever seats the Gods by Auguries would allot them; and that they should raise as many Men as they pleased, that no Nation might be able to repel them. The *Hercinian* Forrests fell to *Sigovesus's* share; and the Gods gave *Bellovesus* a far pleasanter Journey into *Italy*. Who, because he was over-stock'd with People, when he had raised the *Biturigians*, the *Arvernians*, the *Senonians*, the *Meduans*, the *Ambarruans*, the *Carnutians*, and the *Aulercians*, he went with great Forces of Horse and Foot against the *Tricastinians*. Then the *Alps* were between them and *Italy*, which seemed insuperable, and truly I do not wonder at it, since there was no way (as 'tis still, unless we'll believe the Stories about *Hercules*.) Then when the *Gauls* were as it were hedged in by the height of the Mountains, and they look'd about to see which way they might pass into another Country over tops as high as Heaven, they had some scruple upon them, because they heard that some strangers, seeking some places of abode, were opposed by the *Salian* Nation; these were the *Marslians* going in Ships from *Phocia*. The *Gauls* supposing this to be the Omen of their fortune, resolved to fortify with Woods whatever place they came first to. They pass over the pathless *Alps* to that *Taurinian* Forrest; and when they had routed the *Tuscans*, and heard that the Plot of ground, where they then were, being not far from the River *Ficinus*, was called the *Insubrian* Ground, after the name of the *Insubrians*, they followed the Omen of the place, and built a City called *Mediolanum*.

Afterwards another company of the *Cænomani* followed the steps of the former, under the Conduct of *Elitovius* through the same Forrest, by the favour of *Bellovesus*, and fate down, when they had passed the *Alps*, at *Brixia* and *Verona*, which places were possessed by the *Libuans*. After these came in the *Salluvians*, and made their abode near the ancient Nations of the *Lævians* and *Ligurians*. Afterwards when all places were taken up between *Po* and the *Alps*, the *Lingonians* came in, and Boating over the River *Po*, they drive not only the *Etrurians*, but the *Umbrians* also out of their Territories, keeping themselves within the *Apennine*. Then fresh *Senonians* came in, and enlarged their Borders from the River *Urente* to *Æsis*, and from thence I find they came to *Clusium* and *Voma*; but 'tis uncertain whether they did this of themselves, or by the assistance of all the *Gauls* on this side the *Alps*. The Inhabitants of *Clusium* being frighted at the sight of their numbers, their monstrous bigness, and their unusual Weapons; and at the news of their Conquering all places on this side the *Po*, and farther, and routing the *Etrurian* Legions, sent Ambassadors to *Rome*, desiring aid of the Senate, though they had no alliance or acquaintance with them, unless it was, that they did not defend the Men of *Veii*, their Kindred, against the *Roman* People. No aid was granted, but the three Sons of *M. Fabius Ambustus* were sent Ambassadors to treat with the *Gauls* in the name of the Senate and *Roman* People, telling them, that they ought not to oppose the Allies and Friends of the *Romans* from whom they had received no injury; and that if there were necessity, they should be assisted by them; but 'twere better, if possible, to forbear fighting, and that the *Gauls*, a new Nation, should be known to them rather by Peace than War.

A mild Embassie, had it not been carried by Ambassadors more like *Gauls* than *Romans*. XXXVI. Who after they had delivered their Message in the Council of the *Gauls*, received this Answer, That though the *Roman* Name was new to them, yet they believed them to be valiant, because the Men of *Clusium* implored their aid in their trembling condition. And because they offered in their Embassie rather to stand up for them than their Allies, they did not disregard their Overtures of Peace, if so be the Men of *Clusium* would give them part of their Borders, which the *Gauls* stood in need of, otherwise no Peace was to be granted. In which particular they would receive an answer in the presence of the *Romans*, and if Grounds were denied them, they would fight in the presence of the same *Romans*, that they might tell at home how much the *Gauls* excelled other Men in Valour. What sort of Right was this, either to require the Possessors Lands or threaten them? And when the *Romans* asked, what the *Gauls* had to do in *Etruria*? they fiercely answered, that they carried their Right in their Arms, and that Valiant Men had a Title to all things; whereupon both sides were exasperated, and to Battel they went. At that time, the Fates being displeased with the *Roman* City, the Ambassadors take up Arms against the Law of Nations; neither could it be privately done, since the Noblest and Valiantest of the *Roman* Youth fought before the *Etrurian* Colours. The Valour also of the Foreigners was as conspicuous. But at last *Q. Fabius* prancing on Horseback on the outside of the Army, thrust the General of the *Gauls* through the side with a Javelin, as he was briskly making up to the *Etrurian* Colours, and killed him; but as he was dispoiling him, he was discovered by the *Gauls*, who gave the word through the whole Army that it was the *Roman* Ambassador, whereupon their anger abating towards the *Clusians*, they found a retreat, and threaten the *Romans*. Some were for going presently to *Rome*, but the Seniors ordered Ambassadors to be sent first to complain of their injuries, and to require the delivery up of the *Fabii* according

according to the Law of Nations by them violated. When the Embassadors from the *Gauls* had delivered their Message, the Senate were not well pleased with what the *Fabii* had done; the Barbarians seemed to require that they might have Right done them; but their ambition hindered them from Decreeing Justice (which would have made up the matter) upon such Noble Men. Therefore that the blame might not be upon themselves, they acquaint the People with the misfortune the *Gauls* had received, and with their demands, throwing the business upon them. But the *Fabii* were more in favour with them for what they had done, and they who should have been punished were created Military Tribunes of Consular Power for the ensuing Year. Whereupon the *Gauls* being angry, as they had reason, threatened open War, and returned. *Q. Sulp. Longus*, *Q. Servilius* four times in that Office, and *Ser. Cornelius Maluginensis* were with the three *Fabii* created Military Tribunes.

XXXVII. Upon the approach of so great a calamity (so much does Fortune blind Mens minds, when she is unwilling they should withstand her Power) that City which had made use of all helps against the *Fidenates* and *Veientians* and other neighbouring People, and had oftentimes made Dictators, had at this time no extraordinary Assistance or Commander, though they were challenged by an unusual and unheard of Enemy, that came from the Ocean, and the farthest Coast of *Gallia*. The Tribunes by whose rashness the War was hastened, had the sole management of all things, neither were they more careful in their preparations, than they were before in common Wars still making as though 'twas nothing. In the mean time when the *Gauls* had understood that the violators of human Right were advanced to high places; and their Embassie disregarded, being accordingly enraged (as that Nation is very passionate) they presently flourish their Colours, and set themselves upon a March. And when the Cities as they passed by, were afraid of their noise and tumult, and began to stand upon their defence, the Country fellows in the mean time betaking themselves to their Heels, they told them with a loud voice that they were going to *Rome*; taking up as they went a vast deal of ground with their Men and Horses. But the speed of the Enemy made them terribly afraid at *Rome*, especially when Fame was the Harbinger, and Messengers were sent from *Clusum*, and many other places, to give them notice of their coming. For they met with an Army led in haste and confusion, but about eleven Miles out of the City, where the River *Allia* that rises out of the *Crustumian* Mountains, runs not much below the way into the River *Tiber*. Now the Enemy was before them, and every where about them; a Nation given to tumult and hubbub, that filled all places with extravagant singing and balling, with horrid shouts and clamours.

XXXVIII. There the Military Tribunes put their Army in Order without ever making choice of a place before-hand for their Camp, or fortifying it with a Trench, or consulting either Gods or Men by Augury or Sacrifice; and divided into Wings that it might not be surrounded by the number of Enemies, but could not make the Vaunt Guards even, though they drew their Men so far asunder, that the middle of their Army was infirm and thin. There was a little way from them on the right hand a pretty high place which they stocked with Subsidaries, which as it was the occasion of their fear and running away, so 'twas their only refuge when they fled. For *Brennus* the Commander of the *Gauls* fearing some trick in the small number of Enemies, and supposing that they chose that high place for no other reason, but that they might set upon the *Gauls* overthwart them, and flying off from them, Marches up to the Subsidaries; not at all questioning, if he could displace them, to conquer the rest easily in the open plain. Thus not only Fortune, but Reason also was on the Barbarians side. In the other Army neither the Officers nor Soldiers did behave themselves like Romans. Trembling and flying was in their minds; and the men so much forgot themselves, that more of them fled to *Vii*, their Enemies City, from which *Tiber* kept them, than the straight way to *Rome* to their Wives and Children. This place is not very well defended by the Subsidaries. In the other part of their Army, they that were farthest off hear shouting behind them, and they that were nearest hear it close by them, and every Man of them ran before they were touched; nay, almost before they had seen the Enemy, not only without striking a blow, but without returning so much as a shout, so that there was no blood spilt among them that fought. As they strove to run away, the backs of those that hindered their flight, in the throng were bruised. About the banks of *Tiber* whither all the left Wing fled throwing away their Arms, there was a great slaughter, and many that were not skilled in swimming, or were weak, being tired with their Helmets and other Armour, were swallowed up in Whirlpools. But the greatest part of them got safe to *Vii*, from whence they did not only send no Garrison, but not so much as the news of this Discomfiture to *Rome*. As for the right Wing that were not next to the River, but more under the Hill, they every Man of them got to *Rome*, and fled into the Tower, not so much as shutting the Gates of the City after them.

XXXIX. The *Gauls* being as it were amazed at such a miraculous and sudden Victory, stood at first like Men frightened, and ignorant at what had happened, afterwards they began to suspect that there were some in Ambush, and after that to strip off the spoil from the slain, and according to their custom to pile up their Armour. But last of all, when they saw nothing like an Enemy, they set themselves upon the March, and got to *Rome* a little before Sun-set. Now when the Horsemen

Horsemen that were sent before brought them word back that the Gates were not shut, neither was there any Guard or Watch before them, they were as much taken up with wonder as before; and fearing they should be benighted, and being not at all acquainted with the situation of the City, they sat down between *Rome* and *Anien*, not without sending their spies about the Walls and Gates to hear what the Enemy intended in such desperate circumstances. The Romans not thinking that any of the Army were alive but those that fled back to *Rome*, whereas more of them got to *Vii* than *Rome*, set themselves a bewailing the sad condition of those that were alive, as well as dead, and so filled the whole City with Lamentations. Then the fear of the publick stifled their private griefs, as soon as ever they heard that the Enemies were present. A little after, their ears were filled with howling and confused singing which came from the Barbarians that scampered about the Walls in Companies. From which time they were so much in suspense till the next day, that they expected they would enter the City with violence at their first coming to it: concluding, that they would have staid at *Allia*, had not this been their intention. Afterwards about Sun-set they supposed they would enter, in regard they had but little day-light to do their business in. Then again they were of opinion, that they deferred their resolutions till night, that their coming might be more dreadful. Last of all when they came not then, they thought 'twas deferred till the next day that they might search all places more narrowly. Thus their calamity was mingled with perpetual fear, which was much augmented, when they saw their Enemies Colours advance to the Gates of the City. However the City was not that whole night, nor the day following, in such a consternation as they were in when they fled from *Allia*. For when they had no hopes of defending the City with so small a company as was left, they thought fit that the Youth of the Town, with their Wives and Children, and also that the strongest of the Senators should betake themselves into the Tower and Capitol, and having got Arms and Provision there to preserve their *Flamen*, those of the Vestal Priest-hood, and whatever was sacred, from fire and common ruin, and not to leave off worshipping them, as long as there were Men alive to Worship. If the Tower and Capitol, those receptacles of their Gods, if the Senate, the Head of their publick Council, if their Military Youth did but survive the imminent ruin of their City, they thought the loss of their old Men, and the Mob that was left behind them to perish in the City, not very considerable. And that the Multitude might take it more patiently at the hands of the Commons, the old Men of Triumphal and Consular Dignity declared openly they would die with them, and not be a burthen to the small Company that were fit to bear Arms, with those Bodies which were not able to bear Arms or defend their Country.

XL. Thus the Seniors, though appointed to die, comforted one another, then they encouraged the company of young Men, following them even to the Capitol and Tower, and commending to their Youth and Valour the remaining Fortune of that City that had conquered in all Wars for 360 Years together. The sad departure of those, who were their only hopes and help from those who were resolved not to out-live the destruction of the City, the howlings and cries of Women, running after sometimes one and sometimes another, and asking their Husbands and Children, What death they would die? The cloudy face and dismal appearance of all things, were without all question the highest aggravation of calamity that can befall humane nature. Yet a great many of them followed their Mistresses into the Tower, being not invited thereunto, nor forbidden by any; because 'twas not manly to have Women with them, though they were useful to their Children in the Siege. Another Company of the Commons, whom so small a Hill could not hold, nor feed in such a scarcity of Provision, break, as it were, in Army out of the City, and go to *Janiculum*. From thence they are scattered, some of them over the Fields, others go to the neighbouring Cities, without any Conduct or Advice, every Man following his own Counsel, and comforting himself with his own hope, at the same time that they bewailed the Publick. In the mean time the *Flamen Quirinalis* (or *Romulus's* Priest) and the Vestal Virgins taking no care of their own concerns, consult what Gods they should carry with them, and what (because they were not able to carry off all) they should leave behind, and which was the safest place to put them in; and at last think it the best way to dig a hole in the Chapel, next to the *Flamen's* House, where they thought it a sin to spit, and they lay them up in Vessels. The rest they divided among them, and carry over the great Timber-bridg that leads to *Janiculum*. And when *Q. Albinus* one of the Roman Commons, who was carrying his Wife and Children, and the rest of their unwarlike gang in a Cart out of the City, saw them upon the Hill; he made a difference between Divine and Humane things, supposing it a piece of irreligion, to let Priests and Vestal Virgins, Persons of publick Office, his Wife and Children to come down, whilst he and his were carried in a Cart: he therefore ordered they determined to go.

XLI. In the mean time all things being as well settled at *Rome* as their circumstances would permit for the defence of the Tower, the old Men return into their Houses, and being fully resolved to die, they wait for the coming of their Enemies. Those Magistrates among them, that

that had been carried in their Chairs of State to the Senate-house, that they might die attended with all the Ensigns of their former Fortune, Honour, or Valour; put on their August Robes, wherein they had either triumphed, or devoutly waited upon the Chariots that carried Images, and in the middle of their Houses sate in their Ivory Chairs. There are some that report, that repeating their Vow, which *M. Fabius* the Pontifex recited to them, they Devoted and gave up themselves for their Country and the Roman Citizens. The Gauls, in regard they had now enjoyed a whole nights respite from fighting, and indeed because they were never engaged in any doubtful Battel, neither did they at that time take the City by force and violence; entered with minds not discomposed with heat or anger at the *Colinus* Gate, the day after; and when they came into the Forum, they cast their eyes upon the Temples of the Gods and the Tower, which was the only Specimen of War: then leaving a small Garrison, left any out of the Tower or Capitol, should assault them when they were dispersed, they betake themselves to Plunder, not meeting so much as a Man in the streets, some of them rush in throngs into the Houses next them; others into those farthest off, concluding them yet unpillaged, and consequently stuffed with Prey; but when they saw no body, they were frightened thence, upon supposition the Enemy would by some trick set upon them as they were scattered; and so they returned in Companies to the Forum and places near the Forum. And there seeing the Commons Houses locked, and the Palaces of the Nobility open, they lingered more in entering the open Houses than the shut. But when they beheld them sitting in such State and Habits, far beyond any thing that is Humane, when they beheld the Majesty and Gravity they carried in their looks, they approach them with such reverence as if they had been Gods. And when they had for a time stood by them, as if they had been so many Images, 'tis reported, that one of the Gauls stroaked down *M. Papyrius* his Beard (which they then wore very long) and thereupon the old Man shook his Ivory staff at him. Then began the slaughter. The rest were murdered in their Chairs. When they had killed the Nobles, they gave no Quarter to any, but killed and plundered their Houses, and then set them on fire.

XLII. But the first day they did not burn much of the City; because perhaps all of them had not a mind to it, or because the chief of the Gauls thought it best only to burn some few Houses, thereby to terrifie those that had shut themselves up to yield freely, and to engage them upon hopes of enjoying what was left. When the Romans from the Tower saw the whole City full of Enemies, and running up and down every Street; when they saw fresh murders in one place or other continually, they were not only almost distracted in their minds, but they were also not able to fix either their ears or eyes upon any one Object: for the shouts of the Enemies, the lamentations of Women and Children, the crackling of the fire, and the noise of Houses falling every-where, did turn away their trembling minds, their eyes and faces from what before they reflected on. Thus they were placed by fortune to behold the fall of their Country, having nothing left them to defend but their own bodies; labouring under a far greater misery than ever any besieged Persons did; because they saw all they had in the hands of the Enemy. Neither did a quieter night succeed that fatal day; but even the night and the day after, and every minute, they beheld fresh spectacles of Rapine and Murder. Yet notwithstanding they were thus laden and overwhelmed with calamities, did their courage sink; but though they saw all places levelled by flames and ruins, they were resolved to defend their liberty to the last and the little Hill which was all that was left to them: For now the like mischiefs happening every day, they were accustomed to miseries, and laying by all thoughts of their own concerns, they trusted only to their Arms and Swords; which they beheld with pleasure in their own right hands, accounting them the only Relicks of their hopes.

XLIII. When the Gauls, who for some days spared the Houses, saw nothing remaining among the ruins of the Captive City, but Armed Men, and those not at all terrified by these misfortunes, nor inclinable to yield up themselves, unless they were assaulted, they resolve to try the utmost, and assaulted the Tower. At break of day at the sound of the Trumpet, they meet and are put in order in the Forum. Then giving a shout, and having made a Fence to keep the Fire-balls and stones from them, they march under the Tower. Against whom, the Romans did nothing rashly nor fearfully, but having fortified all their passages with Guards, and knowing the steeper the Hill was, the easier they could beat them down, they let them climb up to the middle of it; and then from a Place somewhat higher, which was as it were for the purpose, they set upon the Gauls, and throwing them down, made a great slaughter. Insomuch that no part of them, nor all of them together, ever after attempted to get up again. Being therefore quite out of all hopes of taking the Tower by Force, they lay Siege against it, which they never thought of till that time, having themselves burnt all the Corn in the City, and that which was in the Fields, was carried thence to Veii. The Army then being divided, some of them pillaged the neighbouring People, others kept Siege at the Tower, receiving supplies of Provision from the Foragers. But as the Gauls went from the City to try the Valour of the Romans, even fortune herself led them to Ardea, where *Camillus* was banished, who being there in greater sorrow for the calamities of the Publick than his own; blaming both Gods and Men, and with indignation wondering what

what was become of those Men, who with him took *Veii* and *Falisci*, who in other Wars came off with greater Courage than success; on a sudden hears that the Army of the Gauls are coming, and when the trembling *Ardeatians* asked him, What they should do? Though before he kept from the publick Councils; he then goes into the middle of the Assembly, and as if he had been inspired, said thus:

My old friends of Ardea! (who are now also my fellow Citizens) since not only your kindness has so contrived it, but my fortune too has put me into these circumstances, I hope none of you think, that I was forgetful of my condition in coming hither: but the affair in hand, and the common danger, forces every one to contribute what they can in this case, now that the Garrison is in such a consternation. And indeed, when should I return my acknowledgments for your great favours to me, if I omit this opportunity? Or where can you make use of me, if not in War? Upon the reputation of this skill [in Military affairs] I lived in my own Country: but though I were conquered in War, yet in peace I was banished by my ungrateful fellow Citizens. Now you, Ardeans! have an occasion offered to you, not only of requiting the Romans for all their extraordinary kindnesses, that you your selves well remember (nor is it any reproach to say so, since you know 'tis true) but of making this your City very glorious for its warlike actions against a common Enemy. The Nation that is a coming against you, are such a sort of Men, to whom nature has given rather great than strong bodies: and therefore they bring, to every combat, more dread than force. Take the Roman miscarriage for an instance of it. They took the City when it lay open to them: but were beaten off from the Castle and the Capitol with a small Party. Now being quite tired with the fatigue of a Siege they march off, and straggle, like Vagabonds, about the Country, where they are filled with Meat and Wine, that they get by thieving. When night comes on, they lay themselves down by the Rivers sides, without any Fortification, without any formed Camp, and without any Watches, all over the Fields, like so many wild Beasts; being now, since their prosperity, grown much more careless than ever. If you therefore resolve to defend your Walls, and not to suffer your whole Country to be turned into Gaul; stand to your Arms in a full body at the first watch; and follow me, to kill, not to fight: and if I do not give you an opportunity, whilst they are asleep, to kill them like beasts, I am content to undergo the same fate at Ardea, as I have met with at Rome.

Now every body, both Friends and Enemies were before convinced, that there was never such a Man in the World at that time for Warlike affairs: so that, the Assembly being dissolved, they refreshed themselves, and then waited very diligently till the signal should be given. Which being given, they met *Camillus*, as soon as it was night, at the Gates: and when they were got a little way from the City (as he had foretold them) they came to the Camp of the Gauls, which was unguarded and neglected on every side; which they, with a great shout, invaded. Nor had they any need to fight, but slew all before them; killing their naked bodies, which were dissolved and buried in sleep. But the fright roused up the hindmost from the places where they lay; who, being ignorant, what, or whence that force was, some of them fled away; some ran unawares upon the Enemy; and a great part of them being gotten into the *Antian* Territories, were circumvented by the Townsmen, who made an Incurion upon them as they straggled about. The like slaughter was made of the *Tuscans* in the *Veian* Territories; who were so far from pitying a City, that for almost four hundred Years had been their Neighbour, now oppressed by a strange, unheard of Enemy, that they made Incurions into the Roman Dominions even at that time; and, being laden with booty, had a design to attack *Veii* also, which was the Guard and the last hopes of the Roman Nation. Then the Roman Soldiers had seen strouling over the Fields, and in a full body driving the Cattel before them; besides that, they saw their Camp pitched not far from *Veii*. Thereupon they conceived, first, pity to themselves, then indignation; and out of that fury, which enraged their minds. Were their misfortunes (said they) a pleasure to the Etrurians too, from whom they had turned the Gallick War upon themselves. With that they could hardly forbear making an immediate attack upon them: but being restrained by *Caditius Centurio*, whom they themselves had made their General, they deferred the business till night. Now in this case they only wanted an adviser equal to *Camillus*; but the rest of their actions were performed in the same order, and with the same event of fortune. But besides this, they went, by the guidance of the Captives, who survived that slaughter, to another party of *Tuscans*, that were at *Salinae*, and there the next night, before any body was aware of their coming, made a greater slaughter; and so returned triumphant, with a double Victory, to *Veii*.

In the mean time the Siege at Rome was, for the most part slow, and silence kept on both sides; the Gauls being intent upon nothing else, save, lest any of the Enemies should get into their Camp: when on a sudden a Roman Youth made both his own fellow Citizens and the Enemy too admire him. There was a set Sacrifice to be on the Hill *Quirinalis*, for the Family of the *Fabii*: which to perform *C. Fabius Dorso* came down from the Capitol, with his Gown girt about him after the *Gabian* fashion, and the things he was to Sacrifice in his hands; and passing through the midst of the Enemies, without being at all concerned, or frightened at what any of them said to him, came up to the Hill *Quirinalis*: and there having solemnly performed all that he was to do, he returned the same way back, with the same steady countenance.



nance and step, (well hoping that the Gods would favour him, who had not been deterred from their worship by the fear even of death itself) till he came home to the Capitol; the Gauls being either astonished at the miracle of his audacity, or moved with Religion also, whereof that Nation is not at all neglectful. In the mean time the Veians grew every day, not only more courageous, but strong too: for not only the Romans flocked thither out of the Country, who had stragled from the unfortunate Battel, or the defeat of their taken City, but there came also a great number of Volunteers out of Latium, to share in the booty. And they thought it high time to attempt the recovery of their Country, and retrieve it out of the Enemies hands: but their strong Body wanted an Head. The place it self put them in mind of Camillus; and there were a great part of the Soldiers, who had been very successful in their actions under his Conduct and good Fortune: and Cædicius said, *He would not do any thing, to make any God or Man put an end to his Command, rather than he himself, remembering his own Quality, would desire another General.* So it was ordered, by general consent, that Camillus should be sent for from Ardea, but not before the Senate was consulted at Rome: so modest they were in all respects, and observed the differences of things even when they were almost undone. Now they were to pass with great danger through the Enemies Watches. Wherefore Pontius Cominus, an active Youth, promising his pains in that affair, laid himself upon the bark of a Tree, and swam upon it down the Tiber to Rome. Then, on the side that was next to the Bank, he got up a craggy Rock (which was therefore neglected by the Enemies Watch) into the Capitol: and being carried to the Magistrates, delivered his Message from the Army. Whereupon having received the Senates Decree, viz. That Camillus, being by the curiate assembly recalled from Banishment, should by order of the People be immediately declared Dictator, and that the Soldiers should have whom they pleased for their General; the Messenger went the same way back to Veii; and Embassadors, sent to Camillus, at Ardea, brought him to Veii: or (which I rather believe, viz. that he went not from Ardea before he found there was a Law made, that he should neither change his place of abode without the Peoples order, nor, unless he were made Dictator, have any Command in the Army) there was a Curiate Law [by all the Wards] made, and he was chosen Dictator in his absence.

XLVII. Whilst these things were transacted at Veii, the Castle at Rome and the Capitol meanwhile were in greater danger: For the Gauls (whether they had observed the Tract of a Mans foot, where the Messenger had come from Veii, or whether they on their own accord had observed an equal ascent hard by Carmentis Rock) having first, in a star-light night, sent a Man before unarmed, to try the way, and where there was any inequality or roughness in it, given him instruments [to make his way with] they leaned one upon another by turns, and lifted each other up, as the place required; till they got to the top with so much silence, that they did not only escape the Watch, but the Dogs too, who are a sort of Animals very apt to be disturbed at the least noise in the night time: yet they did not escape the Geese, from whom, as being sacred, the Romans abstained, though in the greatest want of meat, which was their preservation. For by the gagling of them, and the clapping of their Wings, M. Manlius was alarm'd, who had been Consul three Years before, a Man very expert in War, who taking up his Arms in all haste, and giving the rest the Word to do so too, marched toward them: and whilst the rest trembled, he tumbled the Gaul, who was now standing upon the top of the Rock, with a blow that he gave with his Buckler, quite down: whole fall, as it threw down those that were next to him; so it killed others, who being scared let go their Arms, and caught hold of the Rocks, to which they stuck. And now the rest also, being come together, with Darts and Stones that they flung down, put the Enemy into a great confusion, so that the whole body of them fell headlong down. After that, the tumult being allayed, they spent the remainder of the night (as much as People under such a disturbance, when the pass'd danger still ran in their minds) in quiet. Next morning, as soon as it was day, the Soldiers were called by sound of Trumpet to a Council before the Tribunes; where, since there was a reward due both to good and bad actions, Manlius was first commended for his Courage, and presented, not only by the Tribunes, but by consent of the Soldiers also: for they each of them brought into his house, (which was in the Castle) half a pound of meal and two quarts of Wine: which was indeed but a small thing to speak of, but their necessity had made it a great argument of their love to him; in that each one of them depriving himself of his Victuals, neglected his own Body, and the common conveniences of life to shew their respect to that one Man. Then the Sentinels of that place, where the Enemy had stoll up, were summoned to appear: and though P. Sulpicius, Tribune of the Soldiers, had declared, *That he would punish them all according to the Law of Arms*, yet, since the general voice of the Soldiers, who laid the fault upon one of them, was so uniform, he desisted and spared the rest; but threw down the person, who, doubtless, was guilty of the crime: by universal approbation, from the Rock. From that time the Watches began to be more intent on both sides; not only among the Gauls, who had heard, that there were Messengers who came to and fro between Veii and Rome; but among the Romans also, who remembered the danger of that night.

But

XLVIII. But above all other misfortunes of the Siege and the War, famine press'd the Armies on both sides: besides that the Gauls had the Plague also among them, who being encamped in a place that lay among Tombs and Burial places, which was hot by reason of the flames stirring) whereof that Nation is very impatient, as being used to moisture and cold) and not only so, but being tormented with excessive heat of the weather, and very fainty, died like rotten sheep. For now they had buried so many single Persons, that they were quite a weary of it, and therefore burnt them promiscuously in great heaps altogether: and thence the famous place, called *Busta Gallica* [the Gauls Burial place] took its name. After that they made a Truce with the Romans, and had Parleys by permission from the Generals: at which, seeing the Gauls did often tell them of their scarcity, and would have had their, upon the score of their necessity, to have made a surrender; they say, that in many places there was bread cast down from the Capitol into the Enemies Camp. But now their want of Provisions could no longer be either hid or endured: wherefore whilst the Dictator himself made the Levy at Ardea, he ordered L. Valerius, Master of the Horse, to bring away the Army from Veii: and then prepared and formed a Body strong enough to attack the Enemy. In the mean time the Army in the Capitol, being tired out with continual Duty and Watching, yet having overcome all human evils, except hunger, which nature had made invincible, look'd day after day, whether any relief appeared from the Dictator; till at last, now that their hopes as well as their meat was quite spent (so that the Soldiers, though they continued in their stations, were ready to faint, for weakness, under their Arms) they desired, either to surrender or be delivered from that necessity upon what terms soever they could: since the Gauls openly professed, *That they would take a small sum to raise the Siege.* Thereupon a Senate was held, and the Tribunes Military were employed to make the bargain. So the business was transacted at a Parley, between P. Sulpicius, a Tribune Military, and Brennus, the petit King of the Gauls: and a thousand pounds of Gold was set as the value of a People, who were soon after to Command the World. But though this thing were very base in it self, yet there was a farther indignity added to it: for the Gauls brought false Weights; which the Tribune refusing, the insolent Gaul added, to the weight, a Sword: and there was a voice heard, which the Romans could not endure, saying, *Wo to the Conquered.*

XLIX. But the Gods and Men too kept the Romans from buying their lives: for by a kind of fatality, before the cursed bargain was made an end of (for they wrangled so long that the Gold was not yet all weighed) the Dictator came up: who commanded, *the Gold to be taken away, and the Gauls to be gone.* Which seeing they refused to do, and said they had made a bargain, he told them, *That Contract was not valid, which was made after he was chosen Dictator, by an inferior Magistrate without his Order:* and with that gave the Gauls warning to prepare themselves for Battel; Ordering his own Men to throw all their Baggage in an heap together; to make ready their Arms, and retrieve their Country, not by Gold, but their Swords: as having in view the Temples of their Gods; their Wives, Children, and their native soil, (which was now deformed by the misfortunes of War) with all other things that could be lawfully defended, regained, or recovered. When he had so done, he set his Army in Battalia, as the nature of the place would suffer him, amidst the ruins of the City which was half destroyed, besides that it was also naturally uneven; and provided all things, which by the art of War could be prepared, or made choice of, as advantageous for his Men. The Gauls were surprized at this new accident, but yet took up their Arms and ran upon the Romans with more fury than consideration. And now their fortune was changed; for now the assistance of the Gods, and Human Counsels helped the Romans: so that, upon the first onset, the Gauls were routed with as much ease, as, at Allia, they had Conquered. After that they were again defeated in a more formal Battel, eight Miles from Rome (upon the Road that leads to Gabii) whither they had fled out of the former fight, by the Conduct and good management of the same Camillus. There they were all slain, their Camp taken, and not so much as a Messenger left, [to carry the news of their defeat into their Country.] The Dictator having recovered his Country from the Enemy, returned triumphant into the City; and among the Soldiers sayings, which they threw out very uncouthly, he was truly stiled, *The Romulus, and Father of his Country; yea, a second builder of their City.* After that, when he had preserved his Country in time of War, he did the like in Peace too, without all question; in that he hindered them from removing to Veii: though not only the Tribunes were very intent upon it, since the City was burnt, but the common People too were of themselves more inclined to take that advise. That therefore was the cause, why after his Triumph, he laid not down his Dictatorship; since the Senate desired him, *not to leave the Commonwealth in an uncertain state.*

I. First of all, as he was a most devout Person in point of Religion, he took care of those things, that related to the Immortal Gods: and procured an Order of Senat; *That all the Temples, (for that the Enemy had been possessed of them) should be repaired, bounded, and purified: and that the manner of their purification should be sought for in the Books, by the Duumviri. That they should make a friendly and publick alliance with the Cæretes; for that they had entertained the holy things belonging to the Roman People, together with their Priests, and that through the kindness of that People the honour due to the Immortal Gods was not intermitted. That the Games called*

called Ludi Capitolini, should be set forth; upon the account, that Jupiter had defended [the City] his own Seat and the Castle of the Roman People in time of danger: and that M. Furius the Dictator should appoint such a body of Artists for that purpose, out of those that dwelt in the Capitol and the Castle. There was likewise mention made about expiating that voice in the night time, which was heard, though neglected, when it foretold their defeat, before the Gallick War; and order given, That there should be a Temple built to Aius Locutius. The Gold that was taken from the Gauls, and that, which, amidst their confusion, was brought out of other Temples into that of Jupiter, since they had forgot whither it ought to be returned, was all judged to be sacred, and ordered to be laid under Jupiters shrine. Now the Religion of the City had formerly appeared in this; that when they wanted Gold in the publick stock, to make up the sum, which they were to give the Gauls, they had had the request raised by the Matrons, that they might not meddle with the holy Gold. The Matrons therefore had thanks given them, and a new honour bestowed upon them, viz. that they as well as their Husbands should have a laudatory Oration made in praise of them after their deaths. When all those things were performed, that related to the Gods, and could be done by the Senate; then he, at last, seeing the Tribunes importuned the common People with daily harangues, to leave those ruins and remove to the City of Veii, which was ready to receive them; came into the Assembly with all the Senate attending on him, and made this Speech:

LI.

Romans! the contests I have had with the Tribunes of the People are so vexations to me, that I had no other comfort in my severe exile, all the while I lived at Ardea, than in being removed from these debates: nor would I, upon this very score, have ever come back, had you not recalled me by an Order of Senate, and the consent of the People. Nor was it the alteration of my mind, at this time, but your fortune, that induced me to return. For their great design was, that our Country should remain upon its old bottom; not that I should be in it. And truly I should not only be now quiet, but hold my tongue very willingly, were there not any such occasion as this to fight for my Country: which to refuse, as long as life lasts, is dishonourable in all other Men, but in Camillus a sin. For what do we contend for? Why did we deliver it, when besieged, out of the Enemies hands, if, now 'tis recovered, we our selves desert it? And when, though the whole City were taken by the Conquering Gauls, the Gods and People of Rome still kept and inhabited the Castle and the Capitol; shall that same Castle and Capitol, now that the Romans are victorious and have recovered their City, be quite forsaken? Shall our good fortune make more waste in this City than our bad did? Truly, if we had no religious Rites enjoined, and delivered down to us along with the City; yet there was the hand of Heaven so evident in the late management of the Roman affairs, that I suppose Men can never hereafter neglect the Divine Worship. For do but consider either our good or our bad success for some years past: and you shall find that all things went well with those that worshipped the Gods, and ill with those that despised them. First of all, How many years and with what difficulty was the Veian War carried on? There was no end of it, before, by Command from the Gods, the Water was let out of the Albane Lake. What say you to the new defeat of this our City? Did it happen, before that despised voice was sent from Heaven, concerning the arrival of the Gauls? before the Law of Nations was violated by our Embassadors? or before that was, through the same neglect of the Gods, omitted, when it ought to have been revenged? We therefore, in being conquered, taken, and redeemed, suffered so much from the Gods and Men too, as to make us an example to the whole World. Then our ill circumstances put us in mind of Religion: for we ran into the Capitol, to the Gods, to Jupiters shrine, and, amidst our confusions, hid some of our holy things in the earth, removing others into the adjacent Cities, out of the Enemies sight: nor did we, though deserted both by Gods and Men, omit the worship of the Gods. They therefore restored to us our Country, Victory, and our ancient glory in War, which we had lost; turning all the terror, defeat and slaughter upon our Enemies, who, blinded with avarice, broke their contract and their word in the weight of the Gold.

LII.

Now since you see such instances in Humane affairs of what attends the Worship or neglect of the Deity, are you not sensible, Romans! how great a crime we (before we are well got clear of the Shipwreck of our former fault and misfortune) are about to commit? We have a City, built by advice and direction of the Soothsayers and Augurs: nor is there any place in it, but what is full of Religion and Gods; besides that there are set places, as well as days, for the performance of our solemn Sacrifices: and will you, Romans! forsake all these Gods, both publick and private? How agreeable is this act of yours to that which, during the late Siege, was done by that brave Youth, C. Fabius, to the astonishment of the Enemy as well as you? when going down from the Castle, amidst all the Gallick Darts, he performed the solemnity of the Fabian Family upon the Hill Quirinalis? Now therefore will you, who would not have the Holy Rites of a private Family neglected even in time of War, have the publick Rites, and Roman Gods forsaken in time of Peace? or allow the Priests and Flamens to be more negligent of the publick Worship, than a private person was in the solemn Sacrifice of his own Family? But some one, perhaps, will say, that we will either sacrifice at Veii, or send Priests from thence hither, to do so: neither of which can be done with safety to our Ceremonies. And that I may not run through all the Holy Rites, or speak of all the Gods in particular, at Jupiters Feast, can the bed, that he is to lie upon, be set in any place but the Capitol? Why should I talk of the eternal fire of Vesta, or that Image, which is kept in her Temple, as a pledge of Dominions? Why should I talk of your Ancilia [i. e. holy Shields] Mars Gradicus, and thou Father Romanus?

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lus? Would you have all these holy things left in a prophane place; which are as old, as the City, and some too older than the Original of it? Do but consider what difference there is between us and our Fore-Fathers: they delivered to us certain Rites, to be performed in the Albane Mount, and at Lavinium. Was it a Religious act to translate these holy Rites from the Cities of our Enemies to Rome, and shall we carry them hence to our City of Veii, without committing the greatest offence imaginable? Pray, call to mind, how often the holy Rites have been performed anew, when any thing of ancient usage has been by negligence or chance omitted. What was it of late, when the prodigy of the Albane Lake; but the renewing of the holy Rites, and repeating the auspicious that healed the Commonwealth, when it was sick of the Veian War? But besides this, we, as becomes. How signal and memorable a day (upon the score of the Matrons extraordinary zeal) was Queen Juno, brought over from Veii, and lately dedicated in the Aventine? We ordered a Temple to be built to Aius Locutius, in the new Street, upon the account of that heavenly voice that was heard: we added the Ludi Capitolini [Games in honour of Jupiter] to other Solemnities; and built a new College for that purpose, by order of the Senates. What needed we to have taken all this care, if we were resolved to leave the City of Rome together with the Gauls? If we did not stay in the Capitol so many Months, whilst the Siege lasted, of our own free will? If we were kept from our Enemies by fear? But we talk now of holy Rites and Temples: what have we at last to say of the Priests? Don't you consider, what a crime 'tis [for them to vary from their ancient Customs?] The Vestals, for example, have one sole place of Residence; from which nothing ever remov'd them, but the taking of the City. And for the Flamen Dialis [Jupiter's person Veian, instead of Roman Priests? Shall thy Vestals, Vesta! leave thee? or shall the Flamen, by dwelling abroad, contract each night so much guilt not only to him, but the Commonwealth too? What should I mention other things which we do by direction of the Soothsayers, most of them within the limits of the City, neither forgetting, nor neglecting any part of them? The curiate Assemblies, that manage the Military affairs; and the centuriate Assemblies, at which you choose Consuls and Tribunes Military; where can they be held as they ought to be, but where they use to be? Shall we transfer all these things to Veii? or shall the people meet to hold the Assemblies, with so much inconvenience to them, in this City, which is deserted both by Gods and Men? But the thing it self [some will say] compels us to leave this City, which is laid waste with fire and ruine, and go to Veii, where all things are entire; nor ven the poor commonalty here with Building. No; Romans! this reason, I suppose (though I should not tell you so) you know to be rather given out, than real: you, that remember, how, before the coming of the Gauls, when our Buildings, both private and publick were all safe, and the City standing, this same business was in agitation, about our going to Veii. Now see, Tribunes! how much difference there is between mine and your opinion. You think, that though it were not fit so to do at that time, yet now it may be: and I on the contrary (do not wonder at it, before you hear what 'tis) am of opinion, that though at that time we might have removed, when our City was standing, yet we ought not now to leave these ruins. For then the reason of our removing into a City, which we had taken, might have been our Victory, which would have been glorious to us and our Posterity: but now this removal will look sneaking and dishonourable in us, but glorious to the Gauls: for we shall seem not to have left our Country with Victory, but to have been defeated and lost it. Did our flight at Allia, the taking of our City, or the besieging of the Capitol, lay such a necessity upon us, that we should desert our native Soil, and banish our selves, or run away from that place, which we could not defend? And could the Gauls destroy Rome, which the Romans seem not able to rebuild? What remains, but that they now come with new Forces (for 'tis well known, they are an incredible multitude) and settle, by your permission, in this City, which they took and you desert? Yea what if (not the Gauls, but) your old Enemies, the Aequi and the Volsci, should do this; that is, come to Rome? Would you have them be called Romans, and you Veians? Or would you rather that this place should be your solitude, than your Enemies City? Truly I cannot see, what is a greater crime. Are you willing to commit these offences, because you are loth to build, and had rather suffer so much disgrace? If there could be no better, or larger House built in the whole City, than yonder Hovel where my Builder works, had we not better live in Hovels, like Shepherds and Country people, among our own holy things and household Gods, than to go publickly and banish our selves? Did our Fore-Fathers, who came hither out of several Countrys and were Shepherds (when there was nothing in these places but Woods and Fens) build a new City in so short a time; and shall we think it difficult, though the Capitol and the Castle are safe, and the Temples of our Gods standing, to rebuild a City that's burnt? Or shall we all together refuse to do that in the case of a publick conflagration, which we should each of us have done, if our own single Houses had been burnt?

LIII.

What, pray, if, either by treachery or misfortune, there should happen a fire at Veii, and the flames (as it may chance) being diffused by the wind should consume great part of the City; shall we remove thence to Fidenæ, Gabii, or any other City? Has that native Soil no influence upon you at all? Nor this Earth, which we call Mother? Does the love we bear to our Country only affect the outside and the rafters [of the Building?] Truly I'll tell you (though I am less pleased to remember your injustice, than my own calamity) when I was absent; as often as I thought of my Country; all these things came into my mind; the Hills, the Fields, the Tiber, the Country that I had been used

LIV.

used to see; and this Skie; under which I was born and bred: which I hope; Romans! may now rather make you so far as love with them, as to continue in your native Country, than torture you with desire hereafter, when you have left them. It was not without reason, that the Gods and Men chose this place to build a City in; very wholesome Hills; a River, as convenient, for conveying of all sorts of Fruits out of the midland Countreys; and receiving all Maritime Provisions: the Sea near, to all useful purposes, but the place not exposed by being too near, to the dangers of Foreign Navies; that lies in a place in the middle of Italy, and the only one that could have been found to augment the grandeur of a City. You may know by the very bigness of so new a City. For this, Romans! is now but the 365th. Year since the City was built: and you have waged Wars among so many ancient Nations so long; though in the mean time (not to speak of single Cities) neither the Volsci and the Æqui together (so many and those such strong Towns) nor all Etruria, which is so Potent both by Sea and Land, and takes up the breadth of all Italy between the two Seas, is able to cope with you in War. Which being so, what (the Devil) can be the reason why you shou'd be for new experiments; when, though your courage may be able to remove to another place, yet the fortune of this place can never be transferred? Here is the Capitol, where in times past, upon the finding of a Mans head, it was foretold, that in that place should be the chief Seat of Dominion. Here, when by direction of the Soothsayers the Capitol was freed, Juventas and Terminus, to the great joy of our Fore-Fathers, suffered not themselves to be stir'd. Here is Vesta's fire; here are the sacred Shields that fell from Heaven; and here are all the Gods, who will be propitious, whilst you continue here.

- LV. Now they say, that Camillus moved them very much; not only with his other Speeches, but with that which concerned Religion especially. But this doubtful matter was opportunely made an end of by a word that was accidentally spoken. For when the Senate a while after were consulting about these things in the Court called *Curia Hostilia*, and the Regiments returning from the Guards, by chance came in a Body through the Forum, a Centurion cry'd out in the Comitium, or Assembly Court; Ensign-bearer! fix here your Ensign; this is the best place for us to stay in: which when they heard, the Senate, going out of the Court, cry'd out all together, that they receiv'd the Omen, and the common people all about them approved of it. Then, having abrogated the Law, they began promiscuously to build the City; toward which there was Tile provided at the publick charge, and leave given to every man, to get Stone, and cut down Timber where they wou'd, having first given security, that they wou'd finish their Houses that Year. Their haste was the cause why they took no care to make the Streets strait; whilst, making no distinction between their own and others ground, they built in any void space. That's the reason, why the old Common-shoars, which were at first carried along the Streets, go now altogether under private Houses: and that the form of the City is like a place taken up [with building] rather than divided.

## DECADE I. BOOK VI.

### E P I T O M E.

1. &c. It shews the successful Actions performed against the Æqui, the Volsci and the Prenestines. 5. There were four Tribes added; the Stellatine, the Sabatine, the Tormentine, and the Arnian Tribe. 20. M. Manlius, who defended the Capitol from the Gauls, though he set those that were in Debt at liberty, and freed those that were Bound to work out their Debts; being condemned for attempting to make himself a King, was thrown down from the Tarpeian Rock: and for a mark upon him there was an order of Senate made, that no one of the Manlian Family shou'd after that time, be named Marcus. 35. &c. C. Licinius and L. Sestius, Tribunes of the people, promulgated a Law, that Consuls shou'd be made out of the Commons too, who were usually chosen out of the Senate: and that Law, (though the Senate was very earnest in opposing of it) those same Tribunes of the people, who had been the sole Magistrates for 5. years together, caused to pass: so that L. Sestius was the first Consul, that was chosen out of the Commons. There was also another Law made, that no one man shou'd have above 500. Acres of Land.

- I. I Have already given you an account in 5. Books, from the time that the City of Rome was built, to the taking of it, first under their Kings, and then their Consuls, Dictators, Decemviri and Tribunes Consular, what Wars they had abroad, and what Seditions at home: things which are obscure not only by reason of their great Antiquity, and cannot through the vast distance, as it were, of place, scarce be discerned; but because writing in those days was not common (which is the only faithful Record of actions) and that even those things, that were described in the Priests Books, or other publick and private Monuments, when the City was burnt, were most of them lost. But hereafter I shall give you a more clear and certain relation from the new born Cities second beginning, as from a stock that's

that's more fertile, of what exploits they did as well in Peace as War. Now by the help of him, who first set it upright (which was M. Furius above any man else) the City was at first supported; for they wou'd not suffer him to lay down his Dictatorship till that year was out. The Assembly for the next year thought not fit to have Tribunes, in whose time the City had been taken: and so the business came to an Interregnum [or time of vacancy when there was no chief Magistrate.] Now whilst the City was imploy'd in daily work and labour to repair their Buildings, in the mean time Q. Fabius, as soon as ever he went out of his Office, was warn'd to his Tryal by C. Martius, Tribune of the people; For that he, when a Lieutenant, had fought the Gauls, to whom he was sent as an Envoy, against the Law of Nations: from which Tryal Death (which came so opportunely, that a great many thought it voluntary) snatch'd him away. Then P. Cornelius Scipio enter'd upon the Interregnum; and after him M. Furius Camillus, a second time. He created for Tribunes of the Soldiers, with power Consular, A. Valerius Publicola, a second time, L. Virginus, P. Cornelius, A. Manlius, and L. Posthumus. Who, from the Interregnum entering immediately upon their Office, consulted the Senate first of all about Religion. First they ordered all the Leagues and Laws (which were the 12. Tables, and some made by the Kings too) to be got together, that could be found: whereof some were published among the Commonalty; and others that related to holy things, suppress'd by the Priests, most of all, that they might keep the peoples minds under an awe to Religion. Then they began to discourse of Holy dayes, and called the 17. of August, which was memorable for a double defeat (being the day, on which the Fabii were slain at Cremera; and when they had such ill fortune to lose the day in the Battel at Allia, with the ruine of their City) Dies Alliensis, from the latter defeat, and made it remarkable by ordering, that no business shou'd be done on it, either publick or private. Some think, That because on the 17. of July, Sulpicius the Tribune Military had not appeased the Gods, but that, before they were reconciled, the fourth day, the Roman Army had been exposed to the Enemy, that therefore it was ordered, that no holy duties shou'd be performed that day: and that from thence also proceeded the same usage upon the day after the Calends, and the Nones.

But they were not long at leisure to consult how to raise the Commonwealth out of so grievous a condition. For on the one hand the Volsci, their old Enemies, had taken Arms, to extinguish the Roman name; and on the other, Merchants brought them word, that there was a consult about a War held by all the great Men in Etruria at the Temple of Voltumna: besides that a new fright also was come upon them, by the revolt of the Latins and the Hernicans, who, after the Battel at the Lake Regillus, had, for almost 100. years, been constant Friends to the Romans. Wherefore since so many fears encompass'd them on every side, and that it was evident to all people, that the Roman name was not only hateful to their Enemies, but contemptible even to their Allies also; they thought fit that the Commonwealth shou'd be defended by the same persons Conduct, who recover'd it: and that M. Furius Camillus shou'd be made Dictator. He therefore being Dictator, chose C. Servilius Ahala Master of the Horse: and having put a stop to all judicial proceedings, made a Levy of the younger sort of men: but so, that he lifted the Seniors too, that had any strength left, and made them take an Oath to be true to him. When he had raised and armed his Men, he divided them into three parts: whereof he planted one in the Veian Dominions opposite to Etruria: another he order'd to Encamp before the City (of whom A. Manlius was Tribune Military [i. e. Colonel] as Emilius was Commander of those that were sent against the Etrurians) and the third part he himself led against the Volsci. Nor was it far from Lanuvium (at a place near the hill Marcius) that he began to attack their Camp. Who marching forth out of contempt (for they thought the Gauls had kill'd almost all the Roman Youth) to War, the name of Camillus, who was General, put them in such a fright, that they secured themselves with a Rampire, and their Rampire with heaps of Trees, that the Enemy might not any way enter upon their Works. Which when Camillus observ'd, he order'd fire to be thrown into the Wood; there being, as it happen'd, a great wind at that time, which blew toward the Enemy; and by that by means he not only opened the way with fire, but the flames, making toward their Camp, he put the foe with the heat, smoke, and crackling of the green stuff, as it burnt, into such a consternation, that it was less trouble for the Romans to go over the Rampire into the Volscian Camp, than it had been to go over the fence, which was burnt down. When the Enemy was all routed and slain, the Dictator, having taken the Camp by storm, gave the Spoil to the Soldiers, which, the less it was expected from a General, that was not used to make Presents, was so much the better taken. After that pursuing the Foe as they fled, when he had pillaged all the Volscian Territories, he brought the Volscians to make a Surrender at last after 70. years Wars. Having Conquer'd the Volscians, he went over to the Æqui, and surprized their Army at Bola, as they were there preparing for a War: nor did he attack their Camp only, but their City too, and took it upon the first Assault.

But whilst they had such good fortune on that side, where Camillus was the chief manager of the Roman affairs, they were mightily terrified on the other: For almost all Etruria was up in Arms and Besieging Sutrium, a Town in Alliance with the Romans: whose

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Embassadors, desiring aid in that their unhappy condition, went to the Senate and got a Decree; *That the Dictator, as soon as possible, should relieve the Sutrians.* But the fortune of the besieged being unable to endure the delay of that hope, seeing the few men they had in the Town were all disabled by toil, watching, and wounds, which still lay heavy upon them, they delivered up their City to the Enemy upon terms, and being sent forth unarmed with one coat a piece, they left their native soil in a wretched manner. At that time *Camillus* chanced to come in, with the Roman Army, to their assistance: at whose feet when the sorrowful crowd of them had laid themselves down, and the cries of the Women and Children (who were sharers in their Exile) seconded the speeches of the Nobility, which were forced from them by extreme necessity, he had the *Sutrians* forbear their Lamentations; *For he brought sorrow and tears to the Etrurians.* Then he ordered his men to lay down their Baggage, and the *Sutrians*, with whom he left a small Guard, to sit down there together: but bid his Soldiers take their Arms along with them. So going, as fast as he could, to *Sutrium* he found (as he supposed he should, and as in such cases it generally happens,) all things dissolved in Luxury; no Guard before the Walls; the Gates wide open; and the stragling Conquerer carrying the Booty out of the Enemies Houses. By this means *Sutrium* was taken again the very same day; and the Victorious *Etrurians* were killed by this new Foe all over the Town; nor had they time to Rendezvous, and meet in a Body, or take up their Arms. And when they made, every man as he was able, towards the Gates they found them (according to the Dictators first orders) shut. With that some of them took up their Arms, and others, who were by chance got Arm'd amidst the crowd, call'd their party together to joyn Battel: which had indeed been brought to effect through the Enemies despair, had not the Cryers, who were sent all about the City given order to them, *to lay down Arms, that the unarm'd should be spared, and that nobody should be hurt, save those that were Arm'd.* With that even those, who before were resolv'd, as their last refuge, to fight for it, when they had hopes of life given them, began every one to throw away their Arms, and present themselves unarmed (since Fortune had made that their safest way) to the Enemy. A great number were sent into several Prisons: and the Town before night was restored to the *Sutrians* inviolate, and free from all the injuries of War: because it had not been taken by Storm, but surrender'd upon conditions.

IV. *Camillus* return'd triumphant into the City; and having been Victorious in three Wars together, drove before his Chariot a great many more *Etrurians* than any others. Whom after he had publicly sold, there was so much money made of them, that, having repaid the Matrons their Gold, out of what remained, there were three golden Cups made; which, 'tis well known (before the Capitol was burnt) were set in *Jupiter's* Temple, at *Juno's* feet. That Year they were taken into the City, who (either *Veians*, *Capenates*, or *Faliscans*) had come over to the Romans during those Wars, and Land was assigned to all such new Citizens. They likewise were recalled into the City by order of the Senate, who to avoid the trouble of building at *Rome*, had removed to *Veii*. Whereupon at first they murmured and slighted the command, till a day being prefixed, a capital punishment set upon each man, that did not return to *Rome*, cooled all their courages, and made them every man obedient out of fear. Now therefore *Rome* began to grow very populous, and buildings to rise in every part: for the Commonwealth helped to defray the Charge, the *Ediles* forwarded the work, as though it had been the publick business, and even private persons (for their desire to have a convenient Habitation prompted them to it) made haste to finish; so that there was a new City standing within a year. At the end of the year the Assembly was held for choosing Tribunes Military with Consular Authority; and they chose *T. Quintius Cincinnatus*, *Q. Servilius Fidenas* (a fifth time) *Julius Fulvus*, *L. Aquilius Corvus*, *L. Lucretius Tricipitinus*, and *Serv. Sulpicius Rufus*. Then they led one Army against the *Aequi*, not to make War (for they confessed themselves already Conquer'd) but out of hatred, to ravage their Country, lest they should leave them any strength for new attempts: and another into the *Tarquinius* Territories; where they storm'd and plunder'd two Towns of *Etruria*, called *Cortuosa* and *Contenebra*. At *Cortuosa* they had no dispute at all; but having surprized it, they took it upon their first shout and effort; rifling and burning the Town. But *Contenebra* endured the Siege some few days; though continual toil, night and day, disabled them: in so much that, seeing the Roman Army, which was divided into six parts, fought six hours, each in their turns, whilst the same Townsmen were still expos'd to the whole fatigue of the Battel (though few and weary) they at last gave way, and let the Romans into the City. The Tribunes thought fit to confiscate the Booty by way of publick sale; but their orders were slower than their design: for whilst they deliberated upon the point, the Booty was all in the Soldiers hands, nor could it be taken from them without envy. The same year, lest the City should increase in private works only, the Capitol also was repaired, in its Foundation, with square Stone, which looks very fine even at this day, though the City be so very Magnificent in its Buildings.

V. And now the Tribunes, seeing the City was all built, endeavour'd to introduce the Agrarian Laws into their publick Assemblies: and to raise the peoples hopes, they instanced in the *Pomptine* Lands, which was then first of all, since *Camillus* defeated the *Volsci*, be-

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come a certain tenure. They pretended, *That those Lands were now the occasion of more oppression from the Nobility, than they had been formerly, when in the hands of the Volsci: for they only made incursions into them, as long as they had strength and Arms: But the Nobility took possession of them by force; nor would there be any room there for the Commonalty, unless they were divided, before the great men had gotten all into their clutches.* But they had not much moved the people, who were but few of them in the Forum, by reason of their being employ'd about their Buildings; as also, for that they were, upon that account, impoverished by the charge they were at, and therefore regarded not those Lands, which they had not abilities enough to cultivate. At this time the City being full of Religion, and the Nobility grown superstitious since their late defeat; to the end that the auspices might be renew'd, they fell back into an Interregnum. The Interreges were, *M. Manlius Capitolinus*, *Ser. Sulpicius Camerinus*, and *L. Valerius Potitus*: the last of which held an Assembly for choosing of Tribunes Military with Consular power, and chose *L. Papirius*, *C. Sergius*, *L. Aemilius* (a second time) *L. Menenius*, and *L. Valerius Poplicola*, a third time. These persons (instead of the Interregnum) entred upon their Office. That year the Temple of *Mars*, which was vowed in the Gallick War, was Dedicated by *T. Quintius* a *Duumvir*, whose Office it was to look after the Sacrifices. There were four Tribes added of new Citizens, the *Stelatinae*, the *Formentine*, the *Sabbatine*, and the *Arnian* Tribe: which made the Tribes up twenty five.

*L. Sicinius*, Tribune of the people propos'd the business of the *Pomptine* Lands again, now that the Commons were more numerous about him, and more inclined to desire them, than they had been. There was likewise mention made of the *Latin* and the *Herulican* War in the Senate; but that was deferred upon the score of a greater War, *Etruria* being up in Arms. The matter was refer'd to *Camillus*, who was Tribune of the Soldiers with power Consular; and had five Collegues assign'd him, viz. *Ser. Cornelius Maluginensis*, *Q. Servilius Fidenas* (a sixth time) *L. Quintius Cincinnatus*, *L. Horatius Pulvillus*, and *P. Valerius*. At the beginning of that year mens thoughts were diverted from the *Etrurian* War: by reason, that a Body of men, who fled out of the *Pomptine* Territories, came on a sudden into the City and brought word, *That the Antians were in Arms, that the Latins had sent their Youth for Auxiliaries to that War: and said, that they therefore rejected the publick design, because Volunteers were allowed to serve, where they pleas'd.* At this time there was not any War so inconsiderable as to be slighted: wherefore the Senate thank'd the Gods, that *Camillus* was in Office: for he must have been made Dictator, if he had been a private person; and his Collegues confess'd, *That the management of all matters, where there was any Warlike terror approaching, rested in him alone: as also, that they design'd, to give up their Authority to Camillus; nor should they think that their grandeur was any way less'n'd by what they added to the greatness of that man.* For which the Senate commended the Tribunes, and *Camillus* himself, though in a confusion of mind, thank'd them, saying; *That there was a vast burden laid upon him by the Roman people, who had created him Dictator now four times; a great one by the Senate, through the judgments of that Order concerning him; but the far greatest, by the difference of his honourable Collegues. Wherefore, if there could be any more labour, or care added to it; he would strive to acquit himself; as to make that opinion (which was the greatest that could be) that the City generally had of him, lasting.* That, as to the War and the Antians, there was more threatenings than danger: but that he notwithstanding as he said, there was nothing to be feared, so he would not say, there was any thing to be slighted in that Affair. That the City of *Rome* was begirt by the envy and hatred of its Neighbours; so that there was need of more Generals and Armies to manage the Commonwealths business. I would have you, *P. Valerius*! said he, to be my assistant in Command and Counsels, and lead forth part of the Legions against the Antian Foe: and you, *Q. Servilius*! to Encamp in the City with an other Army ready, to watch, for fear either *Etruria* in the mean time, (as of late they did) or this new vexation, the Latins and the Hernicans, should stir: for I am sure, you'll so behave your self as may suit with the honour of your Father; Grand-Father, your self, and six Tribuneships. A third Army I would have rais'd out of the *Caussaries* [such as were excus'd from the Wars upon the score of sickness] and elder sort; by *L. Quintius*, to be a guard to the City and the Walls. Let *L. Horatius* provide them Darts, Arms, Corn, and other necessities of War: and you, *Serg. Cornelius*! we appoint to be Overseer, and manager of this publick advice, of all Religions Worship, of the Assemblies, the Laws, and all other affairs in the City. Upon this all kindly promising to perform their parts in the discharge of their duty; *Valerius*, who was his partner in Command, added, *That M. Furius should be his Dictator, and he would be his Master of the Horse: and therefore look what hopes they had of one sole General, the same they might have of the War: but he had good hopes himself, both of War and Peace, and the whole Commonwealth.* With that the Senators, being overjoy'd, began to Humm; and said, *The Commonwealth would never need to have a Dictator if it had such men for Officers, who agreed so well together; were ready to obey, as well as to Command: and bestow'd their commendations upon the people in general, rather than arrogated all to themselves, that was as much due to all.*

Then having order'd a stop to be made in Judicial proceedings, and made a Levy, *Furius* and *Valerius* went to *Saturnum*; to which place the *Antians* had gathered, not only the *Volscian*

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*Volscian* Youth, chosen out of their new fry, but a vast number also of *Latins* and *Hernicans*, out of Cities that had lived long in peace and were thereby grown very populous. Now therefore this new Enemy; joyn'd to the old one put the *Roman* Soldiers into a fright. Which when the Centurions told *Camillus*, as he was setting his Army in Battalia, viz. That the Soldiers were disturb'd in their minds; that they were loth to take up their Arms, and that they marched lazily, and with reluctance out of the Camp: yea that they were some of them beard to say, that they must each of them fight with an 100. Enemies; and that such a vast multitude could hardly be endured without Arms, much less Armed: He presently mounted his Horse, and turning, before the Ensigns, toward the main Body of his Army, rode among the Ranks and ask'd them: What sadness is this, fellow Soldiers? what unusual delay? Don't you know your Enemy, or me, or your selves? What is your Enemy, but perpetual matter for your courage and glory to work upon? You, on the contrary, when I was your General (to pass by the *Falerians*, and *Veians*, whom we took, and the *Gaullick* Legions, that were slain in our own Country after it was by them taken) made a triple triumph but t'other day for a threefold Victory over these very *Volsci*, the *Aequi* and *Etruria*. Don't you acknowledge me for your General because I was not a Dictator, but a Tribune when I gave you the signal? I don't desire the greatest Commands over you: nor ought you to look upon any thing else in me besides my own person. For my Dictatorship never rais'd my courage, as, on the other hand, even Banishment never lessen'd it. We therefore are all the same men still: and since we have brought all the same resolutions to this War, as to the former, let us expect the same event. As soon as you engage, let every man do as he hath learnt and used to do: so shall you Conquer, and they fly before you.

VIII. Then having given the signal, he straight alighted from his Horse, and laying hold of the Ensign-bearer, that was next to him, forced him along with him towards the Enemy, crying out, *Fellow-Soldier! advance your Ensign*: which when they saw (viz. that *Camillus* himself, though by old age render'd unfit for action, made way toward the Enemy) they all in like manner ran forward, hollowing and laying with one accord, *Follow the General*. They likewise report, that an Ensign was thrown, by *Camillus's* order into the Body of the Enemies; and that the *Antesignani* were encouraged to regain it. They say also, that the *Antians* was there first beaten, and that a dread was infused not only into the Front, but even the Rear too of the Army: nor did the force only of the *Romans*, back'd by the presence of their General, put the Enemy into confusion; but, besides that, there was nothing more terrible to the *Volscians* apprehensions than an accidental sight of *Camillus* himself. So that which way soever he went, he carried certain Victory along with him. And that was very plain from this instance; that when the left Wing was almost routed, he immediately took Horse, and riding up with a Footmans Shield in his hand, by his very presence retrieved the Battel, and shew'd, that the rest of the Army were Victorious. Now therefore they had like to have got the day, but that they were hindred by the multitude and flight of the Foe; having a great multitude to kill though they themselves were tired: when on a sudden there came a shower pouring down with great violence, which rather obstructed a certain Victory, than put an end to the fight. Upon that they retreated, and the following night, when the *Romans* were quiet, made an end of the War. For the *Latins* and the *Hernicans*, leaving the *Volscians*, went home, having success proportionable to their evil Counsels. The *Volscians* seeing themselves deserted even by those, in confidence of whom they had rebell'd, left their Camp, and shut themselves up in the Walls of *Sutrium*: where *Camillus* began first to inclose them with a Bullwark, and to attack them from a Rampire and other works. Which when he saw they did not hinder by any Sally forth; thinking the Enemy had too little resolution in them, for him upon that account to expect and wait for so lingring a Victory; he encouraged his Soldiers, not to tire themselves with a tedious fatigue, as they that attack'd the *Veians*; for Victory was in their hands: and so scaling the Walls on every side, through the great alacrity of his men, took the Town. The *Volscians* laying down their Arms surrendred themselves.

IX. But the Generals mind was set upon a greater matter, which was the taking of *Antium*, the chief City of the *Volscians*: For that was the first cause of the late War. But because so strong a City could not be taken without great preparation; Instruments and Engines of War, he, leaving his Colleague with the Army, went to *Rome*, to perswade the Senate to Sack *Antium*. Whilst he was discoursing upon this affair (I suppose the Gods were pleas'd, that the *Antian* State should continue somewhat longer) there came Embassadors from *Nepete*, and *Sutrium*, to desire aid against the *Tuscan*: saying, that they had but a small time to bring in their Auxiliaries. Thither therefore did Fortune divert *Camillus's* Force, from *Antium*. For since those places were opposit to *Etruria*, and, as it were, Barriers and Gates thereunto: they did what they could, upon any new design, to get possession of them, as the *Romans* did to recover, and defend them. Wherefore the Senate thought fit that *Camillus* should be treated with, to quit *Antium*, and undertake the *Etrurian* War. The City Legions, which *Servilius* had Commanded, were assigned him: though he would rather have had that experienced and well disciplin'd Army, which was in the Country of the

the *Volsci*: but yet he refused nothing [that was offer'd by the Senate:] only he desir'd that *Valerius* might be his assistant and partner in the Command. *Quintius* and *Horatius* were sent as Successors to *Valerius* in the *Volscian* Territories. So *Furius* and *Valerius* setting forth from the City arriv'd at *Sutrium*, where they found one part of the Town already taken by the *Etrurians*: and the Townsfolk in the other part scarce able to repel the Enemies force by blocking up the Streets. But then not only the arrival of the *Roman* aids, but the very name of *Camillus*, which was of such renown both among the Enemies and their Allies; for the present supported their declining condition, and gave [their Friends] time to bring in their Succours. Wherefore *Camillus*, having divided the Army, ordered his Colleague to go with his Forces about, and attack the Walls on that side, which the Enemy had gotten possession of; not so much out of any hopes he had that they might be able to take the City by Scaling it, as that, when the Enemy was diverted to the defence of that part, the Townsfolk, who were now wearied with fighting might be eas'd of their toil, and he himself have an opportunity to enter the Walls without any opposition. Which being done at the same time on both sides; so that the *Etrurians* were environed by a double terror; seeing their Walls attack'd with the greatest vehemency, and the Enemy already within their City; they Sallied forth at a certain Gate, (which was the only one, not Besieged) in a consternation all at once. There were a great many of them slain as they fled, both in the City and all over the Country: but the most part of them were killed by *Furius's* men within the Walls: whilst *Valerius's* Soldiers, being more nimble and fit for a pursuit followed them, and made no end of killing [those, they overtook] before night, when they could no longer see them. When *Sutrium* was retaken, and restored to the Allies, the Army was led to *Nepete*, which the *Etrurians* now had wholly in their hands, being taken by Surrender.

They thought it would cost the more pains to retake that City, not only because it was all in the Enemies possession, but also because the Surrender had been made by the contrivance of some part of the *Nepesines*, who betray'd their City. Yet they resolv'd to send to the chief of them; to separate themselves from the *Etrurians*, and shew that integrity, and fidelity in themselves, which they had required of the *Romans*. Whereupon, when answer was brought back; That they were not able to do any thing at all in the case; for the *Etrurians* had possession of their Walls, and the Guards of their Gates; They first of all put the Townsfolk into a fright by pillaging the adjacent Country; and seeing that they had a more sacred regard to the Surrender [which they had made to the *Etrurians*] than to their Alliance [with the *Romans*] the *Roman* Army got Fagots out of the Neighbouring Fields, and march'd up to the Walls. Where having fill'd the Trenches, they apply'd their scaling Ladders, and upon the first shout and effort, took the Town. Thereupon the *Nepesines* were ordered, to lay down their Arms, and the Soldiers were commanded not to meddle with any of them, that was unarmed: but the *Etrurians* were all kill'd, arm'd or unarm'd. And of the *Nepesines* also, those that had been the authors of the Surrender were beheaded; though the innocent multitude had their Estates again, and the Town was left with a Garrison in it. Having in this manner retaken two Allied Cities from the Enemy; the Tribunes brought back their Victorious Army with great glory to *Rome*. The same year the *Latins* and the *Hernicans* were called to account, and asked, Why for several years together they had not sent their Quota of Soldiers according to agreement? To which both Nations, in full Assembly, made Answer; That there was no publick fault or design to be laid to their charge; for that some of their Youth were Soldiers in the *Volscian* Territories: but that those young Men themselves underwent the penalty of an ill design; for there was ne'r an one of them that came home again. But that the reason why they did not send in such a number of Soldiers, was their daily dread of the *Volscians*; who were a pest, that stuck so close to them, that they could not be rid of it even by so many continued Wars, one upon the neck of another. Which when the Senate heard, they were of opinion, that they rather wanted a fit opportunity, than good grounds, to make a War.

The following Year, when *A. Manlius*, *P. Cornelius*, *T. and L. Quintius Capitolinus*, *L. Papirius Cursor* (again) and *C. Sergius* (again) were Tribunes, with Consular Authority, there broke out a grievous War abroad, but a more grievous Sedition at home: the War, from the *Volscians*, to which there came in, as an addition, a revolt of the *Latins* and *Hernicans*; and the Sedition, from whence it was least to be feared; even from a person of a Noble Family and great Honour, viz. *M. Manlius Capitolinus*; who being a man of a proud Spirit, as he condemn'd all their Noblemen, envied one, and that was *M. Furius*, a person very extraordinary both for his Honours and his Virtues. For he took it very ill, that he alone should be in great Offices, and he alone with the Army: For he was now got to that height, that he reckon'd those, who were created at the same time, not his Colleagues, but his Servants: when at the same time, if people would consider well of it, their Country could not have been recovered from the Enemy by *M. Furius*, had not the Capitol and Castle been first preserved by himself. Besides, *M. Furius* set upon the Gauls, when their minds were divided between receiving of Gold and hopes of Peace: but he himself repell'd them when they were in Arms and just taking the Castle. That each Soldier had a share in *Furius's* glory, who help'd him to Conquer;

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quer; but no man living could pretend to be a partner in his Victory. Being puff'd up with these kind of thoughts (besides that he was naturally very violent and tyrannical) and seeing, that his Circumstances, among the Senators, were not so good, as he imagin'd they ought to be, he first of all, from a Senator, grew popular; held correspondence with the Magistrates of the common People; accusing the Senate, and alluring the Commons; and began to be now born away by the publick vogue, and not by good Counsel; desiring to be a Man of a great rather than a good name. Nor was he content with the Agrarian Laws, which had alwayes been the ground of Seditions to the Tribunes of the people, but went about to advance his own credit [by an other method too; for he said] *That the burden of Debts was too great, and threaten'd not only poverty, and disgrace; but put a man, that was free into a fear of torture and Bonds: for indeed there were abundance of Debts at that time (which was a thing that mightily endamaged even the rich themselves) contracted by Building. Wherefore the Volscian War, which was in it self very grievous, and loaded with the revolt of the Latins and Hernicans, was made a pretext, whereby to gain more power: but the new designs of Manlius rather compell'd the Senate to create a Dictator. And accordingly they did create A. Cornelius Cossus, who chose T. Quintius Capitolinus Master of the Horse.*

XII. The Dictator, though he saw, there was a greater feud set on foot at home, than abroad; yet either because it was necessary to make hast to the War, or supposing that, by a Victory and a Triumph, he shou'd add new strength to the Dictatorship, made a levy, and march'd forth into the Pomptine Territories, where he had heard, the Volscian Army was to Rendezvous. I don't doubt but that, besides the tediousness that Readers will accuse me of, for having given a Relation of the continual Wars with the Volsci, already described in so many Books, this also will fall under your consideration (which indeed was a wonder even to me my self, when I seriously thought upon the authors of these things as nearer to those times) whence the Volsci and the Aequi, who were so often Conquer'd had still new recruits of Soldiers. Which seeing it is answer'd, but omitted by the Ancients; what can I say more than barely give you my opinion, which is free and peculiar to every man, that makes a conjecture? 'Tis probable, that either in the Intervals of their Wars, as it now happens in the Roman Levies, there were several Generations of young men one after another, whom they made use of to renew their Wars; or that their Armies were not always raised out of the same people; though the same Nation always made the War: or that there was an innumerable multitude of Free-men in those parts, which now-adays would be solitary and desert (there being but a very small number of Citizens left to make Soldiers of) did not Roman Slaves inhabit there. This is certain, that Volscian Army, though they had been lately much disabled by the Fortune and Conduct of Camillus, was (as all Authors agree) very great: besides the addition of the Latins and Hernicans, with some Circeians, and Inhabitants of Velitrae also. The Roman Dictator having pitched his Camp that day, the next day march'd forth with all encouragements from the Soothsayers, and having Sacrificed to appease the Gods, went cheerfully up to his men, who at break of day (as he had given orders) were taking up their Arms against the signal of Battel shou'd be given them; *Fellow Soldiers! said he, the day is ours, if either the Gods or their Prophets foresee any thing to come: wherefore (as it becomes men full of certain hopes, and such as are to engage hand to hand with an Enemy too weak for them) let us lay our piles at our feet, and arm ourselves with our Swords only. I would not have you run forward from the place where you now are, but stand still and receive the effort of the Foe. When they shall throw their foolish Darts and throng upon you, standing your ground; then let your Swords glitter, and think each man of you, that there are Gods, who assist the Romans; and who sent you to Battel with good Omens [or tokens.] Do you, Quintius! be sure to keep back the Horse at the first onset of the fight; but when you see the Armies engaged foot to foot; then bring in your dreadful Horse upon them, whilst they are already possessed with another fear, and charging up break their Ranks.* The Horse and Foot both fought, as he had order'd them; nor did either the General disappoint his Legions, or Fortune the General.

XIII. The multitude of the Enemies relying upon nothing but their numbers, and viewing both Armies, went rashly to the fight, and as rashly quitted; for though they shewed some audacity by the shout they made, threw their Darts, and were fierce enough at the first onset, yet they could not endure the Enemies Swords, their fighting foot to foot, nor so much as their faces, which glitter'd (as it were) through the ardour of their minds. Their Vanguard therefore was repell'd, and their Reer put into confusion: besides that the Horse came in with their dreadful force. By that means the Ranks were broken in many places, all things were in disorder, and the whole Army tossed to and fro like a Wave. After that, when the foremost fell, and every man saw, it would be his turn ere long to be slain, they turn'd their backs. The Romans pursu'd them close; and whilst they march'd off Arm'd and in a full Body, the Foot were order'd to follow them; but when it was observ'd, that they threw away their Arms, and were scatter'd in their flight all over the Country, then the Troops of Horse were sent out, with a command, *That they should not stay so long to kill single persons, as to give the Body of the Enemy time the mean while to escape.* It would be sufficient,

cient, if they by throwing of Darts and other terrible actions, hindr'd the Enemies flight, or by riding up against them detain'd their Army, till the Foot overtook and totally destroy'd them. They fled and the Romans followed them till it was night. The Camp also of the Volsci was taken and rifled that same day, and all the Booty, save the Freeman, given to the Soldiers. The greatest part of the Captives were Latins and Hernicans; and those no ordinary fellows, such as a man might have thought had fought for pay; but there were found among them some young Noblemen; to make it evident, that the Volscians were assisted by publick Authority. There were also some Circeians taken notice of and Inhabitants of Velitrae; who were all sent to Rome; where, when the chief Senators asked them the question, they each of them plainly and truly declared to them, as they had done to the Dictator, *That their Nations were revolted [from the Romans.]*

The Dictator kept his Army Encamped, not doubting in the least but that the Senate would Vote a War with those People, when at the same time a greater affair arising at home, forced them to send for him to Rome, seeing the Sedition grew higher every day, and became by means of its Author more dreadful than before. For now not only Manlius's Speeches, but his Actions too were popular to all appearance, and therefore tending to a tumult, were to be [by the Dictator] considered, [that a judgment might be made] with what intention they were done. When he saw a Centurion, who had done many famous exploits in the Wars, going to Prison for Debt, he ran to him with his Train at his heels in the midst of the Forum and laid hold on him; and there exclaiming against the pride of the Senate, the cruelty of the Bankers, and the miseries of the common People; but extolling the virtues and Fortunes of that man, he said; *Then have I with this right hand in vain preserved the Capitol and the Castle, if I see my fellow Citizen and Soldier dragg'd into Slavery and Bonds, as though he were a Captive to the conquering Gauls: whereupon he paid the Creditor his Debt before all the people; and so set the Centurion at liberty, who conjur'd all the Gods and Men, to thank M. Manlius, that set him at liberty, and was a Father to the Roman People.* Upon that being immediately received into the tumultuous crowd, he also increased the tumult, by shewing the scars that he had received in the Veian, Gallick and other Wars: saying, *That he, whilst he was a Soldier, and by paying interest upon interest a great many times more than the principal, to retrieve a ruined Estate, was quite overwhelm'd with Usury: but that now he saw the light, the Forum, the faces of his fellow Citizens, and the good works of M. Manlius: that he had all the kind offices of a Parent perform'd by him: that he devoted to him all his Body, Life and Blood, that was left; and that whatever rights he had in his Country, either publick or private, was at that one mans service.* With these words the common People were so animated, that they subscribed to one single Person: but then there was another thing added, which was of far greater force to put all affairs into disorder. For he put a Farm, that he had in the Veian Territories (which was the best part of his Patrimony) into the Cryers disposal; saying, *I'll never suffer any of you, Romans, (as long as I have any Estate left) to be sentenced, or made Slaves on.* Now that so enflam'd their minds, that right or wrong they seem'd resolv'd to follow the vindicator of their liberty. But besides this he made Speeches at home, full of accusations against the Senators: among whom, making no difference whether he said true or false, he laid to their charge, *That the Treasure of Gallick Gold was imbezell'd by the Senators: and that they were not now content with the publick Lands, unless they could convert the publick Money also to their own use: which if it were publicly discovered, the common people might be eas'd and discharg'd of their Debts.* Which since the People had hopes of, it seem'd an unworthy act, that, when there was Gold enough to be gathered out of Gaul to set the City free, it should be raised by Contribution at home: or that the same Gold, which was taken from their Enemies (should become the prey of some few persons. Wherefore they went on, asking, where so much theft could be concealed. To which he defer'd his answer, and said, *That in due time he would tell them; which made them careless of other matters and turn all their care that way: nor was their any doubt made, but that Manlius, if he told truth, would gain extraordinary favour among the People, as, if his discovery were false he would not fall into any great disgrace [with the Senate]*

When affairs were in this posture, the Dictator, being sent for from the Army came in to the City: where having the next day called a Senate, and sufficiently tried the Peoples inclinations, he commanded the Senate to attend him; and then, surrounded with that company, placed a Throne in the Assembly Court, and sent a Messenger for M. Manlius: who being summon'd by the Dictators order, gave notice to his Party, *That the contest was now coming on;* and came with a great Train of followers to the Tribunal. The Senate on one side, and the Commons on the other stood, each looking toward their Leader, as they had been in Battalia. Then, after silence was made, the Dictator began: *I wish, said he, I and the Roman Senate may agree with the common People concerning other matters as well as I am very confident we shall in what relates to you, and that matter which I am to enquire into touching you. I find that you have put the City in hopes, that they may honestly pay what they owe out of the Gallick Money, which the chief Senators conceal. To which I am so far from being an hinderance, that on the contrary, M. Manlius! I encourage and advise you to it: free the Com-*

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means of Rome from Usury; and to those who lye brooding upon the publick Treasure, which they clandestinely made their prey. Which if thou dost not do, either because thou thy self art a sharer in that Booty, or because thy Information is false, I'll order thee to be carried to Prison: and will not suffer the multitude any longer to be disturb'd with a fallacious hope. To which Manlius replied; That he knew very well, they created a Dictator, not against the Volsci, who were made Enemies as often as the Senate thought fit; nor against the Latins and the Hernicans, whom they forced by false accusations to take up Arms; but against him and the Roman People: and that now, they, quitting the pretended War, bent all their fury toward him. For now the Dictator professed to be Advocate for the Bankers against the People; and that they sought occasion from the favour of the multitude to accuse and destroy him. Does the company that I have here about me, A. Cornelius, said he, offend thee, and you, grave Fathers? Why don't you drand them from me, each one of you, by your kindness to them? by interceding with their Creditors, by delivering their fellow Citizens from Bonds, by keeping such as are sentenced to it out of Slavery, and by relieving the necessities of others out of that, which you have more than you need? But why do I exhort you to spend out of your own stock? Make a new account, and substract from the principal Debt which is paid for use, and then my retinue will be no more taken notice of than any other Mans. But why do I alone thus concern my self for the Citizens? I have nothing more to answer, than if you should ask me, why I alone preserved the Capitol and the Castle: for at that time I did what good I could for them all in general, and so I will now for every single man. As to the Gallick Treasures, the very question makes a thing, which in its own nature is easie enough, very difficult: for why do you enquire about a thing that you already know? why do you bid that which is in your pocket be shaken out, rather than lay it down your selves? unless there be some fraud in the case. The more you bid us reprove or find out your juggling tricks, the more I fear you have robbed us even whilst we look'd most wisely upon you. Wherefore I am not to be forced to tell what Booties you have taken; but you, to bring them forth into publick view.

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Hereupon when the Dictator bid him leave off his Rhetorick, and put him to't either to make a true discovery, or confess that he had fallly accused the Senate, and laid upon them the envy of a fraud they were not guilty of, He said, he would not speak when his Enemies pleased, and so was ordered to be carried to Goal. Then being laid hold on by the Officer, he cryed out, Great Jupiter! Queen Juno! Minerva! with the rest of the Gods and Goddesses, who inhabit in the Capitol and the Castle, will you suffer your Soldier and Protector to be thus tormented by his Enemies? Shall this right hand, wherewith I routed the Gauls from your Shrines, be now in Bonds and Chains? Now there was no one by, whose eyes or ears could endure this indignity: for that City, which was so extraordinary patient under a just Government, had made some Laws which they could not break: nor durst either the Tribunes of the People, or the people themselves lift up their eyes, or so much as open their mouths against the Dictator's Authority. But after Manlius was put into Prison, 'tis certain, that great part of the people changed their cloaths, that many men let their Hair and Beards grow very long, and that a mournful crowd were observ'd to stand at the Prison Gate. The Dictator triumphed over the Volsci: but his triumph got him more envy, than glory: for they murmured and said; It was gain'd at home, not in the Wars: and that it was a triumph over a Citizen, not an Enemy. That there was only one thing lacking to satisfy his pride, and that was, that M. Manlius was not led before his Chariot. And now the business was not far from a Sedition; which to appease, the Senate (though no body desired it) became of a sudden a voluntary Giver, and order'd that a Colony of 2000. Roman Citizens should be carried to *Satricum*: to each of whom there were assigned two Acres and an half of Land. Which since they lookt upon as very little, bestowed upon a few, and as a reward for betraying M. Manlius, the remedy renewed and heighen'd the Sedition. And now Manlius's party were more remarkable than before for their fordid appearance and guilty looks; and the dread being removed after the triumph by his laying down the Dictatorship, had set both the tongues and minds of men at liberty.

XVII.

Then several people were publickly heard to upbraid the multitude; That they always raised their defenders to a vast height by their favour, but afterward, in the very nick of all their danger forsook them. That Sp. Cassius who invited the Commons into the Country; and Sp. Maelius, who kept the People from famishing at his own charge were so served: and lastly that M. Manlius, who redeemed part of the City, when it was drawn'd and o'whelm'd with Usury, into liberty and light, was so betray'd into the hands of his Enemies. That the common People fed their Countrymen only to be kill'd? Was this to be born, that a Consul's fellow [must be hurried to Prison] because he did not answer at the command of a Dictator? Suppose he had told a lie before, and for that reason had nothing then to say; what Servant was ever punish'd with Bonds for a lie? Did they not remember that night, which was almost the last and an eternal one, to the Roman name? Had they no image of the Gallick Forces, that climb'd the Tarpeian Rock? nor of M. Manlius himself, as they had seen him in Armour, all over sweat and blood, when he rescu'd (almost) great Jove himself out of the Enemies hands? Would they give the preserver of their Country half a pound of Bread for his pains? and suffer him, whom they had made almost Divine, by giving him the Surname of Capitolinus (the name of Jupiter himself) to lie bound in Prison, and in darkness, obnoxious to the pleasure of an Executioner? was one man so able to assist you all,

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and cannot so many lend him any aid? Now therefore the crowd departed not from that place so much as in the night-time, but threatened to break open the Prison; till that was granted, which they would have had by force, and Manlius, by order of the Senate, was freed from his Bonds. By which means the Sedition was not made an end of, but the Ringleader put in the head of it. At the same time the Latins and Hernicans, together with the Circians, and those of Velitrae, who endeavoured to clear themselves of having any hand in railing the Volscian War, and demanded back their Captives, that they might punish them according to their own Laws, receiv'd sad answers: but those of the Colonies more severe ones; For that they, being Roman Citizens had enter'd into cursed designs of ruining their own Country. They therefore were not only deny'd their Captives, but also (though their Allies in that case were alwayes spared) Proclamation was made in the Senates name; That they should forthwith depart the City, out of the presence and sight of the Roman People, lest the privilege of an Embassy, which was intended for foreigners, not for Citizens, might be no protection to them.

Now when the Manlian Sedition began to break out again, about the end of the Year, the Assembly was held, and there were chosen, for Tribunes Military with Consular Authority, out of the Senate, Ser. Cornelius Maluginensis (a third time) P. Valerius Potitius (a second time) M. Furius Camillus (a fifth time) Ser. Sulpicius Rufus (a second time) C. Papirius Crassus and T. Quintus Cincinnatus a second time. At the beginning of which Year, both the Senate and People had a Peace very seasonably offered them from abroad; the People, for that they, being not call'd away by any levy, had hopes, now they had so potent a Leader, to rout the Usurers: and the Senate, in that their minds were not diverted by any foreign terror from healing their Domestick evils. Wherefore, since both sides were now become more brisk, they were ready to join in the contest: besides that Manlius, having summon'd the People to his House, treated with the chief of them both night and day concerning the methods of innovation, being now somewhat fuller of animosity and fury, than before. For that late disgrace had kindled anger in his mind, who was not used to suffer contumely: and he was the more encouraged, for that the Dictator had not dar'd to do that to him, which Quintus Cincinnatus had done to Sp. Maelius: as also, that not only the Dictator had escap'd the envy of his imprisonment by laying down his Dictatorship, but neither could the Senate themselves have born it. He therefore being at once puffed up and vex'd upon these accounts, incens'd the minds of the People, who were already enflamed; saying: How long, for Heavens sake, will you be ignorant of your own strength, of which nature would not have even brute Beasts to be ignorant? Reckon at least how many you are, and how many Adversaries you have. If you were to engage one to one, yet I am confident, you would fight with more vehemency for your Liberty, than they for Dominion: for look how many Clients have you been about each Patron, so many will you now be against one Enemy. Do but let them see that you are ready to take up Arms and you'll have Peace. Let them see that you are prepared for force, and they'll soon give you back your right. We must all attempt something, or each of us suffer all things. How long will ye stand gazing round about on me? I for my part will not be wanting to assist anyone of you; therefore take you a care, that my Fortune miscarry not. I myself who am your vindicator, when our Enemies thought fit, was on a sudden made no body at all. Yea all of you saw him, who had kept each of you from Bondage, dragg'd into Prison. What have I to hope for, if my Enemies should dare to do any thing more against me? May I expect the fate of Cassius and Maelius? You do well to abominate [any such thoughts.] No the Gods will hinder that; but they'll never come down from Heaven for my sake. They should give you the courage to hinder this, as they did me, in Arms and in my Gown too, to defend you from barbarous Enemies, and your tyrannical fellow Citizens. Has this great People so little a Soul, that you can alwaies think it sufficient to have assistance against your Enemies? Nor will you maintain all conflict with the Senate, unless it be to determine, how far you are willing to be commanded. Nor is this by nature planted in you, but you are Slaves by use. For why do you bear such a slight against Foreigners, as to think it just for you to command them? Because you have used to contend with them for Dominion, but against these persons, to attempt rather than defend your liberty. But what kind of Generals soever you have had, what sort of men soever you your selves were, you have gained all that you aimed at, how great soever, either by your force or Fortune. Wherefore 'tis now time to try even at greater matters. Do but only venture upon your own success and me, who (I hope) have had very happy experience: you will with more ease set up one to Command the Senators, than you did one to resist them in their Commands. Dictatorships and Consulships are to be laid level with the ground, that the Roman Commonalty may lift up their heads. Wherefore stand to it, and forbid any Judgment to pass touching Debts. I profess my self Patron of the Commons; a name, which my care and fidelity has laid upon me. But if you will call your Leader by any other more illustrious Title of Honour or Command, you shall find him more Potent to obtain those things, that you desire. Thereupon, as said, they began to discourse of setting up a King: but it is not plainly signified either with whom [they treated] or to what end their counsels came.

On the other side the Senate held a consultation touching the Peoples retiring into a private House, which was (as it happen'd) in the Castle too, a place very dangerous to their

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their liberty. Great part of the Citizens cry'd out; *They had need of Servilius Ahala, who would not provoke a publick Enemy by ordering men to be haled to Prison, but with the loss of one Citizen, would put an end to a Civil War.* Thence they fell to a saying which is lighter in words, but had the same force, *viz. That the Magistrates should take care, that M. Manlius's Commonwealth received no detriment.* Then the Tribunes, who had Consular Power, and the Tribunes of the People (for, since they saw that there would be the same end of their power, as of the universal Liberty, they had now submitted themselves to the Senates Authority) altogether consulted, what was necessary to be done. And when they found that nothing but violence and slaughter could ensue; and that that must cost them a mighty conflict; then *M. Manlius* and *Q. Publilius*, Tribunes of the People [said;] *Why do we make that the Controversie of the Senate and the Commons, which ought to be the quarrel of the whole City against one pestilent fellow? Why do we attack him and the People together, whom it is safer for us to set upon with the Peoples Arms; that he may fall even by his own strength? We intend to summon him to his Tryal: nothing is less Popular, than the design of setting up a Kingdom. As soon as the multitude see, that we do not contend with them, they will not only, of Advocates, become Judges, but Accusers also instead of the Commonalty: and look upon their Patrician as the party accused; the Crime in dispute between him and them to be a design to reduce the Commonwealth into a Kingdom; and consequently favour no person or thing more than their own liberty.*

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The whole Assembly approving of what they said, they summon'd *Manlius* to Tryal: which when they had done, the People were at first disturb'd; that is to say, when they saw him in his fordid cloaths, such as persons Accused used to wear: and no man with him, not only of the Senators, but not so much as any of his Relations; no not his very Brothers *A. and T. Manlius*: which was a thing that till then had never been used; that in such a dangerous case the Relations of the party did not change their Garb. For it was known that when *Appius Claudius* was put into Bonds, *C. Claudius* though his Enemy, and all the *Claudian* Family were in a fordid Garb: but this popular man was taken off by general consent, because he was the first, that revolted from the Senate to the Commons. When the day came, I do not find in any Author, what his Accusers objected against him, relating properly to his design of setting up a Monarchy, besides the meetings of the Multitude, seditious words, his giving money to the People, and his false Information [against the Senate:] though I don't question but the things laid to his charge were very great; since the People deferr'd his Condemnation not in regard to his Cause, but the place [the *Campus Martius*] where he was Tried. This is worth our observation; that men may know, what and how great actions the immoderate desire of a Kingdom rendered not only ungrateful, but even hateful also. For he is reported to have produced almost 400. men, whose Debts he paid without Usury; whose goods he kept from being sold, and the persons themselves from Slavery. Besides which, he did not only recount his gallant exploits in the Wars, but brought forth into publick view the Spoils of Enemies that he had slain to the number of thirty; presents made to him by Generals, to the number of forty; among which there were two very remarkable mural Crowns, and eight civick ones [i. e. Crowns given for scaling a Wall, or saving a Citizen.] Besides these, he produced several Citizens, whom he had saved from the Foe; among whom was *C. Servilius*, made Master of the Horse in his absence. And when he had related what he had done in the War, in an Oration that he made equal to the height of his performance; he opened his Breast, which was all over scars, that he had received in the War; and looking ever now and then toward the Capitol, call'd Jupiter and the other Gods down from thence to succour his condition, and pray'd them, that they would give the People of Rome the same resolution in his dangerous circumstances, as they had given him when, for the preservation of the Roman People, he saved the Capitol: and begg'd of every single person and of them all in general, that they would look toward the Capitol and the Castle, and turn to the immortal Gods, when they pass'd Judgment upon him. Now the People being summoned by Centuries into the *Campus Martius*, where the party accused lifting up his hands toward the Capitol, turned all his prayers from men to the Gods; the Tribunes saw, that, unless they removed peoples eyes too from all objects, that might put them in mind of so gallant an Exploit, they, whose minds were so prepossessed, would never think him guilty of any real Crime: Wherefore they put off his Tryal to another day, and appointed an Assembly of the People to be in the Grove, called *Lucus Petelinus*, from which there was no prospect into the Capitol. There the Accusation took, and (as they resolved it should) a sad Sentence pass'd upon him, which was hateful even to the Judges themselves. There are some Authors that say, there were *Duumvirs* created, to enquire into this Treason: [for which *Manlius*] being Condemn'd was thrown by the Tribunes order down from the *Tarpeian* Rock: So that the same place was, to the same person, at once a Monument of his extraordinary Renown, and of the severest punishment. There were also marks set upon him after he was dead: whereof one was publick; *viz. That, since his House had been, where the Temple of Juno Moneta, and a Work-house stand; it was propos'd to the People, That no Patrician should dwell in the Castle, or the Capitol: and another a mark upon his Family; in that it was provided by a Decree of the Manlian Race, That no man should ever*

after

after that time be called *M. Manlius*. Now this was the end of that man, who, had he not been born in a free City, was a memorable person. The people soon after, when there was no danger from him, remembering his great endowments, wish'd him alive again: and a Pestilence which in a short time ensued (seeing there was no reason that occurred of so great a mortality) seem'd to a great part of the City to have sprung from *Manlius's* being so punished: [for they said;] *That the Capitol was polluted with the blood of him, that preserved it: and that the Gods were angry, that he should be punished just before their eyes, who had rescued their Temples out of the hands of the Enemy.*

The next year, after the Plague, a dearth of provisions, and that a rumour touching both those evils had been spread abroad, they had many Wars to engage in; when *L. Valerius*, (a fourth time) *A. Manlius* (a third time) *Ser. Sulpicius* (a third time) *L. Lucretius*, *L. Amilius* (a third time) and *M. Trebonius* were Tribunes of the Soldiers with Consular Authority. For there arose of a sudden a new Enemy (besides the *Volsi*) who were sent by a kind of fatality, to teaze the Roman Forces) the *Circeians*, and *Velitrae*, (two Colonies which had for a long time design'd to revolt) and the suspicion they had of *Latinum* (even the *Lauvians*, who had formerly been a very faithful and loyal People. Now the Senate supposing this to happen through contempt, in that the Revolt of the *Velitreses*, their own Citizens, had been so long unpunished, made a Decree, That a proposal should be made to the People as soon as might be about declaring a War against them: and that the Commons [Officers] for the dividing of the *Pomptine* Lands, and *Triumvirs* [Three Officers] to carry a Colony to *Nepes*. Then they propos'd it to the People, to consent to a War: and accordingly all the Tribes, though the Tribunes were to no purpose against it, were for a War. There were preparations made for the War that Year, but the Army was not led forth by reason of the Pestilence: which delay gave the Colonies time to beg the Senates pardon: and a great many of them were for sending an humble Embassy to Rome, had not the publick danger (as it sometimes falls out) been involved in a private hazard, and the persons, who first advis'd that Revolt from the Romans, (for fear, lest they, who were only obnoxious to that Accusation, should be delivered up as Sacrifices to atone the Roman fury) diverted the Colonies from their thoughts of Peace. Nor was this Embassy obstructed in their Senate only, but great part of the Commons too were perswaded to go out and plunder the Roman Territories: which new affront ruined all their hopes of Peace. There was also a report rais'd that year concerning a revolt of the *Prænestines*: and upon complaint made of them by the *Tusculanes*, *Gabines* and *Lavicanes*, into whose Countries they had made incursions, the Senate gave such a mild answer, that it was thought, they did not give credit to the accusations, because they had no mind that they should seem to be true.

The next year *Sp. and L. Papirius*, being two of the new Tribunes Military with Consular power, led the Legions to *Velitrae*; whilst their four Collegues *Ser. Corn. Maluginensis*, (a fourth time) *Q. Servilius*, *Ser. Sulpicius*, and *L. Amilius* (a fourth time) were left behind to guard the City, and prevent any disturbances in *Etruria*, if any new ones should thence arise; all things being there in a suspicious posture. At *Velitrae* they fought a successful Battel against the *Prænestine* Auxiliaries, who were full as many as the People of that Colony: so that the nearness of the City was the occasion of the Enemies running away the sooner, and their only refuge after their flight. But the Tribunes did not attack the Town, because it was dangerous; and they did not think fit to engage to the destruction of the Colony. Now there were Letters sent to the Senate at Rome, with news of the Victory, which were sharper against the *Prænestine*, then the *Velitern* Enemy: Whereupon there was a War declared, by order of Senate, and consent of the People, against the *Prænestines*: who joining the *Volsi*, the year after, storm'd *Saturnum*, a Colony of the Romans, which was stoutly defended by the Planters, and after their Victory shew'd a great deal of cruelty to the Captives. The Romans, taking that very ill, made *M. Furius Camillus* (a seventh time) Tribune of the Soldiers; who had for his Collegues *A. and L. Postumius Regillensis*, with *L. Furius*, *Lucretius*, and *M. Fabius Ambustus*. The *Volsian* War was assign'd to *M. Furius* out of course; and he had given him by lot, for his assistant (one of the Tribunes) *L. Furius*; not so much for the interest of the Commonwealth, as to be the foundation of all praise to his Colleague: not only publicly, in that he repaired what was lost by his rashness; but privately also, in that he rather fought the others good will, than his own glory. *Camillus* was now very old; but yet the consent of the People was against him, when he would have sworn himself off in the Assembly upon the score of his Age and infirmity: for his wit was quick and his Body brisk; besides that he had his senses all in their full vigour, nor did civil affairs much disturb him in his Warlike undertakings. He therefore having rais'd four Legions consisting of 4000. men, and appointed the Army to meet next day at the *Esquiline* Gate, went to *Saturnum*; where those that had taken the Colony, being not at all dismay'd, but confiding in their numbers, in which they were somewhat superior, waited for him. Who when they saw the Romans approach, march'd presently out into the Field, resolving to make no delay, but try one push for all: seeing, by that means, the stratagemas

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stratagems of their single General, in which alone they put their trust, would do the Enemy, who were so few, no good at all.

XXIII.

There was the same heat both in the Roman Army, and in one of the Commanders: nor did any thing hinder their engaging just at that time, save the advise, and conduct of Camillus, who sought an opportunity of strengthening his Forces with reason for protracting the War. But the Enemy was so much the more urgent; nor did they now set their Army in Array before their own Camp only; but marched into the midst of the Plain, and by bringing their Bulwark near the Enemies Camp, shewed a proud confidence in their own strength. This the Roman Soldiers could not well endure: but much less (one of the Tribunes Military) L. Furius; who as he was fierce and hot both in age and inclination, was also filled with hopes from their number, who took courage even upon the greatest uncertainty. He therefore farther instigated the Soldiers (who were of themselves already incited) by lessening the Authority of his Colleague (the only way he could) upon the score of his Age: saying, *That Wars were designed for young men, and that courage grew and decreased with mens Bodies. That he was become, instead of the keenest Warrior, the greatest lingerer: and that he, who was wont to take Camps and Cities, when he came to them, upon the first effort, now spent his time idly within his Bulwark. For what could he hope would be any addition to his own party, or a diminution of the Enemies force? what occasion? what time? what place, to lay an Ambuscade? That the old mans designs were now grown cold and dull. But that Camillus had already lived and got renown enough: what reason therefore had they to suffer the strength of a City, which ought to be immortal, to wax old and feeble with one mortal Body? With this kind of discourse he had turned the whole Camp to his side; and then seeing they desired, in all parts of it, to fight, said; M. Furius! We cannot restrain the bent and inclination of our Soldiers; besides that the intolerable pride of the Enemy, whose courage we, by delays, have augmented, insults over us: do thou therefore, who art but one man, give way to the whole Body, and suffer thy self to be overcome by advice, that thou mayst the sooner Conquer in the War. To which Camillus reply'd; That neither he himself nor the Roman People had ever had cause to repent either of his Conduct or Fortune, in any Wars, which to that day had been left to his sole management. That now he knew he had a Colleague, who was in Commission equal to himself, though he outdid him in Vigour and Youth: so that, as to the Army, he had used to govern, not to be ruled. But he could not withstand his Colleague's Authority; let him do, in the name of Heaven, what he thought best for the Commonwealth. He only desired that his Age might obtain the favour, that he might not be in the Front of the Battle; though to whatsoever was the duty of any old man in War, he would not be wanting. Only this he begg'd of the immortal Gods, that no accident might make his advice commendable. But neither was this his wholsom opinion regarded by men, nor his pious prayers by the Gods: for L. Furius who was for fighting, let the Van in Array, whilst Camillus led the Reer; planted a strong Guard before the Camp; and then stood himself upon a rising ground, as an intent spectator to see the issue of another mans adventure.*

XXIV.

As soon as ever they were engaged, the Enemy, out of Policy, not fear, retired: for there was a gentle ascent on their backs, between the Enemies Army and their Camp; and, because they had strength enough, they had left some stout Regiments ready Arm'd and in Battalia, behind them in their Camp, who, when the fight was begun, and the Enemy was come near to their Bulwark, were to fall forth. Now the Romans by following the Enemy, as they gave back, too hastily, were drawn into an inconvenient place and obnoxious to this fall: so that the terror being all turn'd upon the Conquerors, what with their new Enemy, and what through the steepness of the place, disheartened the Roman Army. For the Volscians came fresh upon them, who had made that fall out of the Camp; and they too renewed the fight, who had pretended to run away. And now the Roman Soldiers did not recover themselves, but, forgetting their late briskness, and ancient glory, all turn'd their backs and ran again as fast as possible to their Camp: till Camillus, being lifted up upon his Horse by those, that stood about him, and letting the Rere-guard with all expedition in their way, said, *Is this, fellow Soldiers! that fight, you desired? What man, what God is there, that you can accuse? The first was the effect of your rashness, as this is of your cowardise. You that have followed another Commander, pray, at this time, follow Camillus, and as you use to do by my conduct, Conquer. Why do you look toward the Bulwark and Camp? It shall not entertain one man of you, unless he be Victorious. At first when those that ran away heard this, they stop'd for shame: and soon after, when they saw the Ensigns turn back, and the Army face about, ran upon the Enemy, and the General (who besides that he was famous for so many Triumphs, was venerable for his Age too) put himself into the Front of the Battel, where there was most toil and danger: upon which the Army blam'd, each man, themselves and others; but mutually encouraged one another too with such a chearful shout, as went through the whole Body of them. Nor was the other Tribune behind-hand in the affair; but being sent by his Colleague (who was making good the Body of Foot) to the Horse, did not rebuke them (for his being a sharer in the blame had made that an improper thing for him to do) but turning wholly from Commands to intreaties, desired them one and all, *That they would pardon him for**

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the ill success of that day. For I [said he] though my Colleague were against it, made my self a partner in the rashness of a multitude rather, than in the prudence of one single man. Camillus sees his own glory in both your conditions: but I, unless the fight be renewed shall find (which is a most wretched thing) my Fortune equal with that of you all, but shall suffer disgrace alone. Hereupon it seemed the best way, now that the Army was in such a wavering condition, to quit their Horses and set upon the Foe on foot. And accordingly they marched with glittering Arms and great courage to that part, where they saw the Foot Forces were most put to't: nor did the Commanders, or the Soldiers remit any thing of the greatest demonstration of their courage. So the event prov'd what an assistance their resolute courage was to them; and the Volscians, running that way, which they had lately retreated out of a pretended fear, now under a real consternation, were many of them slain, both in the fight it self, and afterward in their flight: but the rest in the Camp, which was taken at the same time; though there were yet more taken, than kill'd.

XXV.

When they took an account of the Captives, a company of Tusculans, who were known to be such, were separated from the rest, and brought to the Tribunes. To whom upon examination they confessed, That they bore Arms by the publick allowance of their Superiors; Camillus therefore, being moved with the fear of so near a War, said, *He would carry the Captives immediately to Rome, lest the Senate should be ignorant, that the Tusculans were revolted from their Alliance; and that in the mean time his Colleague (if he thought fit) should Command the Camp and the Army. Now that one day had taught him, not to prefer his own Counsels before better. But yet neither did he himself, nor any one else in the Army think it reasonable, that Camillus should bear the blame of having ruined the Commonwealth: besides that in the Army and at Rome too it was the common report (since their affairs were carried on among the Volsci with such variety of Fortune) That L. Furius had been the occasion of their defeat and flight, but M. Furius had gotten all the renown. When the Captives were brought into the Senate, and the House had declared, That they would make War against the Tusculans, the management of it being committed to Camillus, he desired, that he might have one assistant in the business. Whereupon being petitioned to choose which of his Collegues he pleased; he, contrary to every bodies expectation, chose L. Furius: by which act of good nature, he not only lessened the infamy of his Colleague; but gain'd to himself great honour. But yet for all this there was no War with the Tusculans: who by manifest signs of Peace repelled the Roman force, which by their Arms they could not. For when the Romans entered their Confines, they removed not from any place near the Rode, nor omitted the Tillage of their Lands; besides that the Citizens set the Gates of their City wide open, and went out in their Gowns to meet the Generals; and Provisions were carried out of the City and Country too into the Roman Camp. Camillus therefore, having Encamped before the Gates, was desirous to know, whether there were the same appearance of Peace within the Walls, as had been made in the Country, and so went into the City: where seeing all the doors open as well as the Shops; all things expos'd to publick view; the workmen every one about their own business, and that the Schools founded with the noise which the Scholars in them made; besides that the Streets were fill'd, among the rest of the crowd, with Women and Boys, who went to and fro, as their several occasions led them, he could discover nothing that was like fear in them, or even so much as admiration; but was fain to cast his eyes quite round, to find, where the War had been. For there was no sign either of any things being any where removed, or laid aside for a time; but all things were in such a peaceful posture; that one could hardly have thought they had ever heard of a War.*

He therefore being overcome by the patience of the Enemy, ordered their Senate to be called, and told them; *Tusculans! You are the only People who have yet found out true Arms, and true Force, to defend your selves from the fury of the Romans. Get you to Rome, to the Senate: they'll tell you, whether you formerly deserved punishment more than now you do pardon. I will not anticipate the honour of a publick kindness; but I'll grant you leave to beg pardon, and the Senate will give such success to your Petitions, as they think fit. When the Tusculans came to Rome, and the Senate of them, who were so lately faithful Allies, was seen to stand with sad countenances in the Porch of the Court, the Roman Senators were presently concern'd at it, and order'd them even at that time, to be call'd in more like Friends than Enemies. Then the Dictator of Tusculum made this Speech: As You, grave Fathers! see us (against whom you have declared and made War) standing in the Porch of your Court, in the same manner were we quipp'd when we went out to meet your Generals, and their Legions. This was our garb, and the garb of our People; and always shall be, unless at any time we take up Arms from you, and for you. We thank your Generals and your Armies too, that they believed their eyes more, than their ears: and where there was no shew of Hostility they themselves made none. We therefore desire of you that Peace which we have kept; and beg, that you would turn your Arms upon those places (if any such there be) that are at War with you. If we must try by suffering, what power your Arms have against us, we'll try it unarmed, that's our resolution: Heaven grant, it may be as successful as it is pious. As to the accusations, at which you were so concern'd as to declare War against us, though they are already confuted by our actions, and need no words to*

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baffle them, yet though they were true, we think it safe enough for us even to confess them, since we have so manifestly repented of them: for we may well grant that we have offended you, when you are worthy to receive such satisfaction. To this effect was the Tusculan Address: who obtained Peace for the present, and not long after the freedom of the City too: so that the Legions were brought back from Tusculum.

XXVII. Camillus having got great honour by his Conduct and courage in the Volscian War, by his success in the Tusculan Expedition, and, upon all occasions, by his patience and moderation toward his Collegue, went out of Office, after the Tribunes Military for the next Year were Elected; whose names were L. and P. Valerius, (Lucius a fifth time, and Publius a third time) C. Sergius (a third time) L. Menenius (a second time) Sp. Papirius, and Ser. Cornelius Maluginensis. That Year they wanted Censors too, by reason of the uncertain report that went about concerning the publick Debts: seeing that the Tribunes of the People aggravated the chief cause of that animosity, though the Creditors were willing to lessen it, whose interest it was, to have the World think that the money was not paid for want of honesty rather than ability in the Debtors. Thereupon they chose for Censors C. Sulpicius Camerinus, Sp. Postumius Regillensis; who had no sooner begun the Pole, but it was interrupted by the death of Postumius, because it was not lawful to create a Collegue to a surviving Censor. Wherefore, when Sulpicius had laid down his Office, there were other Censors created; who being not duly chosen did not bear that Office: and to create a third pair (seeing the Gods did not (as it were) accept of Censors for that Year) was not consistent with their Religion. But the Tribunes said, that was an intolerable cheat put upon the Commons: and, That the Senate were not willing to bear Witness, state the publick Accounts, or look into every mans Estate, because they would not have it known what the publick Debts came to, which would demonstrate that one part of the City was ruined and undone by the other: when at the same time the poor Bankrupt Commonalty were exposed to several Enemies, and Wars were now in all places, without any difference, fought after the Legions having been led from Antium to Satricum, from Satricum to Velitrae and thence to Tusculum. That they bent their Forces now against the Latins, Hernicans, and Praenestines, more out of hatred to their fellow Citizens, than to their Enemies, to wear the Commons in Arms quite out of heart: and not giving them time to breathe, or so much leisure as once to think of liberty; or to appear at a publick Assembly, where they might over-hear the Tribunes discourse touching the method of lessening the Usurers profit, and of putting an end to other grievances. But if the People remembered the ancient liberty of their Fore-Fathers, they would neither suffer any Roman Citizen to be made a slave upon the score of his Debts, nor any Levy to be made, till such time as the Account of them being inspected, some way were thought of to lessen them, and every man knew, what he had of his own and what he ow'd: and, if he had his Body left at liberty, whether that too ought to be put into Slavery. The reward of a Sedition which was thus proposed, soon raised it to an height: for there were many persons condemned to Slavery, and the Senate had ordered, upon the news of the Praenestine War, that there should be new Le-gions raised: both of which, what by the help of the Tribunes and the consent of the Commons together, began to be obstructed: for neither did the Tribunes suffer those that were condemned to be carried away; nor did the younger sort give in their names, seeing the Senate had less regard to the interest of Creditors in getting the money which they had lent, than to the Levy. For now it was reported that the Enemy, who came from Praeneste, were late down in the Sabine Territories. But in the mean time that very report had animated the Tribunes of the People to carry on the contest which they had undertaken, rather than deterred them: nor was there any other means to extinguish Sedition in the City, than by that War, which was advanced even to their very Walls.

XXVIII. For when the Praenestines were told, That there was no Army raised at Rome, nor any General yet pitched upon, but that the Senate and the Commons were set against each other: their Commanders, supposing that a good occasion, forming a Body with all speed, straight wasted all the Country before them, and carry'd their Ensigns up to the Colline Gate. Thereupon the City was in a great consternation, and made a general Alarm, driving one and all up upon the Walls and to the several Gates. So that at last, being diverted from Sedition to War, they chose T. Quintius Cincinnatus Dictator, who made A. Sempronius Atratinus Master of the Horse. Which being once heard (such was the terror of that Magistrate) the Enemy immediately retreated from the Walls, and the younger Romans came together [to be lifted] upon the Dictators order, without any manner of delay. Whilst they were raising the Army at Rome, the Enemy lay Encamped not far from the River Allia. Where ravaging the Country round about they bragg'd to one another, That they had taken a place, which was fatal to the City of Rome: and that the Romans should be in the same fright there again, and run away as fast as they did in the Gallick War. For if the Romans feared a day, that was set apart for Religious Duties, and remark'd with the name of that place; how would they dread Allia it self (which was the Monument of so great a slaughter) more than the Allian day? There they would certainly fancy they saw the killing looks of the Gauls, and the sound of their voice would be in their ears. Thus forming images of vain things with thoughts as vain as them, they repos'd all their hopes in the ominous circumstances and Fortune

Fortune of the place. The Romans on the other side, knew well enough, that, wheresoever they had a Latin Enemy, it was the same, whom they had defeated at the Lake Regillus and kept in slavish Peace for 100. years together. That the place, by being famous for so great a slaughter, would rather incite them to blot out the memory of the dishonour, than make them afraid, lest there might be some Country, which it was not lawful for them to Conquer. Yea, if the Gauls themselves should come against them, that they would fight in that place at the same rate, as they did at Rome, when they retrieved their Country, and as they did the next day at Gabii: then, when they so brought it to pass, that there was no one of the Enemies, who had entered the Walls to carry the news of that good and ill fortune home: and with these resolutions on both sides they came to Allia.

The Roman Dictator, after the Enemy was in fight, and ready to fight, said; A. Sempronius! dost see, how they are come to Allia as trusting in the fortune of the place? I wish the Gods may give them nothing, that may be a greater security, or assistance to them. But do they rely upon thy Arms, the courage of our men, and charge in full career the main Body of their Army: whilst I with the Legions will attack them, when they are disordered and in a consternation. Be witness, Assist us, Oh ye Gods! that are Witnesses to our League; and take due revenge both for the offence committed against you, and the cheat put upon us by making use of your sacred Names. The Praenestines could not bear the shock either of the Horse, or Foot; but their Ranks were confounded at the first onset and shout; and soon after, seeing their Army could not, in any part, stand their ground, turn'd their backs. Whereupon being consternated, they ran, through the force of their fear, even beyond their own Camp; nor did they stop, before they were within sight of Praeneste. There those that remained after their flight took a certain place, which they could quickly fortify with tumultuary works: lest, if they had gone within the Walls, the Country might presently have been burnt, and, when all things were laid waste, a siege laid to the City. But when the Victorious Roman, having rifled the Camp at Allia, was come up, they left that Fortrefs too; and scarce thinking the Walls secure, shut themselves up in the Town of Praeneste. There were eight Towns more under the Dominion of the Praenestines: to each of which the War was transferred, and, after they were one after another with no great difficulty taken, the Army was carried to Velitrae; which was likewise taken. Then they came to Praeneste the chief Seat of the War, which they retook not by force, but surrender. T. Quintius, after he had been Victorious in one set Battel, taken two Camps of the Enemies, and nine Towns by Storm (besides Praeneste, upon surrender) return'd to Rome: and brought in Triumph a Statue of Jupiter Imperator from Praeneste into the Capitol. It was dedicated between the Shrine of Jupiter and Minerva, and a Table hung under it, as a Monument of his Exploits with an Inscription to this effect: Jupiter and all the Gods were pleas'd, that T. Quintius the Dictator should take nine Towns. The twentieth day after he was created, he laid down his Dictatorship.

Then they held the Assembly for choosing of Tribunes Military with Consular Authority: at which the number of Patricians and Plebeians was made equal; for out of the Senate were elected P. and C. Manlius, with L. Julius, and the People chose C. Sextilius, M. Albinus and L. Antistius. To the Manlii (for that they were above the Plebeians in point of Birth, and in greater favour too than Julius) was allotted the Province of the Volsci out of course, without casting Lots or so much as any debate or conference [among his Collegues:] whereof not only they a while after, but the Senate too, that had given it to them, repented. For before they had searched the Country, they sent out certain Troops to Forage: concerning whom there was false news brought as if they had been circumvented. Whereupon the Manlii making all the haste they could to relieve them (without securing the author of the report, who was a Latin Enemy, instead of a Roman Soldier which he told the Generals he was) ran themselves headlong into an Ambuscade. Where whilst relying only upon the Soldiers valour, they made what resistance they could in such a disadvantageous place, killing and being kill'd, the Enemy in the mean time invaded the Roman Camp that lay upon a Plain on the other side. And indeed these Generals ruin'd all their affairs upon all occasions through their rashness and want of skill: and what remained (of their Armies) that the Fortune of the Roman People and the courage of the Soldiers, which was steady even without a Governour, preserved. These things being related at Rome; they thought fit first to make a Dictator: upon which when news came that all things in the Volscian Territories, were at quiet; and it appeared, that they did not know how to make use of Victory and good occasions, the Armies and Generals were called back from thence too: nor had the Romans any more disturbance from those parts than from the Volsci: save that there was a rumour at the latter end of the Year, that the Praenestines had got the Latin People to join with them and rebelled. The same Year there was a new Colony carried to Setia, upon their complaint that they wanted Inhabitants: and though they had not had so good success in War, they enjoyed the comfort of quiet at home, which was owing to the good will that the Commons bore to the Tribunes Military and their Authority among those of their own Order.

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XXXI. At the beginning of the next Year there broke out a great Sedition, when *Sp. Furius*, *U. C.* 378. *Q. Servilius* (a second time) *C. Licinius*, *P. Clælius*, *M. Horatius* and *L. Geganius* were Tribunes Military with Consular Authority. The ground and cause of this Sedition was the Peoples Debts: which to inquire into *Sp. Servilius Priscus* and *Q. Clælius Siculus* were made Censors, but were hindered from doing that business by a War. For frightened Messengers first of all, and after that a general concourse of people out of the Country brought word, *That the Volscian Legions were come into the Roman Confines, and were a ravaging all before them.* In which consternation so far were their civil contests from being restrained by foreign terror, that on the contrary the Tribunes were so much the more violent to hinder the Levy; till conditions were imposed upon the Senate; *That no man, till the War was over, should pay Tribute, or give any judgment concerning the money that was lent:* which relaxation being accepted by the Commons, there was no stop put to the Levy. When the new Legions were raised, they thought fit, *That the Legions should be divided and two several Armies led into the Volscian Territories.* *Sp. Furius* and *M. Horatius* went to the right hand toward the Sea-coast and to *Antium*, whilst *Q. Servilius* and *L. Geganius* went to the Mountains on the left hand, toward *Ecetra*. But they met not the Enemy on either hand; and therefore they plundered the Countrey, not in that stragling manner as the *Volscians* did, (who took their Booty more like thieves than Soldiers, in a consternation and in haste, as relying only upon the discord of the *Romans*, and fearing their courage) but, as they were a compleat Army, so was their fury proportionable; yea in time too great and severe. For the *Volsci*, fearing, lest the Army should come out of *Rome* in the mean time, made inroads into the utmost borders of their Country; but the reason why the *Roman* on the other hand continued even in the Enemies Country was, that he might provoke his Enemy to fight. Wherefore when they had burnt all the Country Houses and some Villages also, and not left any fertile tree, nor so much as Seed to give them hopes of any fruit to come, they drove away all the Booty of Men and Cattel that was to be found without the Walls and so led both their Armies back to *Rome*.

XXXII. After the Debtors had had some little respite to breath in, now that things were secure from all Enemies, judicial proceedings began again to take place: and they were so far from having any hopes of lessening the old Interest-money, that a new Debt was contracted by a contribution toward the making of a Wall for which the Censors had agreed, that it should be built with square Stone. Which burden the Commonalty were forced to submit to, because the Tribunes of the People had no'r a Levy to hinder. They were likewise compelled by the power of the Nobility to make all the Tribunes Military Patricians, whose names were *L. Æmilius*, *P. Valerius* (a fourth time) *C. Veturius*, *Ser. Sulpicius*, *L.* and *U. C.* 379. *C. Quintius Cincinnatus*. By the same means they prevailed so far, as to raise three Armies against the *Latins* and the *Volscians*; who then had join'd their Forces and lay Encamp'd at *Satricum* (for there was no body that withstood the Lifting of all the younger sort) one to Guard the City; another to be sent upon sudden Expeditions, if any rising should happen elsewhere; and the third, which was much the strongest, to be led to *Satricum* by *P. Valerius* and *L. Æmilius*. Where having found the Enemies Army ready marshall'd in a plain, they presently engaged: but before they had perfected their Victory, a violent storm of Rain forced them to quit the Combat. The next day, they renewed the fight: and for some time the *Latin* Legions especially, who had by their long Alliance been thoroughly taught the *Roman* Discipline, with equal courage and fortune made resistance. But the Horse charging up broke their Ranks; upon which disorder the Foot too came in: and as the *Roman* Army got ground, so the Enemy still lost it; till at last, when the day was like to be theirs, the *Roman* force became intolerable. So the Enemy being routed, (since they made to *Satricum*, which was two miles distant, and not to their own Camp, were slain chiefly by the Horse; and their Camp taken and rifled. From *Satricum*, the night next after the Battel, they went in a kind of flying Body to *Antium*: whither though the *Roman* Army pursued them at the very heels, yet their fear was swifter, than the *Roman* fury. By which means the Enemy got within the Walls, before the *Romans* could overtake, or stop the very Reer of their Body. After that they spent some days in ravaging the Country; since neither the *Romans* were furnished with due Provisions to attack the Walls, nor the Enemy with force enough to endure a Battel.

XXXIII. Then there arose a Sedition between the *Antians* and the *Latins*: in that the *Antians*, being overcome with their misfortunes and subdued by War (in which they were not only born, but now grown old) were inclined to a Surrender; but their revolt, after a long Peace, had made the *Latins*, whose courage was yet entire, more resolute to persevere in War. The thing that put an end to this contest was, that both of them were at last convinced, they could neither of them hinder the other from prosecuting their design. So the *Latins* went forth and vindicated themselves (as they supposed) from the Alliance of a dishonourable Peace: and the *Antians*, being rid of such troublesome judges of their wholesome Counsels, Surrendered their City and Country to the *Romans*. Thereupon the fury and rage of the *Latins*, because they could neither hurt the *Romans* by a War, nor keep the *Volsci* still in Arms, broke out to that degree, that they set fire on the City of *Satricum*, which

which had been their first refuge after their defeat: nor was there any Building in that City left standing (for they threw fire-brands into all places both Sacred and Profane) except the Temple of *Matuta*: though 'tis said, it was not their Religion, nor their fear of the Gods, which kept them from violating that too, but a dreadful voice, that was heard out of the Temple with sad menaces, if they did not remove their wicked fire far from those sacred Walls. Now when they were inflam'd with that rage, their fury carry'd them to *Tusculum*, to take revenge upon that People; for that they, having deserted the Common Council of the *Latins*, had made themselves not only Allies but Citizens of *Rome*. And so happening to come thither at unawares as the Gates were wide open, they took all the Town, except the Castle, upon their shout. The Towns-men with their Wives and Children fled all into the Castle; and sent Messengers to *Rome*, to inform the Senate of their condition. Upon that there was an Army carried to *Tusculum* with such speed as became the honour of the *Roman* People; which was Commanded by *L. Quintius*, and *Ser. Sulpicius*, two Tribunes Military. There they saw the Gates of *Tusculum* shut, and the *Latins*, who had the concern of Besiegers and People besieged at once upon them, defending (on the one hand) the Walls, and (on the other) attacking the Castle; so that they terrified others and were themselves at the same time affrighted: but the arrival of the *Romans* had changed the resolutions of both parties. For it had reduced the *Tusculans* from a great fear to the greatest cheerfulness, and dejected the *Latins* from an almost certain confidence of taking the Castle (because they had already taken the Town) to small hopes of themselves. Then there was a shout set up by the *Tusculans* in the Castle; which was seconded by a greater from the *Roman* Army; and the *Latins* were hard put to't on both sides. Nor could they now either endure the efforts of the *Tusculans*, who sallied down from the higher ground, or beat off the *Romans* who were getting up the Walls and endeavouring to unbar the Gates. But the Walls were first taken with their scaling Ladders: and then the Bars of the Gates were broken: and seeing there were two Enemies at once upon them, one before, the other behind; and that they had neither strength to fight, nor room to run away, they were all slain upon the place even to a man. When they had recovered *Tusculum* from the Enemy, the Army was led back to *Rome*.

But look how much more quiet all things were, that year, abroad, by reason of their XXXIV. success in War, so much more did the Tyranny of the Senate, and the miseries of the Commons daily increase at home; since for that very reason, that they were all forced to pay their Debts together, their ability to pay was impeded. Wherefore seeing there was nothing to be had in specie, they satisfied their Creditors by ignominy and corporal punishment by being condemned as Cheats, and made Slaves of; and that Penalty went for payment. By this means not only the lowest, but even the chiefest of the Commonalty were so cast down, that no understanding and experienced man had the courage, not only to stand for the Tribuneship of the Soldiery, among the *Patricians*, (which was a point, that they had so earnestly endeavoured to gain) but to sue for, or take upon them even *Plebeian* Offices; so that the Senate seemed to have for ever recovered the possession of that honour, which was only usurp'd by the Commons for some few years. But to take off the other party's jollity, a small reason (as it often does) of attempting a great matter interven'd. *M. Fabius Ambustus*, a potent man, not only among those of his own Rank, but with the Commons also, (for that he was thought among that sort of people not to despise them) had two Daughters; the Elder of which was Married to *Ser. Sulpicius*, and the Younger to *C. Licinius Stolo*, an eminent Person, though a *Plebeian*: and his not contemning that Affinity got *Fabius* great good will among the *Vulgar*. Now it so fell out, that, as these two Sisters were talking (as 'tis usual) one with the other at *Ser. Sulpicius*'s House, one of *Sulpicius*'s Listers [or Servants,] when he came home from the Court, knock'd with a Rod (as the custom is) at the door. At which the younger Sister, who was not used to any such custom, being frighted, her Sister laughed at her, and wondred that she should be ignorant what the matter was. But that laughter incensed her very much (as Womens minds are easily disturb'd upon the least occasion) besides that, I suppose, seeing how many people followed *Sulpicius*, asking him, *What Service he had to command them?* made her think her Sister was happily Married; and therefore she lamented her own fortune, out of a dissatisfaction that every body has when they are outdone by their Relations. Her Father happening to see her in that confusion through her late grief of mind, ask'd her, what she ail'd? To which she reply'd, but pretended some other cause of her sorrow (but it was neither so kind as it ought to have been in respect to her Sister, nor very honourable in regard to her Husband) till at last by mild Questions he got her to confess, *The cause of her grief was, that she was Married to a Man below her, and into a Family, that was not capable either of Honour or common Favour.* Upon which *Ambustus* comforting his Daughter, bad her, be of good cheer; and she should ere long see the same Honours at her House, that she had seen at her Sisters. Then he began to advise with his Son-in-Law, taking *L. Sextius* also into the Consult, who was a strenuous young man, and wanted nothing, that could be hoped for, except it were to be of a Nobly Family.

XXXV. Now they thought the best ground for innovation was the Peoples vast Debts; which evil the Commonalty could not hope to alleviate, but by placing some of their own Party in the highest Offices. They therefore thought it their business to contrive that; not but that the *Plebeians*, by their industry and endeavours had gone so far in it already, that if they push'd on, they might arrive at the highest pitch, and equal the Senators, as much in Honour as in Courage. For the present they look'd upon it as necessary that there should be Tribunes of the People chosen; that by that Dignity they might open a way for themselves to other Honours: and accordingly there were Elected for Tribunes, C. Licinius and L. Sextius who promulgated Laws, that were all against the power of the Nobility, and for the good of the Commons: one, concerning the Debts; That, deducting that from the principal, which had been paid for Use; that which remained should be paid in three Years in equal portions: another, concerning the measure of Lands; that no man should have above 500. Acres: and a third; That there should be no Assembly for choosing Tribunes Military, and that one of the Consuls should be elected out of the Commons: all which were very great things, and could not be obtained without the greatest and most vigorous opposition. Wherefore when all that men so much desire, (as Lands, Money and Honours) was at stake, the Senate being in a great fright, and finding no other remedy for their publick and private designs but an Interposition, which they had experience of in many Conteſts heretofore; they got their Collegues to thwart those Tribunes Proposals: who, when they saw the Tribes summoned by Licinius and Sextius to give their Votes, they, Guarded by the Senate, would neither suffer the Bills to be read, nor any other solemn Act to be done for the People to pass into a Law. And now after the Assembly had been often call'd to no purpose, the Bills being thrown out; Very well, said Sextius; since you are pleased to lay such stress upon an Intercession, we'll defend the Commons with the very same Weapon. Come on, you Gentlemen of the Senate; pray appoint an Assembly for the choosing of Tribunes Military: I'll see, that the Word Veto [i. e. I forbid it] which you now with so much joy hear our Collegues unanimously pronounce. Nor did their menaces prove vain: for there were no Assemblies held but for choosing of *Ediles*, and Tribunes of the People. Licinius, and Sextius being made Tribunes of the People again suffered no Curule Magistrates [such as came to the Senate in their Chariots] to be chosen; and that defect of Magistrates, occasioned by the Commons choosing two Tribunes the same that were the year before, and their obstructing the Assembly for choosing Tribunes Military, continued in the City for five years.

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All other Wars were at an end; but the Colony at *Velitrae*, being grown wanton through long ease, because there was no Roman Army, not only made incursions into the Roman Territories, but attack'd the Town of *Tusculum* also. Which action, (when the *Tusculans*, their old Allies and new fellow Citizens desired their aid) made not only the Senate, but the Commons also very much ashamed. The Tribunes therefore remitting their intercession, there was an Assembly held by an *Interrex*: at which there were chosen for Tribunes Military, L. Furius, A. Manlius, Ser. Sulpicius, Ser. Cornelius, with A. and C. Valerius, who did not find the People in any wife so obedient at the Levy, as in the Assembly. But nevertheless having with much ado raised an Army, they not only removed the Enemy from *Tusculum*, but forced them into their own Walls; and *Velitrae* was now Besieged with much greater vigour, than *Tusculum* had been before. But yet it could not be taken by those, who first began to besiege it. There were new Tribunes Military first created, whose names were, Q. Servilius, C. Veturius, A. and M. Cornelius, Q. Quintius, and M. Fabius; though even these Tribunes also did nothing at *Velitrae* worth remembering. Things were now in greater danger at home: for besides Licinius and Sextius, that made several Laws, and were now the eighth time made Tribunes one year after another, Fabius also being a Tribune Military, and Stolos Father in Law, said he would certainly stand up for those Laws that he had formerly proposed. And whereas there had been eight of the College of Tribunes *Plebeians* at first against those Laws, there were now but five only; who (as it usually happens among those, that revolt from their party) being blinded in their understanding spoke other mens words and back'd their Intercession with nothing but what they had been taught at home: saying; That a great part of the Commons were absent in the Army at *Velitrae*: that the Assembly ought to be deferred till the coming of the Soldiers, that the whole Commonalty might Vote for their own good. Sextius and Licinius with part of their Collegues, with Fabius, one of the Tribunes Military, who had learnt by experience in so many years time, to manage the People, seized the chief of the Senate, whom they called forth [to answer for themselves] by interrogating them upon the several Cases, which were proposed to the People: How durst they desire, that, when the Commons had but two Acres of Land apiece, they might have above 500? That they might each of them enjoy the Estate of almost 300. Citizens, when a Commoners Land was scarce enough to build a convenient House upon, or for a Burial place? Would you have the poor Commons, who are overwhelmed with Usury, unless they'll pay that, rather than the Principal, deliver their Bodies up to bonds and torture: and to be bated in droves every day out of the Forum into Slavery? Noblemens Houses to be fill'd with Prisoners? and a private Jayle to be, wherever any Patrician dwells?

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Having inveighed against these base and wretched doings, before the People, who stood in fear of their Creditors, so as that they stirred up greater indignation in their Audience, than in themselves, they farther affirm'd; That the Senate would never make an end of getting the publick Lands into their own hands; nor murdering the People with Usury, till the Commons had chosen one of the Consuls out of their own Body, to be the keeper and maintainer of their Liberty. That the Tribunes of the People were now contemned, as being an Order, who by interceding themselves destroy'd their own Authority. That there could be no right done, as long as the Consuls had all the power of commanding, and they only of forbidding; and that till the right of commanding was communicated the Commons would never have an equal share in the Commonwealth. Nor ought any man to think it enough, that there should be some respect had to the Commons in the Consular Assemblies; for unless it were made absolutely necessary, that one of the Consuls should be a Commoner, no *Plebeian* would ever be chosen. Had they already forgot, though it was Voted, that they would choose Tribunes Military rather than Consuls, for that very reason, that the Commons also might be advanced to the highest Honours, yet there has not been one Tribune Military chosen out of the Commonalty these four and forty years? How could they imagine, that they would willingly bestow Honour upon the People, where there was but two Places to dispose of, who had been used to fill eight places with [Patricians] at their choice of Tribunes? or that they would suffer any way to be made to the Consulship, who had so long blocked up the Tribuneship? But that might be gained by a Law, which could not be obtained by favour; and therefore they ought to put one of the Consuls places out of dispute, for the People to have access to: because if it were left in question, it would always be theirs, that could make the best interest. Nor could that be now said, which they were formerly wont to throw out; viz. that there were none among the Commons, fit to make curule Magistrates. For has the Commonwealth been managed with more sloth or imprudence since P. Licinius was Tribune, who was the first that was chosen out of the Commonalty, than it was in those times, when none but Patricians were Tribunes Military? No, quite contrary; for some Patricians, after their Tribuneship, were condemn'd [for what they had done in their Office] and so was never any *Plebeian*. The *Questors* too [they said] as well as the Tribunes Military, began a few years ago to be elected out of the Commons: nor did the Roman People repent of ever an one of them. That the People therefore had nothing now to get but the Consulship; which was the very Fortress and Pillar of their Liberty. If they once arrived at that, then the People of Rome would think that their Kings were certainly banished, and their Liberty was secured. For from that day the People would be possessed of all things, wherein the Senate outdid them; viz. Authority, Honour, the glory of War, Birth, and Quality; which were great things for them in their own Persons to enjoy, but greater, to be left to their Posterity. When they saw that these kind of Speeches were acceptable, they promulgated a new Bill; That, instead of *Duumvirs* [two Officers] to look after the Sacrifices, there should be *Decemvirs* [Ten such] created; in such a manner, that part of them should be chosen out of the Commons and part out of the Senators: but they deferred the Assembly, to pass those Bills, till the coming of that Army, which was then besieging *Velitrae*.

But the Year was at an end, before the Legions were brought back from *Velitrae*: and therefore the business touching those Laws was put off for the new Tribunes Military [to finish:] for the Commons chose the same Tribunes again, and especially those two, that were the proposers of those Laws. The persons elected for Tribunes Military were T. Quintius, Ser. Cornelius, Ser. Sulpicius, Sp. Servilius, L. Papirius, and L. Veturius. At the very beginning of the Year they came to the last push about the Laws; and when the Tribes were called, seeing no Intercession of their Collegues withstood the proposers, the affrighted Senate fled to their two last shifts, their highest Authority, and their chiefest Magistrate; resolving to make a Dictator. The person made choice of was M. Furius Camillus, who took L. Amilius for his Master of the Horse. The proposers of the Laws too, seeing so great preparations made by their Adversaries, did not only themselves strengthen the Cause of the Commons with great resolutions, but also appointed an Assembly of the People and called the Tribes to give their Votes. When the Dictator, compassed round with a Band of Patricians, had late him down, full of wrath and menaces; seeing the matter was argued at first with the same earnestness as before, between the Tribunes of the People who proposed, and opposed any Law; and that the more powerful of right the Intercession was, the more it was overborn by the favour that was shewed both to the Laws themselves and those that proposed them; yea that the first Tribes passed them: Then Camillus said; Romans! since the passion of the Tribunes and not lawful Authority now guides you; and that you evacuate all Intercession (which was formerly gain'd by a secession of the Commons) by the same force that you procured it; I, as Dictator (not upon the publick account, more than for their sakes) will stand by their Intercession: and will by my Authority defend their right of giving a negative Vote to aid the Commons. Wherefore if C. Licinius and L. Sextius yield to the Intercession of their Collegues, I'll not put any Patrician Magistrate into the Assembly of the Commons. But if they strive, against the Intercession, to impose Laws upon the City, as though it were taken [by an Enemy] I will not suffer the Tribunes power to be by it self dissolved. Now, when, in opposition to what he said, the Tribunes of the People went on with their business as fast as before: then Camillus, being mightily enraged, sent the Dictors



Lictors [Serjeants] to turn the Common People out of the Assembly; adding these menaces; That if they went on, he'd make all the younger sort take the Military Oath, and carry an Army forthwith out of the City. This put the Commonalty into a great fright, but it rather heightened than lessened the resolutions of their Ringleaders: but he, before the matter was determined one way or t'other, laid down his Office: either because he was not duly created, as some say; or because the Tribunes of the People proposed to the People, and they Enacted, That if M. Furius had done any thing as Dictator, he should be fined 500000. Deneeres. But I am apt to think that he was deterred by the Auspices more, than any new sort of Bill, that was proposed; and that not only upon the score of his disposition, but because P. Manlius was immediately made Dictator in his stead: (for to what purpose was it to make a Dictator to decide that Controversie, in which M. Furius had been overcome?) and also because the same M. Furius was Dictator the next Year; who resolved, not without shame no doubt, to recover that Authority, which had been diminished the year before in him: yea farther, because at the same time, that they proposed to mulct him, he might either have opposed this Bill too, whereby he saw himself so treated, or at least not hindered those, for the sake of which this was made: and lastly, because even to this day, as long as ever the Tribunes and the Consuls have contended one with another, the Dictatorship has advanced still higher, and higher.

XXXIX. Between the time that the former Dictatorship was laid down, and the new one taken up by Manlius, there was an Assembly of the People held (as in a kind of Interregnum) by the Tribunes: at which it appears, which of the Laws proposed were most grateful to the People, and which to the proposers of them: for they consented to the Bills touching Usury and the Lands, but rejected that which was for one of the Consuls being chosen out of the Commonalty: and both those matters had been accomplished, had not the Tribunes said, That they consulted the People upon all together. After that P. Manlius the Dictator favoured the Commons, and made C. Licinius, who had been a Tribune Military, Master of the Horse, though a Commoner: That, I am told, the Senate took ill; and that the Dictator was wont to excuse himself to them upon the score of his near relation to Licinius: but said at the same time; That the Dignity of a Master of the Horse was no greater, than that of a Consular Tribune. Licinius and Sextius, after the Assembly for choosing of Tribunes of the People was appointed, so behaved themselves, that, by saying they had now no mind to have that honour continued to them, they incited the Commons more than ever to do what they pretended to refuse. They said; They had been now nine Years exposed, as in a Battel, against the Nobility, to the greatest hazard imaginable of their own persons and Estates, but without any benefit to the Commonwealth. That now both the Bills that were promulgated and all the strength of the Tribunes power was grown old, as they were. That their Laws were opposed, first of all, by the Intercession of the Collegues: secondly, by sending away the Youth to the War at Velitræ; and lastly, that there was a Dictatorian thunderbolt prepared against them. But that now neither their Collegues, nor any War, or Dictator withstood them; for the Dictator had given a good omen that he would agree to have a Plebeian Consul, by making a Plebeian Master of the Horse. That the Commonalty only hindered themselves and their own advantages. That they, if they pleased, might soon have the City rid of the Creditors, and the Lands free from the unjust Possessors of them: which benefits when would they esteem so gratefully as they ought, if, whilst they had Bills proposed for their own advantage, they cut off all hopes of Honour from the proposers of them? That it did not suit with the modesty of the Roman People to desire, that they might be eased of the Usury; and to be instated in Lands, that were wrongfully kept from them, by those great Men, through whom they got those things; and yet to leave old men, that had been Tribunes, not only without Honour, but without so much as the hopes of it. Wherefore they advised them to consider with themselves what they would have: and after that declare their pleasure in the Assembly for choosing of Tribunes. If they desired to have all the promulgated Bills pass'd together, they ought to make the same persons Tribunes again: for they should carry what they had proposed: but if they would barely accept of what was needful for every one in his private capacity, there was no need of continuing an envied honour; nor should either they themselves have the Tribuneship, or the People, what was promulgated.

XL. Upon this obstinate Speech of the Tribunes, though the indignity of what they said had struck the rest of the Senate with amazement and silence, to hear it; Ap. Claudius Crassus, they say, stood forth, more out of hatred and anger, than any hopes he had to oppose them; and spoke to this purpose: Romans! it is no new, or unexpected thing, if I too at this time hear, what has been always objected against our Family by the seditious Tribunes: viz. That to the Claudian Race nothing has ever been from the first rise of it, more sacred in this Commonwealth, than the Majesty of the Senate: and that they were always Enemies to the Peoples advantages. The one of which charges I neither deny, nor go about to disprove: viz. That we, ever since we have been taken into the City and the Senate, have done our utmost endeavour, that it might be truly said, the Majesty and grandeur of these Families, among which you were pleased to place us, has been rather augmented, than diminished. But as to the other, Romans! I dare vouch both for my self and my Ancestors (unless any man thinks, those things, that are done for the good of the Commonwealth in general, are disadvantageous to the Commons; as tho' they lived in another City) that

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we never did any thing, to our knowledge, either as private men, or in any Office, which was injurious to the Common People: and that no man can truly tell of one word or action of ours against their interest, though some there were against their wills. Could I forbear, though I were not come of a Noble Family, but an ordinary Roman, who only knew my self to be born of ingenious Paternal Tribunes (forsooth) have taken so much liberty these nine years, wherein they have domineered like Kings, as to say, they'll not give you the freedom of Voting, either in Assemblies, or in making of Laws. You, says he, shall make us the tenth time Tribunes upon condition. What's that, but as if they should say, What others desire, we so much disdain, that we will not accept of it without some great reward? But pray, what is that reward, for which we may have you still Tribunes of the People? Why, that you accept (says he) of our Proposals, whether they please or displease you, whether profitable or unprofitable, all together. I beseech you, the Tarquinian Tribunes your good leave, let us choose, out of these Bills, those that we think wholesome for us; and reject the rest. No, says he, you shan't. Thou [Citizen, whose thou art] wouldst give thy Vote concerning Use-money, and the Lands, which belongs to you all; and may not this Miracle then be done in Rome, for thee to see (what thou abhorrest and abominat'st) L. Sextius and Licinius here, were ready to starve, Poison and good Meat at the same time; and then command him, either to abstain from that which was wholesome Food, or mix them both together. Would not a great many upon this score, if this were a free City, cry out; Get thee gone with thy Tribuneships and thy Bills? What thou dost not propose, that which is advantageous to the People, will there be nobody else to do it? If any Patrician, if any Claudius (which they would have to be a more envied name) should say, either take all, or I'll offer you nothing; which of you, Romans! would endure it? Will you never consider things, rather than persons? but always hear, whatever such a Magistrate says, with great regard, and turn your ears from what any of us say? But truly, your manner of speaking is not at all like that of Citizens. What? What sort of Bill is it, which they are angry that you reject? Why, Romans! 'tis much like this: viz. I, says he, desire, that you may not have leave to make such Consuls, as you think fit. Does he say any thing else, who orders you to choose one Consul out of the Commonalty; and will not let you have the power to choose two Patricians? If there were Wars now, such as the Etrurian War was, when Porcena was got upon Janiculum: or such as the Gallick War of late, when, except the Capitol and the Camp, all these things were in the Enemies hands: and L. Sextius there stood for the Consulship with M. Furius here, or any other Senator; could you endure that Sextius should certainly be Consul, and that Camillus should storm for being repulsed? Is this the way to make Honours common [to both Orders]? by making it lawful for two Plebeians to be chosen Consuls, but not two Patricians? or imposing it as necessary that one be chosen out of the Commons, and leaving it at liberty whether either of them shall be a Patrician, or no? What society, what equality is this? Is it a small matter, if thou comest in for a part of that wherein thou never hadst any share before, unless, whilst thou desirest a share, thou take the whole along with it? If fear, says he, left, if it be lawful to choose two Patricians, you will choose ne'r a Plebeian. What's that, but as much as to say; because you will not willingly choose those that are unworthy, I'll lay a necessity upon you of choosing kindness to the Peoples favour, that, if one Plebeian stand with two Patricians, he may say, he was chosen by the Law, and not by their Votes?

They seek, how they may extort, not how to sue for Honours; and resolve so to obtain the greatest Honours, as not to owe so much for them as for the least; choosing to stand for great Offices, when they have opportunities, not upon the score of their deserts. Is there any man, who disdains to be looked into, or valud? who thinks it reasonable that he alone should be sure of such and such Honours, among a company of Competitors that struggle for them at the same time? who will not submit himself to your judgment? who would make your Votes, instead of voluntary, necessary, and instead of free ones, servile? I pass by Licinius and Sextius, whose years of perpetual power you number, like those of Kings, in the Capitol. Who is there in this City so abject, but that he is in a readier way to the Consulship, by the help of this Law, than any of us or our Children? For you cannot choose us sometimes though you'd never so fain, but you are forced to choose them, even against your wills. But I have said enough of the indignity [of these things] (for Dignity belongs to men) what shall I say of the Religious Rites and Auspices [being abused], which is an immediate contempt and affront to the immortal Gods? That this City was Built by the direction of the Soothsayers, and that all things both in War and Peace, at home and abroad, were done by the same Authority, who knows not? Who then had the care of the Auspices committed to them, according to the usage of our Ancestors? Why the Senate had. For no Plebeian Magistrate is created with that Ceremony. Yea so peculiar are the Auspices to us, that the People must not only create what Patrician Magistrates they do create according as the Soothsayer directs, but we also our selves without the Vote of the People can duly declare an Interrex; and have Auspices in private, which they have not even among their Magistrates. What then does he do less than take away the Auspices, who by making Plebeians Consuls, takes them from the Senate, who are the only persons that can have them? Let them now laugh at Religious Rites: for what matter is't, if

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the Chickens will not feed? if they go but slowly out of the Coop? if a Bird bode ill luck? These are small matters: but yet our Ancestors made this the greatest State in the World by not condemning these small things. We on the contrary in our Age, as though we needed not the favour of the Gods, pollute all Ceremonies. Then let Priests, Soothsayers and the chief Sacrificers be chosen out of the dregs of the People; let us put Jupiter's Priest's Mitre upon any Bodies head, so he be but a Man, and let us deliver the Ancilia [sacred Shields] the Temples, the Gods and the care of them to Villains: let no Laws be made nor Magistrates created with any due Ceremony; nor the Senate give Authority to the Centuriate Assemblies: but let Sextius and Licinius, like Romulus and Tatius, Reign in the City of Rome; because they give away other mens moneys, and other mens Lands: such a sweetness there is in preying upon other peoples Estates. Nor do you consider, that by the one of your Laws there are vast Deserts like to be made in the Country, by driving the right owners out of their Possessions; and that by the other their credit is ruined, with which all human Society is destroyed. Now upon all these accounts I think you ought to reject and throw out these Bills. Whate'r you do, I pray the Gods may prosper.

XLII. This Speech of Appius's so far prevailed upon them, that the time of passing the Bills was deferred: and the same Tribunes, Sextius and Licinius, were chosen again, who pass'd a Law for the Electing of the Decemvirs, who took care of the holy Rites, half out of the Commonalty. So there were five chosen out of the Senate, and five out of the Commons: and by that step they thought they now made some progress toward the Consulship. The People, being content with this Victory gave way to the Senate, and omitting any mention of Consuls for the present, let Tribunes Military be chosen. The persons chosen were A. and M. Cornelius (a second time) M. Geganius, P. Manlius, L. Veturius, and P. Valerius, a sixth time. But now, when, besides the siege of Velitrae (a thing, whereof the issue was more slow, than doubtful) the Roman affairs were all quiet abroad; a sudden report of a Gallick War forced the City to make M. Furius a fifth time Dictator; and he chose T. Quintius Pennus Master of the Horse. Claudius says, that they fought with the Gauls that year about the River Anien: and that there was a famous Combat, upon a Bridge, between T. Manlius and a Gaul, that challenged him hand to hand, in the fight of the two Armies; in which Manlius kill'd the Gaul and brought off a Gold Chain. But I am more inclin'd by most Authors, to believe, that these things were done no less than ten years after, and that this year they engaged the Gauls, (M. Furius being Dictator) in the Albane Territories. The Victory was neither doubtful nor difficult to the Romans (tho' the Gauls had put them into a great fright through their remembrance of their former defeat) but there were many thousands of Barbarians slain in the field, many after their Camp was taken. The rest straggled and going most of them toward Apulia, what by their long flight, and their being through dread and terror scattered all over the Country, defended themselves from the Enemy. The Dictator, by consent of the Senate and People had a Triumph Decreed him. But he had no sooner made an end of that War, than a more bloody Sedition received him at home: and through great contests the Dictator and the Senate were forced, to accept the Tribunes Bills; besides that there was a Consular Assembly held against the will of the Nobility, at which L. Sextius was the first man, that ever was made Consul, of the Commons. But even that was not the end of their contentions. For, because the Patricians said they would not consent to it, the thing had like to have come to a Secession of the Commons, and other dreadful approaches of Civil Broils. But these discords were appeas'd by the Dictator upon conditions, allowance being granted by the Nobility to the People that the Plebeian Consul should continue in his Office, and by the People to the Nobility, that there should be one Praetor, who should do justice in the City, and be chosen out of the Senate. By this means the two Orders being at last reduced out of their long Animosities into Concord, the Senate was of opinion that then, if ever they should do well, and would willingly, in honour of the immortal Gods, cause the grand Games to be set forth, adding one day to the former three. But the Aediles of the People refusing that Office, the Patrician Young men cry'd out, That they would willingly do that honour to the immortal Gods, so that they might be made Aediles. For which they were thank'd by the whole Senate, and an Order was made, That the Dictator should propose to the People the making of two men Aediles, out of the Senate; and that the Senate should give Authority to all the Assemblies of that Year.

D E.

## DECADE I. BOOK VII.

## E P I T O M E.

1. **T**Here were two new Offices added, the Pretorship and the Curule Aedileship. 2. The City was Afflicted with a Plague, which was Signal for the Death of Camillus: the remedy and end whereof being by new Ceremonies inquired into, Stage-plays were then first Acted. 4, 5. When a day of Tryal was appointed for L. Manlius, by M. Pomponius, Tribune of the People, upon the score of his severity in the Levy, and his banishing T. Manlius, his Son, without any reason; the Youth himself, whose banishment was laid to his Fathers charge, came into the Tribunes-Bed-Chamber, and with his Sword drawn forced him to swear, that he would not go on with his accusation. 6. Then all pretious things were thrown into a gaping Gulf in the City of Rome; whereinto Curtius, being Arm'd, threw himself headlong off his Horse, and it was closed. 10. T. Manlius, the Youth that freed his Father from the Tribunes vexation, fought a Duel with a Gaul, that Challenged any Roman Soldier; whom he kill'd and plundred of a golden Chain: which he afterward wore, and was thence called Torquatus [from Torquis, which signifies such a Chain.] 15. There were two Tribes added, the Pomptine and the Publician. 16. Licinius Stolo was condemned by a Law of his own making, for having more than 500. Acres of Land. 26. Sc. M. Valerius, a Tribune Military killed a Gaul, that challenged him; a Crow sitting all the while upon his Helmet, who with his Claws and Beak annoy'd his Enemy; from whence he was Surnamed Corvus; and created Consul the next Year, for his Valour, when he was but 23. Years Old. 27. They made an alliance with the Carthaginians. 29. &c. The Campanians, being molested with a War from the Samnites, desired aid against them of the Senate: which since they could not obtain, they surrender'd their City, and Country to the Romans: for which reason, the Senate thought fit, that what was made theirs, should be defended by a War against the Samnites. 34. &c. When the Army, being led by A. Cornelius into a disadvantageous Place, was in great danger, it was preserved by P. Decius Mus, a Tribune Military: who having posted himself upon an Hill, above that where the Samnites lay, gave the Consul occasion to escape into a plainer Place: and himself though surrounded by the Enemy broke through them. 38. &c. The Roman Soldiers, who were left in Garrison at Capua, having conspired to make themselves Masters of that City, their Plot was discover'd, and they for fear of being Punished Revolted from the Romans; but were Restored to their Country by M. Valerius Corvus, who by his Advice had retrieved them from their Fury. It farther continues their Actions against the Hernicans, Gauls, Tiburtes, Privernates, Tarquinians, and Samnites. which they performed with good success.

**T**His year was remarkable for the Consulship of a new Man, and two new Offices, the Pretorship and the Aedileship: which Honours the Patricians gain'd in lieu of one Consul's place, which they granted to the Commons. The People bestow'd their Consulship upon L. Sextius, by whose Law it was gained: and the Senate gave the Pretorship to Sp. Furius Camillus, Son of Marcus; but the Aedileship to Cn. Quintius Capitolinus, and P. Cornelius Scipio, Men of their own Quality, by their Votes in the Campus Martius. L. Aemilius Mamercus was chosen Colleague to L. Sextius, out of the Senate. At the beginning of the year, there was great talk of the Gauls, (who, though at first they had straggled through Apulia, were now said to be gathered into a Body) and of the Revolt of the Hernici. Now seeing all things were industriously deferred, that nothing might be done by a Plebeian Consul, all matters were silent, and there was such a Calm in business, as when a stop is put to judicial proceedings; save that the Tribunes of the People murmur'd, that the Nobility had taken to themselves three Patrician Majestates, who came in their Curule Chaires, and Scarlet Gowns, like Consuls, to the Senate; and among them, the Praetor too determining causes as a Judge, in which he was as a kind of Colleague to the Consuls, created with the same Ceremony: and therefore the Senate was ashamed to order the Curule Aediles to be chosen out of the Senat: about which Affair at first they agreed, that they should be so Chosen every other year; tho afterward the Choice was promiscuous. After that, when L. Genucius, and Q. Servilius were Consuls, all things being at quiet both from Sedition and War, lest they should at any time be free from fear and danger, there arose a great Pestilence. They say, that, this year, a Cenfor, Curule Aedile, and 3. Tribunes of the People died; and that proportionably to the Number of them, there were many other Funerals of the People too: but that which made that Plague most famous was the mature, as well as much lamented death of M. Furius. For he was really the only Person of his Age in all sorts of fortunes; being the greatest Man both in War and Peace, before he was banished; more famous in his banishment; either through the necessity of the City, which, when it was taken, begged his help in his Absence; or upon the score of his success, whereby being restored to his Country, he restored the Country itself at the same time. For which reason he was afterward, for 25. years (for so many he after that time lived) thought to deserve a Title equal to such a glorious Exploit, and lookt upon as worthy to be stiled the Second Founder of the City, after Romulus.

Both this and the next year, C. Sulpicius Peticus, and C. Licinius Stolo being Consuls, there

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was a Plague: and therefore in it there was nothing done in it worth remembring; save that there was an holy Feast then made to appease the Gods, which was the third of the kind since the Building of the City. And seeing that the force of the Distemper was not taken off either by human advice, or divine assistance, their minds being overcome with Superstition, tis said, there were Stage-plays too, (which was a new thing to that War-like People, who had no Shews before but those of the Circus [as Running and Fencing, &c.] instituted among other things to atone the wrath of Heaven. But this was a very small thing at first (as most at their beginnings are) and strange too. For the Players, who were sent for out of Etruria, Danced without any Singing, or any thing like it, a plain Country Dance after the Tuscan manner, to a Pipe. After which the young men, who Joked upon each other, began to utter themselves in artless Verses; nor were their motions dissonant from their Voices. So the thing being received, and by use improved, the Roman Artists, who were concerned in that Affair, were called *Histriones*, (from *Hister*, which in the Tuscan Language signified a Player.) who did not, (as formerly) throw out Extemporary, rude and uncorrect Verses, like *Fescennine* Poetry [i. e. such as was Anciently used at Weddings;] but acted Satyrs filled up with measures, Singing now to the Flute, and using an agreeable gesture. But after some years *Livy*, who was the first that ever attempted to make a Play of one continued plot from the beginning to the end (which he himself acted, as all People then did) is said, (after he had, by reason that his Voice was grown hoarse with continual straining, got leave to put a Boy to Sing to the Flute) to have acted what was Sung with a much more vigorous motion; because the use of his Voice did not hinder him: and from that time the Players had others to Sing to them, who spoke all the words whilst they only Acted. Now when, by this rule of Plays, that business was stript of all ridiculous and extravagant Fooling; and Playing grew by degrees into an Art; the Young People, leaving the Plays to be Acted by the Players, began among themselves, after the Ancient manner, to Act the Buffoons in Verses, which were afterward thence called *Exodia* [or Musical Entertainments at the end of the Play,] and consisted chiefly of *Atellane Interludes* [so called from the City *Atella*] which kind divertisements they had and retained from the *Oscians*; nor suffer'd it to be vitiated by the Players. And therefore the Law is, that such Actors of *Atellane Interludes* shall not be disfranchis'd, but shall serve in the Wars as though they did not Practise any such *lulicrous* Art. Among the small beginnings of other things, I thought fit to tell you the Rise of Plays too, that it might appear from what a sober Original that matter grew up to the present Extravagancy and Madness, which is hardly to be endured even in the most Opulent Kingdoms.

III. Yet this original of Plays, which were instituted to appease the Gods did not ease either mens minds of the Superstitious fear they were in, or their Bodies of their Distempers; but on the contrary seeing the *Tiber* overflow'd the *Circus* in the midst of all their Sports, it made the People believe the Gods were averse [to their endeavours] and would not accept of any atonements, which put them into a mighty consternation. Wherefore, in the Year that *U. C.* *Cn. Genucius*, and *L. Aemilius Mamercus* were the Second time Consuls, (when the difficulty of finding out atonements afflicted their minds more than the Disease their Bodies) they say the Elder People called to mind and told the rest, that there was a Pestilence formerly cur'd by the Dictators driving of a Naile. The Senate being induced by that Religious consideration order'd a Dictator to be Chosen to drive a Naile; and accordingly *L. Manlius Imperiosus* was pitch'd upon, who made *L. Pinacius* Master of the Horse. There is an old Law, written in old Characters and old Words; that he, who is Chief Praetor shall drive a Naile on the Ides of September. This Naile therefore was driven on the right-side of *Jupiters* Temple where *Minervas* is. That Naile they say (because writing was in those Days very rare) was a mark for the Number of Years; and that it was done in *Minervas* Temple, because she was the Inventress of Number. And *Cincius*, who was a diligent searcher into such Monuments affirms, that there were Nails driven at *Volsinii* too, in the Temple of *Nortia*, an Etrurian Goddess, to shew the Number of their Years. *M. Horatius*, when he was Consul, drove the first Naile by that Law in the Temple of *Jupiter*, the Year after the Kings were banish'd: but this Solemnity of driving the Nail was afterward Transferr'd from the Consuls to the Dictators, because theirs was the greater Dignity. And in time, after the Custom had been intermitted, this business seem'd to be of it self worth the making of a Dictator. Upon which score *L. Manlius* was created, who (as if he had been created to do some great publick matter, and not to appease the Gods) affecting to have a War with the *Hernicans* plagued the young People with a severe Levy: and at last, seeing all the Tribunes of the People were against him, he being overcome either by Force, or Shame laid down his Dictatorship.

IV. Yet for all that, at the beginning of the next Year, when *Q. Servilius Ahala*, and *L. Genucius* were the second time Consuls, *Manlius* was Summon'd to a Trial by *M. Pomponius* Tribune of the People. For his severity at the Levy, which he exercised not only to the damage of the Citizens Estates, but the torturing of their Bodies too (whipping some, who had not answer'd to their Names, and Imprisoning others) was very odious. But above all his

his stern disposition was in it self hateful, and his Surname of *Imperiosus*, which he took upon him, was ungrateful to that free City because it carry'd Cruelty and Tyranny in its very sound: which he indeed shew'd, not only to Strangers but even to his own Relations, and nearest Kindred. And therefore the Tribune made this one part of his Accusation; That he kept his own Son, who was a Young Man; though he were Convicted of no manner of Offence, (like one that's banish'd) out of the City, from his House, his Household-gods, out of the Forum, from seeing the Light and from the Conversation of his Equals; putting him to Slavish-work, almost into a Prison, and a Bridewel: where the Noble Youth, who was Son to the greatest man in Rome, even the Dictator himself, by daily hardship should learn, that he was Born of a truly Imperious Father. But for what reason, pray? why because (forsooth) he was not so Eloquent as he should have been, and had an Impediment in his speech. Which defect in Nature whether he, as a Father, ought not (if he had any humanity in him) to have been tender of, but rather punished and by his Tyranny exposed, was the Question. That even dumb Beasts did not refuse to cherish and preserve any of their Offspring, which were any way deficient. But *L. Manlius* encreased one misfortune of his Sons with another, imposing still more and more upon the dullness of his Wits: and if there were any little natural vigour in it, destroy'd what there was by a Country Life, and rustic conversation among Brutes.

All People were more concern'd at these accusations, than the young man himself; who on the contrary, taking it to Heart, that he should be the cause of Envy and such Charges against his Father, to the end that all the Gods and Men too might see, that he had rather assist his Father than his Enemies, he took a course, which shewed indeed his rude and Country Breeding, but, though it were not like a Gentleman, was yet commendable for the Piety of it. He went, unknown to any Body, with a Knife about him, in the Morning into the City, and from the Gate directly home to *M. Pomponius* the Tribune's House. When he came thither, he told the Porter, He must needs speak with his Master; and bad him say, he was *T. Manlius*, the Son of *Lucius*. Being immediately introduced (for the Tribune hoped that being inflamed with Anger against his Father he had either some new Crime to Charge him with, or had found out some new Method to accomplish the business) after they had mutually saluted each other, he told him, he had some private business with him, which admitted of no Company to be by whilst they discourse it. Whereupon all others being order'd to avoid the Room he pull'd out his Knife, and standing upon the Bed with it ready in his Hand, threaten'd, that if he did not Swear as he should direct him, viz. That he would never hold an Assembly of the Commons to accuse his Father, he would presently Stab him. The frighted Tribune (seeing the Knife glitter before his Eyes, himself alone, unarmed, and him a stout Young Man, and (which was more to be fear'd) Fool-hardy upon the score of his strength) Swore what he was forced to; and afterward profess'd, that he was by that means forced to desist from his Design. Nor were the People so much concerned that the Son had done so bold an Action for his Father, as that they had not the Power of giving their Votes against so cruel and Tyrannical a Malefactor. And the thing was so much the more commendable in him, in that his Fathers extreme severity had not at all averted him from his natural Love and Duty. By this means the Father was not only acquitted, but that Action was an honour to the Son. For whereas that Year there was an Order made, that the Tribunes Military for the Legions should be chosen by Vote of the People (for before, as well as now the Generals themselves made those whom they call *Rufuli*) he got the second Place of six, though he had done nothing either at home or abroad to merit the Peoples favour, as having liv'd all the time of his Youth in the Country and far from the converse of men.

That same Year, either by an Earth-quake, or some other force, the middle of the Forum, 'tis said, sunk down with a vast hollown'ess to a mighty depth. Nor could that Gulfe be fill'd up with Earth, which every one threw into it, till they began to enquire, by admonition from the Gods, what was the greatest advantage, and strength of the Roman People, for that the diviners foretold must be dedicated to that Place, if they would have the Roman Commonwealth to be everlasting. Upon which they say *M. Curtius*, a very Warlike young man, reprov'd those that doubted, whether there was any thing that conduced more to the advantage of Rome, than Arms and Courage: and that then, silence being made, he look'd toward the Temples of the Immortal Gods, that are above the Forum, and the Capitol, and stretching forth his Hands one while toward Heaven, and another while toward the gaping Gulfe to the Infernal Gods devoted himself. After which being mounted upon an Horse, that was trapped as Gayly as possible could be, he, all in Armour, threw himself into the Gulfe; whilst multitudes of Men and Women flung Gifts and Fruits in upon him: and that Place was called *Lacus Curtius* [i. e. the Curtian Lake or Gulfe] not from that ancient Soldier of *T. Tatius*, *Curtius Metius*, but this Man. I would not be wanting to inquire after it, if there were any way that led to the truth of this; but now we must rely upon common report, where antiquity will not suffer us to be certain: and the name of the Lake is made more Famous by this later story. After they had expiated for that great Prodigy, the same Year, the Senat being Consulted about the *Hernicans*, and having sent *Heralds* to demand



satisfaction of them but in vain, they Voted, that the very next Assembly it should be proposed to the People to declare War against the Hernicans: and the People in a full Assembly consented to that War. L. Genucius the Consul happen'd to have that Province; and therefore the City was in expectation; by reason that he, who was the first Consul chosen out of the Commons was to carry on a War by his own Conduct; and would esteem the communication of their great Honours to the Commonalty as a good or an ill Act, according to the success of that affair. It happen'd so to fall out, that Genucius, setting out against the Enemy with great Eagerness, was surpris'd by an Ambuscade: and that, the Legions being Routed through that sudden Consternation, the Consul was circumvented and slain by Persons, that knew not, whom they had Kill'd. Which being reported at Rome, the Senators were not in any proportion so sorry for the publick Calamity, as overjoy'd at the unhappy conduct of a Plebeian Consul; and therefore they cryed out in all Places and said; now let'em go and choose Consuls out of the Commonalty, and transfer the auspices to those that could not lawfully meddle with them. That the Senate might be deprived of their Honours by an Act of the Commons: but did that wicked Law stand good against the Immortal Gods too? No, they had vindicated their own Deity, and their own auspices; which were no sooner touched by one, that had no Right or Title to it, but a whole Army, who were all together with their General Destroy'd was a warning, that no Assemblies should after that time be held in an illegal manner. With these words both the Court and the Forum rang; and Servilius the Consul, by consent the Patricians, made Appius Claudius Dictator, because he had argued against that Law, and cou'd now with greater Authority enveigh against the event of a design by him withstood: besides that there was a Levy and a stop in judicial Proceedings ordered to be made.

VII. Before the Dictator and the new Legions came into the Hernican Dominions, the business was occasionally very well managed by the conduct of C. Sulpicius, a Lieutenant. For when the Hernicans came, after the Consuls Death, contemptuously, up to the Roman Camp, with certain hopes of taking it, through the Lieutenants encouragement, and the Soldiers own inclinations, whose minds were full of Fury and Indignation, they sallied forth: upon which the Hernicans were far from all hopes of coming to the Bullwark; so that their Ranks being thereby all put into disorder they Marched off. Then when the Dictator came there was a new Army added to the old one, and their Forces were doubled: and the Dictator in a Publick Speech so praised the Lieutenant, and the Soldiers, by whose Courage the Camp had been defended, that he at the same time heighten'd the resolutions of them, who heard their own due commendations, and induced the rest to emulate their Atcheivements. Nor did the Enemy make slower Preparations for the War, who being neither unmindful of the Honour which before they gained, nor ignorant that the Roman Forces were encreased, augmented their own Forces too: raising all the whole Hernican Nation, that were able to bear Arms, consisting of 3200. choice, stout, lusty men. These, who were all the very Flower of their Youth they fill'd with hopes and resolution by decreeing, that they should have double Pay. Besides, they were excused from all Military duties else, that, being reserved for the toil of a Fight only, they might know they ought to endeavour at things even above their strength; and they were Planted out of order too in the Army, that their Courage might be the more conspicuous. A Plain of two Miles long divided the Roman Camp from the Hernicans; and there they both came almost halfway to fight in the middle. At first it was doubtful, which of 'em should win the Day, whilst the Roman Horse in vain endeavour'd by a strong effort to disorder the Body of the Enemies. But seeing their fight was more vain in the effect than in their attempts, the Horse, having first consulted the Dictator, at last, when they had got his leave, quitted their Horses and with a great shout ran before the Ensigns, where they renew'd the fight: nor could they have been endured, had not the extraordinary Regiments opposed them with equal vigour both of Bodies and Minds.

VIII. Then the business was Managed between the best men of those two Nations; and whosoever fell on one side or the other the loss was many times double to the number of them that were slain; whilst the other Common Soldiers, as though those men alone had been deputed to decide the Quarrel, placed all their hopes in the Courage of others; many being slain on both sides, and many wounded. At length the Horse-men, blaming one another, asked, what now remain'd; since they had neither Routed the Enemy on Horse-back, nor could do any good on Foot, what kind of fight must the Third be? why had they ran forward so fiercely before the Ensigns; and fought in other mens Post? Being provoked by these words among themselves, they renew'd their shout, and fell on. First they made the Enemy give ground, then drove 'em still farther back, and at last quite Routed 'em. But it is not easie to tell, what it was that gave the overthrow to a People of such equal strength, except it were that their perpetual Fortune could raise and diminish the Courage of both People. The Romans pursued their Hernicans to the very Camp: but did not Attack it, because it was late in the day: for the Dictator was detain'd so long by having not made an acceptable Sacrifice, that he could not give the Signal till Noon; and by that means the fight continued till Evening. The next day the Hernicans ran away from their Camp, and there were some wounded Persons found in it: and the Body of those that fled from the Ensigns, after they saw, their own Ban-

Banners, near the Walls of the Town almost deserted, was scatter'd, and ran straggling about the Country. Nor was it a Bloodless Victory to the Romans: for a fourth part of their common Soldiers were lost, and, (which was no less damage to them) some Roman Knights fell.

The next year, when L. Sulpitius and C. Licinius Calvus had led the Army against the Hernicans, and, not finding the Enemy in all the Country, had Storm'd and taken Ferentinum their City, as they came back from thence, the Tiburtes shut their Gates against them. That was the last reason, (though there were many complaints before on both sides made) why War was by the Heralds (who send to demand satisfaction) declar'd against that People. It is well known that T. Quintius Pennus was Dictator that Year, and that Sergius Cornelius Maluginensis was his Master of the Horse. Macer Licinius says, that he was created, to hold the grand Assembly, and by Licinius the Consul, because, seeing his Colleague endeavour'd to have the Assembly held before the War began, that he might continue his Consulship, he thought fit to oppose that his evil design. But the commendation which he seeks of his own Family makes Licinius a less creditable Author: for I find no mention of that matter in any ancient Annals; and therefore I am rather apt to believe, that the Dictator was created upon the score of the Gallick War, the Gauls being that Year encamped three Miles from Rome in the Road called Salaria beyond the Bridg of Anien. The Dictator, having order'd a stop to be put to all judicial proceedings, upon the account of the Gallick Insurrection, forced all the younger men to take the military Oath, and setting out from the City with a mighty Army, pitched his Camp on the higher Bank of the River Anien. The bridg was between them, which neither of them broke, lest it should be an argument of their fear: but they had many skirmishes to take the bridg: though they could not well tell, their forces being uncertain, how to do it. Thereupon a Gaul of a mighty stature marched forth and got upon the empty bridg; where with as loud a Voice as he could, he said, let the stoutest man of all the Romans come forth and fight me, that the success of our combat may shew, which of the two Nations is the more War-like.

The chief of the Roman youth were for a long time silent, not only because they were ashamed to refuse the duel, but because they did not care to undergo the greatest part of the danger: till T. Manlius, Son to Lucius, who had saved his Father from the Tribunes malice, stepped forth from his Post to the Dictator, and said; General! I would never fight out of course without your Order, no, though I were sure to gain the Victory. But if you'll permit me, I'll shew that beast, since he stalks and talks at such a rate before the Enemies banner, that I am come of that Family, which beat an Army of the Gauls down from the Tarpeian rock. To which the Dictator reply'd; Well said, brave T. Manlius; thou shewest an equal Piety to thy Father and thy Country. Go on, and, by the Gods assistance, make the Roman Name invincible. Thereupon his associates armed the young man; who took a Foot-mans Shield, was girt with a Spanish Sword, (which is more convenient for close fighting) and, when he was so Arm'd and equip'd, they led him forth against the Gaul, who was so Fool-hardy, and (because the Ancients have thought that too worth remembering) put out his Tongue in derision. Then the rest return'd to their Post, and those two were left between the Armies, more like a show, than according to the Law of War, seeming no way equal, to those that saw 'em, either in their looks or stature. For the one was an huge, tall man, with a particoulour'd garment, and shone in Painted Arms, made of engraven Gold: but the other was of a middle stature, and look'd not half so gay, as being in Armour, that was useful rather than splendid. Nor did he sing, exult, or vainly flourish his Arms; but his Soul, being full of resolution and silent Fury had reserv'd all his Vigour till the very push of the Combat. When they stood together between the two Armies, (in which so many were in suspense between hope and fear) the Gaul, who was like a little Hill above him, holding his Shield before him in his left hand, gave a vain cut, though it made a mighty noise, upon his Enemies Arms as he came toward him. The Roman, lifting up the point of his Sword, after he had with his Shield beat an hole in the bottom of the Gaul's, and got too near for the Gaul to hurt him with so long a Sword, he slipt between his body and his Shield, and there with one or two Thrusts wounded him in the Belly and the Groin, and so brought down his haughty Foe, who as he lay took up a mighty space. When that was done, he, without doing him any farther injury, took from him a Gold Chain [in Latin, Torquis] which, though all bloody, he put about his own Neck. The Gauls were astonish'd with fear and admiration: whilst the cheerful Romans, going from their Post, to meet their Champion, brought him, with praises and gratulations to the Dictator. Among the jocular expressions, which, though extempore and rude, like Soldiers they cast forth in a kind of Verses, there was heard the surname, Torquatus; which was afterward Famous even among Posterity and an Honour to his Family. The Dictator gave him a Golden Crown for a present, and in a publick Oration extolled that Combat to the Skies.

And indeed that duel was of such great moment toward the Issue of the whole War, that the Gallick Army the next night, leaving their Camp in a consternation, went into the Tiburtine Dominions; where having made Alliance for carrying on the War, and being kindly

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kindly assisted with all conveniences by the Inhabitants, they presently passed away into *U. C.* *Campania*. That was the reason, why, the next Year, *C. Pætelius Balbus*, the Consul (his  
378. Colleague *M. Fabius Ambustus* happening to have the *Hernicans* for his Province) led an Army against the *Tiburines*; to whose aid the *Gauls* return'd out of *Campania*, and there-fore great ravage was made in the *Lavicane*, *Tusculane* and *Albane* Territories, the *Tiburines* being, no question, the Ring-leaders. And when the publick Arms were wholly employ'd against the *Tiburines*, under the conduct of the Consul, a *Gallick* insurrection forced them to create a Dictator. *Q. Servilius Ahala* was chosen, who made *T. Quintius* Master of the Horse: and, by Authority of the Senate, vowed, if his success in that War were good, to set forth the grand Games. The Dictator, to engage the *Tiburines* in a peculiar War, ordered the Consuls Army to stay where they were, and compell'd all the younger People, (who none of 'em refused it) to take the Military Oath. They fought not far from the *Colline Gate* with the strength of the whole City, in the fight of their Parents, Wives and Children: who being a great encouragement to them even when they were at a distance, did then, when they were before their eyes, inflame the Soldiers at once with shame and compassion. After a great slaughter made on both sides, the *Gallick* Army was at last put to flight, and ran to *Tibur*, as the head Quarters of the *Gallick* War. Straggling about they were met by Consul *Pætelius* not far from *Tibur*, where, the *Tiburines* being come out to assist them, they were driven with them into the Gates. The matter was carry'd very bravely not only by the Dictator but the Consul too: and the other Consul, *Fabius*, first in little skirmishes, and at last in one Signal Battel, in which the Enemies attacked him with all their Forces, subdu'd the *Hernicans*. The Dictator, having mightily commended the Consuls in the Senate, and before the People, and bestow'd on them the Honour even of his actions too, layd down his Dictatorship. *Pætelius* Triumph'd doubly, over the *Gauls* and *Tiburines* too; but 'twas thought enough for *Fabius* to come into the City *Ovant*. The *Tiburines* scoffed at *Pætelius*'s Triumph; saying, where did he ever engage with them? That some few spectators indeed of the fight and consternation of the *Gauls*, who went without the Gates, when they saw themselves also made at, and that every body, who stood in the way, was kill'd without any distinction, retired into the City. But did the Romans think that deserved a Triumph? That they would advise 'em not to think it too wonderful and great an action to raise a Tumult in an Enemies Gates; for they should see a greater Consternation ere long before their own Walls.

XII. Accordingly the next Year, *M. Popilius Lænas*, and *Cn. Manlius* being Consuls, toward  
*U. C.* mid-night they sett out in a full body from *Tibur*, and came to *Rome*. This surprisè and their  
396. dread in the night time; struck them with Terror, being on a sudden waked out of their Sleep. Besides that, through the ignorance of many who knew not, who the Enemies were, or whence they came, there was a sudden Alarm given; and the Gates as well as the Walls had Guards set upon them. But when day-break discover'd the number to be but indifferent before the Walls, and that the Enemy were none but *Tiburines*, the Consuls, going out at two Gates, set upon their Army as they lay under the Walls on both sides. Then it appeared that they, when they came, relyed more upon the occasion, than their own Valour: and therefore they could hardly endure even the first effort of the Romans; yea it was evident that their coming was an advantage to the Romans, in that a Sediton, that was arising between the Senate and the People, was by the fear of a War, so near at Hand, suppressed. But there was another Arrival of their Enemies in the next War, which was more terrible to the Country than to the City. For the *Tarquiniens* ravaged and over-ran the *Roman* confines, especially on that side that borders upon *Etruria*. Upon which account when they had in vain demanded satisfaction, the new Consuls *C. Fabius* and *C. Plautius*, by the Peoples order, declar'd War; and *Fabius* happening to have that Province, *Plautius* had the *Hernicans*. There was also an hot report of a *Gallick* War: but among their many frights it was a Comfort that they had granted a Peace, upon their Petition, to the *Latins*, and receiv'd of them a great number of Auxiliaries, according to an Ancient League, which they had intermitted for many Years. Which aide being a support to the *Roman* State; they were the less concern'd when they heard, that the *Gauls* were come to *Prenesta*, and from thence sat down near *Pedurn*. Thereupon they thought fit to make *C. Sulpicius* Dictator; and he was accordingly chosen by *C. Plautius* the Consul, (who was sent for for that purpose) and had *M. Valerius* for his Master of the Horse. These two led the strength of the two Consular Armies, which they cull'd out from the rest, against the *Gauls*. That War was something more tedious, than both Parties would have had it. For whereas the *Gauls* only at first had been desirous to engage; and after that the *Roman* Soldiers by their eagerness to take up their Arms and fight, did some what out do the *Gallick* fierceness; the Dictator was not at all pleas'd, since there was no necessity, to trust Fortune, against an Enemy, whom time and that strange Country wou'd daily weaken; being without Provisions, or any firm Fortification: and besides that, men of such Spirits and Bodies, as that all their Force lay in an Effort, but would dwindle by a small delay. For these reasons the Dictator protect'd the War, and laid a great penalty upon any one that should fight without Orders. The Soldiers taking that ill, first upon their Guards and at their Watches among themselves, blamed the Dictator, and sometimes the Senate too in general, for

for that they had not order'd the War to be managed by the Consuls; saying; They had chosen a very fine General indeed, a sole Commander, who thought that, though he were idle, wou'd fly down into his bosom from Heaven: and after that said the same words in the day time openly; yea and bolder things too; viz. That they would either fight without the Dictators order, or would go all in a body to *Rome*. The Centurions also began to mix with the Soldiers: nor did they now murmur in Crowds only among one another, but in the *Principia* too [where the chief Officers were quartered] and in the *Prætorium* [i. e. the General's Tent.] they and they cryed out in all places; That they would go immediately to the Dictator; and that *Sex. Tullius* should speak for the Army, as became their courage.

This *Tullius* had now been a Centurion of the Vanguard for seven years; nor was there any one in the Army, that had been a Foot-soldier, who was more eminent for his services. He therefore going before the body of the Soldiers, march'd up to the Tribunal, and told *Sulpicius*, who admir'd not at the Crowd, more than at *Tullius* the leader of it, who had always been a most obedient Soldier to all orders; Sir, (said he) the whole Army thinking themselves by you condemn'd of sloth, and almost disgracefully forsaken, as being without Arms, desired me, to plead their cause before thee. If it could be said, that we had ever given ground, turn'd our backs upon the Foe, or dishonourably lost our Ensigns, yet this, I think, is reasonable for you to grant, that we may by our courage make amends for our Crime, and blot out the memory of our offence by gaining new honour. The Legions, that were routed at *Allia*, going afterward from *Veij*, recovered by their valour that same Country, which by their fear they had lost. But our honour, and affairs through the bounty of the Gods, their good success and that of the *Roman* People, are still intire: though I dare hardly talk of honour, since even our Enemies speak as disgracefully of us as if we were a company of Women shut up within a Bullwark. And thou, our General too, (which we take more unkindly,) thinkest that thy Army is without Souls, without Arms, and without Hands: and before thou hast try'd us, hast so far despair'd of us, that thou thinkest thy self General of maimed and weak Wretches. For what else can we believe is the reason, that thou who art an old Commander, a stout Warriour, sittest (as the saying is) with thy hands in thy Pockets? For what ever the matter is, 'tis more certain, that you seem to have doubred of our courage, than we of yours. But if this be not your own, but a publick design, so that the Senates consent too and not the *Gallick* War, does in some measure detain us, like People banish'd, from the City and our own Houses; I desire, that what I say you would not look upon as said by the Soldiers to their General, but to the Senate by the Commons: who say, as you have your designs, so they too will have theirs. Pray who can be angry with us for saying, that we are Soldiers, and not your Slaves? sent forth to War, not into banishment? and such men, as if any man would give the Signal, and lead us forth into the field, would fight, as became men and Romans; but, if there be no need of our Arms, would rather spend our time quietly at *Rome*, than in a Camp. Thus much we have to say to the Senate. As to you, my Lord General! we your Soldiers humbly beg, that you would give us leave to fight: for we not only desire to get the Victory, but to get it under your conduct; to confer upon you an honourable Laurel Wreath; to enter with you Triumphant into the City; and, following your Chariot, to go with gratulations and ovations to *Jupiter Opt. Max's* Temple. The Prayers of the multitude seconded *Tullius*'s speech; and they on all sides loudly desired, that he would give the Signal; that he would command them to handle their Arms.

The Dictator, seeing a good thing done, though in such an irregular manner, promised to do what the Soldiers desired: but privately asked *Tullius*, what this business was, and how it came to pass. Whereupon *Tullius* begged of the Dictator, that he would not think, he had forgot either the discipline of War, himself, or the honour due to his General. But that he had not refused to head the multitude (who are most commonly ruled and acted by their leaders) when they were once rais'd; lest any other such Person should have appeared, as the mobile, when they are moved, use to create. For he would do nothing contrary to his Generals mind: but then he also ought to take great care, to keep the Army in obedience. That such hot and vehement spirits could not be put off; who would themselves take time and place to fight, if the General would not give it them. Whilst they talked thus, two *Roman* Soldiers took certain Beasts, that by chance were feeding without the Bullwark, from a *Gaul*, that was driving them away. For which the *Gauls* threw stones at them: and then there was a shout made in the *Roman* Camp; upon which they ran forth on both sides. And now they were very near being engaged in a set Battel; had not the fight been deferr'd by means of the Centurions. Now by that accident the Dictator was confirmed in the truth of what *Tullius* had said: and therefore, seeing the business admitted of no delay, they declar'd that, the next day, they would engage in a field Battel. Yet the Dictator, relying more upon the courage than the strength of his Army, began to consult and consider all ways, how he might by some stratagem strike a terror into the Foe. And accordingly through his extraordinary policy he invented a new device; which many of ours as well as Foreign Generals have made use of, yea and some of 'em in our time too. He ordered the pack-saddles to be taken off from the Mules; and leaving on them only two Horse-cloths, set their drivers (whom he equipped partly with Arms which had been taken, and partly with those of Persons, that were Sick,) upon their Backs. These making about a thousand

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thousand he mixed an hundred Horse-men among them; commanding them to get in the night time up to the mountains above the Camp and hide themselves in the Woods; nor stir from thence, till they had notice from him. He himself, as soon as 'twas day, began with all speed to range his men a long the foot of the Mountains, that the Enemy might stand opposite to the Hills. When he had now made provision for a false flight, (which was indeed of equal advantage as real force) the Gallick Commanders at first thought, that the Romans would not come down into the Plain: but afterward when they saw them descend on a sudden, they themselves too ran as furiously to battle; so that the fight began, before the Generals had given the Signal.

XV. The Gauls pressed very hard upon the right Wing; nor could they have been endured, had not the Dictator been in that place, who calling to Tullius, chid him and asked him; Had he promised that the Soldiers should fight after that rate? Where were those shouts that they made when they desired to handle their Arms? Where were those menaces, that they would join Battle without their Generals order? Now they might see the General himself, who loudly called them to the fight, march Arm'd in the Van: but which even of them followed him, who were so lately ready to lead him? No, in the Camp they were fierce, and in the Field faint-hearted. What he said was true; and therefore shame so spur'd 'em on, that they ran upon the Enemies Weapons without once thinking of the danger. This mad effort at first put the Enemies into disorder; and then the Horse being, upon that confusion, sent in, made them give ground. The Dictator himself, after he perceived one part of their Front give ground, carried the Ensigns to his own left Wing, where he saw the greatest Body of the Enemy pressing on; And withal gave the appointed Signal to those on the Hill. And when from thence too, a shout was heard, and that the Gauls saw them marching down the side of the Mountain towards their Camp, they presently for fear of being surrounded and having their Retreat cut off, gave over the fight, and ran head-long to their Intrenchments: but being there encountered by M. Valerius General of the Horse (who upon the defeat of the other Wing, had fetcht a compass about, and was got up to their works) they were forced to turn their flight toward the Mountains and Woods; and many of them fell into the hands of the Ambuscade of Horse and Miltiars, so that after the heat of the Battle was over, there was yet a greivous slaughter made of those whom fear had driven into the Woods. Nor was there ever any man, after M. Furius, that more deservedly Triumphed over the Gauls, than did C. Sulpitius for this service. Who also out of the Booty consecrated a Mass of Gold of considerable weight, and laid it up in an enclosure of square stone in the Capitol.

The same year both the Consuls were engaged in Wars, but with different success, for C. Plantius routed and subdued the Hernic's; But his Collegue Fabius fought rashly and unadvisedly against the Tarquinians, and yet the loss there in the field was not so much, as that 307 of the Roman Soldiers taken Prisoners, were Offered up as Sacrifices to their Gods by the Tarquinians, which strange punishment rendered the reproach and scandal of the Romans defeat, more notorious. Just upon the nick of this Loss, it happened that the Roman Territories were wasted, first by the Privernates, and afterwards by the Veliternians, who made sudden incursions into the Country. Two new Tribes, the one called Pomptina, and the other Publicia, were this year added to the former five and Twenty. The solemn Sports or Games, which M. Furius the Dictator had vowed, were Celebrated, and a new Law was put up to the People by C. Pætilius Tribune of the Commons with the Approbation of the Senate, against procuring Votes by money or other indirect means in Elections to Offices and dignities; whereby 'twas design'd to crush the ambitious standing for places, especially of some Upstarts who were wont to haunt the Fairs, and hold Conventicles for that purpose.

XVI. Not so welcome to the Senators was the Law preferred by M. Duilius the Tribune next year when C. Martius and Cn. Manlius were Consuls, against the excessive Usury of 12 per cent; but very forward were the Commons to receive and establish it; Besides the Wars design'd last year, the Faliscans were now declared Enemies on a double account, one because their Youth had served against the Romans under the Tarquinians; the other, because when certain defeated Romans had fled to the Valerians, they refused to part with them, notwithstanding they were demanded by the Roman Heralds. This Province fell to the Lot of Cn. Manlius. Whilst Marcus advanced with an Army into the Territories of the Privernates, Flourishing with a long Peace, and thereby enrich'd his Soldiers with a plentiful Booty, increased by his Bounty that Sequestred no part of the Spoil to the publick, (as was usual in such cases) but divided it all amongst his men. For the Privernates lying strongly Encamped before their own Walls, he called his Soldiers together, and at the head of their Troops made a short Speech to them; Both the Camp of the Enemy (saith he) and their City I will freely bestow upon you for a Booty, if you will promise me to acquit your selves like men, and be as forward to fight as to Plunder: Hereupon with an unanimous shout they called for the word of Command to fall on, and with an exalted courage and assurance of Victory advanced towards the Enemy; The beforementioned Sextus Tullius being in the head of them, cried out, Behold noble General! how punctually your Army performs their promise, and herewith lay-

ing aside his Javelin, rushes with his drawn Sword upon the Enemy, whom all the Vanguard and those appointed to defend the Standards followed, and in this first Charge put the Enemy to flight, and pursued them to the Town, where mounting their Scaling-ladders to the Walls, the same was rendered up into their hands; and a Triumph celebrated for the success. By the other Consul nothing memorable was achiev'd, but that as he lay before Sutrium, he, after a manner never practised before, proposed a Law to be passed by the Tribes in the Camp, concerning the paying to the State the 20th. part of the price of all such servants as should be manumitted or made free; The Senators allow'd of and consented to this Law, because thereby no small Revenue accrued to the Exchequer, which was much exhausted: But the Tribunes of the Commons offended not so much with the quality of the Law in it self, as at the ill precedent given in passing of it, Ordained that thenceforwards no Person upon pain of Death, should withdraw the People from the accustomed places of Assembling, or gather together a part of them, for the making of any Law; For if that should be suffered, there would be nothing, tho never so pernicious to the People, but might be carried and established by the Soldiers being altogether at the Devotion of their Consul. The same year C. Licinius Stolo at the Prosecution of M. Popilius Lænas, was Condemned upon a Law of his own promoting, in the sum of Ten thousand Pieces (or about 600l. Sterling.) For that whereas it was thereby provided, that none of the Nobles should possess above 500 Acres of Land; He himself held 1000. And to elude the Law had Emancipated his Son [or made him his own man] that he might colourably own 500 of them.

XVII. The new Consuls were, M. Fabius Ambustus, and M. Popilius Lænas, who had both served that Office before. These made two Wars, whereof one which Lænas waged against the Tiburtines, was easily dispatcht; for having driven the Enemy into the Town, he Foraged their Country at his pleasure. But the other Consul was discomfited in the first Battle by the Faliscans and Tarquinians, occasioned chiefly by a panic fear that had seiz'd his Soldiers, for the Enemies Priests came on before their Army with Flaming Torches in their hands and Painted Fillets resembling Snakes about their Heads, and hanging down over their shoulders, which waving to and fro by the Wind, seemed to be real Serpents; being thus accounted and marching with a furious and frantick gesture, the strangeness of the sight, daunted at first the Romans, so that like men agast or Distracted, they fled trembling back to their Trenches. But then when the Consuls, the Commissary Generals and the Tribunes laugh'd at and Reproached them for being scar'd like Children, with Bug-bears; for very shame they presently took heart again, and with a blind fury rush'd upon those very things which before they had fled from; And having dissipated this vain Parade of their Enemies, fell upon those that were Arm'd indeed, and routed their whole Army. And the same day making themselves Masters of their Tents, returned Victors with a vast Booty; the Soldiers with Military Catches and Drolls Joking both at the Enemies ridiculous Stratagem, and their own silly Fears. Soon after this the whole Nation of the Tuscans took Arms, and led on by the Tarquinians and Faliscans, were advanced as far as Salina; In this time of eminent danger C. Marcus Rutilius a Plebeian was chosen Dictator, (the first Commoner that ever obtained that dignity) who nominated for his General of Horse C. Plantius a Commoner likewise; This the Senators took as an affront, that the Dictatorship should be shared by the Commons, and therefore endeavoured all they could, that no preparations should be made for the War, nor any obedience be paid to this Dictator; but so much the more readily, was whatever he proposed, granted by the Commons; So that in short time he march'd from the City on either side of the Tyber, having Vessels in readiness to Transport his Army to any place where he could hear of the Enemy; He not only surprized several Parties that were sent out to Harass the Country, and cut off many straglers that were met with in the fields, but unexpectedly fell upon their Camp, and made himself Master of it taking 8000 Prisoners, and having either kill'd or Chaced out of the Roman Dominions all the rest of Enemies, he by the Suffrages of the People Triumph'd, but without the approbation of the Senate. Who because they would by no means suffer an Assembly for Election of Consuls to be held by the Dictator a Commoner, nor by Popilius Lænas the Consul, who was also a Commoner, and for that the other Consul was necessarily detained abroad in the Wars, so that he could not be there; the matter came to an Inter-regnum, [that is, for a Magistrate to be appointed for the present called an Interrex who was always one of the Nobility and was to continue in that Office but five days] so there were Interregents successively Q. Servilius, Abala M. Fabius, Cn. Manlius, C. Fabius, C. Sulpitius, L. Aemilius, Q. Servilius and M. Fabius Ambustus. In the second Inter-regency their happened a controversy, because they were both Patricians [or of the Nobility] that were created Consuls, which was opposed by the Tribunes; but the Inter-regent Fabius alledged a Law out of the 12 Tables, that whatever was last Ordained and Commanded by the People, should stand good and valid, and that their Votes were a Law; So that the Tribunes gaining nothing by their Interposing, but the Proroguing the Assembly for the Election for some time, at last two of the Patricians carried it, viz. C. Sulpicius Peticus the third time, and M. Valerius Poplicola, who the same day they were chosen entered into their Office.



Thus in the 400th. year after the Building of Rome and the 35th. after the City was recovered from the Gauls, the Consulship was taken away from the Commons after they had enjoy'd it eleven years, and now was brought into the hands of two Patricians. The Town Empulum was this year taken from the Tyburtines without any extraordinary Action, whether the War was manag'd there by both the Consuls jointly, as some Authors have related, or whether at the same time Valerius was concerned in that service, Sulpicius was employed to over-run and lay waste the Tarquinian Territories. But a greater sticking there was at home between the Consuls, and the Commons and their Tribunes. The present Consuls thought themselves obliged not only in Courage but Fidelity, as they, two Patricians, had received the Consulship, so to deliver it up to Persons of the same Rank, and that they must either wholly quit their Interest, if the Consular dignity should become a Plebeian Magistracy, or else must carefully conserve to the Nobility the possession thereof as they had received it intire from their Ancestors; On the other side the Commons storm'd and rag'd, *To what purpose (say they) do we live? or why are we number'd amongst the Citizens, if that which was at first obtain'd by the virtue only of two Persons L. Sextius and C. Licinius, we cannot now all of us together maintain? Better it were to endure the Kings or the Decemvirs again, or if there be yet any more greivous name of Arbitrary Empire, than to behold both the Consulships engross'd by the Nobles, to lose the privilege of Commanding and obeying by turns, and sigh under the oppressions of so many Lords who settled in an everlasting Power of Domineering and Ruling over us, will esteem us born only to be their Vassals.* The Tribunes under hand blew the Coals and encreased the Tumults, but all were so forward, that the principal Ring-leaders could scarce be seen in the action above the rest. Several times the People were in vain Assembled in the Campus Martius, and many Election-days spent in seditious heats without coming to any conclusion; at last the Commons over-match'd by the obstinacy of the Consuls could no longer endure it, but their Tribunes crying out aloud, *That they might now bid adieu to their Liberties for ever, that henceforward they should be obliged not only to forbear coming into the field of Election, but also to abandon the City it self since it was thus Captivated and oppress'd by the Tyranny of the Nobles;* And with these words the Tribunes departed, and all the Commons full of Grief and vexation presently followed them; the Consuls tho' forsaken by so great a part of the People, did nevertheless proceed to an Election with that thin Assembly that was left, and made choice of two Nobles, viz. M. Fabius Ambustus (who had been Consul twice before) and T. Quintius; Tho in some Annals I find M. Popilius named in stead of the latter.

XIX.

Two Wars that year were manag'd with prosperous success, in the first of which the Tyburtines were brought to a submission. For having taken from them the City Saffula by storm, the rest of their Towns must have run the same Fortune, had not the whole Nation laying aside their Arms, cast themselves upon the Consuls mercy, and sworn Allegiance to the Romans. Thus there was a Triumph over the Tyburtines, but otherwise a mild and gentle Victory. The Tarquinians were more sharply chastiz'd, abundance of them being slain in the field, and of a vast number taken Prisoners, three hundred fifty and eight of the Noblest and greatest Gentlemen, were drawn out and sent to Rome, and all the rest of the Common sort put to the Sword; nor sped they better at the Peoples hands that were carried to Rome; for being led into the midst of the Forum they were all first severally scourged with Rods and then Beheaded, that Execution being done upon them in Retaliation for the 307 Romans not long before Sacrificed in the Market-place of the Tarquinians. This good success of the Romans Arms caused the Samnites to Court their Friendship, to whose Ambassadors the Senate return'd a courteous Answer, and a firm Alliance was concluded.

But the Commons sped not so well at home in the City, as abroad in the Campaign; for tho' they were eas'd of the paying excessive Interest, yet the poorer sort were not able to discharge the Principal, and consequently were liable to be seized for Slaves by their Creditors; Therefore in regard of their private streights, they the less troubled their heads with the Choice of Consuls, or other publick Affairs, so that the Office continued in the hands of the Nobles, the Consuls for the next year being C. Sulpicius Patricus the 4th. time, and M. Valerius Poplicola the second.

Whilst the City was now designing a War against the Tuscan because 'twas reported that the People of Care (one of their Towns) took part with their Kinsmen the Tarquinians, Ambassadors arriving from the Latins diverted all mens thoughts to another point; for they brought advice, that the Volscans had Levyed and Arm'd a great Army, which was already upon the borders, and would presently enter into and lay waste the Roman Territories. The Senate therefore decreed that neither of these Affairs should be neglected, but that to both places certain Legions should be appointed, and the Consuls to cast Lots which Province should fall to each Mans charge.

But afterwards they found the Tuscan War required the greater care, being advertised by Letters from Sulpicius the Consul, (who happened to have the managment of the War against the Tarquinians) that the Enemy had Forrag'd all the Country as far as the Roman Salina (or Salt-pits) and that part of the Booty was carried into the possession of the Carites, and that the youth of that People were undoubtedly amongst the Plunderers. Whereupon the Senate thought

thought fit to recall the other Consul Valerius, who was advanced against the Volscians and Encamped on the Marshes of Tusculum, and ordered him to Create a Dictator, who nominated T. Manlius the Son of Lucius, who having appointed A. Cornelius Cossus his General of Horse, contenting himself with his Consular Army, by the authority of the Senate and Command of the People, Proclaim'd War against the Carites.

Then first of all the Carites began to dread a War in earnest, as if there had been a greater force in their Enemies words to signifie it, than in their own deeds which had provoked the Romans to it; and now also they plainly saw how unable they were to manage it, and therefore repented them of their Spoils, and curs'd the Tarquinians as the Authors of their defection; nor did one of them take Arms or make any preparations for their defence, but every man labour'd what he could, that Ambassadors might be sent to mediate for Peace, and beg Pardon for the Offence they had given. Who addressing themselves to the Senate, they were by them turn'd over to the People for Audience, whereupon they besought the Gods whose sacred Images in the Gallick War they had devoutly receiv'd and entertain'd, that the Romans now in their flourishing Estate might take that pity and compassion of them, as they in pels of the Goddess Vesta, they invok'd the Hospitality of the Flamens and Vestal Virgins, whom they had so chafly and Religiously Treated, when heretofore they were their Guests; *Could any man (said they) believe that we had deserv'd such usage, to be all on a sudden declared Enemies, without any just cause Administred on our part? Or suppose we had Committed any thing that might look like Hostility, must it needs be Interpreted to be done maliciously and on purpose, and not rather unwillingly and by a mistake? Or can it be imagined that we would sully the Merit of our Ancient good Offices, and those too conferr'd upon so grateful a People, by an accession of new Injuries? Is it likely that we should make Choice to have the Romans now flourishing and Victorious, for our Enemies; whose friendship we embraced in the lowest ebb of their Fortune? We beseech you account not that voluntarily and advisedly done, which ought rather to be call'd the effects of necessity and force; the Tarquinians marching through our Country with a formidable Army desiring nothing but merely a passage, drew along with them a few of our Peasants and made them Associates in their Plundering, which now is so heavily charged upon us as if it had been the Act of our State; the Persons that were thus guilty, if you please to have delivered up, we are ready to surrender them; or if you would have them punished, they shall suffer accordingly; But still let our City Care, once the Sanctuary of the People of Rome, the harbour and place of shelter for your Priests and Holy Reliques, remain free from the violence of your Arms, if not for our own sakes, yet at least for the sake of that Hospitality which we shew'd to the sacred Vestals and the devout Honour paid to your Gods. The Justice and Equity of the present Quarrel sway'd not so much with the People of Rome, as the ancient Merits, of the Suppliants; so that they were willing to forget rather the Injury than the Benefit, and accordingly granted Peace to the Carites, it being agreed, that a Truce should be Concluded for 100 years, and Registred amongst the Acts of the Senate. And now the whole strength of the War is turn'd upon the Faliscans, but the Enemy was not to be found, therefore having Forrag'd all over their Country, it was not thought fit to spend time in Attacking their Cities, but the Legions were ordered back to Rome, the rest of the year being spent in repairing the Walls, Towers and Fortifications. Also the Temple of Appolo was dedicated.*

At the end of the year the Contention between the Patricians and the Commoners brake of the Election of Consuls, the Tribunes refusing to suffer any Assembly for that purpose to be held, unless the proceedings therein might be according to the Licinian Law [by which one Consul was to be of the Commoners.] On the other side the Dictator was as obstinately bent to abolish wholly the Consular Office out of the Common-wealth, rather than to admit it to be promiscuous to the Commons as well as the Nobility. Therefore to put off the Meeting for Election, the Dictator quitted his Office; and so it came to an Inter-regency; who found the Commons so exasperated against the Senators, that the dispute continued to the Eleventh Inter-regent undetermined. The Tribunes boasted that what they did was only to assert the Licinian Law, but the truth was, the Commons were more nearly concern'd about the business of Interest-money, which tho' abated, yet lay very heavy upon them, and their private grievances heated their publick Debates. Wearied with which at last the Lords of the Senate Ordered that L. Cornelius Scipio the Inter-regent for the time being, should for Peace-sake observe the Licinian Law in the Consular Election, whereupon P. Valerius Poplicola was chosen one of the Consuls, and C. Marcus Rutilus a Commoner the other. The Minds of men being once inclined to Concord, the new Consuls thought it a fit juncture to try if they could accommodate the business of Use-money, the great thing which seem'd to threaten an Obstruction of their full and perfect unity and agreement. Therefore they made the Payment of debts part of the publick care, Establishing a Committee of five whom from Equity and diligence therein was such as well deserves to have their Names transmittred with Honour to all Posterity, being C. Decilius, P. Decius Mus, M. Papirius, Q. Publius, and Tib. Aemilius. These Gentlemen manag'd this difficult affair (wherein many times both parties,

parties, and always one would be apt to think himself aggrieved or injured) as with other prudent moderation, so with the present Charge or Anticipated Expences, rather than *real damage* of the publick. For debts of a long standing and such as were much entangled, more by the debtors negligence than Inability, either the City discharged out of the Common stock, by setting up certain Banks or Tables with ready Cash in the Common-Hall, (provided the debtors gave sufficient security to Reimburse the City) or else paid them off by causing the parties *Goods* to be valued and sold at reasonable Rates, so that a power of debts were in a little time satisfied, not only without any Injury unto, but also without any murmuring or complaint from either side. After this a groundless apprehension of a *Tuscan War*, (all whose 12 Tribes or Nations were reported to be Associated in one Common Band or League against the *Romans*) caused a Dictator to be nominated; which was done in the Camp, (the decree of the Senate being dispatch'd thither to the Consuls) and C. *Julius* was the man pitch'd upon, to whom was added L. *Emilius* for General of the Cavalry.

XXII. But notwithstanding this false alarm, all was quiet abroad. But at home in the City the Dictator tampering to get both the Consuls to be of the Nobility, occasioned another Inter-regency, during which C. *Sulpicius* and *Fabius*, the Inter-regents by their Interposition obtain'd that which he attempted without success; For the Commons being sweetned with the late kindness of paying off their debts, were become more pliable, and so the said C. *Sulpicius* *Peticus* who was the first Inter-regent and T. *Quintius* *Pennis* both *Patricians*, were chosen. Both of them took the Field, *Quintius* against the *Faliscans*, and *Sulpicius* against the *Tarquiniens*; But neither of the Enemies would come to an engagement. So that their chief service being to burn and harass the Country and lay all waste wherever they came, they may be said to have wag'd War rather against *Fields*, than *Men*. The continuance of which like a lingering Consumption brought down the haughty and obstinate spirits of both those Nations so far, that they first Petition'd the Consuls, and afterwards with their leave, the Senate, for a Peace; which they obtain'd for the Term of 40 years, and so the care and trouble of those two Wars being over, whilst there was now some respite from Arms, it was thought fit, because the late general payment of debts had much altered Peoples fortunes, and changed the properties of things, that there should be made a general *Cense*, or valuation of every mans Estate; But when the Assembly for choice of Censors (whose Office it was to dispatch that business) came to be held, C. *Marcus* *Rutilus*, who had been the first *Plebeian* Dictator, standing for the Censorship disturb'd the Peace of the States of the City. This he seem'd to attempt in a very unseasonable time, seeing both the Consuls at that time happen'd to be *Patricians*, who declared, that they would not admit him for a Competitor, nor put up his name at the Election. However both he by his earnest perseverance in his pretensions gain'd his point, and the Tribunes endeavouring with all their might to recover their right in the choice of Consuls, (which for some time had been interrupted) assisted him therein; For as the Majesty of his Person was equal to the highest pitch of Honour, so the Commons were willing and in hopes, that the same man who had opened the way to the Dictatorship, should also procure their party a share in the Censorship. And accordingly it was clearly carried by the Votes in the Assembly, that together with *Manlius* *Cneus*, the said *Martius* should be created Censor. This year had also a Dictator, viz. M. *Fabius*, and his General of Horse Q. *Servilius*, not so much for fear of any War, as to prevent the Revival and observing of the *Licinian* Law at the choice of Consuls, and yet for all the Dictatorship, the Interest of the Nobility prov'd as weak in the Assembly for Electing of Consuls, as it was in that of Censors.

XXIII. For M. *Popilius* *Laenas* was made Consul on behalf of the Commons, as well as L. *Cornelius* *Scipio* for the *Patricians*. And the Commons Consul had the good fortune to prove the more Illustrious of the two. For intelligence arriving, that the *Gauls* with a mighty Army had entred into the Country of the *Latins* and lay there Encamped, *Scipio* at that time happening to lie dangerously sick, the Conduct of that War necessarily fell upon *Popilius*; who having with great diligence levied an Army, and appointed a Rendezvous of all the Youth in Arms to be held at the Temple of *Mars* without the Gate *Capena*, (the Questors being Ordered to bring thither the Standards and Ensigns out of the Treasury) after he had selected out of them 4 compleat Legions; he put all the rest of the Soldiers under the Command of P. *Valerius* *Publicola* the Pretor, and moved the Lords of the Senate, that they would cause an other Army to be Lifted for a Guard for the Common-wealth against uncertain Emergences of War. Thus all things being settled and provided, he himself set forward to meet the Enemy, whose strength that he might know, before he adventured to try it with the hazard of a Battel, on an Hill as near as he could conveniently to their Camp, he began to Entrench his Army. The *Gauls* a People naturally Peirce and eager of Battel, no sooner beheld afar off the *Roman* Ensigns, but presently they drew up in Battalia; But when they saw the *Romans* did not descend to encounter them, but continued in that advantageous Post, defended not only by the height of the ground, but also fortifying themselves with a Ditch and Palisado, concluded them to be dispirited with fear, and therefore thinking this the best opportunity to fall upon them, especially whilst they were

were busied in the Works, and their Fortifications unfinish'd, advancing with a dreadful shout and clamour, began to charge them. Yet the *Romans* gave not over their Works (they were the *Triarian* Bands, all stout Soldiers of the Rereward, who were therein employ'd) but the Spearmen or Vanguard, and the *Principes* or main Body, who stood ready Arm'd to defend the Pioneers, forthwith engag'd the Enemy. Besides their valour, the Ground was no small advantage to them, for they being on a rising Hill, their Darts and Spears were not bestow'd in vain, (as often it happens when they are discharged upon a Level) but being all poiz'd with their own weight stuck fast wherever they lighted; so that the *Gauls* being overcharged with those Weapons either peircing through their Bodies or sticking fast in their Shields, and Incommoding them with their weight, and having put themselves out of Breath by running up the Hill, began to make an halt, as doubtful what to do; This stop both discouraged them and encouraged their Enemies, so that soon after they were beat back, and confusedly fell upon one another down the Hill, making greater havock of their own men, than the Enemy did, for in that precipitous Rout there were more trod to death and crush'd to pieces, than fell by the Sword.

XXIV. Yet still were not the *Romans* assured of the Victory; For as soon as they came down into the Plain, they met with fresh work; the *Gauls* by reason of their numbers little regarding the former loss, as if a new Army had started out of the ground, brought on a vast Body of men that had not yet at all been engag'd, to give a check to the victorious Enemy; Inomuch that the *Roman* Army slackning the fury of their March, would advance no further, as well because being already weary, they thought it too hazardous to venture upon a second encounter, as also for that their General the Consul feircely charging in the fore Front had his left Shoulder almost run through with a Pike, and thereupon had a little withdrawn himself out of the Battel. By this lingering, the Victory was now like to be lost, when the Consul having got his wound dressed and bound up, return'd to the foremost Ensigns and thus expostulates with his Soldiers, *Why stand you still thus, Gentlemen? you have not now to deal with the Latins or the Sabines, whom after ye have Conquer'd by Arms, ye may make of Enemies, Friends and Confederates. 'Tis against savage Brutes we now draw our Swords, and you must resolve either to have their Blood, or yeild them your own; you have already routed them out of their Camp, and beat them headlong down the Hill, you stand now upon the prostrated Bodies of your Enemies, cover the Plain with their dead Carcasses, as you have done the Hill; Never look that they should fly as long as you stand still, you must advance your Ensigns and give them another rousing Charge to compleat your Victory.* Encouraged with those exhortations they again fell on, and forced some of the foremost of the *Gallick* Troops to Retreat, then with close and pointed Battalions of Foot drawn up in the form of a Wedge, they charged through into the heart of their main Battel; whereupon the barbarous People being disordered, and having neither certain Directions to follow, nor Captains to Command, turn'd their fury upon their Fellows, and being scatter'd all over the adjacent Plains, fled clear beyond their own Tents, making towards the *Alban* Fort, which amongst the many Hills round about, they perceived over-top'd the rest. The Consul pursued the Chase no further than their Camp, both because his own wound was very painful to him as also because he would not put his tired Army upon further service, especially seeing the Enemy had gained the Tops of the Mountains. The whole pillage of their Camp he gave to his Men, and so led them back loaded with Victory and *Gallick* spoils to *Rome*. The Consuls wound deferred his Triumph, and also caused the Senate to desire a Dictator, that there might be some body to hold the Comitia or Assemblies for chusing of Consuls for the year ensuing, since both the present Consuls were disabled to be present by Sickness. Accordingly L. *Furinus* *Camillus* was declared Dictator, and P. *Cornelius* *Scipio* General of the Horse, who restored to the Senators their Ancient possession of the Consulship, and for that Obligation, was by their Interest chosen himself Consul, and for his Colleague he took App. *Claudius* *Crassus*.

XXV. But before these new Consuls entred into their Office, *Popilius* acted his Triumph over the *Gauls*, with mighty applauses of the Commons, who muttering amongst themselves, would often ask one another, *If there were any body now that repented of having a Commoner to be Consul? At the same time reproaching the Dictator, who for violating the Licinian Law had got for his reward the Consulship, dishonour'd no less by his private seeking of it whilst by his own Power as Dictator he in effect conferr'd it upon himself, than by the publick Injury thereby done to the Commons.* This Year was remarkable for many troubles and commotions, the *Gauls* unable to endure the severity of the Winter on the *Albane* Mountains, came down and ranged all over the Champian Country and Sea-Coasts, laying waste all before them. The Sea also was infested with a Navy of the *Greeks*, who made a descent upon the Land, and spoiled all the Maritime Coasts of *Antium*, and the River of *Laurentum* even to the very Mouth of *Tyber*; so that these Sea-Rovers happening to Encounter the *Gallick* Land-Foragers before mentioned, a very sharp Battel was Fought between them, and both sides being wearied Retreated, the *Gauls* to their Tents, the *Greeks* to their Ships, both doubtful whether they should reckon themselves to have won or lost the day. Amidst these disasters, a yet far greater Terror arose, the several Tribes of the *Latins* had held a Diet or General

general Convention at the *Ferentine Grove*; and when the Romans demanded Supplies of Soldiers from them, as being their Confederates, flat answer was returned, *That they would do well to forbear commanding those whose assistants they stood in need of; as for the Latines, they were resolved rather to bear Arms in defence of their own Liberties, than for the ambition of Strangers.* The Senate being already involved in two Wars abroad at once, were not a little perplexed at this Revolt of their Allies, but seeing no other way, but to keep them within the bounds of their Duty by Fear, whom Faith and Loyalty could not hold, commanded their Consuls to hold a general Muster, and levy the whole strength of the State; For since the Assembly of their Associates had deserted them, they must now depend on an Army consisting wholly of their own Citizens. Therefore every where, not only in the City but in the Country and Villages, Levies are vigorously made of young Men fit to bear Arms, and in a little time Ten Legions entred in the Muster-Rolls, each Legion consisting of Four thousand and two hundred Foot, and Three hundred Horse. Such a brave new Army, as, the mighty Power of the People of *Rome*, (which the whole Earth is hardly able to contain) if it were contracted and united all together, upon any sudden danger from abroad, would scarce be able at this day so suddenly to raise the like, so increased we are only in Riches and Luxury, which are the only things we labor after and apply our minds unto. Amongst other sad Occurrences of this Year, *Ap. Claudius*, one of the Consuls, dies in the height of these preparations for War; so that the whole management of Affairs devolv'd upon *Camillus*: To which sole Consul, the Lords of the Senate, either in respect to his quality and worth not fit to be subjected to the absolute command of a Dictator, or else willing that he should have the Chief Command for the lucky Omen of his name, always heretofore fortunate against the *Gauls*, thought it not decent or honorable to adjoin any Dictator. The Consul leaving two Legions for the guard of the City, and committing part of the other eight to the Command of *L. Pinarius* the Prætor; mindful of his Fathers Gallantry, undertakes the *Gallick War* in Person, ordering the Prætor to secure the Sea-Coasts, and chase the pilfering *Græcians* from the Shore. Himself marching down into the Country of *Pomptinum*, being not willing to hazard a Battel in those Champion parts, unless he were forced thereunto, and believing that he should sufficiently quell the Enemy, if he could but keep them from Forraging, since they had nothing to live on but what they got by Plunder, he chose out a convenient Post for a standing Camp or Leaguer.

XXVI. Where whilst they pass'd their time quietly on the Guards, there came a mighty *Gaul*, eminent both for the bulk and stature of his Body, and the richness of his Arms; who by clattering his Spear upon his Shield, having made silence, Challenged by an Interpreter, *Any one of the Romans to a single Combat*: There was one *M. Valerius*, a Colonel of Foot, a brisk young Man, who thinking himself no less worthy of such an Honor than *T. Manlius* before-mentioned; after he had ask'd leave of the Consul, advanc'd forth Arm'd at all points to meet this daring Challenger. Their Conflict, as to humane Valour, was rendered less illustrious than that of *Manlius*, by the Interposing of a *Divine Assistance* from the Immortal Gods: For as the *Roman* was just ready to attack his Adversary, a *Raven* suddenly settled on the Crest of his Helmet, and turn'd full in the Face of the Enemy; which, at the very first, the Colonel took joyfully as a good Omen sent from Heaven, and afterwards devoutly prayed, *That the God or Goddess, whoever it was, that sent the lucky Bird, would be propitious unto him.* The Fowl (a wonder to be spoken) not only kept the place where it first lighted, but as often as the Champions grappled together in close Fight, mounting it self upon its Wings, made at the Mouth and Eyes of the Enemy with its Bill and Claws, so long, till the *Gaul* being terrified with the Prodigy, and extremely disordered both in his sight and mind, had his Head cut off by *Valerius*; and then immediately the *Raven* flying away towards the East, mounted out of fight. Hitherto the Guards stood quiet on either side; but as soon as the Colonel went to disarm and rifle the Body of the slain Enemy, neither could the *Gauls* contain themselves in their Stations, nor the *Romans* forbear running up to their *Victorious Champion*; whereupon a Skirmish began near the Body of the *Gaul* that there lay kill'd, presently increased into a fierce and terrible Battel: For no longer was the Dispute between a few Bands of the Out-guards, but whole Legions on either side were hotly engaged. For *Camillus* commanded his Soldiers to fall on, finding them already encouraged by the Colonels success, and the favorable assistance of the gods; and the more to enflame them, pointing to the Colonel enrich'd with the spoil of his Enemy, He bids them imitate that brave Gentleman, and lay whole heaps of the *Gauls* breathless on the ground round about their vanquish'd Champion. Neither the help of the Gods, nor the valour of Men, was wanting to the success of this Battel, which was the less doubtful, by reason of the different Impressions which the Event of the fore-going Duel had made on the Spirits of both Armies; with those that first came on, and began the Fray, there was a pretty sharp Bout, but the main Body of the *Gauls* took their heels, before ever they receiv'd one Volley of Darts. At first they were scattered along the *Volscian* and *Falern* Countries, but afterwards they rallied together, and betook themselves to *Apulia*, and the Borders of the *Upper* [or *Adriatick*] *Sea*. The Consul, in a Speech to his Army, having extolled

extolled the Colonel with deserved praises, for a further Reward bestowed upon him ten Oxen and a Coronet of Gold. Himself being by Orders from the Senate to take charge of the War by Sea, joyned his Forces with the Prætor; where the War being like to be drill'd out to a tedious length, by reason of the Cowardise of the *Greeks*, who would not come into the Field or venture a Battel, by the Authority of the Senate he appointed *T. Manlius Torquatus* to be Dictator, to hold the *Comitia* or Consular Elections, which (having named *A. Cornelius Cossus* for General of the Horse) he held accordingly, and with the Applauses of all the People made choice of a young Man at that time absent, and not above 23 years old, but a Person every way like himself, and tracing the steps of his own named *Corvus*, because of the Raven that assisted him in the Combat; with whom was morable Action pass'd between *Camillus* and the *Greeks*; for neither were they good Soldiers at land, nor the *Romans* at Sea: At last being kept from Landing, and in great want of Necessaries, especially Fresh-water, they left the Coast of *Italy*. Of what particular People or Province in *Greece* this Navy was, is altogether uncertain; I am most apt to believe it set forth by the Tyrants of *Sicily*, for the further *Græcia* was at that time wasted and wearied with intestine Wars, and under jealous apprehensions of the growing greatness of the *Macedonians*.

XXVII. The Armies being disbanded, and both Peace abroad and Concord at home, by the friendly Agreement of the States, lest they should surfeit on too much happiness, a Pestilence broke out in the City, which caused the Senate to command the *Decemvirs* to consult the *Sybilline Books*; whence Directions were given to hold a Solemn Festival for appeasing the Wrath of the Gods, call'd *Lectisternium* [or the preparing of the Beds, because therein rich Beds, on which the Ancients were wont to eat, were set up in the Temples before the Images of the Gods, as if they had been invited to a Banquet.] The same year a Colony was drawn out from the City *Antia* to people *Satricum*, which City having been destroyed by the *Latines*, was now re-edified. Also at *Rome* a League was concluded with the Ambassadors of *Carthage*, who came on purpose to desire Friendship and Society. The same Tranquillity as well at home as abroad, continued the year following, when *T. Manlius Torquatus*, and *C. Plautius* were the second time Consuls: The Interest of Money, which before was at One per cent, was now reduced to half so much: And for the payment of Debts, 'twas ordered, That one fourth part being presently paid down upon the nail, three years time should be given for the rest to be satisfied at three payments, by equal proportions. And though for all that, it still lay very hard upon some of the Commons, yet the Senate had more regard to see Credit kept with the Chamber of the City, than of the streights of private Persons: But things went so much the better, because having now no Wars, they forbore levying of Soldiers and collecting the Tribute. The third year after *Satricum* was rebuilt by the *Volscians*, *M. Valerius Corvus*, being the second time Consul, with *C. Petelius*, upon Advice from *Latium*, that Ambassadors from *Antium* went about to all the Tribes of that Country, soliciting them to take Arms: He was commanded to make an Expedition against the *Volscians*, before the Enemies Forces were too much augmented: Accordingly he advanced towards *Satricum* with a formidable Army; where the *Antiates*, and other *Volscians*, having long before provided Forces in readiness to oppose any Army sent from *Rome*, came up to meet him, and there being an inveterate hatred on either side against each other, without any delay the Battel was joined, wherein the *Volscians*, a Nation more forward to Rebel than hardy to Fight, and apter to begin Quarrels than able to maintain them, were routed, and fled in disorder to shelter themselves within the Walls of *Satricum*; which proving too weak a Sanctuary, when the Town being invested round with the *Roman* Bands, was just ready to be taken by Scaling and Storm, they, to the number of 4000. besides the common Rabble unfit for Service, Surrendered themselves at discretion. The Town was rased down and burnt, only they saved the Temple of *Mater Matuta* [or the Goddess of the Morning] from the Flames. The whole Spoil was given to the Soldiers, but therein was not comprehended the 4000. Prisoners; for those the Consul reserved to be led in Chains before his Triumphant Chariot, and afterwards by selling them for Slaves, brought in a good round sum of money into the Publick Treasury. Some Authors write, that the multitude thus sold, were only the Captive Bond-men, which is more probable, than that they should sell such as yielded themselves to mercy.

XXVIII. The next Consuls were *M. Fabius Dorso*, and *Ser. Sulpicius Camerinus*: Then began the *Auruncan War*, upon a sudden Invasion that they made, and a suspicion that the Act of that single City, might be by the joint consent and abettment of the whole *Latine* Nation; *L. Furius* was created Dictator, as if all *Latium* had been up in Arms: He chose for his General of Horse *Cn. Manlius Capitolinus*, and (according to the Custom in great and sudden Exigencies) levied Soldiers, without any respect of Immunity or Exemption, and withal adjourned the Terms, or proclaimed a cessation of all Courts of Law: The Legions advancing with all possible Expedition against the *Auruncans*, found they had the spirit



spirit of Robbers rather than of Soldiers, so that in the very first Fight they were subdued, and that War dispatcht: However, since they were the Aggressors, and readily offered to bid him Battel, the Dictator, supposing there might be more danger than indeed there was, to engage the favor of the Gods, had before the Engagement vowed to Build a Temple to *Juno Moneta*, if he gain'd the Victory; and being charg'd to perform the same when he returned Conqueror to *Rome*, gave up his Dictatorship: whereupon the Senate commanded two Officers, called *Duumvirs*, to be Created, for the Erecting of such a Temple suitable to the Grandeur and Magnificence of the People of *Rome*: The place appointed and set out for it, being on the Capitol Hill, on the very plot of Ground, where sometime before stood the Dwelling-house of *M. Manlius Capitolinus*. The Consuls having employed the Dictators Army in the *Volscian War*, by a surprize took the Town *Sora* from the Enemy. The Temple of *Moneta* next year after it was Vowed, was Dedicated, *C. Marcius Rutilus* the third time, and *T. Manlius Torquatus* the second time Consuls: Immediately after this Dedication, a strange Prodigy happened, not much unlike that antient one of the *Albane Hill*; for it both rained Stones, and the Day seemed to be turned into Night. Whereupon the Books of the *Syills* being consulted (for the City was full of Superstitious fears) the Senate thought it requisite, to have a Dictator chosen for the constituting and ordering of certain Feasts and Holy-days for appeasing the Gods, and diverting the Judgments threatned: *P. Valerius Publicola* was the Person pitcht upon, and *Q. Fabius Ambustus* for his General of Horse. Order was given, that not only all the Tribes should go in Procession with their Solemn Prayers and Litànies, but also the bordering Nations; with precise Directions, upon what days each of them should make their Supplications. This year, 'tis said, the *Ufers* were prosecuted by the *Ædiles*, and severe Sentences given against them by the People; and without any notable cause that is Recorded, they came to an *Inter-regency*, wherein *M. Valerius Corvus* the third time, and *A. Cornelius Cossus* were chosen Consuls, both of them *Patricians*, which seems to have been the occasion and design of the *Inter-regency*.

XXIX. But hence-forwards we must advance to the Relation of greater Wars, both for the Puissance of the Enemies, and the Distance of the Regions that were the Seats of them, as also for their long Continuance: For this year the *Romans* took up Arms against the *Samnites*, a People of great Wealth and formidable Courage; which War, manag'd with doubtful Success, was scarce over, when *Pyrrhus* declared himself their Enemy, and after him the *Carthaginians*: How many Difficulties were to be surmounted? How often were our Ancestors reduced to the Extremities of Danger, before this Empire could be built up to that Grandeur, which hath now enough to do to hold its own, and seems ready to sink under its proper Weight. The Ground of the *Romans Quarrel* with the *Samnites*, arose not amongst themselves, for they were in Amity and League with each other, but happen'd from a Crisis of Forrein Affairs: The *Samnites*, measuring Right by their Power, unjustly invaded the *Sidicins*, who being weak and poor, were glad to implore the Aid of their richer Neighbors, the People of *Capua*. But these Companions contributed little more than the empty name of Assistance; for being Fresh-water-Soldiers, softned with Luxury, they were easily routed in the *Sidicins Country* by the *Samnites*, (a Nation hardned with long use of Arms and Military Discipline,) and so brought the whole stress of the War upon their own heads; for the *Samnites*, letting the *Sidicins* alone, attacked the *Campanians*, as being the principal strength of the Neighboring Nations, over whom they knew they could as easily obtain a Victory as over any of the rest, and were sure there to reap a greater Harvest both of Glory and rich Plunder: To this purpose they first made themselves Masters of the Hills near *Capua*, call'd *Tifata* [at this day *Monti de Capoa*] and placed there a strong Garrison; whence they march'd down in Battel-array in a square Body, and all their Carriages and Baggage with them, into the Plain between that and *Capua*, where a second Battel was fought, and the *Campanians* being worsted, forc'd to shelter themselves within their Walls. Wherefore finding the Flower of their Youth cut off, and that no Relief was to be expected near hand, they were necessitated to address themselves to the *Romans* for succour.

Their Ambassadors being admitted to Audience in the Senate, made an Oration to this effect. *The People of Capua, most Noble Senators! have sent us to desire at your hands a firm Peace for ever, and Assistance at present. Had we sought this Amity whilst our Affairs were in a flourishing condition, it might indeed have been of an elder Date, but tyed with a weaker Knot. For then remembering that we entred into Alliance with you as upon even ground, we might perhaps have been as much your Friends, but not under such great Obligations; whereas now, endeavored by your Compassion, and defended in our Distress, we must needs more affectionately embrace and cultivate the memory of your Favors, that we may not be branded with Ingratitude, and shew our selves unworthy of any help from God or Man. That the Samnites happened before us to be your Allies and Confederates, may intitle them to a Precedency of Honor, but cannot certainly be any sufficient Bar to exclude us from your Friendship, since in your League with them there is Proviso, that you should not make what new Alliances you should think meet. You have always hitherto esteemed it a just cause of entering into Friendship, if the Party that sought the*

same

same were desirous to be your Friend; and truly we *Campanians* (tho our present circumstances allow us not to speak magnificently of our selves) may yet have leave to say, that as both for the grandeur of our City, and the Fertility of our Country, we come not behind any People, but your selves; so we conceive that by our joining in a strict Association with you, there may be no small Accession to your Interest and Advantages; For when ever the *Æquians* and *Volscians* (tho those eternal Enemies of your state) shall presume to incommode you, we shall by ready to fall upon their backs, and what you now shall do for our preservation, that will we always do for your Empire and Glory; Which Nations that lye between us and you being once subdued, (which both your Valour and good Fortune promise will quickly be effected) you will then extend your Dominions in a continued and uninterrupted Tract to our Neighbourhood. 'Tis grievous to us, but such is our present Ill-fortune as compels us, to acknowledge that we are reduced to that deplorable Extremity as we must be subject either to our Friends or our Enemies; If you vouchsafe to defend us, we are yours; If you abandon us, we fall under the *Samnites*; Consider therefore deliberately, whether you had rather that *Capua*, and all its Territories should be annext to your state, or encrease the power of the *Samnites*. Your mercy, Noble Romans! and your succour ought in equity to extend to all that are miserable; but especially to those whose good nature by yielding an helping hand (even above their power) unto others that implored their Aid, are now themselves all fallen into the same necessity; And yet, to say the truth, it was not so much for the *Sidicins* as for our selves that we were forc'd to take up Arms; For beholding a neighbour Nation unjustly attacked and spoiled by the *Samnites*, we could not be so insensible as not to foresee, that those fatal flames wherewith they wasted the *Sidicins*, would quickly be carried into our Territories; 'Tis not because they are offended for any Injury received, but because they are well pleased with a colourable occasion of Quarrel, that the *Samnites* now invade us. If this were only an angry Revenge, and not rather an opportunity laid bold on to gratifie their greedy Ambition, would it not have been enough that they twice defeated our Forces, once in the *Sidicins Country*, and now again at our own doors? What a strange kind of Rage is this which all the Blood of two Vanquish'd Armies cannot quench? Add hereto the wasting of our Country, carrying away our People Captive, making Booties of our Cattel, Burning our Towns, Ruinating and Destroying all before them with Fire and Sword, could not their Wrath with all this be appeased? No, no, 'tis their insatiate desire of Empire that hurries them on to attack *Capua*, resolv'd either utterly to destroy that most goodly City, or themselves to possess it. But may it please you, generous Romans! to gain it before by your kindness, rather than suffer them to seize it by their mischievous malice; I know I speak to a People that useth not to decline just Wars, yet if you shall but declare in our favour, I am confident your bare word will save us, and you will have no need to make use of your Arms. The *Samnites* high conceit of themselves and contempt of others reaches only to us, and extends not to your Power which is above it. So that the very shadow of your Assistance, O Romans! is able to protect us, and whatever we shall thereby secure, our Lands, our Goods, our Selves, ready we shall be to acknowledge all to be yours. For you shall the *Campan Ground* be Tilled; for your advantage shall all the Resort to, and Traffick of the City *Capua* be consign'd, and ever shall you be regarded by us no less than Founders, Parents, and next to the Immortal Gods; No Colony of yours shall out-vie us either in ready obedience or punctual Fidelity. Grant, O Conscript Fathers! your gracious Countenance to the disconsolate *Campanians*, afford us the Assistance of your invincible Name, and bid us hope that *Capua* shall continue safe and inviolate; With what Crouds of People of all Ranks do you think we were brought going on our Journey from thence hither? How did we leave all places fill'd with their Vows, their Prayers and their Tears? with what trembling expectations do the Senate and whole People of *Capua*, our Wives and our Children attend our Return? Assured I am, that the whole Multitude are thronging about the Gates, with their eyes fixt on the Road that leads from hence, impatiently waiting to know what News, what Answer you will be pleased by us to return them in this doubtful Juncture and Perplexity; One word, if favourable, is able to present them with Safety, Victory, Life, and Liberty; But if otherwise, I dread to preface the Consequences; wherefore to conclude, determine of us, either as of those that shall and will ever be your Confederates and faithful Allies, or else such as must presently be the most forlorn People upon Earth, and worse than nothing.

The Ambassadors being commanded to withdraw, the Senate having debated the matter, tho the greater part acknowledged that a City so very great and opulent, with a Country both the most fertile of all *Italy*, and conveniently situate near the Sea, (which might serve the *Romans* as a Granary or Store-house, when ever scarcity of Corn and Victuals should happen) would be of great Emolument to them; Yet they resolv'd to prefer the keeping of their Faith before all advantages; And the Consul was ordered to return this Answer. The Senate, O *Campanians*, conceives you very worthy of assistance; But it is fit that we so entertain your Amity, as not to violate any of our former Alliances; the *Samnites*, you must know, are in League with us, therefore we must deny your request of taking Arms against them, since that were first to fight with the Gods by a breach of our Oaths, and what success can we then expect in our unjust Encounters against men? But we will do for you as much as we can in Justice and Honour, viz. send Ambassadors to our Confederates and Allies, to intreat them not to offer you any violence or injury. Whereunto the principal Ambassador (according to the instructions they had brought from home) replied thus, Altho you are not pleased with just force to defend what

is ours against unjust violence and outrage, yet sure you will maintain that which is your own; Behold therefore, Conscrip Fathers! Here we freely surrender into your hands, and into the Dominion of the People of Rome, the whole Nation of the Campanians, the City of Capua, with our Lands, the sacred Temples of the Gods and all other things sacred and prophane, resolved that whatever henceforwards we may suffer, we will suffer in the quality of your Subjects and voluntarily devoted Vassals. Saying which they all held up their hands to the Consul in a suppliant posture and overwhelmed with Tears fell down on their Knees at the entrance of the Senate-House. The Fathers sensibly touch'd with the Consideration of the uncertainty of humane Fortunes, to see a People so abounding in Wealth, and famous for Luxury, Superfluous Magnificence, and State, to whom their Neighbours but other day had sought for Aid, be now so dispirited, as to Resign themselves and all they hold in the World, into the power and dispose of others, concluded now, that it was a duty Incumbent on their Trust and Honour not to abandon those that were become their Subjects, or see them betray'd into Ruine; and that the Samnites, if they should Invade those Territories to which the Romans were now lawfully Intitled, should therein act unjustly and Infringe the Peace; and therefore decreed that Ambassadors should forthwith be sent thither, with instructions to represent at large to the Samnites, the request of the Campanians, the Senates Answer mindful of the Alliance they had with the Samnites, and lastly how the Surrender was made; and then to desire and request them by all the Ties of mutual Freindship, to forbear their Vassals, and not with Hostile Arms invade those Territories which were become part of the Roman Dominions; with further Order, that if they found these gentle Entreaties did not prevail, then they should solemnly in the name of the Senate and People of Rome denounce and Charge the Samnites, not to meddle with the City Capua or any part of that Country. But when the Ambassadors came to deliver their Message in the Council of the Samnites, they received not only this fierce and haughty Answer, That they would still proceed in the War, but their Magistrates going out of the Council Chamber, even in the presence of the Roman Ambassadors, called for the Captains of their Troops, and with aloud Voice Commanded them, To March forthwith into the Country of Campania to forrage there and make all the spoil they could.

XXXII. Which being reported by the Ambassadors at their return, The Senate laying aside the Care of all other Affairs sent to demand Restitution, and that being denied, solemnly proclaimed War, decreeing likewise that this matter should at the first opportunity be propounded to the People, by whose Order the two Consuls took the Field, Valerius into Campania, Cornelius into Samnium, the former pitch'd his Tents at the foot of the Hill Gaurus, the latter at Satricula. The Samnite Legions first advanced towards Valerius, for that way they thought the Brunt of the War would lye, and the rather to be reveng'd on the Campanians that had been so ready first to yeild their own and now call in other Auxiliary Forces against them. No sooner had they descri'd the Romans Camp, but in all haste they every own for his own part called lustily to their Commanders for the Signal of Battel, assuring themselves and saying plainly, That the Romans should speed just as well in their assisting the Campanians, as the Campanians had done before them in Aiding the Sidicins. Valerius after he had amused the Enemy for some few days with light skirmishes, and picqueerings to try their Mettal, resolved at last to Fight them, but first Encouraged his Men in a short Speech to this purpose. That this new War or new Enemy ought not in the least to terrifie them, for always the further off from the City they bore Arms, the more weak and cowardly People they had to cope with. That they ought not to count the Samnites stout and valiant, because they had defeated the Sidicins or Campanians, for in all Engagements one side or other must of necessity be worsted. That undoubtedly the Campanians were overcome by their own excess of Luxury and effeminate softness, more than by the courage of their Enemies; However, what were two prosperous Battels of the Samnites in so many Ages, if set in competition with so many Honourable Victories of the People of Rome, who could almost number more Triumphs than years since the Foundation of their City? who have with their Swords in their hands subdued all the Nations round them, as the Sabines, the Hetrurians, the Latins, Hernicks, Aequians, Volscians and Auruncans; And after having cut to pieces the Gauls in so many Battels, have at last made them glad to get away by Sea in a shameful flight and disorder? Besides, as every one ought to go into the Field animated with the glory of his past Warlike and Valiant Exploits, so 'tis no small encouragement to consider under whose leading and auspicious Conduct you are to venture the fortune of the day; whether he be a man that can only make brave and daring Speeches, one stout and fierce in words but unexperienced in the practice of Arms; Or whether he be one that can himself handle his Weapons, always ready to advance in Person before the Standards, and both able and willing to endure all hazards and fatigues in the heat of the Battel. 'Tis my Deeds Gentlemen Soldiers, not my Words that I would have you follow, and to receive from me not only Command, but also Example, who not by bribing or the canvassing of Factions, nor yet by Courtship and Orations (usual Arts with Noble Men) but by this right hand of mine have attained to three Consulships and the highest pitch of Glory. There was a time indeed when it might have been objected, that this was no wonderful matter but easy to one of my Birth and Quality, being a Person of Noble Blood descended from the deliverers of their Country and whose Family bore the Consulship the very first year that the City had a Consul; But

But now the Case is altered, the way unto a Consulship lies equally open to you Commoners as to us of the Nobility, for 'tis not now as heretofore, the privilege of the Gentry, but the reward of vertue and Courage, look up therefore, Gentlemen Soldiers! and aim at this Sovereign Honour; Tho' men by the approbation of the Gods have given me the Surname of Corvinus, yet have I not forget the Ancient name of Publicola appropriate to our Family; I have and ever will (as always I have done) the Commons of Rome, at all times alike, both abroad in Wars, and at home in Peace, as a private Man, and as a publick Magistrate, and no less when I was Consul than when Tribune, and the same affections I retain'd throughout all my several Consulships; as for the work in hand, come along brave Boys! and with the assistance of Heaven, purchase this day for your selves as well as me, a fresh and intire Triumph over the Samnites.

There never was a General more familiar with his Soldiers, as ready as the meanest of them to undertake any duty, and in their Military Exercises or pastimes, when they tried each others nimbleness and strength, he would often make one with a most obliging freedom, his countenance unchang'd whether he got the Mastery or were Foil'd; nor would he refuse any man for the meanness of his quality, that offer'd to try a Bout with him; In his deeds he was kind and bountiful to his power and as occasion required; In words no less mindful of others Freedom, than of his own Place and Dignity; and (which most of all renders a man acceptable to the People) the same vertues and moderation which raised him to Honours and Preferments, he always retain'd in the management and enjoyment of them. Therefore the whole Army following this exhortation of a General so beloved, with an incredible chearfulness March'd out of their Camp into the Field. Never was Battel more obstinately fought on both sides, their Hopes were like their Forces, equal; and each party charg'd full of Confidence in themselves, and yet without contempt of the Enemy. The Samnites were animated with their late successes, and double Victory but just before; The Romans on the contrary stood upon that Honour and Reputation which they had enjoyed and daily encreased for the space of 400 years, and their Conquests almost ever since the Foundation of their City; each of them appeared the more solicitous because they had a new Enemy to deal with, whom they had never tried before; The manner of the fight shew'd the stoutness of their courage, neither party for a considerable time yeilding one Foot. The Consul seeing they could not be made retreat by down right blows, thought to terrifie them by sending a party of Horse to break their Front, but the Ground was too straight for them to do any good and they had not room to Charge, whereupon the Consul returning to the Van of the Legions, leaps off his Horse, 'Tis we Footmen (quoth he) when all is done must do the work, come on then, and as ye shall see me, wherever I go, make way by dint of Sword into the Enemies Main-Battel, so do you every one down with all that oppose or stand in your way, and presently through all that Grove of Pikes and glittering Spears, you shall see, we'll make an open passage over their slain Carcasses; He had no sooner said this but the Cavalry by his Command, Charged the Enemies Wings, and made way for the Foot to come up to their Main-Body, where first and formost the Consul charged in Person, and kill'd the first man he met upon the spot; the sight whereof enflam'd his men, so that every one most manfully laid about him; The Samnites tho' they received more wounds than they gave, stood to it still most resolutely; and now the fight had continued a good while, great slaughter there was all round the Samnites Ensigns, but no flying on either side, for they had resolv'd that nothing but Death should Conquer them. The Romans therefore finding their own strength begin to decay through weariness and not much daylight left, in a transport of Rage and Fury, gave a fresh Charge all at once upon the Enemy, who then first of all began to give Ground and soon after betook themselves to flight. Then were abundance of the Samnites slain and taken Prisoners, nor had but few of them escap'd, if night coming on so fast had not interrupted the victory rather than ended the Battel. The Romans confest that they never engaged with a more resolute and stubborn Enemy; and the Samnites being demanded, what it was that after so brave a Resistance first caus'd them to fly, did affirm that the eyes of the Romans appeared to them like flames of fire, and their Looks and Countenances fierce and terrible as those of Persons mad or distracted, which sight did more daunt them than any thing else, and this dread of theirs they manifested not only by the event of the Battel, but by their dislodging of their Camp and private retreat that night, so that next morning the Romans took possession of their empty Huts, where the Campanians came crowding in Multitudes to rejoice and congratulate their victory.

But this Joy had like to have been spoil'd by a disaster in Samnium, for the other Consul Cornelius advancing from Satricula, had unwarily March'd his Army into a Forrest through which ran an hollow Valley, on the side whereof the Enemy lay in Ambuscade, nor did he discover them, till he was so far Engaged as he knew not how to Retreat with safety; But whilst the Samnites waited till he should have brought his whole Body into that deep Valley that they might have them all at the same advantage, P. Decius a Colonel of Foot spied an Hill in the Forrest that commanded the place where the Enemy lay Encamped, and no less easie to be gam'd by such as were nimble and lightly Armed, than hard to be got up to, by those that were encumber'd with heavy Arms and Baggage; therefore seeing the Consul surpriz'd and discompos'd, See you not (quoth he) O Aulus Cornelius; the top of  
B b 2 yonder

yonder Hill above the Enemy; that's the fortress on which we must build our hopes of safety, if we can but gain it quickly, as the Samnites have left it blindly, nor do I desire you should spare me more than the Principes [those that fought with Swords] and the Spear-men of one Legion to effect it; with whom as soon as I have seized the top thereof, do you without any fear March off from hence, and doubt not but to save your self and Army, for the Enemy being under us, and subject to all our Blows and Darts, cannot stir without great loss, and for us the good Fortune of Rome, or our own valour shall bring us off. The Consul applauded his advice, who with the party he desired, Marching secretly through the Thickets, hastened to the Place, the Enemy not discovering him, till he had gain'd it; But then being all amazed, and intent only upon him, he both gain'd the Consul some time to withdraw his Army into a more open ground, and also to Post himself the most conveniently on the Top of the Hill; The Samnites turn'd their Ensigns to and fro, sometimes this way and sometimes that, uncertain what to do; whereby they lost the opportunity of doing any thing at all; for they could not pursue the Consul, but by passing the Valley and giving him the same advantage which before they had against him, nor durst they March up the Hill whereon Decius was so advantageously posted; yet being more vext at his Company that had snatch'd out of their hands the opportunity of a Victory, and considering as well the nearness of the place as the finalness of their number, they were one while in the mind to environ the Hill, and cut off Decius from joining the Consul; By and by they thought it more advisable to open them a way that when they were come down into the Valley they might more safely fall upon them. Thus whilst they lingered unresolved, the night overtook them; Decius at first was in good hopes to fight with them from the higher ground, as they clambered the Hill; but afterwards he could not but wonder why they proceeded not to charge him, or at least if disadvantage of the ground had deterr'd them from that, why they did not fortifie themselves and obstruct his passage with Intrenchments and other works. Then calling to him the Centurions, *What ignorance of the Art of War (saith he) or what negligence is this? Or how came these Scoundrels to obtain a victory over the Sidicins and Campanians? you see they trifle their ensigns to and fro, sometimes they are buddled up in close Order and sometimes advanced and displayed at length, but not an hand falls to work, tho ere this we might have been hemm'd in with a circumvallation; We shall shew our selves as very Sots as they, if we linger here any longer than it is for our advantage, come on then, go with me, and before it grow too dark let us take a view where they set their Guards and which way we may most conveniently enforce our passage.* Accordingly he went forth himself in a Common Soldiers Jacket, taking with him the Centurions disguis'd in like manner, that the Enemy might not take notice of him as the Commander in Chief, and so survey'd all things necessary for his purpose.

XXXV. Then having set the Watch, he commanded a Signal to be given to all the rest, that when the Trumpet Sounded to the second Watch, they should all silently repair to him in their Arms. Where being Assembled accordingly, This silence Fellow-Soldiers (saith he) you must observe whilst you hear me speak, with giving your assent by loud Acclamations, as at other times you use to do, but only when I have declared my mind, let such as approve thereof go softly on the right hand, and as the greater number of you shall like or dislike that course we will follow; Hear now my Opinion. You are here encompassed by an Enemy, but not as men either overtaken in flight or surpris'd as straglers lagging behind for sloth, the Place you won by your Courage, and by a like Courage you must make good your escape; by coming hither you have already preserv'd a brave Roman Army, by forcing a Pass from hence. Now save your selves. You that being but a few have reliev'd so many, are worthy to stand in need of no help but your own. We have to do with an Enemy that yesterday by carelessness over-slept their opportunity of cutting off our whole Army; that are so stupid that they saw not this important Hill hanging over their Heads till we were Masters of it; who being so many thousands could neither prevent us from mounting it, nor when we were here, had the prudence to secure us by a Retrenchment tho they had day-light enough to accomplish it. Those whom you so easily out-witted when they were awake and had their eyes broad open, your business now is to deceive when they are fast asleep; nay you must do so, there is no other Remedy; for at that pass we are, that I am rather to shew you in what Terms of extremity ye stand, rather than persuade you to the Execution of good Counsel; for there needs no consulting whether you shall continue here, or depart here, since besides your Arms and brave Hearts to use them, Fortune has left you nothing to trust to, so that die we must of Hunger and Thirst, if we fear the Swords point more than becomes men of Arms and Romans to do. There is but one only way of safety left, which is to make a brave Sally, and force a passage through the Enemy, this we must do either in the day, or in the night, and that doubt is soon resolv'd, for if we wait till morning how can we hope but the Enemy will surround us with an intire Dutch and Rampire, who have already encompassed and as it were Wall'd in this little Hill we lie upon, with their Bodies; Now if the night be, as undoubtedly it is, the most favourable juncture for our Irruption, this very hour is certainly of all others the fittest moment. 'Tis now a little past the second Watch, a time when men are in their soundest sleep, amidst them ye shall go, and either by silence escape undiscovered, or if they do take the Alarm, you shall astonish them by setting up a sudden outcry and dreadful Hallow; do but follow me as hitherto you have successfully done, and I will follow the same Fortune that hath guided me, but far; as many of you as think this wholesome Counsel, make no more ado but pass on to my right hand.

Which

Which every man of them did, and followed Decius, who led them through the Intervals of the Enemies Camp, where no Out-guards nor Sentinels were placed.

They were now got to the midst of the Camp, when a Soldier clambering over the Watchmens Bodies lying heavy asleep, chanc'd to stumble on a Shield, which gave such a found as awakened the Watch-man, who rais'd his next Fellow, and he starting up, gave the Alarm to others, not knowing whether these Straglers were Friends or Enemies, whether the Garrison on the Hill was breaking out, or whether the Consul was returned to surprize their Camp: However, Decius seeing they could not avoid discovery, commanded his men to set up a Shout, whereby he amazed and affrighted the Enemy yet half asleep, and so confounded them, that they could neither readily take Arms, nor make head against them, nor yet pursue them; so that whilst the Samnites were in this terror and confusion, Decius and his party slaying such of the Guards as resisted them, had an opportunity to pass on towards the Consuls Camp. It was not yet day, and now they seem'd past all danger, when Decius thus bespake his Followers: *Go on, a Gods name, in this course of generous Vertue, my courageous Romans! This Expedition and brave Retreat of yours, all Ages shall extol with the highest Applauses; but broad day-light is necessary for a full view of so much Gallantry; you deserve better than that silence and darkness should hide you, in your return with so much glory to the Camp: Here therefore let us rest and wait for day.* His words were readily obey'd, and at day-break he dispatch'd a Messenger afore to the Consul, and so they hastened to the Camp; where giving the Word, no sooner was the noise spread, That those were returned safe who freely expos'd themselves to such apparent hazard for the common Safety, but every one ran forth to meet them with Thanks, and Praises, and Congratulations: They call them jointly and severally their Saviours; they praise and return thanks to the Gods, and cry up Decius to the Skies. This indeed was his Camp-Triumph, through the midst of which he marched with his Armed Party, every mans eyes fix'd upon him, and paid no less Honor to the Colonel, than if he had been Consul. When he was come to the Pretorium [or Generals Tent] the Consul by found of Trumpet call'd all the Army together, and beginning a Discourse in the deserved Praises of Decius, he was by Decius himself interrupted, and at his request waved the Oration: For he advised and perswaded the Consul, That passing by all Complements, they should presently lay hold of the opportunity, and whilst the Enemy was yet in that Consternation, and lay scattered about the Hill, fall upon them; the rather, for that he believed some Parties sent out after him, might be surpris'd stragling in the Forrest. Forthwith the Legions were commanded to Arm, and being now by their Scouts better acquainted with the Forrest, march'd in a more open Road towards the Enemy, and charg'd them, suspecting no such matter, and altogether unprovided: For the Samnites Soldiers being stragling all abroad, and for the most part unarm'd, could neither Rally themselves together in order, nor get into their Trenches: They first beat the main Body into their Works, and then routing the Guards, became Masters thereof. The Cry was heard all round the Hill, and caus'd every man to fly out of his Hold, so that a great part of them took their Heels before the Enemy could come up to them: Those which fled into the Works, being in number about Thirty thousand, were all put to the Sword, and the Camp plundered.

Things being thus luckily dispatch'd, the Consul convening another Assembly, proceeded to finish the praises of Decius which he had before begun, and also amplified them with fresh commendations of this new Service; and besides other Military Rewards, presented him with a Crown of Gold, and an hundred Oxen, amongst which was an extraordinary one all white, and fat and fair above the rest, with gilded Horns. The Soldiers, who with him held the before-mentioned Hill, had sett'd upon them a double proportion of Corn for ever, and at present each of them an Ox, and two Coats apiece. After the Consul's Largess, the Legionary Soldiers, with unanimous shouts, placed on the Head of Decius a Crown of Green Grass, called *Obsidionalis*, because it used to be given to him that had rais'd a Siege, and so preserv'd a distressed Town or Army: Nor were his own Band wanting to Crown him with another Chaplet of like Honor for bringing them off so happily. Being thus loaded with Ensigns of Glory, he Sacrificed his before-mentioned white Ox unto Mars, and bestowed the rest of them upon the Soldiers that had accompanied him in that Service; to whom also the Legions gave a pound of Wheat Meal, and a Sextar [a Measure much about our Quart] of Wine apiece. All which was perform'd with wonderful alacrity, and seconded with Shouts and Acclamations to testify their general Assent.

A third Battel happened at *Suessula*, where the Samnites Army being routed by *M. Valerius*, they thereupon sent for all the strength they could make at home, and now resolv'd to venture all at one push. Terrible tydings hereof came to *Capua*, and from thence Posts were dispatch'd to advertise *Valerius* the Consul, and request his aid. He presently advanced, leaving the Carriages and Baggage behind with a strong Guard, and with speedy Marches came up near the Enemy, where he took a very small Plot of Ground to Encamp in; as having besides his Horses for Service, no Beasts at all for Carriage, nor any of that Rabble of Slaves and Snaplack-boys which use to follow Armies, to encumber him.

The



The *Samnites*, as if they were presently to engage, drew up in Battalia, and seeing none come forth to encounter them, march'd up with Banners displayed to the very Camp of the Enemy, where finding the Soldiers on the Rampire, and understanding by their Scours in how small a compass they lay, concluding thence, that they must needs be but few in number, all the Army began to mutter, *That there need no more ado, but to fill up the Ditches, and cut down the Breast-work, and so presently break into their Camp.* And in that rashness had the War been dispatch'd, if the Commanders had not restrained the fury of their Soldiers. But because so great a multitude as they were, could not easily be supplied with Victuals by the Convoys appointed for that purpose, and for that as well by their Defeat at *Suessula*, as by lying here so long without Fighting, they were reduced to a scarcity almost of all things, it was thought fit, whilst the Enemy as affrighted, kept fast within his Works, to send out the Soldiers about the Country a Foraging; well hoping, that in the mean time the *Romans*, who came lightly appointed, and with no more Corn than they could carry on their shoulders, besides their Arms, would have spent all, and be brought to the last Extremity. The Consul perceiving the Enemies stragling abroad over the Country, and that their Guards were slenderly mann'd, having briefly encouraged his Soldiers, leads them out to attack their Camp, which having made themselves Masters of at the first Shout and Onset, and kill'd more of the Enemy in their Tents than at the Ports or on the Rampire, he caus'd all the Ensigns he had taken to be brought together to one place, and left two Legions there for a Guard, with a strict charge to forbear all riffling and plunder until he returned; and so march'd forward in Battel-array, sending forth the Horse before, who drove the scatter'd *Samnites*, as Hunters do Deers into the Toils, and made a mighty slaughter of them: For frighted as they were, they knew not any Signal whereby they might rally together, nor whether they were best make towards their Camp, or betake themselves to a further flight; so great was their Rout and Consternation, that there were pick'd up and brought to the Consul Forty thousand Shields (though there were not so many Men slain) and of Ensigns, with those taken in the Camp, the number of One hundred and seventy. Then returned he to the Enemies Tents, and bestow'd the whole Pillage there upon the Soldiers.

xxxviii.

The Fortune of this Battel brought the *Faliscans* who were yet upon a Truce, to sue unto the Senate for a League of Peace; and also diverted the *Latines*, who had already levied Forces against the *Romans*, to imploy them against the *Peligni*. Nor was the Fame of this Victory confin'd within the Bounds of *Italy*, but even the *Carthaginians* sent Ambassadors to *Rome*, to congratulate that Success, and make them a Present of a Golden Crown of five and twenty pounds weight, to be laid up in the Vestry of *Jupiter's Temple*. Both the Consuls triumph'd over the *Samnites*, *Decius* following them, illustrious for those Marks of Honor and Praises conferr'd upon him: The name of the Colonel being no less celebrated by the Soldiers in their merry Catches and blunt Military Joques, than that of either of the Consuls. After this, the Ambassadors of *Capua* and the *Suessians* had Audience; and their Request granted, That a standing Garrison should be sent to Winter therefor preventing the IncurSIONS of the *Samnites*. *Capua* was even then so long ago fatal to Military Discipline; for having infected the Soldiers with a taste of all sorts of Pleasures and Voluptuousness, it soon alienated their minds from the memory of their Country and Honor: For those in that Garrison began to contrive a Design to take *Capua* from the *Campanians*, by the same wicked Practice [of a Massacre] as they first got it from the Ancient Inhabitants, saying, *It would be but Justice to turn their own sword Example upon their Heads: And what reason was there, that the base Campanians should be Masters of the most plentiful Country in all Italy, and of a City worthy of such a Country, when they were not able to defend either it or themselves; more suitable it were, that the same Victorious Army should enjoy it, who with their Blood and Sweat rescued it out of the hands of the Samnites? Or was it fit, that a company of Sots, who had yielded themselves to be their Vassals, should surfeit on so much Pleasure and Plenty, whilst they themselves, worn out with the Fatigues of War, must still struggle with an unwholesome Air, and barren Soil round about the City of Rome, or within it, languish under that inveterate Plague of Usury, wherewith they were daily more and more oppressed.* These Consultations, manag'd in private Cabals, and not yet publickly communicated, by some means came to the Ears of *C. Marcius Rutilus*, to whose charge the Province of *Campania* fell by Lot, leaving his Colleague *Q. Servilius* at home in the City; who having pump't out of the Officers, all the particulars of the Design, being a wise Man, both for his Age and long Experience in Publick Affairs (for he was now the fourth time Consul, and had been both Censor and Dictator) he thought it best to dissemble the Matter, and to frustrate the present Heat of the Soldiers by prolonging their hopes, that they might put their Plot in execution when they pleas'd hereafter upon some better opportunity. To which purpose he caus'd a Report to be spread, *That the Garrisons should all Winter in the same Towns the Winter following.* For they were divided into sundry Cities of *Campania*, and the Web of Conspiracy begun at *Capua*, was spread from thence through all the Forces. This scope being given them to berhink them-

themselves, and advise further of these matters, the Publick Peace was preserv'd, and all things for the present quiet.

But when in the Summer the Consul took the Field, he resolv'd (seeing the *Samnites* did not appear in any condition to engage with him) to purge his Army, by cashiering the most busie and dangerous of those turbulent Spirits, which he effected under several fair and colourable Pretences, telling some of them, *That they had already served as long as the Law required: Others, That they were grown old, or weak and unhealthy,* and therefore he would dispense with their Service; and so they had their Furlows and were sent home: And others were dispatch'd in Parties for Convoys to fetch in Provisions from parts remote, where afterwards they were detain'd: This, at first, was practis'd by singling out one by one at a time, but afterwards upon some whole Companies, as a favour, because their Winter-quarters had been so far from their Dwellings and private Concerns; likewise under colour of Military Services and Imployments, whilst some of them were dispatch'd one way, and some another, the greatest part of the Conspirators were dispersed and kept away from the Army, upon various pretences and devised causes of delay. The truth is, at first, before they smelt out the Trick, they were not a little glad to visit home; but when they observ'd, That neither those that were first sent off, return'd again to their Colours, nor that scarce any others were discharg'd but such as had Winter'd in *Campania*, and of those especially the Authors of the Conspiracy; at first they wonder'd at such odd proceedings; but on second thoughts began to be afraid in earnest, That their Plot had taken wind, and then presently terrible Ideas fill their Heads, of Examinations and Tortures, Arraignments and Judgments, how they should be severally executed apart, and suffer all that the insolent and cruel Tyranny of the Consuls and Senate could invent and inflict. These things were secretly muttered through the Army, when they saw the Ring-leaders of the Conspiracy so finely removed and dis-membred from the Army by the Consuls policy. One Regiment, or Cohort [that is to say, the Tenth part of a Legion] that was Quartered not far from *Ansur*, possessed themselves of a narrow Pass at *Lantula*, between the Sea and the Mountains, where they intercepted and stop't such as the Consul sent out upon such and such pretended Services as aforesaid. They soon got together a notable Force, and nothing was wanting to give them the Reputation of a compleat Army, but a Commander in Chief: disorder'd therefore as they were, they went Plundering along as far as the *Alban* Country, where, under the Ridge of the Mountain called *Alba longa*, they encamp'd and fortified themselves. And when their Works were finish'd, spent the rest of the day in consultation touching the choice of a General. There was none of their own Company that they could confide in as sufficient for that Charge: And whom (say they) can we send for from *Rome*? Is there any man, either Senator or Commoner, that will wittingly and willingly expose himself to so great an hazard as to run our Fortune? Or to whom the Cause of the Army, enraged by the Injuries they have received, may in Prudence be safely trusted? The next day, whilst they were still debating this Point, some of the stragling Foragers brought in Advice, that *T. Quintius* was retired into the Country, and held a Farm in *Tusculanum*, where he employed himself in Husbandry, minding neither the City nor its Honors. This Gentleman was of Noble Birth, and had serv'd with great Credit and Renown in the Wars, till happening to be Lamed by a Wound in one of his Feet, resign'd his Command, and resolv'd to spend the rest of his days in the Country, far from Ambition and the turmoils of State. They no sooner heard his Name, but they knew the Man, and acknowledged his Merit, and, in a good hour, unanimously agreed he should be sent for; Small hopes they had that he would willingly meddle, and therefore concluded to use Force, and bring him to it by Fear. So, in the dead of Night, a Party of them came to his House and got in, where finding *Quintius* fast asleep, they awaken him, propound being their General, or if he refuse it, present Death, and thus carry'd him away by force to their Camp; where immediately he is saluted Lord General, and had the Insignia or Ornaments of that Command put upon him, whilst he was yet amaz'd at the suddenness of the thing, as if all had been Dream or Miracle. Then they require him to Lead them to *Rome*, and accordingly having advanced their Standards in an Heady Fit of their own, rather than by the Advice of their new Commander, they march'd in a Warlike Posture, till they came within eight miles of the City, on the Causey or High-road, now called the *Appian-way*; and had immediately come up to the City, but that they heard there was an Army advancing to oppose them, under the conduct of *M. Valerius*, surnamed *Corvus*, created Dictator on this occasion, and *L. Aemilius Mamercinus*, his General of Horse.

As soon as ever they came within view of each other, and took notice of the same Ensigns on either side, the remembrance of their Native Country began to work upon them all, and allay and mitigate their Heats; for they were not yet so desperate as to embrew their Swords in the Blood of their Fellow-Citizens; nor had they known any Wars but with Foreigners, their greatest madness at home had hitherto proceeded but to a Secession or sul-

XL.

len going by themselves for a while. Therefore, as well the Generals as Soldiers, on either side, were desirous that a Meeting might be appointed for a Parley. Whereupon *Quintius* (who was long since weary of bearing Arms for his Country, much more against it) and *Corvus* (than whom none could be more affectionately tender of all his Fellow-Citizens, especially Soldiers; and above all others, of those of his own Army) advanced to confer together: *Corvus* spoke first, and as soon as he came so near as to be known, had no less Reverence paid him by the Enemy, than respectful Audience from those of his own Party. When I march'd (saith he) now forth of the City to meet you, O Soldiers! I heartily implor'd the Immortal Gods, as well those that are common to us all, as the particular Patrons of my Family, that they would vouchsafe me not a Victory, but rather the Glory of reducing you to Terms of Concord and Unity. There have, and ever will be, occasions enough wherein we may win Honor by Arms, but here nothing is so passionately to be desired as Peace. That which so devoutly, and with solemn Vows I requested of the Gods, it lies in your Power to make me happy in; If you will but remember, That you are not now in Samnium, nor amongst the Volscians, but Encamp'd upon Roman Ground; That those are the Hills of your dear Native Soil, which you behold; That this Army consists of your own Countrymen and Fellow-Citizens; That I my self am that Consul under whose auspicious Conduct, you twice last year defeated the Samnite Legions, and twice with down-right blows beat them out of their Camp. I am, Sirs, that *M. Valerius Corvus*, of whose Nobility you have had proof and experience, not by any Injuries offered, but good Offices and Benefits always readily conferr'd upon you; Never was I the Promoter of any insolent Law against you, or of any harsh Act of the Senate, but in all my Government and Commands have been more rigorous to my self, than severe to you. If great Parentage, or approved Valour; if Authority or Honor may swell and elevate any mans Spirit, of such Progenitors am I descended, such proofs of Courage and Vertue have I given, so early did I attain to the Consular Dignity, that being but yet Three and twenty years old, I might have been formidable not only to the Commons, but even to the Senate it self. Yet I challenge any man to name one Word, one Act, said or done by me when a Consul, more haughty or grievous than when I was but a Tribune; with the same moderation did I manage my two following Consulships, such and no other will I also shew my self in this supreme and lofty Office of Dictator: Nor will I be more kind and gentle to these that are mine and my Countries Soldiers, than to you whom I abhor to call Enemies. You shall therefore first draw your Swords upon me, before I will draw upon you. From your side let the Trumpets first sound a Charge, thence let the Shoutings and Onset begin, if needs we must go to it and Fight. Now find in your hearts (if you can) to do that which neither your Fathers, nor your Grand-fathers could endure, neither these when they retreated into the Mount Sacer, nor those who afterwards placed themselves upon, and held the Aventine-Hill: Wait a while, till your Mothers and Wives with dishevel'd Hair come forth of the City to meet each of you, as heretofore they did *Coriolanus*. With that sight the Volscian Legions were stop'd and pacified, because they had one Roman for their Leader: And will not you, being all an Army of Romans, desist from so impious and unnatural a War? As for you, *T. Quintius*, howsoever you came there, whether with or against your will, if there be no remedy but we must come to Blows, I would advise thee to retire into the Rear, and shroud thy self amongst the hindermost; nay, 'twill be far more Honorable for thee fairly to run away, than to fight against thy Country. But at present, thou standest well and opportunely in the Front, as ready to accommodate all Differences, and be the Interpreter of this Friendly Conference for the good of us all. Demand any reasonable Conditions, and you shall have them; though in truth we were better yield even to unequal Terms, than impiously to Murder one another.

XLI.

*T. Quintius*, with Tears in his Eyes, turning about to those that followed him: I also, O Soldiers! (quoth he) if in any thing I can do you Service, am like to prove a far better Leader of you towards Peace, than to War. The Words you heard but now, proceeded not from a Samnite or a Volscian, but were spoken by a Roman, your Consul, Gentlemen! and your own General; be not so mad as to desire to try his successful Conduct against your selves, and to your destruction, which you have so often experienc'd and admired in your Preservation. The Senate had other Commanders, who might have attacked you with more rancour and fierceness, but they chose rather to imploy him who would be most favorable to, and sparing of you his Soldiers; and in whom, as being your General, you might repose most confidence. Thus you see, They that can easily vanquish you, do yet seek for Peace: Is it not then high time for us to desire it too? Why then do we not lay aside our peevish Anger, and fantastick Hopes (which are both treacherous Counsellors) and wholly refer our selves, and all our Concerns, to a Person of such approved Faith and Integrity? A General shout approv'd this Speech, and *T. Quintius* advancing before the Standards in the Front, declared the whole Army to be under the Command and Power of the Dictator, beseeching him, that he would undertake the Cause of poor and wretched Citizens, and having taken the same into his care, to manage and protect the same, with the same Justice and Uprightness as he was wont to administer the Affairs of the Commonwealth. That for his own particular part, he would make no Conditions, nor build his Hopes on any thing but Innocency: But the Soldiers desired, they might be secured to have the same favour, as the Senate had once before granted to the Commons, and a second time to the Legions, viz. That this their Revolt might not be charged upon them hereafter to their prejudice. The Dictator gave *Quintius* thanks and

and commendations for his prudent Conduct, and bid all the rest be of good cheer, and immediately rode Post back to the City, where with the approbation of the Senate, he preferr'd to the People in the *Petiline Grove* a Bill of Indemnity, That no Soldier should be called in question for that Insurrection: He also prevail'd further, To have it Enacted, That no man should either in jest or earnest be upbraided or reproached therewith. At the same time pass'd a sacred Military Law, That no Soldiers name, once enter'd in the Muster-masters Book, should be razed out against his Will; with a Clause annexed, That none that had been a Tribune [or Colonel] should afterwards have the leading of Bands, or be a Centurion. This was required by the Mutineers, out of a particular pique to *P. Salinius*, who almost every other Year was a Tribune, and a Prime Centurion, whom they now call *Primipili* [Leaders of the Vanguard] against him they had a spight, because he had always oppos'd their Seditious Projects, and would not joyn with them in their Revolt at *Lantula*. This Branch therefore, the Senate in favour to *Salinius* refused to grant, whereupon he himself Petition'd them, not to regard his Honor more than the Concord and Unity of the whole City, and so got it allow'd. Another outrageous Demand they made, was, to have the Horse-mens Pay (which then was three times as much as that of the Foot) Retrench'd, for that they

Moreover, I find in some Authors, That *L. Genucius*, Tribune of the Commons, preferr'd a Law, To make Usury altogether unlawful. And that by another Ordinance of the Commons, It was provided, That none should be capable of bearing the same Office twice in ten Years space; nor any hold two Offices in the same year: As also, That it might be lawful to Create both the Consuls out of the Commons; which if they were all granted, shews to what an height this Insurrection was grown. In other Annals it is Recorded, That neither *Valerius* was made Dictator, but that the whole Affair was manag'd by the Consuls, nor yet that they broke out into Rebellion before they came to Rome, but there took Arms. As also, That their coming by Night was not into the Country Farm of *T. Quintius*, but into the House of *C. Manlius*, and that he was seiz'd by the Conspirators to be their General: And that thence they went and Encamped but four Miles off the City. That the Treaty for Peace was not first motion'd by the Captains, but that when both Armies came to face each other in Battalia, the Soldiers lovingly saluted one another, and began to shake hands, and mutually embrace with Tears; and therefore the Consuls seeing them so averse from Engaging, were forced to move the Senate for an Accommodation; so that amongst ancient Writers there is little certainty, save only, that a Sedition there was, and the same happily compos'd: However, the noise of these Disturbances, together with the fierce War undertaken with the Samnites, occasion'd some Nations to withdraw from their Alliances with the Romans; for besides the wavering of the Latines, whose Friendship had a long time been doubtful and not to be trusted, the *Privernates*, with sudden Incurfions, invaded and plundered *Norba* and *Setia*, two Neighboring Colonies of the Romans.

XLII.

## DECADE I. BOOK VIII.

## E P I T O M E.

4. 5. The Latines, with the Campanians Revolt, and by Ambassadors to the Senate, demand to have one of the Consuls chosen from amongst the Latines. 6. *Annius* their Praetor going from his Audience, catches a fall from the Capitol, whereof he dies. 7. *T. Manlius* causes his own Son to be Beheaded for Fighting, though successfully against the Latines, contrary to Orders. 9. The Romans being shrewdly put to't, *P. Decius* devotes himself for the Army, and setting spurs to his Horse, Charges into the midst of the Enemy, and is slain, and the Romans get the day. 11. The Latines submit themselves. 12. *T. Manlius* returning to the City, none of the Youth would go out to meet him. 15. *Minucia*, a Vestal Virgin, condemn'd for Incest. 16. The Ausonians overcome, and a Colony planted at *Cales*. 18. Divers Roman Matrons convicted of Poisoning, and forced to drink off their own Preparations, whereof they died. A Law then first made touching Poisoning. 21. The *Privernates*, after they had rebell'd, get to be made free Denizens of Rome. 25. The *Palapoltians* vanquish'd and besieg'd, submit. 26. *Q. Publilius*, who first besieg'd them, is continued in Command, and allow'd to Triumph. 28. The Commons freed from the Tyranny of their Creditors, by reason of the filthy Lust of *Lucius Papirius* who would have ravish'd *C. Publilius* his Debtor. 30. Whilst *L. Papirius* the Dictator was gone from the Army to Rome to repeat the Sacrifices, *Q. Fabius* General of the Horse, invited by an occasional advantage, fights with the Samnites contrary to his Edict, and woris them, for which the Dictator goes about to punish him. 33. *Fabius* flies to Rome. 35. And when his cause would not hold water at Law, by the Peoples intreaty he obtains a Pardon. 36. This Book contains the prosperous proceedings against the Samnites.

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**T**HE Consuls now were C. Plantius the second time, and L. Æmilius Mamercus, when the *Setines* and *Norbans* sent advice to Rome that the *Privernates* had Revolted, with Complaints of damages by them sustained. Intelligence also arriv'd, That an Army of *Volsians*, under the Conduct of the *Antiates*, were Encamp'd at *Satricum*. The management of both these Wars fell to Plantius's Lot, who advancing first to *Privernum*, presently gave them Battel: The Enemy was easily vanquish'd, the Town taken, but restored, only a strong Garrison placed in it, and two parts of their Lands taken away from them. Thence the Victorious Army march'd to *Satricum* against the *Antiates*, where a cruel Battel was fought with great slaughter on both sides, and when a Tempest had parted them, before either could lay claim to the Victory, the *Romans*, nothing wearied with that so doubtful Conflict, made preparations to renew the Encounter in the Morning; But the *Volsians*, having taken an Account of what Men they had lost, had not so much mind to repeat the Danger: For in the Night (thereby confessing themselves beaten) they dislodged, and in fear and confusion went their ways towards *Antium*, leaving their wounded Men, and part of their Baggage, behind them. A power of Arms were found amongst the Dead, and in their Camp, which the Consul promis'd to Dedicate to the Goddess, called *Mother Lua* [thought to signify the Earth, which after Blood-shed was to be appeas'd with Offerings and Lustrations] after which, he forrag'd and spoil'd the Enemies Country as far as the Sea-Coast. Æmilius, the other Consul, made an Inroad into the *Sabellian* Territories, but neither were the *Samnites* in the Field, nor did their Legions offer to oppose him: On the contrary, as he was destroying all before him with Fire and Sword, they sent Ambassadors to him, desiring Peace, whom he refer'd to the Senate, where having obtain'd Audience, their haughty stomachs being come down, They requested the *Romans* to grant them Peace, and leave to prosecute their War against the *Sidicins*, which they alledged they might with the more Justice and Equity desire, since as they had fought and enter'd into Amity with the People of Rome in their highest Prosperity, and not as the *Campanians*, enforced by necessity; so the Arms they desired to bear was against the *Sidicins*, always their Enemies, and never Friends to the *Romans*: A Nation, who neither in Peace (as the *Samnites*) ever desired any Alliance with the *Romans*; nor yet, in time of War, had (like the *Campanians*) requested any Assistance from thence, and could not pretend to be under the protection of, or in subjection to the People of Rome.

II.

When touching these Demands of the *Samnites*, Tib. Æmilius the Prætor had consulted the Senate, and they had thought fit to renew the League, he returned them this Answer, That as it was not the fault of the People of Rome, that the Friendship heretofore concluded between them, was not perpetual; so since they now seem'd to be weary of the War, of which themselves were the occasion, the *Romans* would not oppose the Renewing of the League, and settling of the Ancient Amity. But as to the *Sidicins*, they should not interpose, but leave the *Samnites* to their Liberty of making Peace and War, as they should think best. The League being ratified, they return'd home, and forthwith the Roman Army was recall'd, having got a years Pay, and Corn for three months, according to the Capitulation made with the Consul for granting them a Truce till their Ambassadors came back. The *Samnites* now employ'd all their Forces against the *Sidicins*, and doubted not but in little time to be Masters of their City. Then first of all, the *Sidicins* made an offer to yield up themselves, and become Subjects to the *Romans*; but the Senate rejected the same, as coming too late, and wrested as it were from them perforce in their last Extremity: Whereupon they tendered the same to the *Latines*, who already of their own accord had revolted and taken Arms; nor were the *Campanians* wanting to join in the same Association, so much fresher in their minds was the memory of the Injuries offered them by the *Samnites*, than of the good Offices done them by the *Romans*. Out of so many several Nations confederated together, a vast Army was raised, which under the Conduct of the *Latines* invaded the Borders of the *Samnites*, and slew more in Forraging and Plundering than by fair Fighting: And though the *Latines* seem'd to have the better on't in several Skirmishes, yet they were well content, for avoiding frequent Encounters, to retreat out of the Enemies Territories. Then had the *Samnites* time to send Ambassadors to Rome, who made complaint to the Senate, That they suffered as hard measure now they were Confederates, as they did before whilst they were Enemies, and therefore did humbly request, That the *Romans* would be satisfied with that Victory which they snatch'd out of the *Samnites* hands over the *Campanians* and *Sidicins*, and not suffer them now to be trampled under foot by united multitudes of base and cowardly people. That if the *Latines* and *Campanians* were Subjects to the People of Rome, they would by their Authority restrain them from Insesting the *Samnites* Country, and if they refuse, that then they would by force of Arms compel them to forbear. Hereunto the Senate fram'd a doubtful Answer: For on the one side they were ashamed to say, that the *Latines* were not now under their Dominion; and on the other side afraid, that if they should go about to ruffle with them, it might alienate them the more, and cause them to break out into open Hostility; therefore they told the Ambassadors, That as to the *Campanians* they were united not by League, but by absolute Surrender, and therefore whether they would or

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no, they would make them be quiet: But in their League with the *Latines*, there was no Article whereby they should be prohibited from making War against whomsoever they thought fit. This Answer, as it sent away the *Samnites* altogether uncertain what measures the *Romans* would take, so it wholly estranged the *Campanians* for fear, and at the same time rendred the *Latines* more stout and daring, as if the *Romans* would now yield to any thing rather than displease them. Therefore under a colour of making Preparations against the *Samnites*, they summoned and held frequent Councils one after another, where the chief Persons secretly amongst themselves, in all their Consultations, mainly intended the settling and adjusting a War against the *Romans*, wherein the *Campanians* consented to joyn as well as the rest, and bear Arms against Those who so lately had preserv'd and protected them. Now although these Councils were industriously concealed, because they were desirous to have utterly cut off the *Samnites* behind them, before the *Romans* should take the Alarm; yet the Plot was discovered, and some hints thereof given at Rome by some amongst them, who were obliged to the *Romans* for private Kindnesses, and hospitable Entertainment. Hereupon the Consuls were commanded to resign their Office before the usual time, that new ones might the sooner be created, to make Preparations against the eminent danger threaten'd; but here a scruple of Conscience arose, whether it might not be ominous, if the Assembly for Election should be held by those whose Government was thus abridged, therefore they rather chose to have an *Inter-reign*; and two *Inter-regents* there were one after another, M. Valerius, and M. Fabius, the later created Consuls, T. Manlius Torquatus the third time, and P. Decius Mus. That year Alexander King of the *Epirots*, arriv'd in Italy with a Navy, and had his first attempts met with success, would, no doubt, have push'd forwards his Fortune, and at last have involv'd the *Romans* in War: In the same Age his Sisters Son, Alexander the Great, flourish'd, who whilst in another part of the World he shew'd himself Invincible by Arms, was in the prime of his years conquer'd by death.

As for the *Romans*, although they plainly perceived the Revolt of their Associates, and all the Tribes of the *Latins*, yet they thought it best to dissemble the matter, and make shew as if they were only concerned for the *Samnites*, and not for themselves: To which purpose they sent for ten of the Principal Persons amongst the *Latins* to come to Rome, pretending to give them in Charge, what their pleasure was to have done. The *Latines* at that time had for their two Prætors, L. Amnius of *Setia*, and L. Numicius of *Circeia*, both Roman Colonies; by whose means, not only *Signia* and *Velitre*, two other Colonies of Rome, but the *Volsians* also, were excited to take Arms and joyn in the Confederacy. These two Gentlemen therefore it was thought fit to summon by Name, nor could they be ignorant what it was they were sent for about: However they presently call a Council, to whom they Declare how they were cited to Rome, and what Treatment they expected, desiring the Advice of that Assembly what answer they should make.

IV.

After one had given his Opinion this way, and another that, Amnius stands up and says, Although I my self moved you to consult of an Answer, yet I conceive it more concerns the main Interest of our State, to determine what to do, than what to say: For when we are once come to a Resolution how to conduct our Affairs, it will not be difficult to accommodate Words to our purpose. For if even now already under the umbrage of an equal Alliance, we can be content tamely to suffer Slavery, what hinders, but that betraying the *Sidicins*, we truckle to all the Commands not only of the *Romans*, but the *Samnites* too, and fairly tell the *Romans* that we will lay down our Arms, whenever they please to nod us into Obedience. But if at length the Natural desire of Liberty make any Impression upon our Hearts, or can set an edge upon our Spirits; If in truth there be a League between us, and if Association ought to be nothing else but an equal Fruition of the same Liberty and Priviledges; If we may now glory (what heretofore we were ashamed to own) that we are Kinsmen to the *Romans*, and of their own Blood: If that be indeed an Associated Army which they have, by whose Accession they double their Strength, and which their Consuls in beginning or ending their proper Wars, will never separate from their own: Why is there not an Equality in all things else? Why is not one of the Consuls chosen by the *Latins*? Where there is part of the Burthen, why is there not part of the Government? Nor would this in it self be any great matter of Honor to us, since thereby we shall acknowledge Rome to be the Head of Latium; but by our remissness hitherto. and truckling wholly under them with patience so long, we have made it seem to be an Honorable Demand, and worthy to be insisted upon. But if ever you wish'd to see the Day wherein you might participate in the Government, and assert your Rights and Liberties, Behold! That time is now presented to you, by your own Courage and the Gracious favor of the Gods; you try'd their patience by denying to levy Soldiers at their Command: who can doubt but they were mad at heart, when we brake that Custom which had pass'd uncontroul'd above 200. years? yet they calmly pocketed the Affront. We waged War against the *Peligni* in our own Names, yet They who heretofore would not allow us a Right to defend our own Borders, never Interpos'd: That we had taken the *Sidicins* into our Protection: That the *Campanians* were revolted from them to us: That we were raising Forces against the *Samnites*, their own Confederates; all this they heard and knew well enough, yet still they stirr'd not once out of their City. How come they to be thus modest and quiet? Can

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it proceed from anything but a Consciousness of our Puissance, and their own weakness? I have it from very good hands, That when lately the Samnites made their Complaints against us, the Roman Senate returned such a cold Answer, as plainly shew'd, That they themselves pretended not to require that Latium should be under the Roman Empire. You have nothing to do but assume and lay Claim to that which they already tacitly yield unto you. If any be afraid to be the Speaker, Behold here am I, who not only in the Hearing of the People of Rome, and their Senate, but of Jupiter himself who resides in the Capitol, am ready to tell them plainly, That if they expect we should continue in League and Amity with them, They must from us receive one of their Consuls, and part of the Senate. All that were present, hearing him not only persuade, but promise to undertake this, with so great a Spirit and Resolution, signified their Approbation with a Shout, and consented, That he should do and say whatsoever he thought expedient for the welfare of the Latine Nation, and suitable to the Trust reposed in him.

V. When he, with the rest, came to Rome, the Senate appointed to give them Audience in the Capitol; where when T. Manlius the Consul, by the Direction and Authority of the Senators, pressed them earnestly, Not to make War on the Samnites, who were now the Allies of the People of Rome. Annus, as if he had been a Conqueror that had taken the Capitol by force of Arms, and not an Ambassador, protected only by the Law of Nations to deliver his Errand, began thus to Hector: "It was now certainly time, O Titus Manlius, and you Senators of Rome! to have left off your domineering, and to treat us not in a Commanding fashion, as if we were your Vassals, when we cannot but see Latium, through the favour of the Gods, flourishing both in Men and Arms, as having vanquish'd the Samnites by dint of Sword, taken the Sidicini and Campanians into Confederacy, wherein the Volscians are also joyned, and even your own Colonies chuse to be our Subjects rather than yours: But since you are still so loth to put an end to your proud and outrageous Tyranny, although we could easily by Arms restore Latium to her Ancient intire Freedom; yet for Kindreds-sake, we are content to offer Terms of Peace fair and equal to both Parties, since it hath pleas'd the Immortal Gods to make us equal in Strength and Power. It is therefore necessary, That of the two Consuls, one be chosen a Roman, the other a Latine: That the number of Senators be equally Elect-ed out of one Nation as well as the other: That both Nations to all intents and purposes, be United and Incorporated into one People and Commonwealth. And since there must be one Imperial Seat, and one Common Name to all, wherein one part must of necessity yield to the other, we are content, and may it be lucky to Both: That this your Country have the Precedency, and let us all be call'd by the name of Romans. It happened by chance, that the Romans to match him, had at this time a Consul altogether as stout and hot; viz. T. Manlius, who was so unable to conceal his Resentments, as he openly declared, That if the Senators should be so mad as to receive Laws from a Fellow of Setin, he would come into the Senate-House with his Sword by his side, and whomsoever he should see there in Council of the Latines, he would not fail to Kill them with his own hand upon the Spot. And then turning to the Image of Jupiter: Hear, O Jupiter! (quoth he) this Wickedness and Indignity. Hear you, O Justice and Piety! Wilt thou, O Jupiter! as if thou wast Conquer'd and made a Captive, endure to behold strange Consuls, and a Senate of Foreigners in thy Holy Consecrated Temple? Are these, you Latines! the Covenants which Tullus King of Rome made with the Albans your Ancestors? Or which L. Tarquin, afterwards concluded with you? Do you not remember the Battel at the Regillian Lake? Or have you altogether forgot your Old Defeats, as well as the New Benefits we have conferr'd upon you?

VI. This generous Speech of the Consul, rais'd the general Indignation of the Senate against the Latines; and 'tis said, That whilst the Consuls did often Invoke the Gods as Witnesses of those Ancient Leagues, Annus was heard to Joke at and despise the Power and God-head of the Roman Jupiter: This is certain, that as in a Fury he went hastily from the Porch of the Temple, he fell down the Stairs, and hurt his Head so grievously against the Pavement, that he swooned away: But whether he dyed out-right, since all Authors are not agreed in that Point, I must leave it doubtful as I find it. As likewise that other Tradition, That whilst they were thus upbraiding the Latines with breach of Faith, a violent Storm happened on a sudden, with mighty Thunder-claps. For as these things may perhaps be true, so 'tis not possible but they may be handsomely devised, on purpose to represent more fitly the Vengeance of the Gods? Torquatus being sent by the Senate to dismiss the Ambassadors, when he saw Annus thus lying along, cry'd out with a Voice so loud, that both the Senate and People might hear him: 'Tis well, it became you, O ye Gods, to begin so Pious a War! Surely there is a Divine Power and Deity in Heaven! Thou art no Phantasm, O mighty Jupiter! Nor in vain have we Hallowed thee in this Temple, as the Father both of Gods and Men! Why delay ye then, O Romans and Conscript Fathers! to take Arms, when you see the Gods themselves are your Leaders: So will I lay flat and sprawling the Latine Legions, as now you behold their Ambassador lying at the stairs foot. These Words of the Consul made such Impressions on the People, That the Latine Ambassadors, if it had not been more for the care of those Officers that were appointed to attend them, than respect to the Law of Nations, would scarce have escap'd the violence

lence and fury of the Rabble. The Senate also agreed the War, and the Consuls having levied two Armies, march'd through the Country of the Marsians and Pelignians; and having joyn'd the Forces of the Samnites, Encamp'd themselves before Capua, where the Latines and their Confederates had already drawn their Troops to a general Rendezvous. There, as the Story goes, both the Consuls in their sleep saw an Apparition in the shape of a Man, but much greater and more stately, which told them, That of the two Armies now facing each other, The General of the one, and the whole Body of the other, must be a Sacrifice or Tribute to the Infernal Spirits, and Mother Earth; and which soever of the opposite Generals should Devote to those Infernal Spirits, his Enemies, and with them himself, That Party and People should win the day. The Consuls communicating these Night-Visions one to another, thought fit, that for appeasing the Anger of the Gods, Sacrifices should be kill'd, to the end, that if in their Entrails, inspected according to Art, the same things were found to be portended as in the Dream, then one or other of the Consuls should answer the expectation of the Destinies. The Answers of the Sooth-sayers [or Priests that were wont for Divination to view the Bowels of the Sacrifices] agreed very much with that Superstitious Conceit which the Dreams had implanted in the Consuls minds; whereupon they call'd together the Commissary-Generals of the Senate that attended the Army, and the Colonels, and plainly declaring to them the pleasure of the Gods (that the voluntary Death of one of the Generals unexpected, might not affright or discompose the Army in the Field) They agreed between themselves, That on which part soever the Roman Batalions should begin first to shrink, or give Ground, the Consul that Commanded there should presently Devote himself for the good of the People of Rome. At the same Council it was also debated, That if ever at any time before, any War had been manag'd with strict and severe Government, it would now be necessary to advance that ancient rigorous Discipline. That which sharpen'd their Care and Caution in that behalf, was because they were now to engage with a Nation agreeing with themselves in Language, Manners, Weapons, Customs, and especially in the same Arts and Methods of War: For of these two Armies, Soldier with Soldier, Centurion with Centurion, Tribune with Tribune were well acquainted, and had been oft Comrades in the same Garrisons, and mix'd in the very same Band or Company, therefore that the Soldiers might not fall into any Error, the Consuls made Proclamation through the Camp: That no man should fight with the Enemy out of his Rank, or without Command.

It happen'd, that amongst other Captains of Horse who were sent out every way to discover the Posture of the Enemy, young T. Manlius the Consul Son, was got with his Troop beyond the Enemies, so that he was almost within a Bows-shot of one of their Corps-du-Guard; where was a Party of Tusculane Horse, commanded by Geminus Metius, a Person famous in his Country both for his high Birth and approved Gallantry. He seeing the Roman Horse, and the Consul Son very brave in the Head of them (for all the Persons of Quality on both sides were well known one to another) called to him: What (quoth he) will you Romans manage the War with the Latines, and all their Confederates, with one single Troop? How shall your Consul, and your two Consular Armies in the mean time employ themselves? They (replies Manlius) will be with you time enough, and with them He that is much more powerful and strong, I mean, Jupiter himself, the Witness of those Leagues which you have violated. And as at the Lake Regillus we gave you your Bellies full of Fighting; so never doubt it, but before you go hence, we shall quite put you out of conceit with display'd Banners and pitch'd Battels. With that, says Geminus, advancing as he was on Horse-back a little from his Troop: In the mean time, till that terrible day come when you will do such Wonders with your two Armies, Wilt thou try one Bout with me, that by the Event between us two, the World may see how much a Latine Cavalier does surpass a Roman? The brave young Mans Blood boil'd in his Veins, whether out of Rage and Indignation to be thus upbraided, or that for shame he could not decline so fair a Challenge, or whether it were the unavoidable power of his Destiny that hurried him on: So it was, That unmindful of his Fathers Command, and the express Edict of the Consuls, he rashly accepted the Fatal Combat, wherein the difference was not much, whether he overcame or were vanquish'd. The rest of the Horse-men, of both Parties, retreating to give them room, as if they had been to see a Prize; in the void space of the plain Field that lay between, they set Spurs to their Horses, and charg'd each other with the sharp points of their Spears: Manlius, with his Lance aloft, raz'd the Head-piece of his Enemy, and that of Metius lightly touch'd and pass'd by the Horses neck: Then bringing about their Horses again, Manlius rais'd himself in the Saddle to Charge first, and thrust the others Horse in between the Ears, who with the smart of the Wound, rear'd his Fore-feet, and violently shaking his Head, cast his Rider: And as he was leaning upon his Spear and Shield to get up again, Manlius ran him into the Throat, so that the Spear-head came out at his Ribs, and nail'd him fast to the ground, and then disarming him, rode up to his Troop, who attended him as in Triumph to the Camp, and so directly to his Fathers Pavilion, little considering the quality of the Fact, and its future dismal Consequence, and ignorant whether he had deserv'd Praise, or was become obnoxious to punishment: Father (saith he) to shew the World that I am truly your Son,

VII.

Son, and derive not my self from your Blood in vain, I bring here the Spoils of a Gentleman of the Enemies Camp, that defied and challeng'd me, whom I fairly slew in single Combat. The Consul had scarce heard him, when turning away his Face, he commanded an Assembly to be summoned by sound of Trumpet; which being met, he thus in the presence of them all speaks to his Son: "Forasmuch as thou, O T. Manlius, regarding neither the Consular Authority, nor Reverencing the Majesty of thy Father, hast presum'd without Command, and disorderly, to Fight the Enemy against our Edict and express Command, and as much as in thee lay, hast dissolv'd and broken that Discipline of War, which hitherto hath been the principal Pillar to support the Roman State; and hast reduc'd me to the necessity of this sad Choice, That either I must forget my Duty to the Republick, or my natural Affection to my self and mine: We will undergo the punishment of our own Transgression, rather than that the whole State, to its mighty prejudice and damage, shall pay for our rashness and folly. A sad Example I confels 'twill be, but very profitable to the Youth of After-ages: As for me, as well the in-bred Affection which all Fathers bear to their Children, as the present proof thou hast given of thy Courage (though deceived with a false appearance of Honor) cause no small Emotion in my Breast: Yet since there is a Necessity, That either by thy Death the Consuls Commands be ratified, or for ever slighted and disannull'd by the Impunity of thy Disobedience, I cannot think, but if thou hast in thee any of my Blood, thou wilt readily yield to re-establish the Military Discipline which thou hast violated, by a cheerful Submission to the punishment. Go, Marshal! and bind him to the Stake. All were amaz'd at the severity of this Sentence, as much as if they had seen the edge of the Hatchet levell'd at their own Throats, and 'twas out of Fear, rather than Modesty, that they did fall into a Mutiny. Having a little recover'd their Spirits dissipat'd with wonder, they had not long stood silent when his Head being chop'd off, the Blood gush'd forth before them, and their Tongues as freely pour'd out Complaints, and mix'd Curses with their Lamentations. The Youths Body they cover'd with his own Victorious Spoils; they erected a Funeral Pile without the Camp whercon to burn it, and celebrated his Obsequies with as much Affection and Honor as ever was paid by Soldiers to the memory of their greatest Commanders: And the Manlian Commands were not only dreadful for the present, but gave a terrible precedent to all Posterity.

VIII. However, the rigor of this Punishment made the Soldiers more obedient; and besides, rendering the Guards and Sentinels more vigilant, did much good in the extremity of the Battel that soon after ensued; for their Fight was much like a Civil War, the Latines differing from the Roman Commonwealth in nothing almost but Courage. Formerly, they used long large Roman Shields; afterwards, becoming Stipendiaries and taking pay, they wore instead thereof shorter Targets: And whereas afore-time they drew up close and thick together, like the Macedonian Phalanges; afterwards they rang'd their Battel into Bands more loosely and distinctly, and at last came to be divided into thinner and more numerous Ranks and Squadrons, each Squadron containing sixty Soldiers, two Centurions, and an Ensign-Bearer; their Van consisted of fifteen Companies (placed a small distance from each other) of Spear-men, or rather Javelyners, called *Hastati*; each Company having twenty Light-arm'd Soldiers, and the rest a sort of Targeteers: They call'd those Light-arm'd, who carried only Spears or Javelins to fight with at hand, and a small sort of Darts to throw at a distance. In this Fore-front were placed the Flower of the Youths that grew up as Apprentices to the Art of War. Then came as many more Companies of those of riper and more manly Age, which were called *Principes*: In the next place thirty Companies of *Targeteers*, all with very brave and extraordinary Armor, and these were called *Antepilani*, because they were followed by fifteen Squadrons more, each of which contained three Divisions, and each first Division, being that next to the Standard, was called *Pilum*, and consisted of three Colours or Companies, every one of which contained 186 Men; the first Company was of old Soldiers of approved Courage, call'd *Triarii*; the second of men of less Force and Experience, call'd *Rorarii*; and the third of raw Fellows new list'd to fill up the Muster-Rolls, call'd *Accensi*, who being of small account, always march'd in the Rear.

When the Army was thus drawn up in Battalia, the *Hastati* or *Javelyners* began the Battel, and if they were not able to Rout the Enemy, they softly and in order Retreated, and fell back into the Intervals between the Squadrons of the *Principes*, who receiv'd them, and then advanced themselves to Charge the Enemy, and were therein seconded by the said *Hastati*: the *Triarii* all this while abiding firm about their Ensigns, setting out their left Legs before them at length, their Targets on their shoulders, and their short Pikes or Javelins stuck into the Ground, at the wrong end sloping, and with their Heads bending forwards, so that they seem'd Fortified with Palisado's. Now if the *Principes* also prov'd unsuccessful, and could not break the Enemy, then they orderly by little and little retired from the Fore-front back to the *Triarii*; (whence grew the Proverb, when a thing was at a dead lift, to say, *ad Triarios redisse*, that it was come to the *Triarii*, or last pinch) then the *Triarii* at once rising up, as soon as they had received the *Principes* and *Hastati* into the

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void spaces between their Files, suddenly drew to a close Order, and shut up as it were all Passages and Entrance, and so with one joint close Body of the whole Army, there being now no further reserve or hope left, resolutely advanc'd to Charge the Enemy; who were herewith most surpriz'd and disheartened, when thinking to Chase those that they seem'd to have vanquish'd, they saw a new Battel of fresh Men starting up, and the same more numerous. The Romans commonly levied for their Army four Legions, each consisting of 5000. Foot and 300. Horse, to whom were wont to be added just as many more Auxiliaries furnish'd by the Latines; but they now were Enemies, and had Marshal'd their Army exactly in the same manner; so that they knew well enough before-hand, not only that they were to encounter Ensign with Ensign, all the Pikes and Javelins with Pikes and Javelins, and *Principes* with *Principes*, but also one Centurion with another, if the Armies were not disordered. In each Army there was a *Primipilus*, Chief Centurion or Leader of the *Triarii*: The Roman, but of a weak and slender Body, but otherwise a Man of Courage and Conduct: The Latine, a mighty stout Fellow, and a Devilish Fighter: They knew one another well enough, as having always equal Charges heretofore, when the Roman and Latine Forces used to be united: The Roman not greatly trusting to his own strength, had got leave of the Consuls before they march'd out of Rome, to choose whom he would to be his Deputy Centurion, who might be his Second, and defend him from this one designed Enemy. And it fell out, that the young Man by him made choice of, in the heat of the Battel engaged the Latine Centurion, and slew him. The Battel was fought not far from the Foot of the Mountain *Vesuvius* in the Road to *Veseris*.

The Roman Consuls, before they put their Army into Battalia, having severally killed their Beasts for Sacrifice, the *Aruspex* [or Bowel-prying Sooth-sayer] is said to have observed in *Decius's*, the head of the Liver to be wounded, but in all other respects an acceptable Sacrifice: But as for *Manlius*, in his there appeared as good tokens as could be wish'd; whereupon (quoth *Decius*) 'tis well enough, since my Brother Consul has the favor of the Gods. The Army being drawn up, as before related, they march'd into the Field, *Manlius* commanding the Right Wing, and *Decius* the Left. At first they fought on both sides with equal Courage as well as Forces: But after a while, the Roman *Hastati* of the Left Wing, no longer able to bear the violent Shock of the Latines, retreated to their *Principes*; in which disorder *Decius* calls aloud to M. *Valerius*, I see, O *Valerius*! we have need of the Assistance of the Gods; Let the publick High Priest of the People of Rome come and pronounce the Solemn Words, with which I am to devote my self for our Army, that I may say them after him. The Priest ordered him to put on a long Purple Robe embroidered before, call'd *Prætexta*, to cover his Head, and put forth his hand under the said Robe at his Chin, and standing upon a Javelin with both his Feet, to say after him, as follows: O *Janus*, *Jupiter*, *Father Mars*, *Bellona*, you Household Deities, *Novensiles* and *Indigetes*! you Gods likewise who have special Power over us and our Enemies, and all you Infernal Gods, you I invoke, you I adore, your pardon and leave I implore, and your favor I require, That you would prosper Power and Victory unto the People of Rome, and strike their Enemies with Dread, and Terror, and Slaughter: And as I have solemnly call'd upon you by Name, so for the Weal-Publick of the People of Rome, and *Quirites*, their Legions and Auxiliaries, I here do Devote the Army of the Enemies, and all their Aids, together with my self, to *Tellus* and the Infernal Gods. As soon as he had recited this Prayer, he dispatch'd a *Lictor* [or one of the Provost Marshals] to T. *Manlius*, to advertise him, That his Colleague had seasonably Devoted himself for the Army: And then tucking up his Gown after the *Gabine* Fashion [that is, one part thrown under his right Arm, and the same Lappet back again over the left Shoulder, a posture the *Gabii* were wont to Sacrifice in; and being once surprized at their Devotions by an Enemy, Charg'd them in that posture, and obtain'd the Victory, whence for Luck's sake the Roman Consuls used it, when they denounced War] he mounted his Horse, Arm'd at all Points, and so spurr'd into the thickest of the Enemy. To both Armies he seem'd to carry a Presence full of Majesty, and something more than Humane. As he sent from Heaven to Atone all the Wrath of the Gods, and divert their Vengeance from his own People to the Enemy; where-ever he came he carried Dread and Terror, first he put the Latines Front into Confusion, then Charg'd through into their main Body. This was evident, that where-ever his Horse carried him, they all round trembled and were astonish'd, as if they had been Planet-struck. And when at last he fell oppress'd with a Storm of Darts, from that moment the Latine Regiments were generally in a Consternation, and every where began to give Ground: As on the other side, the Romans discharg'd of their Superstitious Fears, as if they had but just now began the Fight, fell upon the Enemy with redoubled Courage; for the *Rorarii* ran forwards amongst the Ranks of the *Antepilani*, thereby reinforcing both the *Hastati* and the *Principes*, whilst the *Triarii* kneeling on their right Knee, waited for the Word of Command from the Consul, when to rise and fall on.

In the progress of the Conflict, when the Latines by reason of their Numbers seem'd in some places to prevail, the Consul *Manlius*, having receiv'd the news of his Colleagues gallant death, and paid thereunto (as Piety required) a just Tribute of Tears and Praise,

was

IX.

X.

was once about to bring on the *Triarii*; but upon second thoughts concluded it better to reserve them till the last push; and in their stead commanded the Squadron call'd *Accensi*, to advance from the Rear to the Van before the Standards. The *Latines* mistook these for the *Triarii*, and presently raised their own *Triarii* to encounter them. Who having fought a good while very smartly, and both wearied themselves, and either broken or blunted the points of their Spears and Javelins, but yet by mere force beat back their Enemies, thinking now all had been done, and that they were sure of the Victory. All of a sudden the Consul steps to his *Triarii*, Rise now (saith he) you that are yet fresh, against an Enemy already tyred: Remember your Country and your Parents, your Wives and your Children; and especially remember your noble Consul, who to purchase you Victory, frankly embraced death. The *Triarii* thus starting up fresh and lusty, with glittering Arms, a new Conflict and unexpected was begun: For they receiving the *Antepilani* into the Intervals of their Files, with a mighty Halloo charge and disorder the Van of the *Latines*; and having cut to pieces their formost and stoutest Men, press'd on through the rest of their Troops, with almost as little resistance as if they had been all unarm'd, and broke in with their close Wedge-like Battalions, with so much fury and slaughter, that scarce a fourth part of the Enemy escaped; whose terror was the more increased, by seeing the *Sammites* at a distance under the Mountain, advancing in good order to the *Romans* assistance. But amongst all, either Citizens or Allies, the Glory of that days Service belongs to the Consuls; one of them taking upon himself alone, all the Wrath and threaten'd Vengeance of the Gods both Celestial and Infernal; the other shewing such Valour and Conduct, that 'tis agreed by all Historians, whether *Romans* or *Latines* mentioning this Fight, That on which side soever *Manlius* had been General, theirs undoubtedly would have been the Victory. The *Latines*, after their Defeat, retreated to *Minturnæ*: Their Camp, immediately after the Fight, was taken, and therein many surprized, and endeavoring to escape, run over one another, and were trod to pieces, especially of the *Campanians*. The Corps of *Decius* could not be discovered that Day, because the Night came on so fast, but next Morning it was found cover'd with Darts and Javelins, amongst an heap of slain Enemies: His Funerals were celebrated by his Colleague with all possible Honor and Solemnity, suitable to the gallantry of his Death.

It may here fitly be noted, That it was lawful for the Consul, Dictator, or Prator, when they devoted or gave their Enemies to the Devil, not to devote himself, but any Citizen whom he list, provided he were one enroled in one of the *Roman* Legions: Concerning whom the Law was thus; "If the person so Devoted were slain, then all was well; but if he escap'd, then they made an Image of him greater than the life, seven Foot high or more, which they buried in the Ground, and Sacrificed a Bullock as a propitiation in his stead: But where-ever that Image was so Inter'd, it was not lawful for any *Roman* Magistrate to approach. On the other side, if a Man would Devote himself, as here *Decius* did, if he were not kill'd, he might not afterwards be admitted to perform any Divine Service, publick or private, until he had pass'd an Expiation, which he might do by offering his Arms to *Vulcan*, or any other God, or by a Sacrifice, or other Offering as he pleaseth. It is not lawful to suffer the Enemy to seize that Weapon; if they do, a Propitiatory Sacrifice must be offered to *Mars*, viz. a Swine, a Sheep, and a Bull. These things, though now grown obsolete, and scarce mention'd in any Records of Sacred or Civil Ceremonies, since an humor has prevail'd of preferring New and Foreign Rites, before those Ancient Ones of our own Country; yet I thought it not amiss to transmit them to Posterity, in those very words wherein they were enjoyn'd and pronounc'd.

- XI. Some Authors tell us, That the *Sammites* came not in to the *Romans* Aid till some time after the Battel, politickly waiting to take their Measures as the Success thereof should happen. As also, that there was Assistance coming to the *Latines* from *Lavinium*, but that they spent so much time in Consultation, that the *Latines* were first beaten, and that the formost Ensigns, and part of their Forces, being but just march'd out of their own Gates, Intelligence arriv'd of the *Latines* being defeated, whereupon they returned into the City; whereupon *Millonius* their Prator told them, That as little a way as they had march'd, they must expect the *Romans* would make them pay a dear Rate for it. Those of the *Latines* that escap'd in the Battel, being scattered several ways, Rallied together, and took up their Quarters in the City *Vesica*; there in a Council of War, their General *Numisus* affirmed, That the business was but a drawn Game, as many being lost on one side as on t'other, and that the *Romans* indeed pleas'd themselves with the noise and bare name of a Victory, but Fortune had handled them as roughly as if they had been beaten: That the Pavilions of both their Consuls were defiled and full of Funeral Mournings; one by the Murder and Parricide of his only Son; the other, by the death of the Consul that Devoted himself: That the greater part of their Forces were slain, their *Hastati* and *Principes* generally cut off, a mighty Slaughter made both before and behind their Standards, only at last the *Triarii* did a little repair their Fortune. But suppose the *Latines* had lost as many men as they, yet I hope *Latium*, or the *Volscians*, are somewhat nearer than *Rome* to re-inforce us with Supplies: therefore if they thought good, he

would

would instantly raise all the Youth of the *Latine* and *Volscian* Nations, and return with a fresh and formidable Army to *Capua*, where he did not doubt, by his unexpected Arrival, to surprize and defeat the *Romans* that dream'd of nothing less than a second Battel. So by dispatching Sham-Letters through all the *Latine* and *Volscian* Territories, which those that were not present at the Fight were too apt rashly to credit, he had quickly levyed and drawn together a Tumultuary Army. But *Torquatus* the Consul met with them at *Tifanum*, a place between *Sinuessæ* and *Minturnæ*, before they were Encamp'd: Therefore both Parties being stowing their Baggage in heaps out of the way, as well as they could, presently fell to Fighting, and concluded the War. For the strength of the Enemy was there so shattered, and surrendered up themselves and their Country at Discretion; and the *Latines* yielded, like: both *Latium* and *Capua* were punish'd with the Forfeiture of all their Lands: those of the *Latines*, together with the Country of the *Privernates*, and the *Falerii* (a People of *Campania*) as far as the River *Vulturis*, being divided amongst the Commons of *Rome*; two Acres a man being allotted them in *Latium*, and if there were not Land enough, three fourth parts of the *Privernates* Ground should go to make it up. And three Acres and a quarter to a Man in the Territories of the *Falerii*, because that lay further off: But the Inhabitants of *Laurentum* in *Latium*, and the *Campanian* Cavalry, escap'd this punishment, because they had never revolted: Therefore the old League with the *Laurentines* was Ratified, and thenceforwards yearly renewed after the tenth day of the *Latine* Holy-days of *Rome*, for a Monument whereof they set up a Brazen Table there in the Temple of *Castor*. And for their Maintinance the people of *Capua* were enjoyned to pay every one of them (and they were One thousand and six hundred in all) the sum of Four hundred and fifty *Denarii* [which is almost fifteen pounds apiece, and for the whole, 24000 *l.* sterling per annum. But some Copies read only 45 *Denarii*, which is not full bable for those times.]

The War being thus happily dispatch'd, and Rewards bestowed, and Punishments inflicted according to every Mans merit, *T. Manlius* returns to *Rome*. But 'tis certain, only XII. the Old People went forth to meet and congratulate him; for the Youth, both then, and all his Life long, hated and curs'd him for his Cruelty to his Son. The *Antiates* made Incursions into the Territories of *Hestia*, *Ardea*, and *Solone*. The Consul *Manlius* being disabled by Sickness to manage that War, nominated *L. Papirius Crassus*, who was then Prator, to be Dictator, who chose *L. Papirius Cursor* his General of the Horse. This Dictator kept the Field, and had his Summers Quarters for some Months in the *Antiates* Country, but no remarkable Action happened.

After this Year, renowned as well for the Victory over so many potent Nations, as for the noble Death of one of the Consuls, and the memorable, though rigorous Government of the other, there succeeded in the Consulship *T. Emilius Mamercinus*, and *Q. Publilius Philo*, who as they met not with so active a Scene of Grand Affairs, so they seem'd more intent upon their own private Interests and Factions in the Commonwealth, than solicitous to advance the Publick State of their Country. Yet they routed the *Latines* in the Plains of *Feneſta*, and drove them out of their Camp, when for madness at the loss of their Lands, they fell into Rebellion. And *Publilius* (by whose Conduct that Victory was obtain'd) remaining there a while to receive the Submissions of the *Latines*, *Emilius* advanced with the Army against *Pedum*, whose Inhabitants were buoy'd up by the assistance of the *Tiburines*, *Prænestines*, and *Veliternians*; as also some Auxiliaries from *Lavinium* and *Antium*: where, though the *Romans* had the better on't in several Skirmishes, and that the whole Service was now reduced to the taking in of the City *Pedum* itself, and the Camp of the Confederates which sheltered is self under the Walls, yet the Consul hearing finish'd, hastens to *Rome*, and importunately demanded a Triumph, before he had compleated his Victory: Which the Senate justly offended with his unseasonable Ambition, flatly denyed, unless he first either took *Pedum* by Storm, or forc'd it to a Surrender. *Emilius* hereupon took such a Spleen against the Senators, that thenceforwards he behaved himself more like a seditious Tribune, than a Consul. For as long as he continued in Office, he never ceased to accuse the Nobles before the People, pretending they had not justly and fairly distributed the before-mentioned *Latian* and *Falernian* Lands, wherein it could not be expected his Partner should oppose him, since he was himself a Commoner. The Senate, desirous to shorten the Consuls Government, Decreed, That a Dictator should be Created against the *Latine* Rebels, but *Emilius* was too cunning for them; for happening, according to his Turn, to have the *Fasces* or Ensigns of Government in his hands, he declared his Brother Consul, Dictator, who chose *Junius Brutus* Master of the Horse. This Dictatorship was altogether suited to the humour of the *Mobile*, and full of Invectives against the Senate: During which, these three Laws were establish'd in favour of the Commons, and very much to the prejudice of the Nobility. 1. That what-

ever



ever Ordinances pass'd the Commons, should bind all the Quirites or Citizens of Rome. 2. That when Laws were proposed to be Enacted in the Comitial Centuries, the Senate should pass them first, before the Scrutiny begin and the Suffrages be gathered. [Laws that pass'd in the Comitia, or Guild-Hall Assemblies of the People, before this time were not Authentick till the Senate had approv'd them: But now the Senate was to give their Sentiment first, and the last Decision of Ratifying or Rejecting was to be in the People.] 3. That whereas they had already obtained, That both the Censors might be of the Commons: Now one Censor at the least should always be a Commoner of necessity. So that in the opinion of the Nobles, the Majesty of the State was much more impaired this Year at home by these Consuls and Dictator, than it was augmented by their Victory or War-like Achievements abroad.

## XIII.

The Year following, L. Furius Camillus, and C. Menius being Consuls, That *Amilius* the late Consul might more notably be reproach'd and expos'd for his negligence, the Senate insisted, That the City *Pedum* should by all means possible be attack'd, and utterly destroyed and razed to the Ground; so that the new Consuls being forced to postpone all others Affairs, advanced thither with all Expedition. The *Latines* were now reduced to that odd pass, that they could neither endure War, nor Peace: To maintain the former, they wanted Forces; and yet disdain'd to hear of the latter, ever since their Lands were taken from them. So they resolv'd to hold a middle Course, viz. To contain themselves within their own Garrisons, that the *Romans* might take no occasion to quarrel with them; and if they receiv'd Intelligence of any Towns being Beleagu'd, that all the Confederates should endeavor to Relieve it: yet the Inhabitants found assistance but from very few. The *Tiburtines* and *Prænestines*, whose Countries lay nearest, did indeed come up thither: But as for the *Aricins*, *Lavinians* and *Veliternians*, although they had joyn'd their Forces with the *Antiates* and *Volscians*, yet being unexpectedly encountred by *Menius* on the Banks of the River *Astura*, they were all defeated and scatter'd. Nor did *Camillus* with less success, though with more difficulty (as having to do with a stouter and more formidable Enemy) engage the *Pedans* and *Tiburtines*: For the Townsfolk making a brisk Sally in the heat of the Fight, put him into some pain and hazard; but in the end, he not only beat them back, but the same day having vanquish'd both them and their Auxiliaries, scaled the Walls and took the Town. This Encouragement, and some fresh Recruits, spurr'd the two Consuls on to march their Army quite through the *Latine* Territories; nor did they rest, till they had either taken by Force, or compell'd to a Surrender all its Principal Towns, and intirely subdued the whole Country; wherein having placed necessary Garrisons, they return'd to *Rome*, worthy in all mens esteem of a Triumph: To which, for greater Honor was added by the Senate, That their Statues on Horse-back (a rare thing in those days) should be set up in the *Forum* [the Publick Market-place, or Hall, wherein the Courts of Judicature were held.] Before the time came for choosing of Consuls for the ensuing Year, *Camillus* made a motion to the Senate touching the *Latines*, and Discour'd them to this effect: "My Lords, What was to be done in *Latium* by Arms, is now, by the favor of the Gods, and the valour of your Soldiers, accomplished: The Enemies Armies at *Pedum* and *Astura* are cut off: All the *Latine* Towns and strong Holds storm'd or yielded; as also *Antium*, a City of the *Volscians*, and are now possess'd by your Garrisons. But since they daily give us trouble by fresh Rebellions, it remains now only to Consider of some proper Expedient whereby we may keep them in continual Peace. For resolving which Question, the Gods have left it wholly in your hands, whether or no *Latium* shall any longer be a Nation. So that you may at your pleasure secure your selves of an Eternal Peace from them, either by rooting them utterly out, or by Pardoning and Indulging them. Will ye take harsh Measures against those that have yielded themselves, and whom you have Vanquish'd? You may indeed blot out the Memory of *Latium* from the face of the Earth, and lay all those Regions solitary and waste, whence you were wont to raise brave social Armies in all your greatest Wars: Or will ye rather, imitating your Ancestors, augment the *Roman* Republick, by receiving those you have Conquer'd into the number of your Citizens? This will afford you an encrease both of Strength and Glory: For certainly, that Government is most secure and durable, where Subjects obey willingly and with delight. Whatever you resolve on, Expedition is absolutely necessary; you hold divers Nations suspended between Hopes and Fears: 'Tis fit you should discharge your selves as soon as you can of that Care they put you to, and whilst their minds are yet amus'd with Expectation, prevent them either by Obligations, or Severity from taking new Measures. 'Twas our Work and Duty as your Servants, to bring Affairs to that pass, that you might dispose of them as you please: It is now your Business to determine what may be best for your selves and the Common-weal.

## XIV.

The chief of the Senate commended what the Consul had propos'd, but because some of the People concern'd, were under very different Circumstances from others, it was thought good that each might have right done, to determine of them one by one, and by Name. Whereupon it was Decreed, 1. That the *Lavinians* should be Enfranchis'd, or made free Citizens of *Rome*, and enjoy their own Religion and Ceremonies, with this

Proviso,

Proviso, That the Temple and Grove of *Juno the Hospitable*, be common to the Burgeßes of *Lavinium* and People of *Rome*. Secondly, That the *Aricins*, *Nomentanes*, and *Pedans*, shall be accepted for Citizens, and enjoy the same Priviledges as the *Lavinians*. Thirdly, That the *Tusculanes* should still retain their Freedom which they now enjoy'd, and the Crime of Rebellion be charg'd only on some of the prime Ring-leaders, without endamaging the whole Community. Fourthly, The *Veliternians* being Ancient *Roman* Citizens, and so oft guilty of Revolts and Rebellion, were more severely to be chastiz'd; their City was dismantled, their Senators banish'd and confin'd to dwell beyond the *Tyber*, upon Penalty, That if any of them were found on this side the Water, it might be lawful for any Man to seize, and hold him to the Ransom of 1000 Asles, and to detain him in Irons till he paid the money: And into the Lands of these Senators there were Colonies [Tenants or Farmers] sent, who being settled, *Velure* seem'd as Populous as ever it was. Fifthly, The People of *Antium* were made Free of *Rome*, but had all their principal Ships taken away, and were forbidden to use the Sea: A new Colony was also sent thither, but the Inhabitants had leave, if they pleas'd to Enroll themselves, to continue there. Sixthly, The *Tiburtines* and *Prænestines* had their Lands taken from them, not so much for this new Rebellion, common with the rest of the *Latines*, but because to shake off the *Roman* Government, they had heretofore associated themselves with that fierce and cruel Nation the *Gauls*. Seventhly, From the rest of the *Latine* Cities and States, they took away the privilege of Marrying, of Commerce, and of holding of Councils by themselves without License first obtain'd. Eighthly, The *Campain* Gentlemen, that serv'd on Horse-back, because they scorn'd to joyn in the Revolt; and the Inhabitants of *Fundum* and *Formia*, because they always allow'd the *Romans* free and safe passage through their Countries, had the Honor to be made Free Denizens of *Rome*, but without Right of Voicing. And lastly, The People of *Camæ* and *Suessula*, were to remain in the same state and condition as those of *Capua*. The Ships taken from *Antium*, were some of them laid up in the Docks at *Rome*, and the rest of them burnt, and with their Stems or Brazen Beaks it was thought fit to adorn the Publick Pulpits or Pleading-place in the *Forum*, which thence was called *Rostra*.

In the Consulship of C. *Sulpicius Longus* and P. *Ælius Pætus*, whilst all things were in a desirable Peace; to which the late kindness and beneficence of the *Romans* had contributed no less, than the Power of their Arms: A Quarrel happened between the *Sidicins* and *Auruncans*, which latter having heretofore yielded up themselves to *Manlius* the Consul, and ever since strictly kept their Faith, without being inveigled into any of the Revolts, had a very fair Plea to crave Assistance from the *Romans*. But though the Senate had ordered, That they should be reliev'd, yet before the Consuls were march'd out of the City, news came, that the *Auruncans* had for fear desert'd their Town, and fled with their Wives and Children to *Suessula* (which at this day is call'd *Aurunca*) where they had Fortified themselves, and that their Old City and its Walls, were demolish'd and destroyed by the *Sidicins*. The Senate being offended at the Consuls, by whose delays their Allies were betray'd, order'd a Dictator to be appointed, who was C. *Claudius Regillensis*, and C. *Claudius Hortator* his General of the Cavalry. But some Superstitious scruples arising about the Legality of the Choice, and the *Augurs* declaring the Election not to be right, they both resign'd their Places. The same Year *Madam Minutia*, a Vestal Nun, being first suspected of Wantonness, because of her Garb and Dress thought too fine and curious for one of her Profession; and afterwards positively charged before the High Priests, by one of her Bond-men that turn'd Informer against her: She was first enjoyn'd to abstain from her Office, and assisting at Divine Service, and not to Manumize [or set free] any of her Servants, [for then, being Free-men, they could not have been put to the Question or Tortured, to make them confess and give evidence against her] and afterwards, on further sifting of the matter, she was Sentenc'd to be Buried alive, which was Executed accordingly at the Gate *Collina*, on the paved Causeway on the Right hand in the Field, which, I suppose, from her Incest and filthy Crime took the Name, and is ever since called, *Sceleratus*, The Execrable or Polluted Field. The same Year Q. *Publius Philo* was chosen Prætor, the first Commoner that ever enjoy'd that Office; and this too, notwithstanding the Opposition of *Sulpicius* the Consul, who said he would not admit him to be put in Nomination: But, it seems, the Senators having been already baffled in the greater Dignities, were less intent upon securing the Prætorship to those of their Rank.

The next Year, under the Consulship of L. *Papirius Crassus*, and Cæso *Duellius*, was remarkable for a War with the *Ansonians*, in regard rather of its Novelty, than either its Greatness or Danger. This People dwelt in a Town called *Cales*, and had joyn'd their Forces with their Neighbors the *Sidicins*: But one Battel, and that too none of the most memorable, defeated the United Strength of these two petty Nations, whose being near home both invited them to run, and made their flight the safer. However, the Senate thought fit to prosecute that War further, since these *Sidicins* had so often Rebelled themselves, or assisted those that did, or at least been the occasion of Troubles. Therefore they used all their Interest to make that gallant Commander, M. *Valerius Corvus*,

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## XV.

## XVI.

in this Juncture the fourth time Consul, with whom was joined *M. Atilius Regulus*. And that Fortune might not prevent their Intentions, the Consuls were desired that *Corvus* might undertake the Charge of the *Sidicini* Province, without putting it to the Lot: Who receiving the Command of a Victorious Army from the former Consuls, march'd thither with to *Cales* (the Spring-head of the War) and having at the first Charge routed the Enemy, still trembling with the thoughts of their last Defeat, he began to attack the Walls, and so eager were the Soldiers, as they would presently have mounted their Scaling-Ladders; but that being matter of hazard, *Corvus* was willing they should take a little more pains, rather than run so great a hazard: He therefore caus'd them to make a Platform, or Gallery, and other Works, to batter down the Wall: But a lucky opportunity prevented their being us'd; for *M. Fabius*, a Roman Prisoner in the Town, taking the advantage of his Keepers negligence when they were merry on a Holy-day, got off his Irons, and by a Rope fastned to a Battlement of the Wall, let himself down by the Hands into the Roman Works, and perswaded the General to Storm the Town immediately, whilst the Enemies were generally asleep and over-charged with Wine and good Cheer; nor proved it any more difficulty to take the City, than it had been to rout them in the Field. A vast Booty was taken there, and a Garrison plac'd in the Town: Then the Legions march'd back to *Rome*, and the Consul Triumph'd by a Decree of the Senate. And that his Partner *Atilius* might not be without his share of Glory, both the Consuls were commanded to lead the Army against the *Sidicini*, *L. Aemilius Mamercinus* being first made Dictator, to hold the Election for the Consuls ensuing, whose General of the Horse was *Q. Publilius Philo*; and the Consuls then chosen, *T. Veturius*, and *Sp. Postumius*: These Gentlemen, though the War with the *Sidicini* was not yet quite ended, to gratifie the Commons, by doing them a kindness before they ask'd it, obtained an Act for the sending of a Colony of Two thousand and five hundred Persons to *Cales*; and to carry them thither, and divide the Lands amongst them a Triumviate was appointed, viz. *Cesio Dullius*, *T. Quintius*, and *M. Fabius*.

XVII. The new Consuls having received the Army from the old, entred the Enemies Country, and destroy'd all before them, up to the very Walls of their City. But then, forasmuch as the *Sidicini* had levyed a mighty Army, and push'd on by Extremity, seem'd resolv'd to hazard all at one Blow, and fight it out to the last; and for that it was reported that the *Sammites* were ready to rise in Arms, the Consuls, by the Authority of the Senate, thought fit to Create *P. Cornelius Rufinus*, Dictator, and *M. Antonius* Master of the Horse. But here again, a Superstitious Freak took them in the Head that they were not duly Created, and so they hung up their Offices: And because a Pestilence happened to ensue, as if the Fortune of all their Elections of Magistrates had been tainted with the same default, matters came to an *Inter-reign*; and at last, by the fifth *Inter-regent*, *M. Valerius Corvus*, Consuls were chosen, *L. Cornelius* the second time, and *Cn. Domitius*. And now though all things were in actual Peace, a mere rumor of a War like to happen with the *Gauls*, occasion'd the naming of a Dictator, viz. *M. Papirius Crassus*, and *P. Valerius Publicola* General of the Horse: Whilst they were intent upon their Levies, which were carried on with greater diligence than needed for any Neighboring War, the Scouts that had been sent out, return'd with Intelligence, That the *Gauls* were all quiet, and no danger to be apprehended from that Quarter. But it was suspected, that the *Sammites* this second Year were brewing some Ill-designs, therefore the Roman Army was not withdrawn out of the *Sidicini* Country: But the truth was, the *Sammites* were diverted by the Invasion which *Alexander* King of *Epire* made upon the *Lucanians*, with whom the *Sammites* joyning, gave him Battel near *Pæstus*: But *Alexander* worsted them, and made a League with the *Romans*, which how well he would have kept, if his Success had continued, is a Question. The same Year there was a general *Cense*, or numbering of the People, with a valuation of their Estates, and the new-made Citizens were Enroll'd and Entred into the Subsidy-Books. And by reason of their Numbers, two new Tribes, *Mæcia*, and *Scaptia*, were added by the Censors *Q. Publilius Philo*, and *Sp. Posthumus*: Likewise the *Acerrans* were by a Law prefer'd by *L. Papirius* the Prator made free *Romans*, but without right of Suffrages. These were the Transactions of this Year, both as to War abroad, and the Civil State at home.

XVIII. Infamous was the next Year, whether it happen'd by the distemperature of the Heavens, or through humane Villany, I know not: *M. Claudius Marcellus*, and *C. Valerius*, were then Consuls; which last, I find in some Annals to have the Surname of *Flaccus*, and in others, *Potius*; it matters not much which is the Right. But I heartily wish, that were false (nor do all Authors mention it) which is related of many Persons being made away by Poison, whose sudden death rendred this Year infamous for a Pestilence. But as the matter is delivered, I shall not omit it, lest I should seem to detract from the Credit of any of the Authors of the Story. It happening, that divers chief Men of the City, and Persons of prime Quality, dyed of a like Disease, and almost all in the same manner: A certain Chamber-maid address'd her self to *Q. Fabius Maximus* (being at that time *Ædile* of State) offering to discover the Cause of this publick Plague, if he would engage that she should

should not thereby come to any harm or trouble: *Fabius* presently acquaints the Consuls, and they the Senate, by whom such assurance was given as she desired. Then did she declare, That it was by the wickedness of certain Women that the City was thus afflicted: That several Ladies did prepare these Poisons, and that if they would instantly go along with her, they might be taken in the manner. They followed her accordingly, and found some Women as they were boiling their *Venomous Medicaments*, and other Poisonous Confections ready made up they found hid in secret places; which being all brought into the Forum (or Justice-Hall) and about twenty of those Matrons, with whom they were found, brought thither by a Sergeant: Two of them, *Cornelia* and *Sergia*, both descended of Noble Families, insisted, That they were good and wholesome Medicines: The Discoverer urg'd then, That they might be enjoy'd to drink them up, and thereby convince her of inventing a lye, and giving false Evidence against them. Whereupon they desired to confer together, and the People being withdrawn, these two proposing the matter to the rest, they all consented, drank off their Doses, and all perish'd by their own mischievous Practice. Their Accomplices were forthwith apprehended, who discover'd a great number of other Matrons concern'd, of whom 170. were condemned. Never before that time was there any Process made at *Rome* against any for Poisoning; and the thing was now look'd upon as a Prodigy, and thought to be done by People distracted and bewitch'd, rather than having a Murderous Intent: And therefore finding in old Chronicles, That once upon a time, when the Commons in a frantick fit withdrew themselves and went out of the City, they were brought to their Wits again by the piacular Ceremony of the Dictators driving and fixing a Nail or Spike [of Brass or Iron, in the back-wall of *Minerva's*, or of *Jupiter's* Temple] the Senate resolv'd they would have a Dictator for performing this Ceremony, and *Cn. Quintilius* was chosen, with *L. Valerius* Master of the Horse, who as soon as they had in due form driven the Nail, laid down their Offices.

*L. Papirius Crassus* was chosen Consul the second time, and *L. Plantius Verno*, in the beginning of their Year, Ambassadors came from *Frabateria* and *Lucania*, two Cities of the *Volscians*, requesting to be taken into protection, and promising, That if they might be defended from the Violence of the *Sammites*, they would become Loyal and Obedient Subjects to the People of *Rome*. The Senate dispatch'd Ambassadors, to require the *Sammites* to forbear invading these People; and the same prov'd effectual, not that the *Sammites* desired Peace, but because they were not yet ready for a War. This Year began the War with the *Privernates*, with whom were joined the *Fundans*, and their General one of that Nation, called *Vitruvius Vaccus*, a Man famous, not only in his own Country, but also at *Rome*, where he had an House in Mount *Palatine*, which being since pull'd down, and the Ground confiscated, is now called *Vacciprata*. Against this Person, Forraging and Spoiling the Countries, all about *Serim*, *Norba* and *Cora*, *L. Papirius* march'd forth, and posted himself very near their Camp. *Vitruvius* had neither the Prudence to keep his Men within their Works, when he saw he had to deal with an Enemy too strong for him, nor the Courage to fight far from their Fortifications. He had scarce drawn the Body of his Army out of the Port of their Camp (who were solicitous which way they should secure themselves in their Retreat, rather than mindful of the Battel or the Enemy) when with as little Conduct as Valor he began the Fight, and as with little ado he was very undeniably beaten; so by reason of the incareness and easie Retreat into their Camp, he preserv'd his Men well enough, there being scarce one of them kill'd in the Skirmish, and only some few in the Rout of the hindmost, as they were huddling into their Camp: But thinking it more safe to trust themselves to the Protection of a Wall, than of a Trench, as soon as it was dark, with a timorous March, they stole away towards *Privernum*. Round which, the other Consul *Plantius*, had spoiled all the Country, and was now march'd into the Territories of the *Fundans*, whose Senate met him on the Borders, saying, They came not to mediate for *Vitruvius* and his Gang, but for the People of *Funda*, who were altogether innocent and unconcern'd in the War, as even *Vitruvius* himself had plainly shew'd, in that he chose rather to shelter himself in *Privernum*, than in *Funda* his Native Country. That therefore at *Privernum* it was, that the Enemies of the People of *Rome* were to be sought for, who unmindful of both their Countries, had revolted as well from the *Fundans* as the *Romans*. That as for the Inhabitants of *Funda*, they desired nothing so much as Peace, and not forgetting the Honor they had lately receiv'd of being made free *Denizens*, should always be *Romans* in their Affections as well as Title. They therefore did beseech his Excellency, to forbear prosecuting an harmless People, avowing, That their Lands, their City, their own Bodies, and those of their Wives and Children, were and should ever be at the Devotion of the People of *Rome*. The Consul commending their Modesty, and having dispatch'd away Advice to the Senate of their Obedience, turn'd his March to *Privernum*: But first call'd the Principal Conspirators to account, of whom (as *Claudius* writes) Three hundred and fifty were sent Prisoners to *Rome*; and that the Senate would not accept of the aforesaid Submission, as looking upon it to be but a Whining Sham.

*Privernum*

*Privernum* being now beleaguere'd with two Consular Armies, one of the Consuls was call'd home to hold the Courts for the Election of Magistrates. This Year the Barriers, or Lifts for the Horse, and Chariot-Races, were first set up in the *Circus*. Before the War with the *Privermates* was over, another false Alarm was rais'd, that the *Gauls* were preparing to invade the *Romans*. These were a People that the Senate always stood in fear of, and therefore the new Consuls, *L. Aemilius Mamercinus*, and *C. Plautius*, on the first of *July*, the very day they entred upon their Office, were ordered to make choice of their respective Provinces: The management of the *Gallie* War fell upon *Mamercinus*, who immediately applyed himself to the levying of an Army, allowing no Exemptions; nay 'tis said, poor Handicrafts-men, Artists, Shop-keepers, and the like, though very unfit for Military Service, were press'd and forc'd to bear Arms in this supposed necessity. Hereby a vast Army was Rendezvous'd at *Veij*, that thence they might advance to Encounter the *Gauls*; nor was it thought advisable to go further forward, for fear the Enemy taking another way, should give them the slip, and in their absence surprize the City. But within few days these fears were over-blown, and they were satisfied that the *Gauls* had no design to trouble them, so then all the Forces were bent against *Privernum*, which some say was taken by Storm, and *Vitruvius* apprehended alive: Other Authors relate, That before it came to that Extremity, they sent out Ambassadors carrying a *Caduceus*, (or *Mercury's* Wand in token of Peace) before them, and of their own accord surrendered to the Consul, and that *Vitruvius* was delivered up by his own Party. The Senate being consulted upon this Affair, ordered the Consul *Plautius* to dismantle the City of *Privernum*, and place in it a strong Garrison, and sent for him home to receive the Honor of a Triumph. They also Decreed, that *Vitruvius* should in the mean time be kept close Prisoner, and then be first publicly whip'd, and afterwards put to death; his Dwelling-house to be demolish'd, his Goods dedicated to their God, called *Simon Sangus*, and that what money could be made thereof, should be bestowed in making of Brazen Globes to be placed for Ornament in the Chappel of the said *Sangus*, towards the Temple of *Quirinus*. And touching the Senate of *Privernum* they pass'd this Order, That whoever was a Senator there, at any time since their defection, should be confined to dwell on the other side the *Tiber*, in the same manner as was Enacted in the case of the *Veluternians*. And as for the common People there was yet no mention made of them; but after the Consul had Triumph'd, and *Vitruvius* and several of his Accomplices put to death, the Consul thought he might safely move the Senate in their favor: Since the Authors (saith he) of this Revolt have receiv'd their due Reward from the Gods and you, Conscript Fathers! What is your further pleasure touching the Innocent Multitude? For my own part, though 'tis my duty to demand your Opinions, rather than deliver my own, yet seeing the *Privermates* are next Neighbors to the *Samnites*, with whom we have but a very uncertain Peace, I should think it our Interest to oblige them, and give them as little occasion for Rancour and Animosity against us as may be.

XXI.

As the matter it self was doubtful, some advising to rigour, and others to clemency, according to every ones Inclination, so it was rendered more perplex'd and difficult by one of the *Privermates* own Ambassadors, who being ask'd by one of the Senators (that had spoken sharply against them) what punishment he thought in his own Conscience the *Privermates* worthy of; being more mindful of that State wherein he was born, than of their present necessity, replyed, Marry such punishment as they deserve, who think themselves worthy of Freedom. The Consul perceiving those that were before against the *Privermates*, more exasperated by this stout answer, endeavor'd by a gentle Question to draw from him some more modest and submissive Language: Suppose (saith he) we should wholly remit your punishment, what kind of Peace may we then expect with you? To which the other briefly return'd, If you afford us a good and equal Peace, you shall find it on our part faithfully observ'd forever; but if you impose hard Conditions, you must not expect we should keep them long. At this some of the Senators cry'd out, That this was plain threatening, and the only way to stir up quiet People to Rebellion; but the more Judicious gave a more favorable Construction, saying, It was a Speech becoming a Man, and one Free-born: For is it credible (say they) that any State, or indeed any Mortal, will endure a bad and uneasy Condition any longer than they needs must? That Peace only can be sure and stable, that is voluntarily entred into: Nor can we hope to find Fidelity, where we impose Slavery. But especially the Consul brought over many to Vote in their favor, by repeating these words several times so loud as they might be heard by the whole House: That those, and those only, were worthy to be made Citizens of Rome, who esteem'd nothing in the World so much as Liberty. Thus they gain'd their Point in the Senate, and obtained a Law from the People to be made Free Denizens. This Year a Colony of Three hundred persons was sent to *Anxur*, where each received two Acres of Ground.

XXII.

The following Year, wherein *P. Plautius Proculus*, and *P. Cornelius Scapula* were Consuls, was memorable in no respect for Affairs Domestick or Military, save only a Colony planted at *Fregelle* (which sometime was in the Territories of the *Sidicins*, and afterwards of the *Volscians*.) And a publick Dole, or distribution of Raw Flesh, given to the People by *M. Plavius* at the Funeral of his Mother: There were some that thought, be under this

this pretence of Honoring his Mother, took an opportunity to discharge his Obligations to the People, and Reward them for acquitting him when he was lately Arraigned by the *Ediles* for ravishing a certain married Woman. But if the Treat were bestow'd for a Favor past, it got him Honor for the future, for at the next Election of a Tribune of the Commons, he, though absent, was prefer'd before all that stood for't.

The City *Palæpolis* was situate not far from the place where *Naples* now standeth, the same People Inhabited both Towns, descended from the *Cumani*, who deriv'd their Original from *Chalcis* in *Eubœia*; with that Fleet wherein they Sail'd from their own Country, they were able to do much at Sea, and became formidable through those Coasts, Landing first in the Islands *Anaria* and *Pitheculæ*, but afterwards seated themselves on the Main Continent. These People relying as well upon their own strength, as the private and treacherous ill will which they knew the *Samnites* bore to the *Romans*, or perhaps encourag'd by the news of a Pestilence, which was reported to have visited Rome, had broke out into many Hostilities against the new Roman Colonies in *Campania* and *Falerum*. Therefore in the second Consulship of *L. Cornelius Lentulus*, and *Q. Publilius Philo*, Heralds were sent to *Palæpolis*, to demand Restitution and Satisfaction, who bringing back an haughty Answer from the *Greeks*, as being a Nation more stout with their Tongues than their Hands, the Senate resolv'd to make War upon them. The management of which happened by Lot upon *Publilius*, whilst *Cornelius* with another Army was appointed to observe the Motions of the *Samnites*: For the Report went, that they expecting an Insurrection of the *Campanians*, had a Design to joyn with them. Both the Consuls sent advice to the Senate, that there was no relying upon the *Samnites* fidelity: And *Publilius* added, That 2000. Soldiers from *Nola*, and 1000. *Samnites*, were lately received into *Palæpolis* to Reinforce that Garrison, rather at their own Importunity, than on any request of the *Greeks*.

At Rome they had certain Intelligence, That in *Samnum* Levies were made by the Magistrates, and that the whole Country, and divers Neighboring Nations, were all in Arms; and also that the *Privermates*, *Fundans* and *Formians*, had been tampered with, and solicited to Rebel. However, before a Declaration of War, it was thought fit to dispatch Ambassadors to Treat and Expostulate with the *Samnites*, who appear'd very resolute in their Answers: On the one side, charging the *Romans*, That they had done them divers Injuries; and on the other, justifying themselves, and denying stoutly all that was objected: That neither the *Greeks* were aided by any publick Advice or Assistance of theirs; nor had they courted the People of *Funda* or *Formiæ* to any Intrigues, for if they had a mind to a War, they saw no reason to despair but their own Forces might be sufficient to manage it. That they could not dissemble, but must avow the *Samnite*-State could not but resent it ill, That when they had Conquered the Town *Fregellæ* from the *Volscians*, and demolish'd it, the *Romans* should come and not only Rebuild it, but plant there a Colony in the heart of the *Samnites* Country: That this Injury and Reproach they were resolv'd to rid themselves of, unless those that did it would of their own accord redress it. And when the Roman Ambassador proposed to refer the Matters in difference to the Decision of their Common Friends and Allies, The *Samnites* replyed, To what purpose shall we perplex our selves and them? The Quarrels between us, O ye Romans! are not to be concluded by the smooth Words of Ambassadors, nor by any Mans Arbitration: It is the Campaign Field, and Dint of Sword, and Fortune of War, that must determine them. Let us therefore meet between *Capua* and *Suessula* with our Armed Legions on either side, and there resolve, Whether the *Samnites* or the *Romans* shall be Lords of Italy. The Roman Legates only rejoyn'd, That they were not to hearken to the Assignations of their Enemies, but should readily march where-ever their own Generals should lead them. *Publilius* having secured a convenient Pass between *Palæpolis* and *Naples*, had already cut off their Communicating of mutual Succors, wherewith they had design'd to relieve each other in any Exigency. The Election-day was now coming on, and it not being thought fit to recal *Publius* who was before the Enemies Walls, from the fair hopes of taking the City: The Tribunes were prevail'd with to propose an Ordinance to the People, That after the Expiration of his Year, he should continue in Command as *Pro-Consul*, until the War with the *Greeks* were fully ended. Neither was it judg'd convenient to take off *L. Cornelius*, who was already advanc'd into the *Samnites* Country, from the heat of the War, but rather to write to him to appoint a Dictator for holding the Elections, who nominated *M. Claudius Marcellus*, with whom *Sp. Posthumius* was General of the Horse. Yet he did not proceed to the Election, because a doubt arose whether or no he were duly Created, which the *Augurs* resolv'd in the Negative. But this their Sentence was oppos'd and scandalized by the Tribunes, alledging, That it was no case matter to assign any such Error, since the Consul nominated the Dictator in the beginning of the still Night (according to Custom) neither had the Consul publicly or privately written to any Person about that Affair: Nor was there any Mortal that could say he had seen or heard any thing that might frustrate the *Auspices*: Nor yet was it possible, that the *Augurs* sitting at Rome, should Divine what Error happened to the Consul in the Camp so far off: And therefore who cannot see through the fuggle, and that the only fault was, because the Dictator Elest was a Commoner? These, and other the like Objections, were made by the



the Tribunes, but without effect, for the business occasion'd an Inter-reign, and the Elections on one pretence or other delay'd, until the fourteenth Inter-regent *L. Amilius* created Consuls, *C. Petilius* and *L. Papirius*, surnamed *Mugillanus*, or *Curfor*, as I find it in other Chronicles.

XXIV. In that Year 'tis said the City *Alexandria* in *Egypt* was Founded, and *Alexander* King of *Epirus* slain by a Renegado *Lucanian*, whereby the Oracle of *Jupiter Dodoneus* was verified: For when this Prince was invited into *Italy* by the *Tarentines*, he had warning given him to take heed of the *Acherusian Water*, and the City *Pandosia*; for there it was his Destiny to end his days. This prompted him to make the more speed into *Italy*, that he might get as far off as he could from the City *Pandosia* in *Epirus*, and the River *Acheron*, which flowing out of the Province *Molossis* into the lower Lakes, empties it self into the *Thesprotian Gulph*. But (as 'tis often seen, Men by seeking to avoid their Fate, plunge themselves into it) after several signal Successes, as Routing divers times the *Brutian* and *Lucanian* Troops, the taking of *Heraclea* a Colony of the *Tarentines*, and *Consentia* from the *Lucanians*; as also *Sipontum*, and *Acerina* a Plantation of the *Brutii*, and many other Towns both of the *Messapians* and *Lucans*, and sending away Captive 300. Noble Families into *Epirus* to be kept as Hostages, He happened to Encamp his Army upon three small Hills not far from *Pandosia*, a City situate near the Borders of the *Lucanians* and *Brutians*, having there a conveniency to make Excursions into any part of the Enemies Country. He had commonly about him 200 banish'd *Lucanians*, whom he entrusted as his Guard, but they (as 'tis common for such kind of People) were apt to make their Fidelity as mutable as the Fortune of those they depended upon. Continual Rains causing an Inundation, prevented correspondence between the three Camps, by which means two of them, by an unexpected Attack, were cut off by the Enemy, who next advanced to surround the King, whom the Exil'd *Lucanians*, by secret Intelligence, had promised to betray and deliver up alive or dead into their hands. But the King, with a select Party broke through the Enemy, and kill'd the *Lucanian* General with his own hands: Then, rallying his scattered Troops, he came to a River, which by the fresh ruines of a broken Bridge, carry'd away by the violence of the Stream, gave some hopes of a Passage. Where, whilst his Soldiers were getting over at a blind dangerous Ford, one of them wearied with the fatigues of the Day, and dismay'd at the present hazard, Cursing the unlucky name of the River, chanc'd to say, *Thou hast not thy name Acheron [that is, sad and joyless] for nought*: which the King overhearing, it presently put him in mind of his foretold Destiny, and stop'd in a deep suspense, whether he should venture over or not: Till *Sotimus*, one of his Servants, ask'd his Majesty, *Why he made delays when he was in such imminent danger?* and withal, shew'd him, That the treacherous *Lucanians* were endeavoring to intercept his passage. The King turning his Head, saw them at a distance advancing in a full Body after him; whereupon, drawing his Sword, he clap'd spurs to his Horse, took the River, and rode through the midst of it; but being ready to Land on the other side, one of the banish'd *Lucanians* lanced a Dart after him, and struck him quite through the Body, which, with the Weapon sticking in it, being carry'd down by the Current as far as the Enemies Guard, was there most shamefully and barbarously mangled: For cutting his Corps to pieces in the middle, they sent one part to *Consentia*, and kept the other to gratify their brutish spleen and sporting Cruelty. But as they were pelting it with Darts and Stones, and raging beyond any thing that can be believed of Humanity, a Woman begg'd of them to forbear a while, and then as one half drown'd in Tears, told them, *That her Husband and Children were Prisoners in the hands of the Enemy, and that she hoped to get them Released in exchange for the Kings Body, though it were so much mutilated and mangled*. This put a stop to their Out-rage, and by this good Womans care, so much of the Royal Corpse as was left, was burnt at *Consentia*, but his Bones returned to his own Subjects at *Metapontum*, and thence conveyed into *Epire* to his Wife *Cleopatra*, and Sister *Olympias*; the latter the Mother, the former the Sister of *Alexander the Great*. This brief account I thought fit to give of the disastrous end of *Alexander* King of *Epire*, since *Italy* was the Scene whereon the same was acted, though Fortune prevented him from engaging actually against the *Romans*.

XXV. This Year was observ'd that Solemn Humiliation call'd *Lectisternium*, the fifth that ever had been kept since the Building of *Rome*, and for appeasing the same Gods as heretofore. The new Consuls, having by the Ordinance of the People sent the Heralds to denounce War against the *Sammites*, both themselves made greater preparations for the same, than for that with the *Greeks*, and also had new and unexpected Auxiliaries. For the *Lucanians* and *Apulians* (Nations which never before held any Correspondence with the *Romans*) now voluntarily offered their Friendship, and to levy Men and Arms towards the War. At the same time Affairs in *Sammium* were carry'd on with Success; three Towns, *Allife*, *Callife*, and *Ruffrium*, surrendred, and the rest of the Country was all over Forrag'd upon the first arrival of the Consuls. This War being so luckily dispatch'd, that with the *Greeks* who were besieg'd, did also draw nigh to a Period: For not only the several parties of the Enemy were cut off from all Communication with each other, by Forts rais'd between them, but even within their own Walls they endured greater Miseries than could be threatned to them

them from the Enemy without: For as if they were become absolute Captives to their Garrison-Soldiers, whom they had entertain'd for their Defence, they suffer'd all kind of Indignities and Outrages from them, and even as great Extremities as could befall Cities taken by Storm. Therefore when Intelligence was brought of more Auxiliaries coming from *Tarentum* and *Sammium*, they thought they had got too many *Sammites* amongst them already; but gladly expected the *Tarentines*, as being also *Grecians*, and hoping that by their aid they might as well withstand the Outrages of the *Sammites* and *Nolanians* within their Walls, as the Force of the *Romans* their profess'd Enemies without. In fine, amongst the several Inconveniencies they had to grapple with, the most tolerable seem'd to be to submit themselves to the *Romans*. To this purpose *Charilaus* and *Nymphius*, two principal Men of the City, having consulted together, undertook each of them a several part to be acted for accomplishing it, viz. One to fly away to the Roman General; the other to remain and find some opportunity to render the City according to their delignment. *Charilaus* was the Man that presented himself to *Philo*, and spake to this effect, *I am come, Sir! (to the good Fortune both of the Palæopolitans, and People of Rome be it spoken) with a resolution to deliver up the City into your hands; by which Action, whether I shall seem to have betray'd, or sav'd my Country, depends wholly on the Roman Honor and Fidelity. For my own particular, I scorn to make any Bargain, or so much as desire any thing at all: But on the publick behalf, though I will not stand to Capitulate, yet with all humble earnestness I do request, That if this Enterprize succeed, the People of Rome would be pleas'd to consider with what affection and hazard we return again to their Amity, rather than with what folly and rashness we deserted it, and revolted from our Duty*. He was wellcom'd and commended by the General, and a Detachment of 3000 men, under the Conduct of Colonel *L. Quintius*, was ordered towards that Quarter of the City where the *Sammites* were Posted.

At the same time *Nymphius* was not wanting to play his part, but by Address wheedled XXVI. with the Prætor of the *Sammites*, desiring, *That since all the Roman Forces were now drawn out either before Palæopolis, or into Samnium, he would therefore (for a diversion) be pleas'd to give him leave with the Fleet to scour about the Roman Coasts, and doubted not but to plunder and lay waste, not only the Maritime parts, but even almost up to the Walls of Rome. But to effect this (quoth he) without the Enemies taking notice, 'tis absolutely necessary that we Sail forth of the Haven in the Night, and therefore the Ships must presently be Launch'd and got ready*. Which that it might the sooner be done, all the *Sammite* Youth were drawn down to the Shoar, and there in the dark, and a throng hindering one another, whilst *Nymphius* with variety of impertinent Commands, employs and keeps them very busie: *Charilaus*, according to agreement, was let into the City by the Confederates, and when he had fill'd the highest parts thereof with Roman Soldiers, commanded them to set up a general Shout; of which the *Greeks*, upon a secret Token given them by their Commanders, took no notice. The *Nolans* escap'd out at the back-side of the Town, by the High-road that leads to *Nola*: But the *Sammites* being shut out of the City, as they had thereby a safer opportunity to save themselves by flight for the present; so after they were got out of danger, it redounded to their greater shame and disgrace: For being without Arms, and all their Goods and Baggage seiz'd by the Enemy, they return'd home spoil'd, and poor as Church-Mice, a laughing-stock not only to Strangers, but even to their Neighbors and Country-men. I am not ignorant that there is another Opinion, mentioning the *Sammites* to be the Authors of this Surrender. But as I have followed the most credible Authors, so I am the rather confirm'd herein by the League with the *Neopolitans* (which place soon after became the chief Seat of the *Greeks* in *Italy*;) for that makes it more probable, that they of their own accord sought, and by this means obtained, the ancient Allies to be renewed. Unto *Publius* the Senate granted the Honor of a Triumph, esteeming it enough, that by his Valour and Conduct during the Siege, the Enemy was so far streightned, as to be reduced to a voluntary Submission. Two singular and special Favors were conferr'd upon this Gentleman, viz. *The continuing him in Command never before granted to any, and allowing him a Triumph after his Magistracy was expired*.

Another War happened soon after with *Greeks* of another Province: For the *Tarentines* XXVII. having long fed the *Palæopolitans* with vain hopes of Relief, when they heard the *Romans* were become Masters of that City, as if they had been deserted, when indeed themselves were the Men that left the others in the lurch, began to reproach the *Palæopolitans*, and rage with Envy and Malice against the *Romans*; and so much the more, because they were inform'd, That the *Lucanians* and *Apulians* had put themselves under the *Romans* Protection (for which both those Nations strict Alliances were this Year concluded) Behold (say they) the Encroachments of their Power are come up almost even to our doors: Things are brought to that pass, that we must either look upon these *Romans* as our Enemies, or accept them for our Lords and Masters. The Fortune of our State depends upon the Event of the *Sammite War*, which Nation alone (and that too, much weakened) is left to make Head against these common Invaders; since the *Lucanians* are revolted unto their Society, though it were very possible to bring them back again and dissolve that Confederacy, if discreet Art were used to blow the Coals and raise Divisions between them. These Counsels prevailing with such as were willing to Embark

in new Commotions, certain *Lucanian* Youths, of more esteem with their Country-men for their Birth and Quality, than Vertue or Honesty, being suborn'd and hired for a sum of Money, whip'd one another severally with Rods, and so naked, and with their Bodies all bloody came running into the City, crying out, *That meerly because they ventured in curiosity to visit the Roman Camp, they had been thus cruelly scourged by the Consul, and narrowly escaped the losing of their Heads.* So odious a spectacle wherein the Injury seem'd apparent, and nothing of a Trick was suspected, set all the People in a Flame, who by their Clamours force the Magistrates immediately to summon the Senate; where some surrounding the Council-House, set up Out-cries for a War against the *Romans*; others run up and down to raise the Rabble and those in the Country to Arms: In this uproar, enough to amaze the firmest minds, a Decree pass'd, *That the League with the Samnites should be renewed, and Ambassadors dispatch'd thither for that purpose.* This sudden Overture, as it seem'd to have no ground, so the *Samnites* gave it no credit, but for their own security insisted, That the *Lucanians* should give Hostages, and admit Garrisons into their Fortified Towns; and so blinded were they with fury, and the before-mentioned fraud, as they refus'd no conditions in hopes to gratify their Revenge. The Cheat indeed began not long after to appear, when the Broachers of those Stories retired to *Tarentum*, but the *Lucanian* State had already engaged too far to retreat, the *Samnites* were in effect become their Masters, and they had nothing left but a too late Repentance.

XXVIII. The same Year the Commons of *Rome* obtain'd as it were another beginning of Liberty, by being discharg'd of that Thralldom which they call'd *Nexus* [a kind of Obligation, whereby Persons that owed Money were bound to their Creditors to be their Slaves, and work wholly for them till the Debt were paid] the Law in this point being altered, by reason of the filthy Lust, and no less detestable Cruelty of a particular Usurer, *L. Papirius* by name, to whom *C. Publicus* having for a Debt of his Fathers, bound himself after that fashion, that Youth and Beauty which ought to have moved Compassion, enflam'd his mind to Lust and Villany: Therefore reckoning the flower of his Youth should pay the Interest of the Debt, he first endeavored to debauch the Lad with filthy Speeches, and inveigle him with flatteries to consent; but finding his modest Ears abhor'd the proposal of such Lewdness, he proceeded to terrify him with Threats, and ever and anon to put him in mind of his Fortune; and at last, seeing that he still regarded his Honor and the freedom of his Birth, much more than his present wretched condition, and scorn'd to fully the former in hopes of amending the latter, the savage Usurer caus'd the poor Youth to be stript naked, and lamentably whip'd, who ran forth into the open street with his Body torn and mangled, and set up an Out-cry against the Lust and Cruelty of his Inhumane Creditor: A power of People were presently got together, and being sensibly touch'd as well with Commiseration of his tender Age, as with abhorrence at the Indignity of the thing, and a sympathizing respect of what might befall themselves or their Children, they crowd'd into the Forum, and thence in a full Body to the Council-Chamber. The Consuls upon this sudden Tumult were glad to call a Senate, and as the Fathers entred into the House, the People falling down at their Feet, shew'd them the young Mans mangled and bloody Back: Thus for the outrageous Injury of one Person, was that mighty Publick Bond this day Cancelled, and for ever annulled. The Consuls being ordered to propose a Law to be pass'd by the People, *That from that time forwards, no Person should be kept in Irons or Cords, unless such as had committed some heinous Crime that deserved it, and that too, no longer than till he had suffered the punishment inflicted by Law: And that only the Estate and Goods, and not the Body of any Debtor, should for the future be chargeable for Monys owing.* Thus all that were at present enslav'd on that account, were discharged, and provision made, That none should be liable to the like Thralldom for the time to come.

XXIX. The same Year, whilst the *Samnites* War of it self alone, besides the late Revolt of the *Lucanians*, and the *Tarentines*, Contrivers of that Defection, was enough to employ all the care of the Senate, it happened as an increase to their Troubles, that the *Vesfine* Nation, join'd in Confederacy also with the *Samnites*: But as that Affair proceeded little further for this Year, than to administer matter of Discourse to the People, so the Consuls of the Year following, *L. Furius Camillus* the second time, and *Junius Brutus Scæva*, thought it a matter of that Importance, as in the first place to consult the Senate about it, who scarce could resolve, whether there would be greater danger in attempting, or neglecting it, lest on the one side their Insolence should be increased by Impunity; or on the other side, the apprehension of an approaching War cast the Neighboring Nations into a common Confederacy for mutual safety. Each of which by themselves were no less formidable than the *Samnites*, as the *Marsians*, the *Pelignians*, and the *Marrucines*. But that Party in the Council prevailed, which for the present seem'd to have more of Courage than Prudence, though the Event shew'd, *That Fortune assists the Daring and the Brave.* The People, with the approbation of the Senate, declare War against the *Vesfines*, which Province fell by Lot to the Charge of *Brutus*, as *Samnium* to the Conduct of *Camillus*. Armies were drawn to both Places, and such diligence used in securing of Passes on the Fron-

Frontiers, that the Enemies were prevented from joining their Forces. One of the Consuls, *L. Furius*, on whom the greatest stress of the War lay, falling dangerously ill, was ordered to nominate a Dictator to proceed in it; who made choice of *L. Papirius Cursus*, one of the greatest Captains of that Age, and by him was *Q. Fabius Maximus Rullianus* appointed General of the Horse; a couple Renowned for the Achievements of that Campaign, but yet more famous for the Quarrel which happened between them, which mis'd but little of coming to all the Extremities of a Mortal Fend. The other Consul manag'd the War against the *Vesfines* various ways, but always with a like prosperous Success: For first, He Foraged their Country, and afterwards by burning their Houses and Corn every where upon the Ground, forced them against their Inclinations, to take the Field; where in one Battel (but not without considerable loss of his own Men) he so weakened and shattered them, that they not only fled to their Camp, but not trusting to their Trenches and Fortifications, stole away thence into the Towns, to shelter themselves by the Natural Conveniency of their situation, and strength of their Walls; but the Consul attack'd them there too, and first of all by the rage and fury of his Soldiers (greedy of Revenge for the Wounds they had receiv'd in the late Battel, where few of them escap'd without some mark of Honor) he took the City *Cutina* by Storm; and after that *Cingilia*, giving the Plunder of both to his Soldiers, whose Courage neither the Enemies Gates nor Walls could resist.

XXX. The Expedition into *Samnium* was undertaken by the Dictator with doubtful Auspices, which default had not its ill-influence on the main event of the War (for that happen'd well enough) but seem'd to portend the Heats and Contention that happened between the two Chief Commanders: For *Papirius* the Dictator, upon the admonishment of the Sooth-sayer that tended the Sacred Chicken, by whose feeding they were wont to Divine, returning back to *Rome* to take the Auspice (or Tokens of Good-luck) more authentickly, gave positive Command to his General of the Horse, *to remain in the same Quarters, and by no means to engage the Enemy during his absence.* But *Fabius*, after his departure, understanding by his Scouts, that the Enemy liv'd as secure and careless as if there had been never a *Roman* in all the Province of *Samnium*, whether, being a very stout young Gentleman as he was, he took it in Disdain, that all things should seem to depend upon the Dictator; or whether only induced by so fair an opportunity of performing some signal Service, so it was, that having put his Army into good Order, he speedily advanc'd to *Imbrinium* (so the Place was call'd) and there gave the *Samnites* Battel, with such Success, as if the Dictator himself had been present it could not have been manag'd better: For neither the Captain fail'd his Soldiers, nor the Soldiers their Captain. The Horse under the Command of Colonel *L. Cominius*, having once and again given brisk Charges, without being able to break through the Enemy, flung away their Horses, Bridles, and then spurring them on, and laying about with both Hands, came up with so much fury, that no strength was able to bear the shock, such havoc, such a lane they made all about, over Armor and Men; nor were the Infantry less ready to second the Charge, but advanc'd their Ensigns into the midst of the Enemies, and put them into disorder; of whom, 'tis said, there were that day slain no less than Twenty thousand men. Some Authors relate, That he fought twice in the Dictators absence, and both times with gallant Success. But the most Antient Writers mention but one Battel, and in some Annals the whole Story is omitted. The General of the Horse having got abundance of Booty, as must needs happen in so great a Slaughter, caus'd all the Enemies Armor to be pil'd up in one vast heap, and putting Fire underneath, burnt them; whether he had made such a Vow to any of the Gods, or if we may rather credit *Fabius* the Historian, to the end, That the Dictator might not reap the Glory of his Victory, by Inscribing his Name thereon, or carrying them in Triumph: As likewise, his directing his Letters that gave an account of the success to the Senate, and not to the Dictator, was an Argument how unwilling he was to admit him to any share in the Honor of that day. At least the Dictator took it so, and whilst all others were overjoy'd for the Victory, nothing was to be read in his face, but anger and discontent. Therefore dismissing the Senate on a sudden, he flung out of the Court, saying, *That the Majesty of the Dictators Office, and all Military Discipline, would be no less overthrown and vanquish'd by the Master of the Horse, than the Samnites Legions, if he should be suffered to disobey express Commands with Impunity.* Full of Rage and Menaces he hastens towards the Camp, but though he took long Stages, yet he could not get there before the Rumor of his coming: For some posted away before out of the City to give Intelligence, that the Dictator was coming full of Revenge, and resolutions of the utmost Severity, applauding, almost at every other word, the late Exemplary Justice of *T. Manlius*.

*Fabius* drawing the Army to a Rendezvous, makes a Speech at the Head of them, beseeching the Soldiers, *That with the same Gallantry wherewith they had defended the Commonwealth from its most mortal Enemies, they would protect him, under whose Conduct and good Fortune they had obtained so glorious a Victory, against the Outragious Cruelty of the Dictator, who was now coming, almost besides himself for meer Envy, offended at other Mens Courage and Happiness, raging, because in his absence we have sped well; and if he could change the course* XXXI.

of Fortune, had much rather have had the Samnites Victorious, than the Romans. He talks indeed of disobeying his Command, as if he had not forbid us fighting with the same base mind, wherewith he now grieves that we have fought successfully: For as then his Design was out of Envy to suppress all the sparks of Valour in others from flaming out to a glorious height, lest they might seem to out-lustre himself, and went about to take away their Arms who were most willing to use them, by enjoining them not to stir in his absence; so now his Madness is, That the Soldiers were not all dis-arm'd and maim'd, whilst L. Papirius is not with them, and that Q. Fabius remembred himself to be General of the Horse, and not one of Mr. Dictators Lacuies: What (in the name of Wonder) would this Man have done, if (as it often happens in the doubtful Chance of War) we had lost the Day, who now whilst we have Conquered the Enemy for him, and secured the Commonwealth in so brave a manner as he himself (singular as he is in his own Conceit) could not have perform'd it either more Honorably or Effectually, doth yet threaten Death and Destruction to the General of the Horse, for being guilty of a Victory? Nor is he offended only with the General of the Horse, his sight is no less against the Colonels, the Captains, the Soldiers in general: If his Power were equal to his Will, they should all be cut off; but since he is not able to do that, he endeavors to discharge his spleen upon one; and as Envy, like Fire, always mounts and aims at the Highest, so he falls upon the Chief Author of this happy Counsel, your Leader in this glorious Enterprize: That when he should have destroyed him, together with the glory of this gallant Service, then as Conqueror over the vanquish'd Army, whatever he should be suffered to put in execution against the General of the Horse, to be sure he would attempt and practise upon private Soldiers, therefore it did concern them in his Cause, to affect their Common Rights and Liberties. That if once the Dictator shall find there is the same unanimous Resolution in the Army to justify their Victory, as there was to obtain it, and that the safety and preservation of each One is the care of All, it will bring down his haughty mind to more mild and just Sentiments. In fine, That for his own part, he intirely committed his Life and Fortunes to the protection of their approved Faith and Courage.

XXXII. This Oration was entertain'd with an unanimous Shout by the whole Army, bidding him, Have a good heart, for none should offer him any Violence, as long as the Roman Legions had a Being. Soon after came the Dictator, and presently by sound of Trumpet summon'd the Army to a general Assembly. Then the publick Cryer having commanded Silence, call'd Q. Fabius, General of the Horse, who removing from a lower place, came before the Tribunal, and the Dictator spake as follows. I demand of thee, O Q. Fabius, since the Dictator is vested with a Sovereign Power, and Authority Paramount, which even the Consuls, those Royal Officers of State, and the Prætors created with no less Solemn Ceremonies, do both obey: Whether or no thou thinkest it just and fit, that a General of the Horse should be obliged to observe his Commands? I demand further: Whether after I came to understand, that I march'd from home with doubtful Auspices, I ought to have hazarded the State against the Order of these Religious Observations; and not rather take new Auspices, that I might attempt nothing so long as I stood in doubt of the favor of the Gods? And withal I ask thee, Whether the General of the Horse could possibly be free from that Religious Obligation and Scruple, which justly hindred the Dictator from Engaging the Enemy? But what need I make these Queries? If I had left the Army without saying one word, yet you ought to have govern'd your self according to the best Interpretation that could be made of my Will and Pleasure: But answer me if thou canst? Did I not expressly forbid thee to attempt any thing during my absence? Did I not charge thee not to fight the Enemy? By what Authority then, Contemning such my Command, whilst our Auspices were uncertain, in violation of our Religious Rites, and no less against the Rules and Customs of War, and the wholesome Discipline of our Ancestors, than in defiance to the Gods, didst thou dare presume to hazard a Battel with them? To these Interrogatories answer directly, and upon peril of your Life not a word besides: Come Marshal! attend to perform your Office, To these several Articles, Fabius could not readily answer in Order, but complain'd, How unreasonable it was, that the same Person should be both his Accuser in a matter that touch'd his Life, and also his Judge. And sometimes he cry'd out, That his Life might sooner be taken from him, than the Glory of his Victory; and at once endeavor'd to justify himself, and blacken his Adversary. Whereupon, Papirius more enraged than before, commanded, That the General of the Horse should forthwith be stript, and the Rods and Axes got ready. But Fabius imploring protection from the Soldiers, and charging them with their promise for his Safety; whilst the Officers were tearing his Clothes from his back, made shift to get away into the Ranks of the Triarian Bands, who already began to make a Tumult in the Assembly. And now a general Clamor runs through all the Company; in some places you might hear Intreaties, in others terrible menaces: Those that happened to stand next the Tribunal, being under the Generals Eye, and easily known, did humbly pray him to spare the Gentleman, and not with him condemn the whole Army: But those that were farther off, and especially the Troops about Fabius, exclaim'd against the Cruelty of the Dictator, and were just ready to Mutiny. Even the Tribunal it self was not quiet: The Commissary Generals standing about the Chair of State, besought the Dictator to Adjourn the business, to respite his anger, and take some time to advise what was fittest to be done: That the rash Youth of Fabius was already sufficiently check'd and chastised, his Victory enough disgrac'd: They

begg'd

begg'd of him not to proceed to Extremities, not to brand so brave a young Gentleman, the only Son of a most Illustrious Father, and all the Noble Family of the Fabii, with such a Mark of Eternal Infamy. But finding, that neither upon the merits of the Cause, nor the Interest of their Intercession, they could any thing prevail: They wish'd him at least to have regard to the uproar that the Army was in, That it would not become a person of his Age and Prudence to add more Fuel to that Combustion, and administer more occasion for a Mutiny: For whatever mischief should happen, none would impute the blame to Q. Fabius, who was ready to ask Pardon for his Misdemeanor, but every Body would lay it at the Dictators door, if blinded with Passion, he should in a wilful perverseness provoke the outrageous Multitude against himself. Finally, they told him, That he should not think they were thus urgent for any particular respects they had for Fabius, but were ready to make Oath, That they believ'd in their Consciences, it would not be safe for the State and Common-weal, that he should at this juncture proceed with such rigour against Q. Fabius.

But by these Remonstrances they more exasperated the Dictator against themselves, than pacified him towards the General of the Horse, and were commanded down from the Tribunal. In vain the Cryer endeavor'd to command silence, for so great was the noise and tumult, that neither the voice of the Dictator himself, nor of any of his Officers could be heard: And in this Confusion they continued, till Night, as in a Battel, put a present period to their Contest. The General of the Horse being commanded to appear again next day, all Men concluded, that Papirius would then proceed more violently, being further enraged by the opposition he had met with, Fabius therefore thought it safest to retire privately out of the Camp, and fled to Rome: Where, by the Interest of his Father M. Fabius, a Man that had already been thrice Consul, and Dictator as often, the Senate was immediately Assembled; to whom, as he was complaining of the Violence and Injury offered to his Son by the Dictator, on a sudden a great noise was heard in the Lobby of the Dictors, making way through the Croud: For the Dictator himself was got to the Door all in a Fume, having with a Troop of Light-Horse pursued Fabius, as soon as he had notice of his being retreated from the Camp. Then began the Broil to be repeated, Papirius commanded young Fabius to be taken into Custody; and though the Chief of the Nobility, and the whole Body of the Senate interposed themselves in his Favor; yet so implacable was the Dictator, that nothing could divert him from his cruel Resolutions. Then M. Fabius the Father stepping forth, Since neither the Authority of the Senate (said he) nor respect to my old Age, whom you seek to make Childless, nor the Nobility and Valour of that General of the Horse whom you your self made choice of, nor humble Prayers, which have often appeased the rage of Enemies, and been able to pacifie the wrath even of the incensed Gods, have with you no power to prevail, I implore the lawful aid of the Tribunes, and appeal to the whole Body of the People of Rome; since you reject the Judgment both of your own Army and of the Senate, I challenge you before a Judge, which I am sure is greater and more mighty than your Dictatorship, and we shall see, whether you will yield to this Appeal, to which Tullius Hostilius King of Rome readily submitted. Out of the Council-House they went to the Common-Hall, the Dictator, with a small attendance, but the General of the Horse with a vast Troop of the principal Persons in the City: Papirius commanded that he should come down from the Rostra, or pleading Pulpits, and stand in a lower place amongst the People. His Father following him, 'Tis very well done (quoth he to the Dictator) that you have ordered us to be brought hither, whence we may be allowed freedom of Speech though we were but mere private Commoners. At first there passed no continued Speeches, but frequent Interruptions and Wranglings: Till at last the loud voice and indignation of old Fabius, drowned all the other Din, and enveigh'd against the Pride and Cruelty of Papirius, in these Terms: What Sirs! (said he) I also have been a Dictator of Rome my self, and yet never was there so much as one poor Commoner, one Centurion, or private Soldier by me wronged or misus'd: But Papirius seeks a Victory and Triumph over a Roman General, no less eagerly than over the Commanders of the Enemy. How vast a difference may we observe between the moderation of our Renowned Ancestors, and this new starch'd Pride and Cruelty. Quintus Cincinnatus the Dictator, when he was forc'd to relieve the Consul, L. Minutius, from being besieg'd in his own Camp through his ill Conduct, proceeded no farther than to remove him from the Consulship, leaving him still a Commissary General in the Army. Marcus Furius Camillus, not only so far moderated his present displeasure against L. Furius, who in contempt of his Age and Authority, had fought the Enemy, and that with great loss and dishonor, as not to write any thing amiss of him to the People or Senate, but also when he was come home, made choice of him of all the Consular Tribunes to be his Colleague and Partner in Command. Nor did the People, whose Power is Sovereign over all, ever extend their Resentments against such, as through rashness and want of Conduct, have lost whole Armies, any further than to punish them with a pecuniary Fine. That a General should be questioned for his Life for the miscarriage of a Battel, was until this day never heard of: But now we behold Rods and Axes, Whippings and Beheadings prepared for the Commanders of the People of Rome, even when Victorious and most justly deserving Triumphs, which by no Law could be inflicted, were they never so shamefully vanquish'd: What else could my Son have suffer'd if he had lost his Army? If he had been routed, put to flight, and clean beaten out of the Field,



Field, Could the Wrath and Violence of the Dictator have done any more than scourge and put him to Death? Consider how suitable it will be, and what a comely spectacle, whilst all the City is in the highest Follies for Q. Fabius's Victory, and busy in Thanksgivings to the Gods, and mutual Congratulations, to see that very Man, for whose sake the Temples of the Gods are opened, and the Altars smook with Sacrifices and Oblations, stand bound and strip'd, and bemangled with stripes in the sight of the People of Rome, looking up to the Capitol, and those Gods whom in two Battels he had invoc'd and not in vain? How will the Army that obtain'd so noble a Victory under his Conduct and good Fortune, resent such ungrateful and barbarous usage? What Lamentation must it needs occasion in the Roman Camp, and what rejoicing and exultation amongst our Enemies? Thus spake the good old Man, sometimes up-braiding, sometimes complaining, imploring the help of Gods and Men, and all the while embracing his Son with abundance of Tears.

XXXIV. The Countenance of the Senate, the Favour of the People, the Assistance of the Tribunes, and Regards to the absent Army, all made for Him and his Sons cause. But on the other side was Objected, "The Sacredness of the Romans Government; the necessity of keeping Military Discipline; the weight of a Dictators Edict always hitherto reverenc'd as an Oracle; the great and fresh Example of *Manlius*, who postpon'd his Natural Affection to his Son, to the Zeal he had for the Publick Welfare. It was likewise urg'd, That the Gallant *Brutus*, the Founder of the Roman Liberties, had practis'd the same severity long before on two of his own Children. But now fond Fathers and indulgent old Men, making nothing of Disobedience to Commands, and conniving at Youth therein, prepare the way for the utter subversion of all wholesom Military Discipline. However (quoth *Papirius*) I will still persist in my just and necessary Resolutions, nor shall remit any thing of that punishment which he deserves, who hath presumed to fight against my Orders, and in contempt of Religion. Nor can I prevail with my self to do any thing which may hinder the Majesty of the Roman Government from being everlasting: It shall never be said, That *L. Papirius* did diminish one Jot of its Authority. I heartily wish, That neither the Tribunes (whose Power is inviolable) may by their interposing in this Case, violate the Majesty of the Government; nor the People of Rome, by opposing me their present Dictator, extinguish the Rites of the Dictatorship for ever: Which if should happen, Posterity should have no cause to blame *Papirius*, but must accuse (though then in vain) the depraved Judgment of the People, when the Golden Bands of Military Discipline being once slackned and let loose, neither the Soldier will obey his Centurion, nor the Centurion his Tribune, nor the Tribune the Commissary, nor the Commissary the Consul, nor the General of the Horse the Dictator. But all Reverence either of Men or Gods being abandon'd, neither any Edicts of the Commanders in Chief will be regarded, nor the Sacred Rites be any longer observ'd. The Soldiers without Passports will wander where they list, either in their own Quarters, or amongst the Enemy; and slighting their Military Oath, may desert the Service, and run away from their Colours when they please; they need not assemble when summon'd to a Rendezvous, nor matter whether they fight by Night or by Day, on advantageous or disadvantageous Ground, or with, or without the Command of their General: They will neither observe the Word, nor keep their Ranks and Orders, but a blind confused inconsiderate Violence, no better than that of Thieves and High-way Men, shall come in the place of that solemn and sacred Art Military, which hitherto hath supported our Empire. Of all these odious Crimes and absurd Inconveniences, you, O Tribunes! offer your selves to be Authors and Promoters, and must therewith stand charged to all Generations: Engage and forfeit (if you please) your own Heads to excuse the Extravagance and Disobedience of *Q. Fabius*.

XXXV. The Tribunes were startled, and began now to be more solicitous for their own Safety, than his for whom their help was desired: But they were put out of that pain by the general consent of the People of Rome now turn'd to Prayers and Intreaty, requesting the Dictator, for their sakes to remit the Punishment, and proceed no further against the General of the Horse. The Tribunes finding all inclinable to that submissive Method as the only Expedient, join'd with the rest, in beseeching the Dictator to pardon Humane Frailty, to impute this Miscarriage to his Youth, who for the same had now been enough chastiz'd. Then too, the young Man himself and his Father, laying aside all Debate, cast themselves at the Dictators Feet, and besought him to lay by his Displeasure. Whereupon the Dictator commanded silence, and told them, "This is well, and as it should be, O Quirites! at last the Military Discipline and Majesty of the Government have got the Victory which before lay a Bleeding, and were in danger not to have surviv'd this very Day. *Q. Fabius* is not acquitted of his offence in fighting against Orders, but Convicted, and his Life given to the People of Rome, and the Tribunitial Power suing for it precariously, and not demanding it as of Right. Live, *Quintus Fabius*, more happy in this general Consent of the City to save thee, than in that Victory on which ere-while thou so much valued thy self. Live, I say, Thou who hast been so bold as to commit a Fact, which thine own Father here, if he had been in *L. Papirius's* place, would never have pardon'd. To me thou mayest reconcile thy self, and

and shalt have any favour lies in my Power, when thou pleasest: But to the People of Rome, to whom thou owest thy Life, you can do no greater Service, than that the Example of this days work may for ever be a warning to thee, both in War and Peace, to obey all the Lawful Commands of thy Superiors. Then dismissing the General of the Horse, and going himself out of the Court, the joyful Senate and People, more over-returning Thanks to the Dictator on the one side, and Reverence to Military Discipline was no less corroborated by this danger (only) of young *Fabius*, than it was by the actual Execution of young *Manlius*. It happened afterwards that year, as oft as the Dictator was absent from the Army, the Enemy would be busy, and doing of some mischief in *Samnum*: But *M. Valerius* the Commissary-General, who was then Commander in Chief, remembered this fresh Example too well to attack them; for he dreaded the Dictators anger, no less than the force of the Enemy: Therefore when some Parties sent out to bring in Corn to the Camp, were entrap'd in a disadvantageous Pass, and all cut to pieces, it was commonly believed, the Commissary might have reliev'd and sav'd them, had it not been for fear of these grim and terrible Edicts. The Dictator also lost the Hearts of the Soldiers (who before were male-content) because he was so implacable to *Q. Fabius*, and particularly for his having resolutely deny'd to Pardon him upon their most earnest Intreaties, which yet afterwards he granted at the request of the People.

The Dictator placed *L. Papirius Crassus* as General of the Horse in the City (having forbidden *Q. Fabius* to intermeddle any more with that Command) and so returned to the Camp; but neither was his coming matter of joy to his own Men, nor of terror to the Enemy: For the very next day, whether they were ignorant of his arrival, or whether they valued not whether he were absent or present, they came up in good Order close to the Camp. And had the good will of the Soldiers seconded the Conduct of *Papirius*, that day, 'tis believ'd, had put an end to the War with the *Sammites*, so opportunely he posted his Army, and strengthened it with Reserves, and all kind of Warlike skill and policy: But the Soldiers went on coldly, and on purpose hindered the Victory to discredit ed. The Dictator, like a prudent and experienced Commander, easily perceived where the matter stuck, and found it necessary to moderate the harshness of his temper, and allay that Severity with a mixture of Courtesie: therefore taking with him the Commissary-Generals he himself went to visit the Wounded Men, thrusting his Head into their Tents, asking them severally how they did? and charging the Commissaries, Tribunes and Prefects, to take particular care of every one of them by Name: this being a thing in is self Popular, he manag'd so dexterously, that by curing their Bodies, he also healed the rancour of their Minds, and won their Hearts: Nor did any thing contribute more to the speedy Recovery of their Health, than the pleasure they took to see his care and diligence to procure it. Having thus refresh'd his Army, he once again encountred the Enemy, with an assured hope both in himself and his Soldiers, to Vanquish them; which he perform'd so effectually, that the same was the last day they durst look him in the Face. Thence-forwards he march'd his Victorious Army, which way soever the hopes of Booty invited, and as they over-ran all the Enemies Country, met with no Resistance, neither of open Force, nor yet so much as any attempt by Ambuscade. The more to encourage the Soldiers, the Dictator had ordered all the Plunder to be divided amongst them, so that private Advantage spur'd them on, as well as the publick Quarrel. At last, the *Sammites* were so cow'd and brought down, that they became Suppliants to the Dictator for Peace, offering to new Cloath all his Soldiers, and give them a Years pay; but being referred to the Senate, answered, That they would follow him, and submit their Cause wholly to his Vertue and Goodness, to do with and for them as he thought fit.

The Dictator entered the City in Triumph, and before he laid down his Office, by the Order of the Senate, Created new Consuls, *C. Sulpicius Longus* the second time, and *Q. Emilius Cereanus*. The *Sammites* had not yet concluded Peace (for the Articles were still under Debate) but had obtained a Truce from Year to Year, which yet they did not honestly observe; for when they heard that *Papirius* was out of Command, their fingers itch'd to be again in Arms. But besides their playing fast and loose, a War broke out with the *Apulians*, the management of which latter fell to the share of *Emilius*, as that against the *Sammites* to *Sulpicius*. There are some Authors who write, That the War was not against the *Apulians*, but in defence of some of their Allies that were Invaded by the *Sammites*. But the low Condition of the *Sammites* at that time, scarce able to defend themselves, makes it more probable that they did not Attack the *Apulians*, but rather the *Romans* quarrel'd with both the Nations at the same time, because they had Confederated with each other against them: However, there happened no remarkable Action: The Country of *Apulia* and *Samnum* Forraged, but no Enemy either here or there to be met with. At Rome there happened one Night a strange and unaccountable Pannick fear, which on a sudden rais'd the whole City out of their Beds, so that the Capitol, the Castle,

Castle, the Walls, and the Gates were fill'd with Armed Men: And after there had been every where evast concourse of People, and a general Cry, *Arm! Arm!* at Break of Day no Author, or cause of all this Fear and Distraction could be discovered. This Year the Inhabitants of *Tusculum* were proceeded against, upon the prosecution of *M. Flavius*, Tribune of the Commons, who proposed, *That they might be punish'd, for having by their Counsel and Assistance excited the Veliternians and Privernates to War against the Romans.* The People of *Tusculum*, with their Wives and Children, resorted to *Rome*, and having changed their Apparel, in despicable habit like Prisoners at the Bar, went about from Tribe to Tribe (before they gave their Suffrages) falling down to every Man on their knees to beg favour, whereby Pity prevail'd more to Pardon them, than the goodness of their Cause to purge their Guilt: Insomuch, that all the Tribes, except that called *Politia*, Voted to repeal the Law that had been prefer'd against them. But the Sentence of the *Politian* Tribe was, *That all the Men of fourteen Years of Age, or upwards, should be scourg'd and put to death: And their Wives and Children, by Martial Law, to be sold for Slaves.* Which cruel Doom has stuck in the stomach of the *Tusculanians* even to the last Age, and so great an Antipathy they have always had to the Authors thereof and their Posterity: That scarce ever any Man of the Tribe *Politia*, when he stood Candidate for an Office, could get the Voices of the Tribe *Papiria* (into which the *Tusculans* were cast) but in regard of this old Fend, they would, right or wrong, oppose his Pretensions.

xxxviii.

The Year following, *Q. Fabius*, and *L. Fulvius* Consuls, *A. Cornelius Arvina* Dictator, and *M. Fabius Ambustus* General of the Horse, upon apprehensions of a smarter War in *Samnium* (because they were reported to have hired Auxiliaries from the Neighboring Nations) there was a greater Levy of Soldiers than ordinary, and a gallant Army advanc'd thither, but encamp'd carelessly in the Enemies Country, as if no Enemy had been near them. When on a sudden, the *Samnites* Legions came on so bravely, that they carry'd up their Trenches to the *Romans* Out-guards, and if not hindred by the approach of Night, would have fallen upon their Camp, which they resolv'd to Attack early next Morning. The Dictator seeing he was like to be oblig'd to a Battel sooner than he expected, lest the disadvantage of the Ground should baulk the Courage of his Men, leaving Fires thick burning in his Camp to amuse the Enemy, silently dislodges and draws off his Troops; but being so very near, could not avoid being discovered. The Horse presently pursued him in the Rere, and press'd hard upon the Army in their March, yet so, as they would not Fight before it was Light; nor indeed did the Foot advance out of their Camp till Break of day: But then the Horse began to charge upon the *Romans*, and what with Skirmishing continually with the Rere, and falling sometimes upon their Flanks in streight and disadvantageous Passes, hindred their March till their own Foot came up; so as now the *Samnites*, with all their Forces, were ready to Attack them. The Dictator seeing he could not March on without great loss and hazard, Commanded his Men to fortifie the Ground they stood on, but the Enemies Light-Horse were skirting round about upon them, so that they could not go out to provide Stakes for a Palizade, nor with any safety begin their Trenches. When therefore he found, that he could neither go on, nor abide there without disadvantage, he resolv'd to venture the fortune of a Battel, and removing his Baggage out of the way, drew up in Battalia. The Enemy did the like, being inferior to them neither in numbers or courage; and the more heartned on, because not knowing that the true Cause of the *Romans* Retreat, was the Inconveniency of the place, they ascrib'd it to fear, and imagined them affrighted, and themselves that pursued them to be very terrible in their Eyes. This held the Fight a good while in equal Ballance, whereas for a long time before, the *Samnites* were wont scarce to endure the *Romans* first Charge. But verily, that Day from nine a Clock in the Morning, till five in the Afternoon, the Fortune of the Field continued so doubtful, that after the first On-set, there was never a second Shout given on either side, nor were the Ensigns either advanc'd or retreated, but stood fix'd in the same place: Nor did the Soldiers any where flinch one Foot, but every one in his Rank pressing forwards with their Shields, continued obstinately Fighting, without any Intermissions for Breathing-times, or the least looking back: The same murmuring Fierceness was heard on either side, and the same Resolution to Conquer or Dye shew'd; that the Battel was likely to continue till the extremity of Weariness, or Night should part them. They had now fought so long, that the Men had scarce any strength left, their Weapons were blunted with continual hacking at one another, and the Commanders were to seek for Counsel what to do next; when on a sudden it happened, That the *Samnites* Horse having Intelligence, that the *Romans* Carriages and Baggage, attended only with one Troop, were gone a good way off from their Army, and stood there without any other Guard or Fortification: They being greedy of the Spoil, hastned thither and let upon them. A trembling Messenger giving notice of this to the Dictator: *Let them alone* (quoth he) *let them encumber themselves a Gods name with the Booty:* Soon after, others came running one after another, Crying out, *That they were ransacking every where, and all the Soldiers Goods would be lost.* Then lending for the General of the Horse, *Look you* (saith he) *M. Fabius, do you not see that the Enemies Cavalry*

*Cavalry have abandon'd the Battel? They are now all busie in rifling our Carriages, Charge them therefore now, whilst they are scattered and in disorder, as a Multitude intent upon Pil-lage must needs always be; you shall, no doubt, find few of them Mounted, or with their Arms in their hands, whilst they are loading their Horses with Spoil, you may easily kill them unarm'd, and make it a bloody Booty to them: Let me alone with the Charge of the Legions and Foot-men, Take you the Honor of the Horse-Service.*

Immediately the Cavalry in most excellent Order advanc'd and rush'd in upon the Enemy. XXXIX. They were in Confusion rummaging up and down, and over-clog'd with the Plunder they had got: There they made a mighty Slaughter, for being (as they were) amongst Packs and Fardles, which they suddenly cast from them, and now lay against their Feet to stumble on as they fled, and in their Horses way, they were not in this Surprise well able either to fight or fly, but for the most part, cut to pieces on the place. The Enemies Horse being thus defeated, and almost all destroyed, *M. Fabius* wheeling about, return'd and fell upon the back of their Infantry, with a great Shout, which both terrified the *Samnites* and encouraged the *Romans*; for the Dictator hearing it, and withal, perceiving the Enemies Front ever and anon to look back, their Ensigns disordered, and their main Body in a kind of Confusion, made use of all his Skill and Rhetorick to raise the spirits of his Men, calling upon the several Colonels, Captains, and other Officers by name, to follow him briskly in a new Charge, and so with a repeated Shout, advanc'd; but the nearer they came on, the more disordered they perceiv'd the Enemy to be. By this time their own Horse making way through the midst of the Enemy, appear'd in sight; and the Dictator, with his Voice as loud as he could, and with signs, gave his Men notice of it, shewing them the Ensigns and Targets of their Fellow-Soldiers. This added new Life and Spirits to them, so that forgetting the Fatigues of the whole Day past, and not at all regarding their Wounds, as if they had just then come fresh into the Field, they flew upon the Enemy, who no longer able to endure the Impressions of the Horse behind, and the Violence of the Foot before, were a great part of them kill'd in the middle, and the rest put to flight; such as stood to it being cut off by the Foot, and those that ran away slaughtered by the Horse: Amongst the rest, their General himself lost his Life.

This Defeat, above all others, did so weaken and daunt the Hearts of the *Samnites*, That in all their Assemblies and Councils, they muttered and grumbled one to another, *That 'twas no wonder their Success was bad, when their Quarrel it self was naught, and the War impiouly undertaken, contrary to a Covenant of Truce: It was not likely they should prosper, who had made the Gods no less their Enemies than Men: That a War so unjust, must needs cost some mighty Overthrow, and was not to be Expiated without some notable Satisfaction:* But the Question was, *Whether Vengeance ought not to be taken of the Guilty Blood of some few, rather than of the Guileless Blood of all.* And now some durst nominate those that had been the Authors and chief Promoters of this War, but especially they cry'd out against one *Brutulus Papius*, a Noble Man of great Interest in the State, and who without question had a principal hand in breaking the last Truce: Against him a Decree pass'd, *That he should be delivered up to the Romans, and that with him, whatever Booty or Prisoners had been taken from them, should be sent to Rome; and restitution made of all Goods which the Romans had demanded in pursuance of the former Treaty.* Accordingly Heralds were sent to *Rome* with the dead Body of *Brutulus*, for he, to avoid the shame and punishment, had made away himself; with his Corps they thought fit also to send all his Goods: But the *Romans* would accept of none of these things, save only the Prisoners, and so much of the Spoils as any Man could justly own and lay claim to, the offer of the rest was rejected. A Triumph was award-ed to the Dictator by an Act of the Senate for this signal Service.

Pet some Write, that this War was manag'd by the Consuls, and that they werethe Men that Triumph'd over the *Samnites*: As also that *Fabius* March'd into *Apulia*, and brought from thence mighty Booties. Not but that 'tis beyond all Controversie, that *A. Cornelius* was in that Year Dictator; but the doubt lies here, Whether he were made so for carrying on the War, or only to manage the publick Roman Games, to give the Signal when the Chariots should be let out of the Barriers to run their Races, because *L. Plautius* the Prætor (whose business that was) happen'd to be sick. And that having dispatch'd that petty Affair (scarce worth while to be remembred under the name of so great a Charge) he should give up his Dictatorship. The Authors on both sides are so equal, both in number, and credit, and confidence in telling their Stories, that 'tis no easie matter to know which to prefer. For my own part, I conceive the Memoirs of those Times much depraved by those *Encomiastick* Orations used at Funerals, and counterfeit Titles of Statues, whilst every Family, by some colourable Untruth, sought to draw to it self the Glory of brave Exploits and antient Dignities. Thus certainly both the Deeds of particular Men, and the Publick Records of the Common-wealths Affairs, are become confus'd: Nor is there extant any one Writer, that lived near those Times, upon whom we may sufficiently depend as a true and certain Author.

## DECADE I. BOOK IX.

## E P I T O M E.

2, 3. **T**he Consuls, Veturius and Posthumius, with their Army, being pounded up in the Straights of Caudium, are forc'd to compound for their Lives with the Samnites, promising, That the People of Rome should grant them Peace, and for performance thereof, gave 600 Horsemen as Hostages; and so they and the rest of their Army march'd away sub Jugo [that is shamefully without Arms, and under a thing erected like a Yoke or Gallows.] 8, 9, &c. The Consuls, Tribunes, and all that subscrib'd this dishonorable agreement, are upon the motion of Sp. Posthumius the Consul himself, sent back Prisoners to the Samnites, to discharge the City from any Obligation to stand to it; but the Samnites would not accept them. 14. Not long after, Papirius Cursor routs the Samnites, makes them pass under the Gallows, recovers the 600 Hostages, and so wipes off the stain of the former Miscarriage. 20. Two new Tribes added. 29. Appius Claudius being Censor, furnish'd the City with a new Water-course, and paved an High-way, which from him were called, The Claudian Conduit, and the Appian Cautway. He also admitted the Sons of Libertines (or Enfranchis'd Bond-men) to be Members of the Senate: But the Consuls next year looking upon the Honor of the House to be sullied by Persons of such base Birth, remov'd them. 31. This Book likewise contains the Military Successes against the Apulians, Tuscans, Umbrians, Maritians, Pelignians, Æquians and Samnites, with whom the Ancient League was at last renewed. 46. Flavius the Notary, whose Father was but a Bond-man Enfranchis'd, is made Ædile of State, by a Faction of the Rabble, who growing very turbulent and too strong in all Elections of Magistrates, Q. Fabius the Censor reduc'd them into four Tribes by themselves; which good Service got him the Surname of Maximus, or Fabius the Most Great. Furthermore in this Book, having occasionally mentioned Alexander the Great, who at that time flourish'd, the Author digresses into a Comparison of his strength with the Romans, and thence infers, That if he had happened to cope with them, he would scarce have met with such easie Victories, as he did over those Eastern Nations whom he subdued.

U. C.  
432.

**N**OW followed the Claudian Treaty, so memorable for the Romans dishonor, under the Consulship of T. Veturius Calvinus, and Sp. Posthumius. The Samnites General that year happen'd to be Cains Pontius, the Son of Herennius a most prudent Father, and himself an excellent Soldier and Captain. This Gentleman, when their Ambassadors that were sent to Rome to make restitution of the Goods that had been taken, were returned, without being able to obtain a Peace, spake as follows in the Senate: *Let us not however, Sirs! imagine that this Embassy is altogether fruitless: We have thereby Expiated the anger of the Celestial Powers against us, for violating the Truce, and now engag'd them in our Favor. For sure I am, those Gods, whoever they were, that thought fit to reduce us to the necessity of restoring what was demanded in pursuance of the Treaty, are nothing pleas'd with this surly pride of the Romans, in refusing to accept our tender of satisfaction: What could there be done to pacify the Gods, or reconcile Men, more than we have perform'd? The Enemies Goods taken in War (which by the Law of Arms we seem'd rightly intitled unto) we have returned: The Authors of the War, because we could not send them living, we have delivered up dead; and with their Bodies, their Goods we carry'd to Rome: That no Contagion of their Guilt might on us remain. What more, O Roman! canst thou pretend that I owe either to thee, or the League, or those Gods that were invoc'd to be the Guarantees thereof? Whom shall we have to be judge of your Demands, or of our Amends? For our parts we refuse none, be it either Nation, or private Person. And if nothing of Right amongst Men be left to the Weak, when he has to do with those that are too Strong and Mighty for him, yet let us address to the Gods, who are the proper Avengers of haughty Injustice and intolerable Insolence: Those Divine Powers I will implore, to turn the fury of their Displeasure on those whom neither the Restitution of their own Goods, nor the rendering of other Mens withal to boot will content, whose raging Cruelty is not to be appeased, either by the Death of the Guilty, nor the Delivery up of their breathless Bodies, nor the surrender of their Goods, together with the Owners Carcasses; whom indeed nothing can satisfy, unless we part with our heart-blood, and suffer them to tear out our very Bowels: That War, O Samnites! must needs be Just, which is absolutely Necessary, and Pious their Arms, who but by Force of Arms can no longer subsist; since therefore in all humane Affairs nothing is of greater Importance, than to have the Gods propitious or adverse unto our Enterprises, you may be assured, That as we undertook our last War, rather against the Gods than Men, so in this which we now engage in, we shall have the Gods themselves for our Leaders and Assistants.*

II. These pleasing Promises the Event rendred Propheticall, for drawing out his Army near Caudium, he encamp'd with the greatest privacy in the World; and having Advice that the Roman Consuls and their Army lay quartered about Calatia, he sent out half a score Souldiers in Shepherds habit, and ordered them severally to feed their Flocks, one here, and another there, near the Roman Out-guards, who being taken by the Scouts, did all re-

late

late for certain, That the Samnite Legions were got into Apulia, besieging the City Luceria with all their Forces, and doubted not but to take it very shortly by Storm. Such a flying report had before been industriously broach'd, and these Prisoners all agreeing in a Tale, fully confirm'd it. No Man doubted but the Romans ought to relieve the Lucerns, as well because they were their good and faithful Allies, as to prevent all the rest of Apulia from revolting to the Enemy, upon the present dread they were under: The only thing in debate was, Which way they should march thither? For you must note, there were two Roads to Luceria, one broad and open, along the Coast of the Adriatick Sea; but as 'twas the safer, so 'twas much the further about: The other, was through the Straights of Caudium, much the nearer Cut, but the place situate thus; There are two deep narrow Woody Forrests or Dales joyned to one another, by continual Ridges of steep Mountains that surround them, but between these two Straights lies enclosed a good large Plain, or Meadow, pleasantly green and grassy, but somewhat waterish, and a kind of Morass: Through the midst of which the Road lies; but before you get thither, you must pass the first Straights, and then either return the same way you got in; or if you proceed forwards, you must pass another such a kind of Streight, but narrower and more intricate and difficult than the former. Into this Plain, the Roman Army was advanc'd through the first mentioned streight Pass, down an hollow Rock; but when they came to the other Pass beyond it, they found it Blockaded with Trees fell'd down and laid cross one another, and vast heaps of Stones pil'd thereupon. No sooner had they discovered this stratagem of the Enemies, but they also espied a power of them in Arms on the tops of the Hills to make good the Pass against them. Then presently they face about, and with all speed march back, endeavoring to get out the same way they came in; but when they came there, they found that also stop'd and dam'd up, and guarded in like manner; whereupon, without waiting for any Word of Command, they made an Halt; and as their minds were astonish'd, so a chill Numness seiz'd their Bodies, and rendred every Limb almost useles, gazing one upon another (each Man thinking his Comrade might be wiser or more capable of giving Advice than himself) they stood a long time immoveable as Statues, and said not a word: But when at last they saw the Consuls Pavilions going to be set up, and some preparing things necessary for Entrenching themselves, though they well enough perceiv'd, that (in this desperate case, past all hopes of retrieve) all their pains must prove vain and ridiculous: Yet not to encrease their danger by their own default, and add negligence to their Misfortune; every Man without any direction from his Leader, betook himself to work, and fortified their Camp along the Water-side; though at the same time, besides the Enemies insolent jeering and hooting at them, they themselves could not but miserably acknowledge that all their toil was to no purpose: The Consuls half distracted with grief, summon'd no Council of War (for, alas! there was no room either for Advice or Hope) but the Commissaries and Colonels waited upon them of their own accord, and the poor Soldiers turning their Eyes towards their Generals Tents, begg'd of them Comfort and Succor, which (under those Circumstances) the Immortal Gods themselves were scarce able to afford.

III. Whilst they were making their moans to each other, rather than consulting, the Night came on; each Man according to his humor muttered out his Verdict: One cry'd, *Let's break through the Blockade, and force our passage along the Road; Let's (says another) march over the Mountain-tops, and through the Woods, any way that we can carry our Arms, so we may but come at the Enemy, an Enemy whom we have continually beaten almost these thirty years: Talk not of disadvantages of the Ground, all will be plain and easie to us Romans, fighting against these pittifull perfidious Samnites.* Tush, (says a third) *Whither should we go? or which way? Are we going about to shoulder Mountains out of their places? As long as these steep Hills hang over our Heads, which way is it possible we should come at the Enemy? Arm'd or unarm'd, valiant or cowards, all's a case, entrapt we are, and all undone; the Enemy will not so much as afford us their Swords whereon we might die like men of Honor, but sitting still they'll vanquish us, and end this War with their hands in their Pockets.* Bandyng such kind of Discourses to and fro, they pass'd over the night, unmindful either of Food or Sleep.

Nay, even the Samnites themselves were at a loss in this excess of good Fortune, what they were best to do; and therefore they all concluded to send to Herennius Pontius, their Generals Father, for his Advice. He being now very aged, had withdrawn himself not only from the toils of War, but also from the burthen and disquiets of Civil Affairs; yet in that weak Body, he had a strong vigorous Mind, and a notable Head-piece for Counsel. He being acquainted how the Roman Army was pounded between the two Caudine Straights, and his Advice desired by his Sons Messenger; gave his Opinion, *That they should all be forthwith dismiss'd untouch'd: Which the Officers not liking, but returning back the Messenger for some other Answer, he then sent word, That they should put every Man of them to the Sword.* These Answers so vastly disagreeing, as if they had proceeded from a doubtful Oracle; though his Son himself one of the first, did suspect that the old Gentlemans Intellectuals began to sympathize with his enfeebled Body, yet he was by the rest prevailed upon, to send for him thither, to declare his meaning by word of Mouth. Nor did the

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old man think much on't, to be brought (as 'tis said) to the Camp in a Cart, where in the Council, he persisted in the very same Directions; only added the Grounds thereof, viz. *That he gave the first Advice, because he thought it the best course to establish a firm Peace and Friendship with a mighty and most Warlike People, by so vast a Kindness and Obligation. That by the second, he design'd to Adjourn the War for some Ages to come, since after the intire loss of two such Armies, the Romans could not easily, or in haste, recover strength enough to disturb the Repose of their Neighbors: But as for any third Advice to give them, he had none at all.* His Son, and other Principal Officers, continuing the Discourse by demanding, *What if they should take a middle Course, so as to dismiss them with their Lives, but impose Conditions upon them as vanquish'd by the Law of Arms?* That indeed, replies he, *is such a Method, as will neither gain you Friends, nor secure you of your Enemies; save them, whom you have once affronted with the utmost Disgrace, and see what you'll get by't; such is the stout Nature of the Romans, that they will never sit down patiently under the Dishonor of a Defeat; whatever Impressions of shame the present force shall make, will always be boiling in their Breasts, and never let them rest, till they have glutted themselves with a multiplied Revenge.*

IV. Neither of these his Counsels being accepted, Herennius is carry'd home: And in the Roman Camp (after several Efforts used in vain to break through) there being now a general want of all Provisions, compell'd by Necessity, they sent Messengers, who were ordered first to desire a fair and indifferent Peace; and if they could not obtain that, then to challenge them to a Battel. But Pontius roundly told them, *That the Field was already won, and since, although vanquish'd and as good as taken Captive, they had not the Wit to be sensible of their Condition, he was resolv'd they should surrender their Arms, and all pass, sub Jugo [under an Ignominious Frame set up for that purpose, like a pair of Gallows, consisting of two Spears set upright, and a third tyed across at their tops, which they call'd Jugum, the Yoke.] As for other Conditions, he would allow them such as were fit to be expected by the Vanquish'd at the hands of their Conquerors: That they should depart out of the Samnites Territories, and withdraw their Colonies, and so both the Samnite and Roman live in equal Alliance henceforwards, under their own respective Laws and Customs: That upon these Terms he was ready to strike up a League with the Consuls, but if they boggled at any of these Conditions, he charged the Messengers not to repair to him any more at their peril.* When Relation of this Answer was made in the Camp, there was presently set up such a general Lamentation, and in every face appeared such marks of a most profound grief and anguish of Soul, that it seem'd they could not have taken it more grievously, if word had been brought them, that they were all immediately to be put to the sword upon the Spot. After a long silence (the Consuls not knowing how to speak a word either for a Composition so Dishonorable, or against it, since it was absolutely necessary) L. Lentulus, who both for Courage and Dignities was the Chief of all the Commissary-Generals, steps forth: "I have often heard (said he) my Father relate, That he was the only Man in the Capitol, that perswaded the Senate not to Ransom the City with Gold from the Gauls, since they were surrounded neither with a Trench, nor Rampire, by the Enemy (a People very negligent in such kind of works) so that they might break their way through, if not without great hazard, yet without any apparent Destruction. Were the case so now, that as they then, might in Arms have rush'd down from the Capitol upon their Enemies (as not seldom the Besieged make such Sallies out upon those that invest them) so had we any kind of opportunity of Engaging the Enemy, on any ground whatsoever, though never so disadvantageous, I carry so much of my Fathers Blood in my Veins, as not to be wanting to give you the like courageous Counsel. I grant, there is nothing more brave than to dye for our Country; and I am ready to Devote my self as a Sacrifice to present Death, and fling my self amongst the thickest of our Enemies, to preserve the People of Rome, and their gallant Legions: But, alas! here I behold our Country; here I see all the Roman Legions that are in the World, who unless they will madly run upon Death, for their own sakes, What is there that by their Death they can preserve? The Houses, you'll say, and the Walls, and the multitude that inhabit the City: Nay rather, if this Army miscarry and be cut off, all those are utterly betray'd into the Enemies hand, not preserved: For who shall defend them? perhaps, the weak and undisciplin'd unarmed Rabble? Yes, forsooth, as bravely as they did when the Gauls attack'd it: Or shall they send to the Veii for an Army, and importune the help of Captain Camillus? Away with such Dreams and Fancies! upon this Spot of Ground is all our hope, all our strength; by preserving which, we preserve our Country, but in exposing our selves to Death, betray and destroy it. But 'tis a base and shameful thing thus to yield up our selves: Well, be it so, such is our Affection to our Country, that we ought to preserve it when there is occasion, with our Disgrace, as well as with our Death. Let us therefore undergo this Indignity, how foul soever it be, and obey Necessity which the Gods themselves cannot overcome: Go, O ye Consuls! and preserve that City by parting with your Arms, which your Ancestors saved by parting with their Gold.

V. The Consuls going forth to Parley with Pontius, when he began to discourse of a League, acquainted him, *That no League could be made without the Privy and Authority of the whole People,*

*People, nor without the Heralds, and other Solemn Ceremonies.* So that this Caudine Agreement, was not (as is commonly believed, and as Claudius also writes) made in way of a formal League, or absolute Covenant, but by way of Stipulation and Promise: For what need is there of Sureties or Hostages in an absolute League, when the matter is transacted in this Form, *Which soever People shall be the occasion of violating these Agreements, or by whose Default the said Articles shall be infringed, we wish that Jupiter would so smite him, as the Swine is here smitten by the Herald [and so they kill'd a Swine to compleat the Ceremony.]* The Persons that were the Sureties for the ratifying of this Agreement, and Subscribed it, were the Consuls, the Commissary-Generals, the Questors or Treasurers, and the Colonels, whose Names are extant; whereas if the Business had been a League, there would have been only the Names of the two Heralds to it: Also by reason of the necessary delay before the Business could be concluded in Form of a League, there were required 600 Horsemen to be delivered as Hostages, who were to lose their Heads, if the Capitulations were not made good; and a time was agreed on for delivering the said Hostages, and disarming the Army. But the coming back of the Consuls, renewed again the universal Lamentation in the Camp, and they could scarce hold their hands from those, by whose Rashness they were brought into that cursed Place, and by whose Cowardize they were like to go thence far more shamefully than they came in; upbraiding them, *That they had not so much as a Guide to direct them, nor a Scout abroad to descry the Enemy, but like Brutes, ran blindfold into the Pit-fall.* The Soldiers star'd at one another, and look'd wistfully on their Arms, which presently they were to take their leave of, they conceited already their Right hands without a Weapon to defend them, their Bodies naked exposed to the mercy of the Enemy, they fancied to themselves the Gallows prepared for them, and the upbraiding Scoffs of the Victor, his proud and disdainful Looks, how they, disarmed, must trudge along between the Ranks of their Armed and Insulting Foe; then afterwards, what a wretched march they should have with their baffled Army, how shameful their return by the Cities of their Allies, home to their Country and Parents, where both themselves and their Ancestors had often marched Triumphant: *We (say they) are the only Army in the World that ever was vanquish'd without a Wound receiv'd, without a Battel, without a Sword drawn; who were beat and routed, and yet never could get near our Adversary; who wore Arms, only to surrender them up peaceably to our Mortal Enemies; who had strength in vain, and courage to no purpose, but to render us more pungently sensible of our dishonor.* Whilst they were bawling out these Complaints, the fatal Hour of their Reproach was come, which really rendred all Circumstances more grievous and intolerable, than they had been able to form them before in their Imaginations. Now were they commanded to march out of their Entrenchments unarm'd, and having on but each Man one single Garment. And first the Hostages were delivered and led away in Custody: Then the Consuls dismiss'd their Lictors from attending them, and their own rich Robes of State being pull'd off their shoulders, rais'd such compassion, even in those who but just before were cursing and banning them, and voting them worthy to be torn to pieces; that every one forgetting his own sad condition, was much more affected with theirs, and turn'd away his eyes from that disfigurement of Majesty, as from a spectacle of the greatest Impiety and Horror.

VI. First and formost the Consuls, almost half naked, were put under the Gallows, and after them every one according to his Quality and Decree, was prefer'd to the like Ignominy, and then the Legions one after another; the Enemy brisk and gay in their Armor encompassing them, and upbraiding and jeering them as they pass'd: Many had Swords set to their Breasts, not a few wounded, and some kill'd outright, whose stern Countenances, or grim Looks (fill'd with Indignation) offended the insulting Conqueror. Thus were they dragg'd under the Gallows, and (which rendered it more grievous than the thing it self) in the sight too of all their Enemies; when they were got out of the fatal hollow Way, as if they had been pluck'd out of Infernal Darkness, they then first of all seem'd to behold the Light, and yet the Light it self was worse to them than any kind of Death, when it shew'd them the Ill-favored prospect of their wretched Army. Therefore, though they could have got to Capua before Night, yet being doubtful of the Fidelity of their Allies, after such a Misfortune, and besides ashamed to be seen in such a pickle, they took up their Quarters not far from that City on the bare ground, utterly destitute of all Provisions and Accommodations. News whereof arriving at Capua, a just compassion of their Friends and Confederates, out-balance'd the Pride which is almost natural to those People, so that forthwith they courteously sent the Consuls the Insignia, Robes and Ornaments belonging to their Quality, Rods, Lictors, Arms, Horses, and plentifully furnish'd the Common Soldiers with Cloaths and Victuals. And when they came to Capua, the whole Senate and People went forth to meet them, and welcom'd them with all the kind offices of Friendship and Hospitality publick and private. Yet could not this Civility of their Friends, their kind Looks and obliging Discourses, draw a Word from them; nay, scarce would they lift up their Eyes to behold them, so much did shame, more than grief, make them shun all Conversation and Society: So that next day, when several of the young Nobility that had been to bring them going on their march as far as their

their Territories extended, came back, and were call'd into the Court, and ask'd by the Grave Seniors, How the Romans behav'd themselves, they told them, *That they now seem'd more dejected than ever, so silently did the Army march, as if it had been altogether compos'd of Mutes; That the noble Roman Bravery was now cow'd and dash'd, and their Spirits lost with their Arms; That they were not able to return them a Salute; That not one of them durst open his mouth for fear, but look'd as sneakingly, as if the Book under which they pass'd, were still over their Heads; That the Samnites had got not only an eminent Victory, but one that was perpetual; for though they had not taken Rome, as once the Gauls did, yet they had done what was much more Noble and Warlike, subdued for ever the Roman Courage and Fierceness.*

VII. Whil'st these things were affirm'd, and Audience given thereunto so far, that most, even in that Council of their Allies, began to look upon the Roman Name as desperate, and their former Glories past Recovery; one Ofilius Calavius, the Son of Ovius, is reported to have told them, *That there was a quite different Judgment to be made of the matter, for that obstinate Silence, those down-cast Looks, Ears deaf to all Questions, and shame of beholding the Light, did but argue the grand Emotions they felt within, and how deeply their Desires and Resolutions of Revenge were fix'd in their Souls, so that they had no leisure to attend any other thoughts; That either he was a stranger to the Natural Genius of the Romans, or this odd stubborn silence, would ere long cost the Samnites many a mournful Out-cry and loud Groans. That remembrance of this Caudine Treaty would be a great deal more doleful to the Samnites, than to the Romans; For as for the latter, they would quickly find their old Courage again whenever they came to Engage, but the Samnites would not every where meet with the Caudian Straights for their purpose.*

By this time news of this shameful Disaster arriv'd at Rome: They had before received Intelligence of their being surrounded by the Enemy, but these Tidings of their scandalous accord and escape, were more grievous than the report of their Danger. Upon the Rumor of their being hem'd in, a new Levy of Soldiers was begun, but all preparations of Auxiliaries to relieve them laid aside, as soon as 'twas understood what a dishonorable Submission they had made; and presently, without any Command from Authority, the whole City put it self into Mourning, and omitted nothing that might express the greatness of their general Grief: The Shops round the Great Market-place were all shut up: The Courts of Justice adjourn'd, and all Proceedings at Law ceased of their own accord, before Proclamation made for that purpose: The Purple and Scarlet Robes, and Rich Embroideries were left off by the Senators: The Ladies laid by their Gold Rings, and the City every where appeared no less afflicted than the Army it self: Nor were the People only enraged against the Chief Officers and Undertakers for the Peace, but mad with the poor innocent Soldiers too, and said, *They deserv'd not to be suffered to come into the City, or be allow'd any Quarters.* But these Heats, the first arrival of the Army did quite allay, and turn'd their Anger into Pity; for they came not as Soldiers returning into their Country unexpectedly escap'd safe from an eminent danger, but with the garb and countenance of Captives; late at Night they march'd into the City, and every one stole home, and so hid up themselves in their own Houses, that on the Morrow, and for some Days after, not one of them was to be seen abroad in the Streets. The Consuls themselves kept in like private Men, and would exercise no function of their Office, but what they were forc'd unto by an Act of the Senate, namely, To nominate a Dictator to preside at the Election of the next Consuls; so they appointed Q. Fabius Ambustus Dictator, and P. Aelius Paetus General of the Horse: But there being some defect in the Ceremonies of their Creation, M. Aemilius Papus, and L. Valerius Flaccus, were nominated in their Rooms, but neither did they hold the Assemblies for Election, for the People being out of conceit with all the Magistrates of that Year as unlucky, the business came to an Inter-Regency: And Inter-Regents there were Q. Fabius Maximus, and M. Valerius Corvus; which latter created Consuls, Q. Publius Philo, and L. Papirius Curfor the second time: A Choice highly approved by the whole City, there being not two braver Generals in that Age.

VIII. The very Day they were Created, they entred upon their Office, for so the Senate had expressly ordered; and after the solemn and ordinary Acts touching Religion were pass'd according to Custom, They propos'd the matter of the Caudine Agreement to be taken into Consideration: And Publius, who had the chief Authority that day, commanded Spurius Posthumius to speak to that Point, who rising up with looks altogether as sad and dejected, as when he went under the Gallows: "I am not ignorant (said he) O ye Consuls! that 'tis not for Honor-sake, but for greater Ignominy that I am called forth, and that I am command'd to speak at this time not as a Senator, but as a Criminal, guilty both of an unfortunate ill-manag'd War, and a most unworthy dishonorable Peace. But since you have not been pleas'd to put the Question touching either our Guilt or Punishment, I shall omit all Apology and Defence; which yet it were not difficult to make before Persons that are not ignorant of Humane Chances, the variable Accidents of War, and those Necessities whereunto men are often driven, rather by their Destinies than Default. Waving all that, I say, I shall briefly declare my Opinion in the matter by you propos'd, which I hope will shew whether it was for my own sake, or to preserve your

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Legions, that I oblig'd my self in that Stipulation, call it either base or necessary, which you please; sure I am, 'tis such as being made without the privacy or order of the People, the State of Rome is thereby no ways bound: Nor is there any thing from thence due to the Samnites, but only the Bodies of us who were the Sponsors therein; let us, naked and in chains, be delivered up to them by the Heralds; let us discharge the People of those Religious ties, if in any we have intangled them, that so without the least violation of any Law, Divine or Humane, the War may be begun afresh. In the mean time, let the Consuls Levy, Arm, and Muster an Army, but not enter a step into the Enemies Country, till all the Ceremonies of our Rendition be legally performed. And you, O Immortal Gods! I beseech and implore, that if it were your pleasure not to grant the Consuls Sp. Posthumius and T. Veturius, success against the Samnites, yet at least you would be satisfisd to have seen us dragg'd under the Gallows, to have seen us oblig'd in an Infamous Sponson, and for the same to have beheld us deliver'd strip'd and bound into the hands of the Enemy, ready to receive upon our Heads, even with the loss of our Lives, all their rage and spight. Be pleas'd to accept this as a sufficient Expiation, and vouchsafe to grant, That the new Consuls and Roman Legions under their Conduct, may so manage the present War against the Samnites, as all other Wars against them were wont to be managed before our unhappy Consulship. This generous Speech rais'd at once so great an Admiration and Compassion in the Breasts of all the Senators, That they could scarce believe it to be the same Sp. Posthumius, who had been the Promoter of so dishonorable a Treaty; and then they were sensibly touch'd with pity, that so brave a man should suffer extraordinary Tortures above others at the Enemies hands, for perswading the Reverfal of that Peace for the Cities Honor, which he made for its Safety. However all applauded him, and approv'd of his Motion; only there was a little opposition made by L. Livius, and Q. Maelius, the Tribunes of the Commons, who alledged, *That neither could the People be absolv'd from the Religious Obligations of that Treaty, unless all were restored to the Samnites, and every thing put into the same state as at Caudium: Nor yet could they acknowledge, that by consenting to an Agreement which preserv'd a whole Army of Romans, they had incur'd any Crime, or deserv'd any Punishment. And lastly, since their Persons by virtue of their Office were Sacred and Inviolable, could not by Law be given up to the Enemy, or expos'd to any Out-rage.*

IX. Posthumius reply'd, "In the mean time surrender us the Prophane, whom without injuring Religion ye may; and afterwards deliver these Sacred Gentlemen as soon as ever they are out of their Office: But if you will be rul'd by me, let them first be soundly scourg'd here publicly in the Common-Hall, that they may pay some Interest for this delay of their Punishment: As for their denying, that our Rendition will discharge the People, who is so ignorant in the Heralds-Law as not to see, that they do it rather to save their own Bacon, than that they themselves can believe it so to be? I do not deny, Grave Fathers! that bare Promises and Stipulations, as well as Leagues, are to be accounted Sacred, and observ'd by all that have any regard to Faith towards Men, or Piety towards the Gods: But this I resolutely deny, That any thing done without the Peoples consent, is Obligatory to them. Suppose the Samnites in the same fit of Pride whereby they extorted from us this Promise, had insisted and compell'd us to pronounce the solemn Form of Words which those use who surrender up the Propriety and Dominion of Cities, would you, My Lords the Tribunes, yield the People of Rome were thereby become Vassals, and this City, its Temples, Chappels, Bounds and Waters, presently vest'd in the Samnites? But to wave speaking of a Surrender, since 'tis only a Stipulation that is here in question, What, I pray, if we had undertook and promis'd, that the People of Rome should forsake and abandon this City? or set Fire to it, or no longer to have Magistrates, Senate, or Laws? or to be again Govern'd by Kings? God forbid that, I say you. Well, but pray then observe, 'tis not the Indignity of things that discharges the Obligation of a Promise: If the People without their own consent can be bound to one thing, they may be bound to all; nor does that (which perhaps some may think material) at all alter the case, whether it be the Consul, or the Dictator, or the Prator, that enters into the Promise and becomes Surety: And this was the judgment of the Samnites themselves, as appears in that they thought it not enough to take the Consuls word, but made the Commissaries, Treasurers and Colonels of the Army also to joyn therein. Nor let any ask me why I would enter into this Engagement, being a thing not incident to the Consuls Office? Neither could I promise them a Peace, which was not in my power to grant, nor undertake for you, who had given me no such Commission? All I can say, Grave Fathers! is, That nothing was transacted at Caudium according to the usual Measures of Humane Prudence: The Immortal Gods had Infatuated both Yours, and the Enemies Generals; neither were we cautious enough in the Conduct of the War, nor they in making the Peace; but as they got the Victory badly, they lost the benefit of it as fililly, whil't they hardly trusted the strength of those places, by means whereof they gain'd the advantage of us; and were so eager on any terms to disarm Men, whom they knew born and bred to the use of Arms; If they had had their Wits about them, might

not

'not they in the same time they spent in bringing old Men in Carts for their Advice, have sent Ambassadors to Rome, and treated with the Senate and the People concerning a Peace or a League? It was but three days Journeys for Men well Horfed, and in the mean time there might have been a Cessation till their Ambassadors should have brought them back either a certain Victory, or an assured Peace? That indeed would have been a firm Stipulation and good in Law, when we had entered into it by the Peoples approbation? But neither would you have consented to, nor would we then have executed any such dishonorable League: It was the Will of Heaven that things should come to this indifferent Issue, That they should be deluded, as it were, with a pleasant Dream, and be Drunk for a while with an over-flowing Joy, greater than their weak Heads could bear; and at the same time, that Chance and Blind Fortune, which had so far entangled your Army, should also extricate it, and that a vain Victory should be frustrated with a vainer Peace, concluded by Persons that had no Authority to Treat, and which could bind none but the unqualified Undertakers themselves: For was there, Noble Senators! any application to you? Were the People of Rome ever so much as consulted about it? Who can challenge you? Who can pretend you have deceiv'd or dealt falsely with him? the Enemy, or any of our own Citizens? To the Enemy you have promised nothing, nor have ye empowered any Citizen to engage for you, or in your Names. You have therefore nothing to do with us, to whom you gave no Orders, and as little with the Samnites, who never Treated with you. We are the Undertakers, the Pledges and the Sureties to the Samnites, if we cannot make good our Bargain, we are however able to pay the Penalty, and will be answerable, as far as the strictest Justice can require, viz. with our Bodies and our Lives; on them let them exercise their Rage, and whet their Swords, and satiate their Fury. As for the Tribunes of the Commons, your Lordships may consider, whether they shall presently be delivered, or reserved till out of their places: But in the mean time, O *Veturius*! and you the rest, Let us freely resign these wretched Heads of ours, to discharge the Stipulation we entered into, and by our Punishment expiate the Roman Arms, and render them free to advance their Ensigns, without the least violation of Faith or Religion against the Enemy.

X. Both the Cause it self, and the Advocate, had so powerful an Ascendant over the Senate, that it prevailed not only with them, but with the rest concern'd, and even the Tribunes of the Commons themselves so far, as they declared themselves to be at the Senates dispose, resign'd their Offices, and with the rest were delivered to the Heralds to be carried to *Caudium*. This Act had no sooner pass'd the Senate, but the City seem'd to enjoy a new Light and Life. Every Body applauded *Posthumius*, and extoll'd him to the Heavens, equalling his Merits with those of *Decius*, or any other the most glorious Enterprizes of past Ages, saying, *That by his advice and pains, the City was delivered from the Chains of a servile and unworthy Treaty, who had freely resign'd himself to all the Rage and Tortures of the Enemy, to be a Peace-offering for the People of Rome, and rescue them with Honor from the Inconveniencies of an ignominious Peace.* Nothing now was minded but War, and Arms, and every one cry'd out, O for the day when we may come to Encounter these Rascallion Samnites with our Swords in our Hands: so inflamed was the City with Indignation, that an Army was soon Levyed, almost all Volunteers, the old Soldiers freely lifting themselves again, in hopes of Revenge, and so advanc'd towards *Caudium*. But the Heralds march'd before, and when they were come to the Gate, commanded all those that had signed the aforesaid Treaty to be strip'd, and their Hands pinnion'd behind their Backs. The Officer, out of respect to *Posthumius*, binding him but slightly, *Draw harder (saith he) the Cord, that our Rendition may be in all Points as the Law of Nations requires:* Being arriv'd at the Assembly of the Samnites, and before the Tribunal of *Pontius*, *A. Cornelius Arvina*, one of the Heralds, spake these words: *Since these Persons, without any Commission from the People of Rome, have of their own Heads undertaken and promised, That a League and Peace should be made with you, and in so doing, are become guilty of a great Offence against the State; Therefore, that the People of Rome may be discharged from any share in their impious Crime, I here deliver up the self-same Men into your Hands.* Whilst the Herald was pronouncing these Words, *Posthumius* struck him on the Thigh as hard as ever he could, and said aloud, *I am now a Citizen of the Samnites, the Herald, contrary to the Law of Nations, I have assaulted and violated, so much the more justly therefore may the Romans now proceed in the War.*

XI. *Pontius* then declared himself in these Terms: "Neither do I accept of this sham-Rendition, nor will the Samnites ever ratifie it: But rather, O *Sp. Posthumius*! if thou dost indeed believe there are any Gods, either render our whole Treaty null and void, or else stand to and make good thy Promise. For by all right, either the Samnites ought to have not only you, but all those that were once in their Power return'd, or else a firm Peace established in lieu of them, that being the Condition on which we parted with them. But why do I challenge thee, who being taken, hast again rendred thy self Prisoner to the Conqueror with all the Faith and Loyalty thou canst?" 'Tis the People of Rome that I accuse, who if they do repent of the Articles concluded by their Generals at

'at *Caudium*; Let them bring their Legions again into the same Pass where they were Entron'd; Let's have no tricks put upon us on either side; Let all proceedings be void for want of that Power you talk of, and every thing as it was; Let them take their Arms again, which upon the Articles they delivered up; Let them return again into their Camp, and have whatever they had the day before the Treaty: Then let them talk big, and reject, if they please, all Overtures of Peace; Let us manage the War with the same Fortune, and in the same Posts, as before there was any mention of Peace, and then need neither the People of Rome complain of their Consuls Treaty, nor we of the Romans Faith. Will there never be a Pretext wanting why you should not keep your words? You gave Hostages to King *Porfena*, and afterwards stole them away; you redeem'd the City from the Gauls for such a sum of Gold, and whilst they were receiving it, you treacherously cut them to pieces; Peace you have Covenanted with us, on condition we would release your captiv'd Legions: This Peace you now would cancel, and have evermore some pretences of Law to cover your fraud: Do not the Roman Folks like it, that their Army is saved by a Peace, that, forsooth, intrenches upon their Honor? Well, Let the Peace go whether it will, but let them restore the Imprison'd Legions to the Conqueror: But is this your Faith? Are these your Covenants? Was this worthy the ceremonies of your Heralds? That you indeed, according to the Agreement, should have so many thousands of your Citizens safe return'd; but I have nothing of that Peace, in consideration whereof I remitted them? Is this the right, O *A. Cornelius*! Is this the Law and Equity, O ye Heralds! which you teach and prescribe to Nations? I neither accept those you pretend to surrender, nor look upon them as such; nor will I hinder them from returning home loaded with all the threaten'd vengeance of the Gods, whose names you have eluded by this notorious violation of your Treaty and Agreement. Justly and bravely, no doubt, may ye make War upon us now, since *Sp. Posthumius* has struck your Ambassador the Herald upon his Knece: The Gods, I'll warrant you, will easily believe *Posthumius* to be a Citizen of Samnium, and no Roman; they will resent it heinously, that this Samnite has violated a Roman Envoy, and they will esteem this certainly a wonderful just Cause for you to make War upon us: Are you not ashamed thus to mock Religion? Do you not blush to let the World see how impiously you trifle in the most solemn and sacred Affairs? whilst being grave old Personages, and such as have been Consuls, you seek out little tricks and devices, scarce fit to be used by Boys and Children, and all to shift off and falsifie your Faith and Contract. Go *Lictor*! unbind those Romans, and let none hinder them from departing hence, or going whithersoever they list. So they, having by this tender discharged perhaps the Publick Faith, but without question cancell'd their own private Obligations, went back untouch'd from *Caudium* to the Roman Camp.

The Samnites seeing now that the proud and unreasonable terms of Peace which they insisted on, had occasion'd the renewal of a War more fierce and cruel than ever, did already not only fore-cast in their Minds, but behold as it were with their Eyes, all the Calamities which afterwards happen'd; and then in vain, because too late, they began to commend both parts of wise old *Pontius*'s advice; whereas by neglecting the same, and running a middle course, they had exchange'd the possession of a certain Victory, for the shadow of an uncertain Peace, lost the opportunity both of gratifying and dammifying the Romans, and must now fight with those, whom they might for ever either have made their Friends, or cut off being Enemies. So strangely altered were the Spirits of both Parties after this *Caudine* Treaty, even before ever they were weakned by any new Battel, that the offer of surrendering himself, got *Posthumius* more glory amongst the Romans, than the gaining of that unbloody Victory did *Pontius* amongst the Samnites: The Romans look'd upon the gaining of a right to renew the War as good as an assured Victory, and the Samnites verily believed, That for the Romans to make War again, was all one as to Conquer them. In the mean time the *Satricans* revolted to the Samnites, and the Roman Colony at *Fregellæ* was unexpectedly assaulted by the Samnites, with whom 'tis certain the *Satricans* then were joyn'd: They were got into the Town in the Night, but fear on both sides kept them quiet till 'twas Light, and then the Fight began, which continued a good while very fierce and equal, the *Fregellanes* within making their part good with them, both because they fought for Church and Chimney (as the saying is) all they had in the World was at stake; as also because the Women and Rabble, unfit to bear Arms, did them good service in pelting the Enemy from the tops of the Houses: But treachery and credulity undid them, for suffering a Crier of the Samnites to make Proclamation, *That whoever would lay down Arms, should have Quarter, and leave to depart with Bag and Baggage.* The hopes thereof took off their minds from the Battel, and many began to fling down their Arms. But the stouter part still Armed, forc'd their Passage out at a back Gate, whose courage prov'd more safe than the others timorous credulity: For the Samnites surrounded them with Fire, and though they call'd upon the Gods for help, and to the Enemy for performance of their promise, burn'd them all to ashes. The Consuls divided the Provinces between them, *Papirius* march'd into *Apulia* to *Luceria*, where the Roman Horse given for Hostages



at Caudium were detained in custody: *Publius* staid in *Samnium* to observe the Enemies motions, who by that means were distracted and knew not what to do; for if they march'd to relieve *Luceria*, the *Romans* here would fall upon their backs; and if they did not march thither, *Luceria* would be lost: at last they resolv'd to commit themselves to Fortune, and hazard a Battel with *Publius*, and in order thereunto drew up in Battalia.

XIII. *Publius* before he went on, thought to have made a Speech to his Soldiers, and ordered them to come together for that purpose: But as with mighty joy they flock'd round about his Pavilion, so by reason of their Shouts, and Out-crys for leave to fall on, not a word he said could be heard: The memory of the late affront and disgrace fresh in every Mans mind, was spur enough, and there needed no other exhortation. Thus in a running march they advanc'd to Battel, pushing forwards the Ensign-bearers, as if they were afraid they should not come soon enough to cope with the Enemy. And not to lose time in lancing their Darts and Javelins first, and afterwards drawing their Swords, they all at once, as if they had had a Signal so to do, threw those away, and with their Swords in their hands rush'd upon the Enemy: Here was little of the Generals skill to be seen in ranging the Battalions or appointing the Reserves, but a Military fury bore down all before it with an impetuous Violence; so that the Enemy was not only routed, but durst not for fear of hindring their flight, retreat to their own Camp, but took their heels, scattered as they were, towards *Apulia*, and with much ado rallied at *Luceria*. The same rage which had carry'd the *Romans* through the midst of the Enemies Army, did also break in to their Camp, where there was more blood and slaughter than in the Field, and most part of the Spoil in pure spight destroyed.

The other Army, under the command of the Consul *Papirius*, march'd all along the Seacoast as far as *Arpi*, and found all the People peaceable and friendly, more out of hatred to the *Samnites*, than for any good will or obligations they had to the *Romans*: But the *Samnites* dwelling in those days in Villages upon Mountains, contemning the People of the Champian Country as weak and effeminate, were wont to forrage and plunder them at their pleasure; whereas, had those parts been true to the *Samnites*, they might either have hindred the *Romans* from coming to *Arpi*, or when they were there, if they had denyed to supply them with Provisions, being at such a distance from *Rome*, might have ruined them: For after they march'd thence, and lay before *Luceria*, scarcity afflicted the besiegers, no less than the besieged: The *Romans* had all their Victuals from *Arpi*, but in such petty quantities, that whilst the Foot were upon Duty in the Leaguer, the Horse were sent out in Parties to *Arpi* to bring Corn from thence in sacks, and being often intercepted by the Enemy, were forc'd to fling off their burthen to defend themselves more nimbly: As for those in the Town, before the other Consul came up with his victorious Army, they had got in some promissions, and additional Forces too, from the Mountains of *Samnium*. But the arrival of *Publius* streightned them more than ever; for committing the particular management of the Siege to his Colleague, he was at leisure to scour the Neighboring Countries, and prevent the Enemy of all relief. The *Samnites* at last, seeing there was no hopes that those in the Town could longer hold out for want of Necessaries, gathering together all the Forces they could make, resolve to fight *Papirius*.

Both sides preparing for the Encounter, certain Ambassadors came from *Tarentum*, who charged both the *Samnites* and the *Romans* to desist, declaring, That which party soever should refuse to give over the War, against them they would fight in favor of the others. *Papirius* having received this Message, as if he had been much concern'd at it, told them, he must advise with his Colleague before he could return an answer. Having sent for the other Consul, and in the interim prepared all things necessary, they talk'd a while together, for there needed no long Consultation, the matter being already resolv'd, and so hung out to their Soldiers the signal of Battel [A Scarlet Tunick display'd on the point of a Spear o'th' top of the Generals Pavilion] The Consuls being busie to dispatch the Sacred Ceremonies, usual at such times, and giving the necessary Orders, up come the *Tarentine* Ambassadors expecting their Answer: To whom, says *Papirius*, We have consulted the Chicken-Master, and he tells us, The Birds feed right; and besides, That our Sacrifices by all signs and tokens are good and acceptable; you cannot blame us therefore, if when the Gods give us such Encouragement, we are going as you see to charge the Enemy: and with that commanded the Standards to advance, and led on his Army, joking at the egregious vanity of a People that were not able well to manage their own affairs, by reason of the Jars and Factions they had at home, and yet would take upon them to prescribe Laws of Peace and War to other Nations. The *Samnites* on the other side, having remitted their care and provision for a Battel, as either desiring Peace in earnest, or seeming to do so, to engage the *Tarentines* to their Party, when they saw the *Romans* so suddenly in array, began to baul, That they rest'd in the authority of the *Tarentines*, and would not come into the Field, nor put themselves in Arms out of their Fortifications, chusing rather to run all hazards, than slight the *Tarentines*, who had so courteously interposed as Mediators for Peace. The Consuls told them, They were glad on't, and look'd upon it as a good Omen of Success, and for their parts, wish'd the Enemy might

might also be in the mind not so much as to defend their Entrenchments. Then dividing their Forces, they march'd up to the Enemies Works, and storm'd them fiercely on every side; some fill'd up the Trenches, others pull'd down the Rampire, and flung the Bank and all down into the Ditches under their feet: Besides, their Natural Courage, spight, and desire of revenge for the late disgrace had so enflam'd them, that they made nothing to break into the Camp, every one crying out, Here are no Sireights, no Caudium, no Woods unpassable, where fraud and treachery too insolently triumph'd over error, but here's true Roman Courage, which no Trenches, no Bulwarks can withstand. They cut to pieces those that made resistance, and those that endeavor'd to escape; the arm'd and the unarm'd, Bond-slaves, Free-men, grown People and Children, Men and Beasts; nor had there one living Creature been left alive, if the Consuls had not given the signal for a Retreat, and partly by Commands, and partly by Threats, drove the Soldiers greedy of slaughter out of the Enemies Camp. And therefore presently, whilst they were yet mad and angry, for being interrupted in the sweetness of their Revenge, a Speech was made, informing them, That the Consuls neither were, nor ever would be behind-hand with any Soldier there, in hatred to the Enemy, but as they were their Conductors in War, so they would be their Leaders to a just Revenge, and the extremity of Execution, did not regard to the 600 Horse Prisoners in *Luceria* at present withhold their hands, lest despair of Quarter should hurry the Enemy in a blind fit of fury, to put them all to the Sword, as thinking it some satisfaction to murder them, before they were kill'd themselves: The Soldiers highly approv'd of this prudent tenderness, and rejoic'd that a stop was put to their fury, declaring, That they were willing to suffer any thing, rather than endanger the lives of so many brave young Gentlemen, and most of them of the best Families in *Rome*.

This Audience being dismiss'd, a Council of War was call'd to consult, Whether with all their Forces they should carry on sharply the Siege of *Luceria*; or part of them, with one of the Consuls, take a turn into *Apulia* and thereabouts, those People having always hitherto born but little good will or sincere affections to the *Romans*. *Publius* undertook this service, march'd all over *Apulia*, and in one Expedition secured several Nations, either subdued by Arms, or received upon Terms into Alliance and Society: Nor did *Papirius*, that staid to besiege *Luceria*, make long work on't; for having beset all the ways by which Provisions could be brought out of *Samnium*, the Garison in the Town were compell'd by Famine, to send out Propositions to the Roman Consul, desiring him to accept the Horse that lay there as Hostages, and had been the cause of the War, and to give over the Siege. *Papirius* thus answered, That they ought to have consulted Pontius the Son of *Herennius*, by whom the *Romans* were put under the Gallows, what punishment he thought due to the Conquered. But since they had rather have their Enemies do them right, than impose what is but equal upon themselves, He thought fit to let them know, it was his pleasure, That leaving all their Arms, Baggage, Cattel and People, unfit to bear Arms within the Walls, the whole Garison, strip'd to their shirts, should be put under the Gallows and so dismiss'd; wherein he should not inflict upon them any new Ignominy or Reproach, but revenge an old one which themselves before had offered. They refused nothing, seven thousand Soldiers march'd away in *Querpo* through the Gallows, and a vast Booty taken in the Town: All the Ensigns and Arms regain'd that had been lost at *Caudium*; and that which Crown'd their Joy, the Horse that were delivered as Hostages, were now safe restored. Scarce ever had the *Romans* a Victory more Illustrious for a sudden turn of Fortune; especially if it be true (as some Annals record) That *Pontius* himself, the *Samnite* General, to expiate the Consuls disgrace, was put under the Gallows with the rest. But I do not so much wonder that this is left uncertain, as that 'tis by some made a doubt, Whether *Lucius Cornelius* the Dictator, with *L. Papirius Cursor* General of the Horse, perform'd these brave Exploits first at *Caudium*, and then afterwards at *Luceria*, and being the chief Avenger of that scandal to the Roman name, did Triumph more deservedly, I think, than ever any Man before him, except *Furius Camillus*? Or whether the chief Honor of these Services do of right belong to *Papirius* as Consul? This Error is attended with another, making it a question, Whether *Papirius Cursor*, for his good service at *Luceria*, were at the next Election continued in his Magistracy, and made the third time Consul, with *Q. Aemilius Carretanus* the second time? or, Whether it were *L. Papirius Mugillanus*, and the mistake happen'd in the Surname?

'Tis agreed on all hands, that the rest of these Wars hence-forwards, were finish'd by Consuls, *Aemilius* in one Battel wholly subdued the *Ferentanes*, and had the City whereinto they fled surrendred to him upon Conditions, and Hostages given for performance: With like good Success did the other Consul proceed against the *Satricanes*, who being accepted as free Citizens of *Rome*, did after the misfortune at *Caudium*, revolt to the *Samnites*, and admitted a Garison of theirs into the City: For having drawn his Army before the Walls, they sent to the Consul, begging Peace with earnest Prayers: but he returned them this heavy answer, That unless they did immediately put the *Samnite* Garison to the Sword, or surrender them to him, they should not presume to come again into his presence. That word struck greater terror into the Colony than all his Arms; and when the Messengers went on to demand of the Consul, By what means he could believe they that were but few and weak, could

be too hard for such a strong and well-arm'd Garison? He bid them ask Counsel of those by whose persuasions they first entertain'd them; and scarce would he grant them leave to consult with their Senate, and bring him their Answer. Their Senate was divided into two Factions; one that had been the Authors of the Revolt from the Romans, the other Loyal Citizens; yet both endeavor'd, That by all means the Consul might grant them Peace: One party (since the Samnite-Garison, was to march away next night, being no longer able to endure the Siege for want of Provision) thought it enough to acquaint the Consul, at what hour, and at which Gate they were to go out, and what way they intended to march: But the others, who had always oppos'd the joining with the Samnites, did also the same Night open another Gate to the Consul, and secretly received abundance of Arm'd Men into the City: Thus by a double Treachery, both the Samnite Garison was unexpectedly cut off by Ambuscades laid in the Woods as they pass'd, and at the same time a Shout set up in the City, that was full of the Enemy, so that in one minute the Samnite was destroyed, the *Satrican* taken, and all at the Devotion of the Consul, who having made Inquisition who they were that caus'd the Revolt, such as were found guilty he caus'd to be beheaded, disarm'd the Town, and plac'd therein a lusty Garison. From hence *Papirius Cursor* return'd to Rome to Triumph (as they write who say, that by his Conduct *Luceria* was recovered, and the Samnites put under the Gallows.) And indeed, he was a Person worthy of all commendations for a brave Commander in the Wars, and excellent not only for the vigor of his mind, but also for the natural strength of his Body; nimble and light of foot almost to a Miracle, whence he had his Surname, *Cursor*, or the excellent Runner; for 'tis reported, he could out-run any Man of that Age: And whether by the vigor of his constitution, or by reason of much exercise, a stout and mighty Eater he was, and drank as liberally to his Meat, and could carry it off as well. Never had the Soldiers, Foot or Horse, smarter Service under a General, being himself Master of a Body that could endure all Fatigues. The Cavalry once were so bold, as to Petition him, that in consideration of some handson exploit they had done, he would be pleas'd to ease them a little of their ordinary pains and hard duty: Yes, quoth he, that you may not complain that you have no easement at all, I will henceforward ease you of this pains, That when ye alight from your Horses, you shall not need any more to stroke their Shoulders or Buttocks. He was besides, a Person severe, and kept both his own Citizens, and their Allies and Confederates, in mighty awe of him: The Prætor of *Præneste* happened once for fear to be a little slow in bringing up a Reserve which he commanded, into the Front, *Cursor* immediately caus'd him to be sent for, as he was walking before his Tent; and withal, order'd the Lictor to get ready his Hatchet, which being done, and the *Prænestin* half dead with terror, expecting nothing but present Death, Come hither, Lictor, (says the General) cut me up this stump of a Tree, which hinders my walk; and so having sufficiently terrified the Fellow, and set a small Fine upon him, dismiss'd him. Without doubt in that Age, which yielded as great plenty of gallant Captains as any, there was not a Person on whom the State of Rome did more rely and depend, in so much, as some Writers have concluded, that he would have been an equal match to the Great *Alexander*, if after the Conquest of *Asia*, he had bent his Arms against *Europe*.

XVII. Now although from the beginning of this Work it may sufficiently appear, that I have sought nothing less than Digressions from the just order and series of the Story; nor have at all endeavor'd, by extravagant Varieties, to garnish it, or with pleasant Sallies to divert the Reader and refresh my self; yet happening upon the mention of so great a King, and so renowned a Captain, I could not but be moved to disclose and set down those thoughts which have oft occur'd to my mind, and inquire a little, What event would probably have succeeded to the Roman Affairs, had they happened to have been engaged with this illustrious Conqueror. Those things that are of greatest consideration, and seem to have the Ascendant in all Wars, are, the number of Soldiers, and withal, their natural Courage; the sufficiency and dexterity of the Commanders: and lastly, Fortune, which as in all humane Affairs it bears a great stroke, so in War molt of all. He that shall narrowly weigh all these, either jointly or severally, may reasonably conclude, That as the Roman State bore up against other Kings and Nations, so it might have prov'd to him also Invincible. To begin with ballancing the Commanders one against another, I do not deny but *Alexander* was an excellent Leader, but that which enhaunc'd his Fame, was, That he was a sole and Sovereign Commander; a young Man, his Sails always full blown with prosperous Gales, and one who dyed before ever he had labored under any of the frowns of Fortune. For to omit other glorious Princes and renowned Captains, illustrious Examples of the uncertainty of Humane Grandeur: What was it that expos'd *Cyrus* (whom the Greeks so highly magnifie) or our great *Pompey* of late, to the turning Wheel of Fortune, but only this, That they lived long? On the other side, Let us take a review of the Roman Commanders, I mean not through all Ages, but such as being Consuls or Dictators about those times, *Alexander* must have engag'd with, if he had spread his Ensigns this way, there were *M. Valerius Corvinus*, *M. Marcius Rutilus*, *C. Sulpicius*, *T. Manlius Torquatus*, *Q. Publilius Philo*, *L. Papirius Cursor*, *Q. Fabius Maximus*, the two *Decii*, *L. Volturnus*, *Manius Curius*, besides

besides abundance of prodigious Warriors that succeeded afterwards; if he had first set upon the *Carthaginians* [as he was resolv'd to have done, if he had not been prevented by Death] and so had arriv'd in *Italy* when well stricken in years. Each one of these was master of as good Parts and natural Abilities, as *Alexander*, and had the advantage of being train'd up in an incomparable Military Discipline, which having been delivered from hand to hand ever since the foundation of their City, was now by continual Precepts arriv'd to the perfection of an Art. For so after one and the same course did our Kings of old manage their Wars; so after them the *Funii* and *Valerii*, the banishers of Kings; so consequently the *Fabii*, the *Quintii*, the *Cornelii*; so *Furius Camillus*, whom in his Age two of those Romans with whom *Alexander* must have encountred, [*Manlius Torquatus* and *Valerius Corvinus*] had seen when they were Youths. And whereas *Alexander* often hazarded his Person, and underwent all Military toils and dangers (which was one thing that not a little added to his Glory: ) Can it be thought, that if *Manlius Torquatus*, or *Valerius Corvinus*, had chanc'd to meet him at the head of his Troops, either of them would not have prov'd a Match for him, who were both of them famous for stout Soldiers before ever they had Commands? Would the *Decii*, that rush'd with devoted Bodies into the midst of the Enemy, have been afraid of him? Would *Papirius Cursor*, that mighty Man both for strength of Body and gallantry of Mind, have declined to cope with him? Was it likely that a single young Gentleman should out-wit or manage his Affairs with greater prudence than that Senate, which he only, whoever he was, had a right *Idæa* of, that said, It consisted altogether of Kings? Here, forsooth, was the danger, lest he should more advantageously choose his Ground to Encamp on, provide Victuals more carefully, prevent Surprizes and Stratagems more warily, know better when to venture a Battel, range his Army more Soldier-like, or strengthen it with Reserves and Recruits, better than any of those whom I have named knew how to do: Alas! in all these matters, he would have confess'd he had not to deal with a *Darius*, over whom, being attended with a vast Train of Women and Eunuchs, softned with wearing Gold and Purple, and clogg'd with the superfluous Furniture of his luxurious Fortune, he did indeed obtain an unbloody Victory, meeting rather with a Booty than an Enemy, and had only this to boast of, That he durst handsonly condemn such an abundance of Vanity. He would have had another kind of prospect in *Italy* than in *India*, through which he march'd at his ease with a drunken Army, Feasting and Revelling all the way: But here he must have met with the thick woody Forrest, and almost unpassable Streights of *Apulia*; the lofty Mountains of *Lucania*, and fresh Tokens of a late Defeat that happen'd to his own Name and Family, where his Uncle *Alexander*, King of the *Epirotes*, was hewn to pieces.

We speak hitherto of *Alexander*, not yet debauch'd with excess of good Fortune, where- XVIII. in never any Man had less command of himself than he: But if we consider him in his new Habit, and that new Nature, (if I may call it so) which he took up after he had a while been flush'd with Victories, we may avow he would have come into *Italy*, more like a *Darius* than an *Alexander*, and brought with him a bastard Army, altogether degenerated from the *Macedonian* courage and manners, into the debauches and effeminacies of the *Persians*. I am asham'd, in so great a Monarch as he was, to relate his proud humors of changing so oft his Garb; his excessive vain-glory, in expecting that Men should adore him by casting themselves prostrate at his feet, when-ever they approach'd him; a base servile flattery, which must have been uneasy to the *Macedonians* though they had been Conquer'd, much less to be endured now they were Conquerors; his barbarous Cruelties and Butcheries of his nearest Friends amongst his Cups and Banquets, and that ridiculous Vanity of forging a Divine Pedigree, and boasting himself the Son of *Jupiter*. Nay more, since his Drunkenness and Greediness of Wine, his savage Passions and cholerick Phrenesies did every day increase (I report nothing but what all Authors agree in) shall we not think that his Abilities, as a General, must quickly have decayed and been wonderfully impaired? But here perhaps was the danger (which some little trifling Greeks who would cry up the glory even of the *Parthians*, to depress the Roman name, are often wont to alledge) That the People of Rome would never have been able to endure the very Majesty and dread of *Alexander's* Name (whom indeed I am apt to think they then scarce ever heard of: ) And that though in *Athens*, a City weakned by the *Macedonian* Arms, and beholding so near hand the yet smoaking ruines of *Thebes*, there were Men that durst very smartly load him with Invectives (as appears by their Orations still extant) yet amongst so many Roman Hero's, not one would have been found of so much Courage, as to speak a word against him frankly and boldly. Let us conceit as magnificently as may be of this Prince, yet still it will be but the Grandeur of one Man, acquir'd in little more than twelve Years continued Felicity; and whereas some extol it highly upon this Account, That the Romans, though never worsted in any War, have yet been defeated in divers Battels, whereas Fortune was never wanting to *Alexander* in any one encounter, they do not consider that they are comparing the Exploits of one particular Man, and he too but a Youth, with the Achievements of a People that have now been involv'd in Wars eight hundred years; since therefore on this side there are numbred more Ages than Years on the other, is it any

any wonder if there have happen'd a little more variety of Fortune in so long a space, than in a term of thirteen Years? You ought rather to compare Man with Man, Captain with Captain, and then the Fortune of one with the other. How many Roman Generals may I name, that never suffered a Repulse in their days? We can run over whole Pages in the Annals of our Magistrates, full of Consuls and Dictators, whose Success as well as Virtue, was such, as they never gave the Common-wealth so much as one days grief or discontentment. And that which makes them yet to be more admired than *Alexander*, or any other King in the World; some of them held their Office of Dictator not above ten or twenty days, and none the Consulship beyond a Year: Their Levies were often obstructed by the Tribunes of the Commons, so that they set forth too late; and sometimes for holding the Court for Elections, they were sent for home too soon: In the hurry of Affairs the Year was apt to be wheel'd about, and then they must leave all to new Instruments; now the rashness, another time the dishonesty of a Colleague, was either a great hindrance to their Success, or perhaps occasion'd a mischief. Many times they succeeded after the defeat of their Predecessors, or receiv'd a raw and undisciplin'd Army: From all which inconveniences Kings are not only free, but absolute Masters both of their Enterprizes, and the times and means they will take to accomplish them, leading all things by their Councils, and not following them. Had therefore this unconquered *Alexander* been engaged against these unconquered Captains, he would have hazarded all those past pleasures of Fortunes favor; nay, in this the danger would have been greater, that the *Macedonians* had but one *Alexander*, and he not only obnoxious to many Casualties, but voluntarily exposing himself to frequent Dangers. But the *Romans* had many that were *Alexanders* equals, both for Glory and the grandeur of their Achievements, each of whom, might according to his peculiar Fate, either live or dye, without at all endangering the Publick.

XIX.

It remains now to ballance the Forces on each side, and that either in respect of numbers, quality of the Soldiers, or the multitude of their Allies and Auxiliaries. There were numbered of *Romans* in the Surveys taken by the Censors of that Age, *Two hundred and fifty thousand Polls*; and therefore in all the revolts of the *Latines*, they were able to levy *Ten Legions*, and that too almost wholly in the City; and frequently in those times, four or five distinct Armies were kept on foot at once, which maintained Wars in *Etruria*, in *Umbria*, with the *Gauls*, (Confederates with the Enemy) in *Samnum* and in *Lucania*: Besides all these, *Alexander* would have found, the whole *Latine* Nation, with the *Sabines*, and *Volscians*, and *Aequians*, and all *Campania*, a great part of *Umbria* and *Tuscany*, with the *Picentes*, and *Marsians*, and *Pelignians*, and *Vestins*, and *Apulians*, all the adjacent Coast of the *Greeks* along the *Tyrrhen* Sea, from the *Thurians* to *Naple* and *Cumes*, and from thence the *Samnites* as far as *Antium* and *Hofia*; all these, I say, he should have found either fast Friends to the *Romans*, or Enemies so weakened as they could not hurt them. On the other side, he must have cross'd the Sea, having of old *Macedonian* Bands not above *Thirty thousand Foot*, and *four thousand Horse*, and those most of them *Thessalians*; for this was the total of his Force when he appeared most formidable. If he should have added to these, *Persians*, *Indians*, or others out of his new Conquests, they would but more encumber rather than assist him: Then the *Romans* had Supplies at hand to reinforce them presently from home upon any accident; whereas *Alexander* (as it happened afterwards to *Annibal*) Warring in a remote foreign Country, his Army would have mouldered away apace, and could not readily have Recruits. The *Macedonians* had for their Arms, a Shield and a Spear like a Pike; the *Romans* a large Target that skreen'd almost the whole Body, and a Javelin, a Weapon not a little more serviceable than the Spear, both to strike and push with, near hand, and also to be lanced at a distance. The Soldiers of each side were wont to stand firm, and keep their Ranks; the *Macedonian Phalanx* was immoveable and uniform; but the *Roman* Battalions more distinct, and consisting of several Divisions, was more ready to separate and close again upon any occasion. To speak now of labor and travel, What Soldier is comparable to the *Roman*? Who better able to hold out and endure all the fatigues of War? *Alexander* worsted in one Battel had been utterly undone: But what Power could have broken the *Romans* courage, whom neither the shameful disgrace at *Caudium*, nor the fatal defeat at *Cannæ*, could in the least daunt or dispirit? Undoubtedly *Alexander*, although his first attempts should have prov'd prosperous, would often here have missed his *Persians* and his *Indians*; he would have wish'd to have been dealing again with the soft and cowardly Nations of *Asia*, and confess, *That before he only fought with Women*, as King *Alexander* of *Epirus* is reported to have said, when he had here received his Deaths wound, reflecting upon those easie Occurrents of War, which this young Prince (his Nephew) met with in *Asia*, in respect of those difficulties he himself had to struggle with in *Italy*. And truly, when I consider that the Engagements at Sea between the *Romans* and *Carthaginians* in the first *Punic* War, took up no less than four and twenty years space; I am inclinable to conjecture, that the whole age of *Alexander* would not have been enough to have finish'd a War with either a one of those States. And since by ancient Leagues they were then at Amity and in Alliance with each other, 'tis probable an equal apprehension of danger might have united them against this common Enemy: And what less could he then expect but

but to have been utterly overwhelm'd and crush'd by the joint Arms of two the most potent Republicks in the World? The *Romans*, though not indeed in the days of *Alexander*, or when the *Macedonian* Power was at height, have yet since try'd the courage of the *Macedonians*, under the Conduct of *Antiochus*, *Philip*, and *Perseus*, and came off not only without loss, but even without any danger or hazard. It may seem a proud word, but without arrogancy it is spoken, Let there be no Civil Wars amongst us; never can we be distressed by any Enemy, Horse or Foot; never in set Battel, never in plain equal ground, or places disadvantageous, out-done in Courage or Resolution. The Soldier I confess in heavy Armor, may be apprehensive of the Enemies Cavalry in a Champion Country, or be incommoded with Arrows shot from a distance, or embarrass'd in unpassable Woods, or Quarters where provisions cannot be brought to them; but still let there be a thousand Armies greater and stronger than that of *Alexander* and his *Macedonians*, so long as we hold together, and continue that love of Peace, and prudent care of civil Concord, wherein we live at this day, we are able, and ever shall be, to rout and put them all to flight.

*M. Fossius Flaccinator*, and *L. Plautius Venno* were now made Consuls: That year Ambassadors from several Cities of the *Samnites*, having on their knees begg'd Peace of the Senate, were refer'd to the People: Nor did their Prayers there altogether prevail; for as for a League, that was flatly deny'd; but at last having continued their Importunities for several days together, they obtain'd a Truce for two years. In *Apulia* the *Theanenses* and *Canusines*, wearied with the spoils made upon their Territories, submitted themselves to *L. Plautius* the Consul, and gave Hostages. The same year began Praefects or Provosts to be first establish'd at *Capua*, and certain Laws prescribed by *L. Furius* the Praetor, the Inhabitants having desired the same, as a remedy for their languishing State greatly embroil'd in civil Discords. At *Rome*, two new Tribes were added, the *Ufentine* and *Falerine*. The Affairs of *Apulia* were now declining, therefore the *Theatines* being of that Country, sent to the new Consuls *C. Junius Bubulcus*, and *Q. Aemilius Barbula*, to desire a Peace, offering to bring the whole Province of *Apulia* into the same: Upon which fair promise they obtain'd it, yet was not the League indifferent and upon equal terms, but on condition that they should be in subjection to the *Romans*. *Apulia* thus subdued (for *Junius* had also taken the strong Town of *Acheront*) they march'd against the *Lucanians*, where by the sudden arrival of *Aemilius* the Consul, the Town of *Nerulum* was taken by storm. It being noised abroad how well the Affairs of *Capua* were settled and established by the *Roman* Discipline, the *Antiates* came and complain'd, That they were without any certain Laws and Magistrates; whereupon certain Commissioners were appointed by the Senate to ordain Statutes for that Colony, so that now the *Roman* Laws, as well as their Arms, began to extend themselves and grow into great request.

When the former Consuls at the end of the year went out of their Office, they did not deliver up the Army to the Consuls by them Created, *Sp. Nautius* and *M. Popilius*, but to *L. Aemilius* the Dictator, who together with *L. Fulvius* his General of the Horse, laying siege to *Saticula*, gave occasion to the *Samnites* to rebel: Here the *Romans* were press'd with a double danger; on the one side, the *Samnites* with a mighty Army coming to relieve their Associates, encamp'd hard by them; and on the other, the *Saticulans* made a sudden sally, and with great Bravery set upon their Out-guards: And each of these Parties depending rather on the others Assistance than their own Strength, did for a while smartly engage the *Romans*; but though the Fight were sharp and doubtful, yet the Dictator was pretty safe on either side: For as he had posted himself in a place, where 'twas not easie to hem him in, so he had divided his Army back to back to make head against each of the Assailants, but directed the hotter Charge to be made against those that sallied out of the Town, and without much ado, beat them back again within their Walls: Then being at leisure, he turned the whole brunt of the Battel upon the *Samnites*, with whom there was a smarter tug; but the Victory, though long first, was neither doubtful nor variable. The *Samnites* beat into their Trenches, having in the night put out all their Fires, privately march'd off, and in despair of relieving *Saticula*, to pay the Enemy in their own Coyn, set down before *Plisfia*, a Town confederate with the *Romans*.

The year having finish'd its resolution, the War was carried on by the Dictator *Q. Fabius*; the new Consuls, like the former, remaining still at *Rome*. *Fabius* coming to receive the Army from *Aemilius* at *Saticula*, brought with him new Recruits; for the *Samnites*, not continuing long at *Plisfia*, had reinforced themselves with a multitude of new Soldiers from home, and being encamp'd as before, challenging the *Romans* to a Battel, endeavored to divert them from the Siege. But so much the more briskly did the Dictator assault the Enemies walls, judging the taking of the Town to be of the greatest importance to the War, and troubled himself no further with the *Samnites*, than to set out Guards to prevent their falling upon his Camp, which so far provoked them, that they were always skirmishing about the Out-works, and would never let them be at quiet: One day, being just ready to break into the Ports of the Camp, the General of the Horse, *Q. Aemilius Carvetanus*, without consulting the Dictator, advancing with all his Troops, beat off the Enemy, and though the Encounter was but short, yet it was very sharp, and not only great

XX.

XXI.

XXII.



great numbers of common Soldiers, but both the Leaders slain: For first, the *Samnites* General taking it in disdain to see *Emilius* charge so fiercely, and that himself was forced to retreat; with much pains, and encouraging his Troops, rallied them to a second Charge; but as he was bravely leading up his Men, the *Roman* General of the Cavalry galloping up to him, with one push of his Spear tumbled him dead from his Horse; yet was not the rest of the Troop (as commonly it happens) at all daunted with the death of their Chief, but rather exasperated: Those that were next, charged *Emilius* stoutly as he rode through their Troops, but left to their Generals Brother the peculiar honor of revenging his death, who full of grief and rage, pluck'd the General of the Cavalry from his Horse, and slew him upon the Spot, whose Body falling amongst them, the *Samnites* were very like to have got possession of, had not the *Roman* Horse alighted, whom the *Samnites* imitated, and so a fierce encounter happened between them about the Corps of their Generals, wherein the *Romans* had indisputably the better on't; and having recovered the Body of *Emilius*, triumphantly carry'd it with a Joy intermix'd with Sorrow, unto their own Camp: The *Samnites* having lost their General, and made trial of their Fortune in this Skirmish, quitted all thoughts of relieving *Saticula*, and returned to the Siege of *Plifia*: And within few days after *Saticula* surrendered to the *Romans*, and the *Samnites* by storm made themselves Masters of *Plifia*.

XXIII. Now the Seat of War is chang'd, the Legions led from *Samnium* and *Apulia*, unto *Sora*, a Town that had revolted to the *Samnites*, and Massacred all the *Roman* Colony planted there. The *Roman* Army first hastned thither with speedy marches to revonge the Murder of their Citizens, and recover the Colony, but were alarm'd by their Scouts, that the *Samnite* Legions were in the rear of them, and at no great distance; whereupon they faced about to meet them, and near *Lantula* was fought a doubtful Battel, for neither the slaughter nor flight of either Party, but Night determined it, whilst each side was yet doubtful, whether they had the best or worst on't: Some Authors relate, that the *Romans* lost the day, and that *Q. Emilius* General of the Cavalry, here lost his life. In whose place *C. Fabius* being chosen, was dispatch'd from *Rome* with a fresh Army, and having by Messengers sent before, consulted the Dictator where he should halt, and when, and on which side he should Attack the Enemy, put himself in a close Ambuscade. The Dictator having for several days after the Fight, kept himself in his Trenches, rather like one besieg'd, than a Besieger of others, on a sudden set up the Signal of Battel, and thinking it a better whet to valiant minds to let them have no hope, but what sprung from their own Courage, concealed from his Soldiers the arrival of the new Master of Horse with Auxiliaries: And as if there had been no way for their Escape, but by breaking through the midst of their Enemies, thus bespeaks them: *We are here, Gentlemen Soldiers! surrounded, and can expect no passage, unless we cut it out with our Swords; our present Quarters are safe enough by the Entrenchments and Fortifications, but will be rendred untenable by scarcity; for all things near us are eaten up, or else those that should supply us are revolted, and suppose the People were willing, the Avenues are block'd up; I will therefore no longer defer your good Fortune, by confining you to your Tents, into which you may at any time, if you should miss of a Victory, retreat and secure your selves as you did the other day. But 'tis fit our Fortifications should be defended by Arms, rather than our Arms sheltered by our Works; let them have a Camp well fortified to retire to, that have a mind to spin out a War; We, for our parts, will voluntarily deprive our selves of all hopes but that of Victory. Advance therefore your Ensigns upon the Enemy, and as soon as the Army is got beyond the Works, let those that are appointed set fire on the Camp; your Losses, brave Soldiers! shall be sufficiently recompens'd with the Plunder of all the Nations round about that have revolted.* With this Speech of the Dictator's intimating no less than the last necessity, the Soldiers incens'd, warmly fell upon the Enemy, and the seeing their Tents flaming behind them (though it were only the foremost that were ordered to be burn'd) added not a little to their Fury, with a violent Charge they disordered the Enemies Front, and presently after, upon view of the Tents burning (which was the Signal agreed on) the General of the Horse comes up, and fell upon the Enemy in the Rear. The *Samnites* being thus environ'd, were glad every Man to shift for himself as well as he could: A vast multitude of them shuffling together for fear in an heap, and hindering one another in that confusion from making any Defence, were cut to pieces: The Camp of the Enemy seiz'd and ransack'd, loaded with whose Spoils the *Romans* returned to their Camp, and yet scarce so much pleased with their Victory, as overjoyed to find (beyond all expectation) their Tents safe and sound, save only a small part on the skirts of the Camp, a little disfigured and ruined by the Fire.

XXIV. From thence they returned to the Siege of *Sora*, where the new Consuls *M. Paelius* and *C. Sulpicius*, receiv'd the Army from the Dictator *Fabius*, many of the old Soldiers being discharged, and new Regiments list'd for supplies. But whilst they found the Town so fortified by its situation, as to be too strong for an attack by Storm, and that to starve it, would take up too much time; it happened a Renegado privately got out, and desiring the *Roman* Out-guards to carry him to the Consuls, promised to betray the place; and upon examination, finding his Overture probable, he prevailed with them to remove their

their Camp (which was now just under the Walls) six miles off, by means whereof the Enemies *Corps-du-guard* by day, and their Watch by night, would be more negligent. And he himself the next night, having laid some Companies in Ambuscade in a Wood, carries with him Ten select Soldiers up the steep and almost unpassable Hill, by winding ways unto a Fort which had then no Soldiers in it, as thinking it secure enough since the Enemy was retreated. These men carry'd with them more Darts and Lances, than so small a number could well use: Besides, there were abundance of Stones both naturally lying there, and heap'd up by the Townsmen to render the place more defensible: When he had here planted his Men, he shewed them a narrow steep foot-path, leading out of the Town to that Tower: *From getting up here (says he) Three men well arm'd, may keep off never so great a multitude: Now you are ten in number, and, which is more, Romans, and of Romans the stoutest and most valiant. Both the place will make for your advantage, and the time; for the night renders all things that are uncertain and not well known, much greater and more terrible to those that are already afraid; let me alone to fill the Town with dread and amazement; Do you but diligently keep possession of the Fort.* Then down he runs with the greatest noise and tumult he could make, crying out, *Arm! Arm! Arm! Where's your Faith, fellow Citizens? Where's your Courage? The Fort is taken by the Enemy, hasten to defend your selves, or presently all your Throats will be cut.* This news, thumping at the chief Persons doors, he told, and to all he met, running out into the Streets upon the hurry he made. The alarm and fear was presently spread throughout the City; the trembling Magistrates send Scouts to the Fort, who bringing back word that the same was possess'd by Armed men, whom they multiply'd to a vast number; they gave over all hopes of recovering it, but every one shifts for himself, the Gates by people scarce half Armed, and not quite awake, are broke open to make their escape: at one of which, the *Roman* Ambuscade rushes in with a mighty shout, and kill all they meet with. Thus was *Sora* taken, and the Consuls arriving in the Morning, those that were left alive yielded up themselves at discretion; of whom 225, that were by general consent declared Guilty of Contriving and promoting both the Revolt of the Town, and the murder of the Colony, were carry'd in Chains to *Rome*; therest of the Inhabitants were suffered to continue there under a Garison: All those sent to *Rome*, were first whip'd in the Market-place, and then had their Heads cut off, to the great joy of the People, whose especial Interest it was, to have those secured who were sent out into remote Colonies.

The Consuls removing from *Sora*, carry'd the War into the Territories of the *Ausonians*; XXV. for upon the advance of the *Samnites* and the Battel at *Lantula*, Conspiracies were set on foot throughout all *Campania*; nor was *Capua* guiltless: nay, in *Rome* it felt ill Blood was breeding, and a wary eye kept upon some persons of the first Quality; but the whole Nation of the *Ausonians* were easily reduced, their chief Towns being betrayed, as *Sora* was, by some of their own, that is to say, The Cities of *Ausona*, *Minturnæ*, and *Vesuvia*, from whence there came twelve young Noblemen to the Consuls, acquainting them, *How those places had long wish'd for the Samnites coming, and that as soon as they heard of the Battel at Lantula, they reckoned the Romans beaten, and had assisted the Samnites both with Men and Arms; but since the Samnites were routed, they made shew of living in Peace, which they would continue no longer than they had an opportunity to break it: That indeed they had not shut their Gates upon the Romans, for fear of bringing a War upon their own Heads, but that they were resolv'd to shut them if any Army should approach towards them: And that in this wavering posture they might easily be surprized.* Upon this Advice the Army march'd nearer, and at one and the same time particular parties were dispatch'd towards all the three Cities, some in Armor to lye in Ambuscade near the Walls, others with Swords hid under their Cloaths, who at break of day, as soon as the Gates were open, went into the City, and at once fell upon the Watch, and gave the signal to the rest to come up, and so seizing the Ports, made themselves masters of all the three Towns at one and the same hour: But by reason of the Consuls being absent, there was no moderation observ'd in the Slaughter, so that almost the whole *Ausonian* Nation, upon but a bare suspicion of a design to Revolt, was cut to pieces and destroyed, as fiercely as if they had been in the most open and desperate Rebellion.

The same Year *Luceria* fell into the *Samnites* hands, the *Roman* Garison being betray'd, XXVI. but the Traitors went not long without their reward; for the *Roman* Army was near, and the City lying in a Plain, was recovered by them upon the very first assault. The *Lucerines* and *Samnites* were every Mothers child slain, and so enraged the Senate was, that when they came to debate touching sending a new Colony thither, many were for having the City utterly destroy'd and demolish'd: For besides the hatred they had against a place that had twice Revolted, they could not but abhor sending of Citizens so far off, to live as in Banishment amongst those cruel and barbarous Nations. However in the end it was concluded, That a Colony should be sent, and 2500 persons were dispatch'd accordingly. That Year, whilst the *Romans* met with nothing but Treachery and Falshood on all sides, discovery was made of a Conspiracy at *Capua*, carried on by some of the chief of that City: The Senate being consulted, considered it as a thing by no means to be neglected,

and not only ordered, That the persons suspected should be put to the Question, or tortured to find out the truth, but also that a Dictator should be created to take the Examinations; C. *Mænius* was the Man pitch'd upon for that Office, who appointed *M. Fostius* his General of the Horse. Great was the terror of that Magistracy, and therefore whether it were for dread thereof, or out of consciousness of their own guilt; the principal Conspirators, viz. The *Calavii*, and *Ovius*, and *Novius*, before they were cited to appear before the Dictator, made away themselves, and by their Death prevented his Judgment. By which means, all occasion for executing his Commission of Inquiry, at *Capua* being removed, the same was by Interpretation transferred to *Rome*, saying, That he had good warrant to proceed by way of Inquisition against all such, as not only at *Capua*, but any where else, had held secret Meetings, or plotted against the State; and that all Conventicles, and indirect Courses for obtaining of Honors and Offices, were directly against the Commonwealth. So that the Commission enlarged both in respect of Persons and Crimes, the Dictator not refusing to take cognizance of any Offence whatsoever. Divers of the Nobility being accused, appealed to the Tribunes, but they declined to interpose in their favor, and so the Presentment was taken against them. Whereupon the Nobles, not only those that were particularly charged, but all of them in general, Declared, That it was not the true ancient Nobility indeed that was concerned in these Crimes, since if it were not for indirect courses, they would have easie and open access unto Places of Dignity and Preferment; but they were a company of Upstarts, and Gentlemen of the first Head who used these sinister practices, to get themselves into Offices, wherein the Dictator and Master of the Horse were as guilty as any, and so they should be made to know as soon as they were out of their Places. This made *Mænius* bestir himself, who regarding his Reputation more than his High Dignity, went up into the common Assembly before all the People, and spake as follows: "Although the knowledge which you all, Worthy Citizens of *Rome*! have had of the whole course of my Life past, as well as the Honor now lately conferr'd upon me, may be a sufficient evidence of my Innocence. For 'twas not here, as often it has happened when the Affairs of the State so required, That he that was the best Soldier, or the greatest Captain, but such an one as has ever been most free from ambitious Intrigues and unlawful Cabals, was the man most fit to be chosen Dictator for managing these Inquisitions; yet since some of the Nobility, (for what Reasons, it will be more proper for you to guess, than for me being a Magistrate to speak without certain proof) have with all their might and main endeavored first to set aside the Inquisitions altogether, and when they were not able to do that, chose, though they were *Patricians*, to fly for shelter to their old Adversaries the Commons, and implore the protection of the Tribunes, rather than to justify themselves and abide a legal Trial: And at last, having there too met with a repulse, thinking all means safer than to stand upon their Innocency, they have fallen upon us with unjust Calumnies, and not blush'd, being private Men, to arraign your Dictator. Therefore, that God and the World may see, That as they in vain endeavor to avoid the giving an account of their own undue Practices, so I am frankly ready to meet their Charge, and expose myself to the strictest scrutiny of my Enemies, I do here resign my Dictatorship, and do request you, My Lords, the Consuls! if the Senate shall commit this Affair to your management, That you would begin with me first, and this Gentleman *M. Fostius*, that it may appear, how we, through our own Innocency alone, and not by the privilege of our Offices, are protected and safe from these Slanders and pretended Crimes. Then forthwith he gave over his Dictatorship, and immediately after *Fostius* did the same with his Generalship of the Horse. And these two were the first that were proceeded against before the Consuls (for to them the executing of the aforesaid Commission was awarded by the Senate) but notwithstanding all the Prosecution and Depositions of the Nobility, they came off with Honor. Likewise *Publius Philo*, though he had so often pass'd through the highest Offices, and perform'd so many gallant Services both at home and abroad, being much envied by the Nobility, was forced to take his Tryal, and acquitted. But this Inquisition into the actions of Persons of Quality, was quickly over, descending first to meaner People; and at last, by the same Cabals and Factions which it intended to remedy and punish, it was wholly overthrown.

XXVII.

The report of these Jars at home, and especially the hopes of the revolt of *Campania*, as was design'd, recall'd the *Samnites*, who before seem'd altogether intent upon *Apulia*, back to *Caudium*, that so being near at hand, if any disturbances should administer opportunity, they might take *Capua* from the *Romans*. The Consuls march'd thither with a formidable Army, and lingred a while about the Passes and Streights, being not able either way with safety to come at the Enemy, who at last fetching a compass through the open ways, came down into the Plains of *Campania*, and there first both sides came to have a fight of each others Camp; after which, they exercised each other with petty Skirmishes, especially between the Horse: Nor had the *Romans* any cause to complain of the success of those Encounters, nor of the delay and spinning out of the War; but the *Samnites* Generals found, that their Forces were diminish'd every day, and much weakened by this tedious work, and therefore resolve upon a Battel, placing their Horse in the two Wings, but with express charge

charge to have a strict eye towards the Camp to prevent any mischief there, and not so much to engage themselves in the Battel, which would be safe enough with the Infantry. *Sulpitius* the Consul led on the Right Wing, and *Pætelius* the Left. The Right Wing was ranged more wide and open, and with thinner Ranks and Files, because the *Samnites* had done the like on that side, with a design either to surround the Enemy, or prevent being enclosed themselves. The Left, besides that it was in closer Order, happened to be reinforced by the sudden policy of *Pætelius*, causing the subsidiary Legions which were planted in the Rear for Reserves, to march up to the Front, and so with all his Forces at once charging the Enemy, made them retreat: The *Samnites* Cavalry seeing their Foot worsted, prepared to relieve them; but as they rode cross between the two Armies, the *Roman* Horse gallop'd up to flank them, and put both Horse and Foot into Confusion, so far, that all that part of the Enemies Army was routed. On that Wing there was now not only *Pætelius*, but *Sulpitius* too, to encourage the Soldiers; for he had strayed from his own Party before they joyn'd Battel, upon the extraordinary shout given by the Left Wing at their first Charge, and seeing on that part undoubted Victory, hasten'd back to his own Charge, accompanied with Twelve hundred Men, but found things there in a quite contrary posture; the *Romans* retreating, and the Victorious Enemy marching full upon them with Ensigns displaid. However, the lucky coming in of the Consul, presently altered the Scene; for as his Men were encouraged at the sight of him, so the party he brought with him, being very stout Men, yielded them a more effectual assistance than might be expected from so small a number. This, and the news of the other Wings success, renewed the Fight, and thenceforwards the *Romans* bore all before them, and the *Samnites* giving over all defence, were every where either cut to pieces, or taken Prisoners, except those who escap'd to *Maleventum*, a Town that has since changed its name, and is now call'd *Beneventum*. 'Tis Recorded, That Thirty thousand *Samnites* were that Day killed or taken.

After this glorious Victory, the Consuls led their Legions to besiege *Bovianum*, and took up their Winter-Quarters before the Town, till C. *Pætelius* made Dictator by the new Consuls, L. *Papirius Cursus* the fifth time, and C. *Junius Bubulcus* the second, came down with *M. Fostius* General of the Horse, and received the charge of the Army: He being advertiz'd, that the *Samnites* had taken the Fort at *Fregellæ*, left *Bovianum*, march'd thither, but the *Samnites* fled away by night, so that he recovered the place without a blow struck; and having placed there a strong Garrison, return'd into *Campania*, with a particular design to take the City of *Nola* by force of Arms, within whose Walls all the Peasants thereabouts, and a vast multitude of *Samnites*, sheltered themselves. The Dictator having taken a view of the place, that he might have the more open access to the Walls, set all the Houses on Fire that were in the Suburbs along the Counterscarp (and there they stood thick and were well inhabited) and not long after that Town was taken, whether by *Pætelius* the Dictator, or C. *Junius* the Consul, I know not, for it is reported of the one as well as the other: Those that ascribe the Honor on't to the Consul, add, That he also took *Atina* and *Calatia*: And that *Pætelius* was created Dictator only for the Ceremony of driving the Nail or Spike, for appeasing the Wrath of the Gods by reason the Plague was broke out. That Year Colonies were sent to *Suessa* and *Pontia*; the former a Town of the *Auruncans*; the latter, an Island of the *Volsicians*, situate within sight of their own shoar. A Decree also pass'd the Senate, for sending other Colonies to *Interamna* and *Cassinum*; but the same was not done till the time of the next Consuls, *M. Valerius* and *P. Decius*, who created *Triumvirs* to manage that Affair, and sent Four thousand to people those places.

The *Samnite* War was now pretty well dispatch'd, but before the Senate was quite free from the care thereof, reports were spread of a War with the *Tuscans*: Nor was there at that time any Nation (setting the *Gauls* aside) whose Arms were more terrible, as well because their Country lay so near, as because 'twas so exceeding populous. Therefore whilst one of the Consuls was concluding the War in *Samnium*, the other who staid behind sick at *Rome*, created C. *Junius Bubulcus* Dictator: Who according to the urgency of the occasion, caused all the younger sort to take the Military Oath, and with the greatest diligence provides Arms and all other Necessaries; yet was not with all these Preparations putt up to be the Aggressor, but well content, no doubt, to be quiet, if the *Tuscans* of their own accord should not begin the War. The *Tuscans* took the very same Measures, so that neither of them stir'd out of their own Bounds. This Year was the notable Censorship of *Appius Claudius*, and C. *Plautius*: But the name of *Appius* became more memorable of the two to Posterity, for the Cawsey he made, and the Channel of Fresh-water which he brought to the City; which Works he all alone accomplish'd: For his Colleague, ashamed of the infamous and envied Choice that he had made of certain base-born Senators, voluntarily renounced his Office. But *Appius*, according to the high Spirit and obstinacy that was all along natural to his Family, continued the Censorship. This *Appius* caused the *Porcii* (to whose Family it had time out of mind, belong'd to exercise the Priestly Function at the great Altar of *Hercules*) to teach certain publick Servants the Solemn

XXVIII.

XXIX.

Rites of that Sacred Ministry, that they might make use of their Assistants as Delegates therein; whereupon a wonderful thing is reported to have ensued, and which may be a warning to all not to innovate Religion, or alter the State of Sacred Rites: viz. That though there were indeed Twelve Families of these *Potitii* at that time in being, and in them about Thirty Persons of Mans estate, yet before the year came about, they were every one dead; and not only the name of the *Potitii* extinct, but that *Appius* the Censor, by the memorable Judgment of the revenging Gods, was in few Years after struck Blind.

The next Years Consuls, C. *Junius Bubulcus* the third time, and Q. *Emilius Barbula* the second; as soon as they came into their Office, put up a Complaint to the People, That the order of the Senate was disturb'd and violated by an irregular Election, and divers worthy Members omitted, declaring, That for their parts they would not observe or regard such a Choice, which was made without any respect to merit, but carry'd wholly at the Lust of the Censor, and to gratify those of his Faction: And therefore they presently call'd over the Senate, in the same order as the former Censors had left it. Two Commands, both Military, were this Year first of all conferr'd and dispos'd of by the Commons: One, That sixteen Colonels for the four Legions should thenceforward be Created by the People, which before were almost altogether the favors of the Dictators and Consuls bestow'd as they thought fit, the Peoples suffrages being very rarely expected therein. The other was a Law prefer'd by L. *Attilius* and C. *Martius*, Tribunes of the Commons: That the People should have the power of Creating two Naval Commissioners, whose peculiar Office it should be to take care of the Rigging, Equipping and Repairing the Fleet; which Act of the Commons was especially promoted by M. *Decius* one of their Tribunes. One accident of this Year I should pass over as trivial, and scarce worth relating, did it not seem to appertain to Religion. The Musicians that plaid upon the Flutes and Haut-boies, being forbid by the last Censors to have their good Cheer and Banquets any more in *Jupiters* Temple, according to their old Custom and Tradition, took such snuff, that they all troop'd away at once to *Tybur*, so that there was not one of them left in Rome to sing and pipe before the Pomp of Sacrifices on the Holy-days; And the Senate were so Religious as to take notice thereof, and sent Messengers to *Tybur* to use means that these Blades might be restored. The *Tyburines* answered very courteously, That they would by no means detain them, and sending for them into the Court, advise them to go home; but the Fellows were so stout, that no Entreaties could prevail with them: whereupon they bethought them of a stratagem very suitable to the tempers of such people. Upon an Holy-day, under colour of Feasting and diverting themselves, one invites one of these Fiddlers, and another sends for another, and plyed them so with Wine (which Men of their profession are generally greedy of) that they drank till they began to wink, and wink'd so long till they fell fast asleep, and then the *Tyburines* gently put them to bed in Carts, and so drove them away to Rome: Nor did they perceive any thing, till next Morning they found themselves in the midst of the Forum, where the People came flocking about them, and prevailed with them to stay, giving them leave for three days space every Year to go in Masquerade through the City, singing and playing, after that licentious manner now us'd; and their old privilege, that such as plaid at the Sacrifices might eat in the Temple, was restored. This ridiculous diversion happen'd amidst the solicitous preparations for two mighty Wars.

XXXI.

The Consuls divided the Provinces; to *Junius* the *Samnites*; to *Emilius* happen'd that conduct of the new War in *Etruria*. The *Samnites* had besieged *Cluvia* a Roman Garrison, and not being able to storm it, lay before it so long, till Famine inforc'd a surrender, and then they most barbarously whip'd to death all the Soldiers; *Junius* enrag'd at that cruelty, minded nothing so much as the recovery of that place, which he regain'd the very same day that he came before it, and put all that were of Age to the Sword. In this train of Victory he proceeded against *Bovianum*, the head City of the *Pentrian Samnites*, a place exceeding rich, and well furnish'd both with Men and Arms: The Soldiers sharp set for the Pillage, soon made themselves Masters of it, but having here no such particular cause of Revenge, were less severe to the People. The Booty gain'd here was almost as much as in all *Samnium* besides, and was all freely given to the Soldiers. Nor could any pitch'd Field, any City or Fort afterwards, put the least stop to the Victorious Roman Army: All that the Princes of *Samnium* could do, was to lie at catch for some advantage by Ambuscades, to circumvent or cut off Parties when they happened to venture out too negligently as they were foraging, certain Renegado Peasants and Prisoners, some taken by chance, and some on purpose offering themselves to be seized; upon their examinations before the Consuls, agreeing all in a tale (which also was a truth) That there was a power of Sheep and other Cattel driven together, and kept in a By-Forrest out of the way, not very far off: He wanting Provisions, resolv'd to lead thither those Legions that were lightest-arm'd to get this Booty. The *Samnites* to receive them, had privately drawn in thither a mighty Army, and laid Ambuscades all along the narrow Passes, so that when they saw the Romans were got in a pretty way, on a sudden they start up round about with mighty shouts and tumults, and began to Charge them very unexpectedly: The surprize at first put the Romans into some consternation, whilst they were getting their Arms in order, and laying their

their Snap-sacks and Baggage together on an heap: But after every Man had disburthen'd himself, and got on his Armor, they rallied on all sides every one to his Colours; and being all old train'd and excellently well disciplin'd Soldiers, put themselves of their own accord into Battalia, without troubling their General; who perceiving himself like to be very dangerously Engaged, alighted from his Horse, and solemnly protested before Jupiter and Mars, and other Gods whom he call'd to witness, That he came not into that Place to get glory to himself by any Enterprize, but merely to seek for Booty and Provisions for his Army; and that as no other fault could be imputed to him, but too great a desire to enrich his Soldiers with the spoils of the Enemy; so nothing but his Soldiers courage could now secure him from the scandal of ill Conduct; but if they would all as one Man fall gallantly on, the work could not be difficult, since the Enemy was already routed in the Field, beat out of their Camp, and were now trying their last hopes by little tricks and stratagems, and rely'd upon the advantage of the Place, more than on their Arms: But what place is there (quoth he) now inaccessible to the Roman Courage? and withal, put them in mind of the Castle of *Fregellæ*, of *Sora*, and divers other places difficultly situate, which they had easily made themselves Masters of. The Soldiers animated by these Encouragements, undervaluing all difficulties, advanc'd apace up towards the Enemy that were, as 'twere, over their Heads; 'twas an hard task to get up the ridge of the Hill; but when once that was gain'd, and that the foremost Ensigns found they were upon level Ground, the terror was then all turn'd upon the Assailants, who being scattered, and flinging away their Arms, fled as fast as they could to those lurking holes where before they had hid themselves: But the uncase access of those places which they had fraudulently sought out to entrap the Enemy, now embarrass'd themselves, for very few could find the way out; Twenty thousand were slain, and the Victorious Romans then freely seiz'd that Booty of Cattel which was first presented them only as a Bait by the Enemy.

During these Occurrences in *Samnium*, all *Etruria*, except the *Arctines*, were up in Arms, XXXII. beginning a mighty War with the Siege of *Sutrium*, a City in Alliance with the Romans and the *Barriers*, as it were of all *Tuscany*. Thither the other Consul *Emilius* hastned with his Army, and being come before the Town, was courteously furnish'd with Provisions by the Inhabitants: For the *Tuscans* were drawn off to one side, and spent a whole day in Consultation, Whether they should hasten or protract the War? But it seems the Officers were more for Expedition, than safer Councils; and therefore next Morning, as soon as the Sun was up, hung up the signal of Battel, and drew compleatly Arm'd into the Field; of which the Consul having Intelligence, he presently gives out the Word, and orders all his Army to take their Dinners, and as soon as they had refresh'd themselves, to betake them to their Arms; which being done accordingly, he drew them up in Battalia not far from the Enemy: They stood a good while on both sides, wistly looking at each other, and expecting which should first fall on, so that 'twas past Noon before one Blow was struck; but then, that they might not meet to no purpose, the *Tuscans* began to set up a Shout, to sound a Charge, and advance forwards; nor were the Romans less ready to meet them. Thus they Charg'd each other with great animosity and fury, the Enemy was superior in number, but the Roman in courage; the Battel was dubious, abundance cut off on both sides, and especially the stoutest and bravest Men: Nor was there any advantage gain'd, till the Romans fresh reserves were brought up to the Front to succeed in the place of their slaughtered or wearied Fellows. But then the *Tuscans* having none to relieve them, began to drop apace round about their Standards: Never in any Fight had there been less of running away, or more Bloodshed, if the Night had not sheltered the *Tuscans* when they seem'd resolute to dye on the Spot, so that the Victors gave over before the Vanquish'd; for after Sun-set a Retreat was sound'd, and both Sides retired to their Camps: Nor was there any further Action worth notice that Year at *Sutrium*, for almost the whole Main-body of the Enemy was slain in that one Battel; and the Subsidiary Legions that were left, were scarce strong enough to secure their Camp: And also the Romans were so maul'd, That more of them dyed after the Fight of their Wounds, than were slain outright in the Field.

Q. *Fabius*, the Consul of the ensuing Year, undertook the War at *Sutrium*, whose Col-XXXIII. league was C. *Marcus Rutilus*. Both *Fabius* brought a supply of fresh Forces from Rome, and the *Tuscans* too were reinforc'd with a new Army raised in their Country. No brangles for many Years had happen'd between the *Patrician* Magistrates and the Tribunes of the Commons, but now occasion of contention is administered by that Family which seems to have been in those Times fatal, and born to do mischief both to the Tribunes and the Commons. *Appius Claudius* the Censor, though the eighteen Months (which by the *Emilian* Law was the full term of holding that Office) were expired; and although his Colleague C. *Plautius* had resign'd his Place, could by no means be prevail'd with, to give over that Magistracy and yield to a new Election. Whereupon P. *Sempronius* one of the Tribunes of the Commons, undertook to prosecute him for not quitting the Censorship according to Law; an Action no less popular than just and acceptable, as well to the Graver Patriots as to the Mobile. This Gentleman making a Speech to the People in their Assembly, after he had often cited the *Emilian* Law, and highly applauded its Author

Mamercus



*Mamercus Æmilius* the Dictator, who finding the Censorship, which then was an Office of five Years, apt to render those that held it by reason of their long continuance in Power, too Lordly and assuming, reduced and limited the same to a Year and an half; having, I say, much commended this wholesome Statute, he then turns to *Appius Claudius*: Come on! says he, O *Appius Claudius*! Answer and tell us, What would you have done, if you had been Censor in the room of *C. Furius* and *M. Geganius* the Censors when that Law was made? *Appius* answered, That this Question of the Tribunes was impertinent; for although the *Æmilian Law* might oblige those Censors in whose time it was made, yet since the People after that Law did create Censors, and in their Choice using the solemn Words, *Optimo Jure*, or with the Highest Right, did thereby Invest them with as full Power as any former Censors had: And since that is good Law, which the People have last done and ordained, it follows, That neither I, nor any others created Censors after that Law, could or ought to be bound thereby.

XXXIV. Whilst *Appius* thus cavill'd upon a Quirk of Law, and no Man took his part or assented to his odd Interpretation, *Sempronius* thus proceeded: "Behold, Worthy Citizens! the right Progeny of that *Appius*, who having got to be *Decemvir* for one Year, Elected himself again the next, and the third Year, though neither chosen by himself nor any body else, yet continued the place, and all the Ensigns of Authority belonging to it; nor would he part with it, till such his ill-got, ill-manag'd, and ill-continued Government broke his own neck and utterly ruin'd him. This, Gentlemen, is the same Family, by whose violence and oppressions, you were forc'd like People banish'd to abandon your native City, and retire to the Holy Mount; the very same, against whose Injuries you were glad to shelter your selves under the help and protection of Tribunes; the very same who put you upon the necessity of securing your selves with two Armies on the *Aventine Hill*; the same Lineage that always withstood the Statutes devised against excessive Usury, always oppos'd the good Laws for dividing waste and conquered Lands amongst the People; that interrupted so long all Inter-marriages between the Nobles and the Commoners, and so long excluded the Commons from bearing any Dignities of the Chair, and Offices of State; in fine, this is that House whose Name is more pernicious to your Liberties, than that of the *Tarquins*. And is it so at last, O *Appius Claudius*! That in all these hundred Years space since *Mamercus Æmilius* the Dictator, wherein there have been so many most noble and valiant Gentlemen enjoying the Office of Censors, no one of them ever read the twelve Tables? No one of them was so skilful as to know that to be Law which the People last establishes? Yes verily, they all knew it very well, and therefore knew also that it was their duty to obey the *Æmilian Law*, rather than the old Ordinances whereby the Censors Office was erected, because this was later than they; and that where-ever there are two contrary Laws, the new one abrogates the old. Is it this you say, O *Appius*! that the People are not bound by the Law *Æmilia*? or rather that they are obliged, but your good self alone exempt from all Law? Sure I am, the *Æmilian Law* was able to bridle those haughty and violent Censors, *C. Furius* and *M. Geganius*, who were themselves sufficient instances how prejudicial that Magistracy, if not duly regulated, might prove to the Commonwealth, when for madness that their term was shortned, they disfranchiz'd the said *Æmilius*, the bravest Man of that Age both for War and Peace, and made him incapable of giving his Vote at any Election, or receiving any pay from the State. The same Law was obeyed by all the succeeding Censors for an hundred years, and is now submitted unto by your Colleague *C. Plautius*, who was created with the same solemn Ceremonies, and Words altogether as ample as your self. Did not the People (I pray) when they Created him, use the common formal Words, That he should be Censor, *Optimo Jure*, with as good a Right, and with as full and large Authority, as any Censor could or ought to be? Are not the same Words used of course in divers other Offices? Are you the only privileged Person to whom this singular pre-eminence belongs? When you Create the King-Sacrificer, shall he, having got the Title of a King, and with those very extensive Words, take upon him in earnest to be King of *Rome*, and challenge all the Prerogatives of her antient ejected Monarchs? At this rate, who would be content with a Dictatorship of six Months, or an Inter-regency of five days and no more? Whom shall we venture to trust with the Dictatorship for driving the Spike, or regulating the Races? What Sots and Drones not understanding their own Rites, would you represent all those gallant Men, who having in less then twenty days finish'd most glorious Wars, have presently withdrawn and quitted the Dictature? Or who, upon some defect in the Ceremonies of their Creator (though the Words *Optimo Jure* were not forgot) have voluntarily resign'd it? What need I recite old presidents? of late, even within these ten Years, *C. Maenius* the Dictator, exercising his Commission of Enquiry more severely than stood with the safety of some Grandees, and thereupon being himself charged by his Enemies with the same Crimes he was taxing in them, that he might in a private capacity take a Trial, and purge himself, he frankly renounced his Office. I as little desire as expect this modesty in you, That you may not seem to degenerate from your most haughty and imperious Race, part not with your place one day, one hour, before you needs must; but

but see withal you exceed not the time limited by Law; at least, one would think it might be enough to add a day, or a month or so, to your Censorship: A month! What tell you me of a month (crys he) I will hold my Censorship three Years and six months longer than I ought in spite of the *Æmilian Law*; nay, and I will hold and exercise it single all alone by my self too: Bravely spoken! and much as if he were already settled in the Throne of Royalty, and had quite subdued our Commonwealth and all its Laws. But perhaps you will substitute to your self a Colleague in the room of the other? How can that be, when even such substitution or new choice to supply the Place is not lawful, even where one of the Censors is taken off by Death; but the Survivors Office immediately ceaseth, and two new ones must be Elected. You think it not enough, it seems, such a Religious Censor you are, that you have prophaned that most ancient Sacred Solemnity, instituted by no less than that God to whom it is celebrated, by conferring the Function of his most Noble Chaplains, upon Slaves and Varlets; not enough that along of you and your Censorship, a Family more antient than the Foundations of this City, and reverend for their Hospitality to the Immortal Gods, is wholly cut off and extinct, unless you also involve the whole State in an Impiety, the consequences whereof I tremble to Prefigure. Nor are our Apprehensions groundless, 'tis well known this City of *Rome* was taken by the *Gauls* in that very *Lustrum* [or term of five Years] wherein the Censor *L. Papirius Cursor*, that he might not go out of his Place upon the decease of his Partner *C. Julius*, did substitute or cause *M. Cornelius Maluginensis* to be chosen his Colleague to serve out the rest of the time: And yet how much more modest was his Ambition, O *Appius*! than yours? He neither held the Censorship alone, nor beyond the term that was lawful; yet he found none so bold to imitate him in that Act, but all Censors ever since, upon the Death of their Colleague, have relinquish'd their Place. But neither the Expiration of your term, nor your Partners going out, nor Law, nor shame, is able to restrain your Insolence; as if you thought that Vertue consists in Impudence, and an haughty contempt both of Gods and Men. For my own part, I have that deference and respect to the Majesty of the Place you have born, that I would not willingly treat you with any rough Language, much less lay violent hands upon your Person: But as your Pride and Obstinacy have extorted from me these just Reprimands, so I must tell you, that unless you obey the *Æmilian Law*, I will command you to be taken into Custody: For since the Wisdom of our Ancestors has been so cautious as to provide, That in the Election of Censors, if both have not their full Complement of Votes, he that had them cannot be returned, but all is void, and they must proceed to a new Scrutiny; it shall never be said, That I will suffer you to exercise alone by your self the Censorship, who could not alone have been so much as Elected to it. After these and the like Remonstrances, he ordered the Censor to be seized and clap'd up, and six of his Fellow-Tribunes join'd with him and approv'd his proceedings: But three others, upon application made to them by *Appius*, protect'd him, and so with the highest envy and discontent of all States and Degrees, he continued and held the Dictatorship alone without any Colleague.

Whilst this bustle was at *Rome*, *Sutrium* was still beleaguered by the *Tuscan*s, who as the XXXV. Consul was leading some Forces about the foot of the Hills to relieve the Town, and break, if he could, through the Enemies Works, met with him with a compleat Army, but discovering their vast multitudes in the Plain, he thought it best to supply the smallness of his number, as much as he could, with the advantages of the Ground, and therefore wheel'd up towards the tops of the Hills (which were rough craggy places full of Stones) and then drew up and fac'd the Enemy; who regarding nothing so much as their numbers, hastned to the Battel with such greediness, that they cast away their Lances, that they might sooner come to handy-blows, and advanc'd with only their Swords in their hands: The *Romans* on the contrary, pelted them lustily with Darts and Stones (which the ground plentifully furnish'd them with) these lighting upon their Shields and Head-pieces, incommoded those untowardly whom they did not wound: And as the Enemy could not come up to close with them, so neither had they Darts or Javelins to lance at them from a distance, so that whilst they stood expos'd to whole showers of Weapons and Stones, without any thing that could sufficiently cover or defend them, and some began to flinch, and their whole Army was in a waving uncertain posture, the *Roman Hastati* and *Principes*, with a fresh shout, rush'd down upon them with their Swords in their hands, whose impetuous Shock the *Tuscan*s being not able to endure, turn'd their Ensigns, and fled in disorder towards their Camp, but were there intercepted by the *Roman Horse*, who having fetch'd a compass through the Plains, were got before them; then not being able to reach their Camp, they turn'd towards the Mountains; and having for the most part flung away their Arms, and abundance of them wounded, they at last took shelter in the great Wood or Forrest *Ciminia*: The *Romans* having slain many thousands of the *Tuscan*s, and taken Eight and thirty Colours, made themselves Masters also of their Camp, and therein of a mighty Booty. Then a Council of War was held about pursuing the Enemy.

XXXVI. The *Ciminian Wood* was in those days more impassable and dreaded, than the *German Thickets* in later times; for never till that day had it been frequented or travell'd through so much as by Merchants; nor had any one scarce, but the General himself, the courage to advise a march into it; the rest had not yet forgot the *Caudian Disaster*. Whereupon, amongst the Officers present, the Consuls Brother (some call him *M. Fabius Cæso*; others, *C. Claudius*, and say, he was the Consuls Brother only by the Mothers side) offered himself to go out as a Scout or Spy, and in short time to bring them a full account of all things necessary to be known. He had in his Youth been bred up with some Friends to his Family, at *Cære*, where he was taught the *Tuscan* Learning, and spoke readily their Language: Some Authors I have met with, that tell us, The *Roman* Children were wont to be instructed in the *Tuscan* Letters in those days, as they are now in the *Greek*. But 'tis more probable that this Gentleman had some special Accomplishment, or else he would not in so bold a manner have hazarded himself amongst the Enemy. His only Companion is said to have been a Servant that had been bred up with him, and so not ignorant of the Language. In their Journey they made it their main business, to get in a summary superficial way, the nature of the Province they were going into, and the names of the chief Persons therein, that when they fell into Discourse, they might not be taken tardy in any gross Ignorance or mistake. They went in Shepherds habit, arm'd with the usual Weapons of Country Boors, each of them with a Faulchion, and two Javelins; yet was it not their Tongue, their Garb, or their Arms, that kept them from being known, so much as that presumption the Enemy had, That no Stranger would be so mad as to venture into the *Ciminian Woods*. Well! forwards they went (by report) as far as to the *Cæmertes* in *Umbria*, where the *Roman* adventured to discover who they were; and being admitted into the Senate, treated with them, as from the Consul, about an Alliance: They were civilly entertain'd, and ordered to acquaint him, *That if he would march that way, they would furnish his Army with a Months Provision; and also, That their Youth should be ready to be lifted in their Service*. These tidings being brought back to the Consul, he sent away the Baggage before at the beginning of the Night, and after them the Infantry: Himself staying behind with the Horse, as soon as it was Day, began to skirmish with the Enemies Guards, that were planted without the Woods; and having amused them as long as he thought fit, returns to his Camp, and marching out at another Port before Night, overtook his Army; and the day following, by break of Day, was got upon the top of the Hill *Ciminus*: From whence having a full prospect of the rich Plains of *Etruria*, he sent out Parties to Forrage and bring in Prizes; but by that time they had got together a brave Booty, certain tumultuary Troops of the *Etrurian* Peasants, suddenly raised by the Princes of that Country who had taken the Alarm, began to make Head against them, but in such a disorderly fashion, that whilst they came to rescue the Booty, they had very like to have become a Prey themselves: They being slain, or put to flight, the now victorious *Roman* Army, plundered and wasted the Country all round at their pleasure, and so with great Riches and plenty of all things returned to their Camp; where by that time were arrived five Commissaries, and two Tribunes of the Commons, with peremptory Orders from the Senate to the Consul, *That he should not offer to pass through the Ciminian Forrest*: Glad they were that they came too late to hinder his Victory, and with the joyful news thereof hastned back to *Rome*.

XXXVII. By this Expedition the War was encreased, and its flames further spread rather than extinguish'd; for all that Tract bordering on the foot of the *Ciminian* Mountains, felt the smart of this Invasion, which fill'd not only the *Tuscans*, but all the Marches of *Umbria* with Indignation and desires of Revenge; so that a greater Force than ever came up to *Sutrium*, and not only advanc'd their Camp out of the Woods, but for eagerness of Fighting, drew up as fast as they could in the plain Field, leaving the Enemy a convenient space to put themselves in Array over against them; but finding them decline an Engagement, came up and Bearded them almost at their very Trench and Rampire; and then observing further, that the Enemy had also withdrawn all their Out-guards into their Works, the Soldiers clamour'd to their Generals to send for their allowance of Victuals, that they might eat it there, for they would continue in their Arms; and either in the Night, or else as soon as ever it was Day, fall upon the Enemy. The *Roman* Army was no less impatient than they, but at the Generals Command kept in; it was now well near four of the Clock in the After-noon, when he ordered them to take their Refection, and then to be ready in their Arms whenever he should give the Signal: In the mean time he made a short Speech, extolling to them the *Samnites* Courage, and debasing the *Tuscans*, saying, *There was no comparison either of this Enemy to that, or in their numbers; besides, that he had another Engine at work, which in due time they should be acquainted with, in the interim it was fit to be concealed*: By this dark intimation he made shew as if the Enemy were betrayed by some of their own, thereby to keep up his Mens Spirits, lest they should be discouraged at their multitudes; and this pretence seem'd the more probable, because they lay unfortified. The Soldiers after supper betook themselves to their Rest, and being raised about the fourth Watch [that is, between two and three a clock in the Morning] without any tumult,

stood

stood to their Arms. The snapack-boys and rabble that followed the Camp, had pick-axes and shovels distributed amongst them, to cast down the Rampire and fill up the Trenches with the Bank, whilst the Army was drawn up within the Circuit of the Works: The selected Regiments were placed at the entrance of the Ports, and all things being in readiness, the Signal was given a little before Day, (which in Summer Nights is the time at once, and charg'd the Enemy on all sides, as they lay along scattered upon the Ground; some before they were stirring, others in their Tents scarce half awake, and the greatest part hastning in that sudden fright to get on their Arms, were surpriz'd and cut to pieces; some few had put on their Armor, but having neither Leaders, nor any certain Command to follow, were easily routed and pursued by the Horse, some towards their Camp, and others to the Woods, which of the two prov'd the safer refuge: For the Camp in the Field was that Day over-run, what Gold or Silver found, ordered to be brought in to the Consul, the rest of the Spoil allow'd to the Soldiers. Here was slain and taken of the Enemy to the number of Sixty thousand. Some Authors will have this eminent Battel to be fought at *Perusia*, beyond the *Ciminian Woods*, and that the City of *Rome* was in no little pain, for fear their Army intercepted in those dangerous Forrests, should have been cut off by the united Forces of the *Tuscans* and *Umbrians*: Wheresoever it was, 'tis certain the *Romans* had the glory of the Day; so that soon after there came Ambassadors suing to the *Romans* for Peace and Alliance, who obtained a Truce for the term of Thirty Years.

Whilst these Exploits were acted in *Etruria*, the other Consul *C. Marcius Rutilus* won the Town *Allifas* from the *Samnites*, and reduc'd several other Castles and Villages, either demolish'd by storm, or surrendred intire. Likewise at the same time the *Roman* Fleet, under *P. Cornelius*, whom the Senate had made Admiral, set Sail for *Campania*, and being arriv'd at *Pompeii*, the Sea-men made a descent on Land to forage the Territories about *Nuceria*; and having plundered the Neighboring places, whence they might safely return to their Ships; allured with the sweetness of Spoil (as usually it falls out) they rambled further, and gave an Alarm to the Enemy, and might every one have easily been cut off as they were stragling about the Fields, but it happened no body met with them there; only in their return in a disorderly march, not far from their Ships, the Boors of the Country fell upon them, eas'd them of all their Booty, kill'd part of them, and the rest secur'd themselves aboard.

The advance of *Q. Fabius* beyond the *Ciminian Woods*, as at first it terrified *Rome*, overjoy'd the *Samnites*; they had it reported, *That the Roman Army was surrounded and besieged*: They fancied, that the Defeat at the *Caudian Passes* was to be acted over again; That the same rapaciousness had inveigled that People which was always incroaching on their Neighbors, into those unpassable Woods, where, no doubt, they would be environed and destroyed, not so much by their Enemies Arms, as the disadvantages of the Place. Nor was this rejoycing without a kind of Envy, that Fortune had turn'd the glory of conquering the *Romans* from the *Samnites*, and cast it upon the less deserving *Tuscans*. Therefore they raised Men and Arms amain in all parts, to crush to pieces the Consul *C. Marcius*, resolv'd if he would not stand a Battel, to advance directly through the *Marsians* and *Sabines* to joyn the *Etrurians*. But the Consul met them by the way, where a fierce Battel was fought between them, with uncertain event; and though it were indeed but a drawn Game, yet the rumor went that the *Romans* were worsted, because several Persons of Quality, and Colonels, and one Commissary-General of their side were slain, and especially, for that the Consul himself was wounded. Fame, which always makes bad News worse, had so augmented the loss, that the Senate were in no little pain and perplexity, and resolv'd to have a Dictator chosen; nor did any Man doubt but *Papirius Cursor*, the greatest Warrior of that Age, ought to be the Man; but neither knew they how with safety to send a Currier into *Samnium*, nor were they certain that the Consul *Marcius* was living to chuse him. And as for the other Consul *Fabius*, they knew he had a private pique and mortal Grudge against *Papirius*; [upon the Controversie mention'd in the last Book] which Quarrel, lest it should hinder the Publick Service, they Decreed to send to him certain Persons of Quality, such as had been Consuls, who not only in the Name of the State, but by their private Influence should perswade him, *That he would for his Countries sake remit all those old Animosities*. When they came to him, and had shewed him the Senates Order, and used what Arguments they thought most suitable; the Consul all the while fixing his Eyes upon the Ground, went away without speaking a word, leaving them altogether doubtful what he would do: But in the dead time of the Night following (as the manner is) he nominated *L. Papirius* Dictator; when the Messengers came to return him thanks for over-ruling so worthily his private Resentments, he continued still his obstinate silence, and without uttering a syllable, dismiss'd them, that it might appear with how great a Stomach, and against the grain, he comply'd with the Senates Command. *Papirius* appointed *C. Junius Bubulcius* General of the Cavalry; and whilst he was proposing a Law for the Ratifying of his Command,

Command, an ill Omen happened, that caus'd him to adjourn the Proceedings, for the Ward *Fauca* happened by Lot to have the first place in delivering their Suffrages, which was noted for unlucky, for two former Years when they began the Poll, in one of which the City was taken, and in the other the *Caudine* Agreement made: Besides, *Macer Licinius* had made that Ward of ill presage, by a third Defeat receiv'd at *Cremora*.

XXXIX. However, next day repeating the Auspices, the Dictator settled his Commission, and march'd away with the new raised Forces to *Longula*; and having receiv'd the old Legions from the Consul *Marcus*, drew out into the Field, that he might not seem afraid of the Enemy: But as they stood in Array, neither side offering to fall on, the Night approach'd and oblig'd them to retire to their respective Camps, where they continued quiet for some days, neither diffident of their own strength, nor slighting their Enemies. In this interim some Action happened in *Etruria*, for a Battel was fought with an Army of the *Umbrians*, but the Enemy rather chafed away, than much Blood shed, for though they Charg'd pretty briskly at first, they did not stand to it. Smarter Work there was at *Vadimon* Lake, where the *Tuscan*s had levy'd a new Army according to their Sacred Law, whereby one Man chose another for his Comrade, and all were sworn to live and dye together; so that not only their Numbers, but their Courage was greater than ever before; the Charge manag'd with such fury, that neither side stood to make use of their Darts and Lances at a distance, but came presently to hacking one another with their Swords; and as they began the Conflict most fiercely, so their rage seem'd to be encreas'd by its continuance; for a long time the fortune of the Day was doubtful, as if they had not been engaged with *Tuscan*s, but some new and stouter Enemy: There was no use made of their Heels on either side, those before the Ensigns were laid dead upon the Ground, and that their Colours might not be without a Guard, the second Battalions came up to supply the places of the first; and so still new Reserves till the Subsidiary Forces in the Rear were brought up to the Van. At last it came to that extremity of danger and fatigue, that the Roman Horse were forced to dismount, and get over the scattered Armor and dead Bodies, to reinforce their Foot in the Front, which then appearing as a fresh Battalion, first of all discouraged and disorder'd the *Tuscan*s, and the rest of the Legionary Soldiers, weak and weary as they were, following their successful Charge, broke through at last the Enemies Ranks: Now the *Tuscan* obstinacy began to yield, first some particular Bands to shrink, and by and by all of them that were left, betook themselves to a plain Run. From this Day may be calculated the ruine of the *Tuscan*s, who had so long flourish'd in Wealth and Power; their main strength being cut off in this Battel, and their Camp in the same Heat taken and plundered.

XI. With equal hazard, but at last with the like glorious Success was the War in *Samnium* carried on; where besides other ordinary Furniture, the Enemy to render themselves more formidable, had made their Armor shine with a new kind of garnishing: For having divided their Forces into two Bodies, the one had laid their Shields with Gold, the other with Silver, the fashion whereof was thus: The upper part that cover'd the breast and shoulders, was broader, the head even, and the nether end pointed like a Wedge, that it might be wielded the more nimbly; their breast was covered with a sort of Sponge, which Weapons would not easily pierce; the left Leg arm'd with an Iron boot, their Head-pieces contriv'd with lofty Crests, to make them seem so much the taller; the Soldiers, with the Gold-colour'd Shields, wore Coats of divers colours; the others with Silvered Arms, were all in white Linnen, these had the Right Wing, the others the Left. The Romans had notice before what brave Armor they had provided, and were taught by their Officers, *That a Soldier was then truly terrible, not when he was trickt up in Gold and Silver, but when he trusted to good hard Iron and Steel, and withal a good heart and undaunted courage; That these shining Accoutrements, which look'd so gay before the Fight, would soon lose their Beauty amongst Blood and Wounds, that they were pitiful Armor, but would prove good Booty; That Valor was the Soldiers only Ornament; That all these five things would follow the Victory, and that a rich Enemy is but the better reward to a poor Conqueror.* With such Encouragements *Curio* led on his Men to the Battel, himself in the Right Wing, and his General of the Horse in the Left. Both sides charg'd at one and the same instant, and as the Conflict was extream sharp with the Enemy, so no less emulation was there between the Dictator and the Master of the Horse, which should begin the Victory: But so it happened, that *Junius* with a rousing Salute from his Left Wing, first disorder'd the Enemies Right, Crying out, *That he did but Offer up to the Devil, those Soldiers of theirs whom they had already, after the Samnite fashion, Devoted to him, and deck'd up accordingly in Garments and Arms of a colour suitable for Sacrifices.* The Dictator perceiving *Junius* had made them give Ground: *What,* says he in a rage, *shall Victory begin from the Left Wing? And shall the Right, where your Dictator commands in Person, lacquey after anothers Fortune, and not carry away the greatest Honor of the Day?* Thus he encourag'd his Men; nor did the Horse give place to the Foot for bravery, or the inferior Officers to the Commanders in Chief; *M. Valerius* from the Right Wing, and *P. Decius* from the Left, both Persons of Consular Dignity, rode up to the Cavalry placed on the respective Wings, calling upon them to take

a share

a share with them in the glory of the Field, by Charging the Enemy on the Flanks: This new terror invading the Enemy on either side, and at the same time the Infantry pushing on with repeated shouts, utterly disorder'd the *Samnites* and put them to flight: Now were the Fields covered with the Bodies of the slain, and strew'd thick with the Armor, which ere-while was so brave and glorious. At first they took shelter in their Camp, but that was too hot to hold them, for before Night 'twas taken, plundered, and made a Bonfire of. The Dictator, by a Decree of the Senate Triumph'd, where the Armor taken from the Enemy made the best part of the show, and seem'd so magnificent, that the guilt Shields were divided amongst the Wardens of the Goldsmiths Company, therewith to beautifie the publick Market-place: And hence, they say, began the Custom of the *Ædiles* to adorn the City-buildings in their solemn Processions, when the Sacred Images and Relicks were carry'd about for Pomp in Silver Chariots. Thus the Romans indeed employ'd these gay Arms of their Enemies to the honor of their Gods; but the *Campanians* out of Pride, and inveterate hatred to the *Samnites*, were wont to Arm their Sword-players (which was part of the Entertainment at their great Feasts) with this attire, and then in joke, call them *Samnites*. The same Year the Consul *Fabius* fought with the rest of the *Tuscan*s at *Perusia*, which City had broken the Truce, where he obtain'd without much difficulty, an indisputable Victory, and had taken the Town itself by storm (for he was come up Victorious to the very Walls) if they had not sent out Commissioners to surrender it. Having plac'd there a strong Garison, and referr'd to the Senate the Agents that came from the rest of *Etruria* to supplicate for Peace: He made his entry into Rome in Triumph, for a more solid Victory than that of the Dictator himself. Nor was a small share of the Honor obtain'd by the *Samnites* Conquest ascrib'd to the Commissary-Generals, *P. Decius*, and *M. Valerius*, whom therefore at the next Election the People unanimously prefer'd, the one to be Consul, the other Pretor.

The other Consul was *Fabius*, he being still continued in that Honor for his excellent Service in subduing of *Tuscany*: But upon the Lot *Samnium* this Year fell to his Charge, and *Tuscany* to *Decius*. The former, march'd against the City call'd *Nuceria Alfaterna* [one of the furthest Cities of *Campania*, beyond *Vesuvius*, to this day call'd *Nocera*] and though they begg'd for Peace, he would not grant it, because they had refused it formerly when 'twas offer'd, so that they were forced to surrender themselves at Discretion. With the *Samnites* he fought a pitch'd Battel, but the Enemy was soon put to the rout; nor would 'tis like the memory of that Field have been left upon Record, but because it was there that the *Marsians* first appear'd in Arms against the Romans: The *Pelignians* followed the *Marsians* both in their Revolt and their Fortune. No less favorable was the Die of War to *Decius* the other Consul, for he compell'd the *Tarquiniens* for fear of his Arms, to find his Soldiers Corn, and beg for a Truce of forty Years. He took divers Castles from the *Volturnians*, of which some he demolish'd, that they might not harbor the Enemy; By carrying the War round about against all that made any resistance, he rendered himself so terrible, that the whole *Tuscan* Nation made humble Addresses to him for Peace, but could obtain nothing thereof; all that he would vouchsafe them, was a Truce from Year to Year, and for that favor he made them pay off his Army for that Year, and give all his Soldiers two Coats apiece. The Affairs of *Tuscany* being thus settled, were again embroil'd by the sudden revolt of the *Umbrians*, a People that had not yet tasted the Calamities of War, any further than some small damage sustained by the Roman Armies march through their Country. They having raised all their own Youth in Arms, and solicited a great part of the *Tuscan*s to Rebel, had got together to great an Army, that they began to speak very magnificently of themselves, and no less contemptibly of the Romans, boasting, *That they would leave Decius behind them in Etruria, and march to rights to Rome, and attack the City.* The Consul *Decius* having intelligence of this Design, quits *Tuscany*, and with long Marches hastens towards the City, till he came into the small Province *Pupinia* [not above eight miles from Rome] where he waited the Enemies motions. Nor had they at Rome slight apprehensions of this *Umbrian* Invasion, but were somewhat frighted with their menaces, as having experienced by the mischiefs the Gauls did them, how unsafe and indefensible their City was against a Potent Enemy; therefore the Senate dispatch'd away Orders to the other Consul *Fabius*, *That if without too great a prejudice to Affairs he could spare any time from the Samnites War, he would speedily advance with his Army into Umbria.* The Consul readily obey'd, and with long and weary Marches comes up to *Mevania*, where the *Umbrian* Forces then quartered. His unexpected arrival (whom they thought far enough off, and sufficiently embarras'd with the other War in *Samnium*) put the *Umbrians* into such Consternation, that some advis'd to retire to their fortified Towns; others, to relinquish the War altogether. But one small Canton or tract of their Country (which they call *Materina*) not only continued all the rest in Arms, but spurr'd them on to a present Battel, so that they began to assault *Fabius* as he was entrencing his Army: who seeing them come on so fast, call'd off his Men from their work, and as well as the time and ground would permit, marshall'd them in order; and having recounted their gallant Services as well in *Tuscany* as *Samnium*, He bids them now go on, at



one blow to compleat their Triumphs, and put an end to this little Appendix of the Etrurian War, and especially not to forget to revenge those impious and audacious Speeches, whereby they had threatened to attack and plunder the City of Rome. The Soldiers received these Commands with such cheerfulness, that their loud Acclamations interrupted his Harangue; and even before the signal given by the sound of Trumpets and Cornets, they ran amain upon the Enemy, as if they had had to do only with Women or Children; for, wonderful it is to relate! how at the very first they flew in amongst the thickest of them, and wrested by main strength the Standards out of the hands of those that carried them, and afterwards carried the Standard-Bearers themselves Prisoners to the Consul; how they pull'd and hurried whole droves of armed Men (as if they had been Sheep or Calves) out of one Army into t'other; and where-ever there was any resistance made, the business was done, not so much with their Swords as with their Bucklers, thumping the Enemies shoulders with the Bosses of their Shields they tumbled them down before them; abundance more were taken Prisoners than kill'd, and the general cry throughout the Field, was, *Down with your Arms*, so that in the very heat of the Skirmish, most of the principal Authors of the War yielded up themselves; and on the morrow, and the days following, the rest of the People of *Umbria* likewise made their submissions; only the Inhabitants of *Otriculum* (a Frontier Town towards the *Samnites*) were received into Friendship upon their Parole, and giving of Hostages.

XLII. *Fabius* thus a Conqueror in anothers Province, returns again to his own Charge in *Samnium*; and for his good Services as last Year the People continued him in the Consulship, so this Year when *Ap. Claudius* and *L. Volturnius* were Consuls, the Senate continued his Command of the Army, notwithstanding all the opposition that *Appius* could make against it. In some Annals I find, that when this *Appius* put in to be Consul, his Election was obstructed by *L. Furius*, a Tribune of the Commons, till such time as he had resign'd his Office of Cenfor. However, having at last got to be Consul, the War with the *Salernitines* (then newly declared Enemies) falling by Lot to his Colleague, he remain'd at *Rome*, busie to encrease his Fortune by the management of Civil Affairs, since the Honor of the Wars was confer'd upon others. Nor had *Volturnius* any cause to repent of his Province, for he fought many fortunate Battels, and took several of the Enemies Cities by Storm: He was a free bestower of the Spoil amongst his Soldiers, and this Bounty, which of its self is an attractive and winning Quality, he rendred yet more charming by his natural Courtesie and familiar obliging Behavior; by which Arts, as he gain'd the affections of his Soldiers, so he rendred them willing to run any hazards, or endure any Toil. *Q. Fabius* on the other part, in Quality of Pro-Consul, had an Engagement with the *Samnites* near the City *Allifas*, where the work was not long a doing, the Enemy was routed and beat into their Camp, nor could they have held that if there had been Day-light enough to attack it; however they were hem'd in before 'twas dark, and Guards kept all Night that none might escape. In the Morning they began to capitulate, and it was granted, *That all the Samnites amongst them should be let go, passing under the Gallows only with a single Garment on*. But for their Confederates there was no such provision made, so that they all, to the number of 7000, were sold for Slaves: Such as allerdg'd themselves to be *Hernicks*, were set apart, and sent to *Rome* to be disposed of by the Senate, who ordered them to be secured in several places amongst the *Latines*, till enquiry might be made, Whether they came as Volunteers, or were press'd to serve the *Samnites* against the *Romans*; which whole matter the new Consuls *P. Cornelius Arvina*, and *Q. Marcius Tremulus*, were ordered to examine and report to the Senate. But this strict Proceeding was very ill resented by the *Hernicks*, who met in a general Dyet or Convention at *Anagnia*, where all the Tribes of the *Hernicks*, except the *Alatines*, *Ferentines* and *Verulanes*, proclaim'd War against the *Romans*.

XLIII. New Insurrections also happened in *Samnium*, (for *Fabius* was gone thence) the Towns *Galatia* and *Sora*, and the *Roman* Garisons therein, being not only assaulted and put to the Sword, but odious Cruelties exercised on the Bodies of such as were taken alive: To revenge which Insolence, *P. Cornelius* was dispatch'd thither with an Army, and *Marcus* appointed to march against the new Enemies, for by this time War was declared against the *Anagnians* and other *Hernicks*. In the first place, the Enemy seized all the Passes between the two Consuls, and cut off all Intelligence, so that they remain'd for several days together utterly ignorant of, and solicitous about each others condition: The same apprehensions spread throughout *Rome* to that degree, that all fit to bear Arms [that is, from 17 Years of Age to 47] were obliged to take the Military Oath, and two Armies list'd to be ready upon any sudden emergency. But after all, this *Hernick* War did not prove answerable either to the present Terror, or the ancient Glory of that Nation; for having attempted nothing worth relating, and being thrice one after another, in a very few days space, beat out of the places where they had Posted themselves, they desired thirty Days truce, that during that time they might send to treat with the Senate; in consideration of which, they yielded to raise the *Roman* Army two Months pay and Corn, and allow every Soldier a new Tunick. The Senate referr'd them back again to *Martius*, arm'd with a special Commission to treat with them, who received them to Mercy upon an absolute submission

submission of the whole Nation. The other Consul in *Samnium*, though he continued superior in strength to the Enemy, yet was shrewdly incommoded by the disadvantages of the Country; for the Enemy had block'd up all the Roads, and possessed themselves of all convenient Passes to cut off all Provisions; nor could he, though he every day challeng'd them to a pitch'd Field, provoke them to it; for 'twas plain, That neither could the *Samnites* endure a present Battel, nor the *Romans* any long spinning out of the War. But the approach of *Marcus*, after his quelling the *Hernicks*, to the aid of his Colleague, put the Enemy upon a necessity of engaging, considering, that whereas they could scarce look upon themselves as a Match for one single Army, if they should suffer both Armies to join, they must needs be ruined: Hereupon, they advanc'd to meet *Marcus*, and set up on his Forces on a sudden, in the disorder necessarily attending an hasty March; however, he caus'd his Soldiers presently to dispose of their Baggage, and make ready to Charge. At the first Encounter the Shout was heard into the other Consuls Camps, and by and by the Clouds of Dust seen at a distance gave him further notice, who immediately commanded his Soldiers to their Arms, and leading them on in a running March, charges in upon the flank of the Enemy; whilst they were in the heat of the former Engagement, Crying out to his Men, *That it would be the greatest cowardize and disgrace in the World, if they suffered the other Army to carry away a double Victory, and should not assume to themselves the Honor of that War which was their proper task*. Thus where-ever he Charg'd he broke in, and having pierc'd through the midst of the Enemies Battalions into their Camp, which he found unguarded, he set the same on fire: As soon as *Marcus's* Troops saw those flames before them, and the *Samnites* perceiv'd the same behind them, 'twas time for the *Samnites* to betake them to their heels, but in vain; they could not with safety escape on either side, a vast slaughter was made in every place; until after Thirty thousand of them slain, the Consuls founded a Retreat, and joyn'd their Forces, congratulating each other for the Victory, when, behold, at a distance, they discovered certain fresh Regiments of *Samnites*, new raised, and coming to reinforce the former Army, but indeed serv'd only to compleat the Slaughter. For without waiting for any word of Command, the *Romans* made at them, Crying out, *They would welcome them with an ill handsel*: The Consuls conniving at their forwardness, knowing these new raw Troops, terrified with the disaster of their old experienc'd Soldiers, would never be able to stand before them; nor were they deceived, for all the *Samnites* Forces that were left, old and new, fled as fast as they could to the Mountains; whither the *Romans* advancing after them, the poor Wretches found no place strong enough to shelter them, for even on the tops and cliffs of the highest Mountains where they had posted themselves, they were attack'd, beat down, and destroyed. And now they all with one voice supplicate for Peace, and upon conditions of bringing in so much Corn to the Army, giving them a Years pay, and every Soldier a new Coat; they had Quarter, and leave to send Ambassadors to the Senate. *Cornelius* continuing in *Samnium*, *Marcus* returns to *Rome* to Triumph over the *Hernicks*, and his Statue on Horse-back was by a Decree of the Senate erected in the Forum, just before the Temple of *Castor*. To the three States of the *Hernicks* that were unconcern'd in the War, *viz.* The *Alatines*, *Verulanes*, and *Ferentines*, liberty was granted to continue their own Laws (because they chose that, rather than to be made free of *Rome*) and to Marry amongst themselves, those of one City with the Inhabitants of another, which Privilege, they only of all the *Hernicks* enjoy'd for a good while after. As for the *Anagnians*, and the rest that began the War, they were admitted to be Enfranchized, without right of Voting: But their holding of General Assemblies or Councils, and Marrying out of one Nation into another, or having any Magistrates of their own (save only in relation to their Religion and Sacrifices) were prohibited. The same Year the Temple of *Safety* was begun to be built by *C. Junius Bubulcus*, now Cenfor, which when he was Consul he had vowed to erect if he prospered in the *Samnites* War; and by order from him and his Colleague *M. Valerius Maximus*, great High-ways and Cawseys were made through the Fields round the City, at the charge of the Publick: Also the League with the *Carthaginians* the third time renewed; their Ambassadors that came for that purpose being very civilly treated, and Presents made to them.

The same Year had likewise a Dictator, *P. Cornelius Scipio*, with *P. Decius Mus*, Master of the Horse, who held the Assemblies for Elections, being the only business for which they were Created, because both the Consuls were absent in the Wars. The Consuls chosen were *L. Posthumus* and *Tib. Minucius*. But *Piso* makes these to succeed next after *Q. Fabius* and *P. Decius*, omitting those two Years wherein *Claudius* with *Volturnius*, and *Cornelius* with *Marcus* serv'd that Office: whether he were mistaken in digesting his Year-books, or whether he pass'd by those two pair of Consuls on purpose, as not thinking them truly such, is uncertain. This Year the *Samnites* made Incursions into the Lands of *Stella*, belonging to *Campania*, therefore both Consuls were sent into *Samnium*, but advancing several ways; for *Posthumus* march'd to *Tifernum*, and *Minucius* to *Bovianum*. The first Battel happened under the Conduct of *Posthumus* at *Tifernum*, the success variously reported; some Authors relate, That the *Samnites* were notably beaten, and Thirty thousand of

XLIV.

of them taken Prisoners; others say that 'twas a drawn Game, neither side Victor in the Field; as also, that in the Night *Posthumius* making shew as if he were afraid, privately retired to the Mountains, and the Enemies followed them two Miles, and then they also Encamped. That the Consul, to the end he might be thought to have taken up safe and well-furnish'd Quarters, after he strongly fortified his Camp, and supply'd it with necessaries, leaving a sufficient Guard, did about mid-night draw out the Legions, least encumbered with heavy Armor and Baggage, and marches then directly towards his Colleague, who was facing another party of the Enemy, and by advice, persuades him to engage them; which he did accordingly, and the Dispute remaining doubtful till the day was far spent, *Posthumius* arrives, claps on his fresh Battalions, and presently changed the posture of Affairs, and the Enemy already almost quite spent, and what with wounds and weariness unable to fly, were generally slain, and One and twenty Colours taken. That from hence they return'd to *Posthumius's* Camp, where the two Victorious Armies setting upon the Enemy, whom the news of their Companions overthrow had rendred heartless, easily defeated and routed them, got Six and twenty Colours more, took the *Samnites* General, *Statius Gellius*, and many others Prisoners, and had the pillage of both Camps. And the next day laying Siege to *Bovianum*, soon took it. And that both Consuls triumph'd with much Glory for these signal Services. Yet there are some that write, that the Consul *Minucius* was brought into the Camp grievously wounded, and there dyed, and that *M. Fulvius* was made Consul in his stead, and that it was he who being sent to *Minucius's* Army, took *Bovianum*. The same Year *Sora Arpinum*, and *Censennia*, were recover'd from the *Samnites*, and the great Image of *Hercules* erected in the Capitol, and consecrated.

XLV. In the Consulship of *P. Sulpicius Saverrio*, and *P. Sempronius Sophus*, the *Samnites* desiring either a final end of the War, or at least to delay it, sent Ambassadors to Rome touching a Peace, who having in very humble terms told their Errand, the Senate gave them this Answer: *That if the Samnites had not so often treated for Peace, when they were altogether preparing for War, they might upon conference and due terms, have answered their desires; but since always hitherto their Words had prov'd vain, they would now trust to nothing but Deeds. That Sempronius the Consul would shortly be with the Army in Samnium, who being upon the Place, would be best able to judge whether in earnest they intended Peace or War, and as he found the state of Affairs, would make Report to the Senate; and therefore when he returned from thence, their Agents might follow him.* Accordingly, after the Army had peaceably march'd through all *Samnium*, every where courteously supplied with all sorts of Provisions, Peace was restored to that People, and the ancient League renewed.

The Roman Arms were now turned against the *Aequians*, old Enemies, though for many Years under the colour of a perfidious Peace they had been somewhat quiet. The particular Quarrel now with them was, because whilst the *Hernicks* were in a good condition, they joyning with them, had furnish'd the *Samnites* with Auxiliaries; and after the *Hernicks* were reduc'd, almost that whole Nation had revolted unto and took part with the Enemy; and especially for that when the Romans after Peace concluded with the *Samnites*, had sent Heralds to these *Aequians* to demand satisfaction for those past Injuries, They gave out that this was but a tempting them, to see if for fear of a War they would be content to become Romans; which how great an happiness it is, and how much to be desired, we may learn from the *Hernicks*, of whom, as many as could, chose rather to be governed by their own Laws, than by those of Rome; and for the rest, the making of them free Denizens of Rome, was impos'd upon them as a punishment. For such kind of Expressions used in their Councils, the Romans resolv'd to make War upon them, and both Consuls being ordered to manage it, advanced within four miles of the Enemy. Whose Army (as being a People to whom for many Years War had been a stranger) having been tumultuously raised, and without good Commanders and Discipline, began presently to be afraid, and divided in their Councils; some were for venturing a Battel, others for standing on the defensive only, and making good their Camp; but most of them were much concerned to think of the wasting of all their Country, and the destruction of their Towns which were now left poorly guarded; therefore amongst many Opinions, one at last generally prevail'd, which was to abandon the care of the Publick, and every man to regard the saving of his own private Fortune, and to that purpose at the first Watch to go every Body his way, and convey all their Goods into their Cities, and there defend themselves. The Enemy having thus disperst themselves, as soon as 'twas light the Romans put themselves in Battalia, and seeing none come out to oppose them, march up in a full Body towards the adverse Camp; but when they found there, neither Out-guards placed before the Ports, nor saw any Man appear upon the Rampire, nor could hear the usual murmur and noise of a Leaguer, started with this unwonted silence, and fearing some Stratagem or Ambuscade, they made an Hault for a while; afterwards getting over the Works, and seeing all abandoned, they endeavored to follow the Enemy by the Track; but then meeting with Foot-steps tending every way, as having scattered themselves, at the first they wandred to no purpose, but afterwards understanding the truth by their Scouts, applyed themselves to attack the several Cities, and in the space of two months, took One and forty Towns by storm, most

of

of which they demolish'd and burnt, whereby the whole Nation of the *Aequians* was in a manner destroyed. Over whom a Triumph was celebrated, and terrified by their fate; the *Marrucines*, *Marsians*, *Pelignians*, and *Frentanes*, sent their Agents to Rome to treat for Peace and Amity, which was accordingly granted.

This Year *C. Flavius*, a Clerk or Notary of very mean Parentage, for his Father had been a Bondman, but by some means obtaining a Freedom, got to be an *Aedile* of State; for he was a Man Crafty and Eloquent. In some Records I find, that when he appear'd at the Election, and found his own Tribe willing to Vote for him to be *Aedile*, but that his name could not be received amongst the Candidates, because he was a Mechanick, and got his Living by Writing; he flung away his Papers, and took an Oath, *That he would no longer follow that Employment.* But *Macer Licinius* avers, that he had left off his Pen-craft a good while before, having been Tribune, and born two Triumphships, one for the Night-guard for preventing of Fires, and the other for transplanting and settling a Colony. However all agree, that with great stoutness he made head against the Nobility that disdain'd his low Birth: He first publish'd the Civil Law, which till then had been lock'd up in the Cabinets of the Pontiffs; and set up Tables in the Grand Guild-hall, like Kalendars, whereby People might know the Holy-days, and when the Courts held Pleas, and when not. He consecrated the Temple of Concord in *Vulcan's* Court, and though *Cornelius Barbatus* the Arch-Priest, insisted, That by the ancient Law and Customs of their Fore-fathers, none could Dedicate a Temple but a Consul, or the General of an Army; yet he was forc'd by the general consent of the People, to comply, and pronounce the solemn words which the *Aedile* was to say after him, according to the custom in such cases; which thing was highly resented by the Nobility, and therefore a Law was exhibited from the Senate to the People, *That thence-forwards none should Dedicate either Temple or Altar, without leave first obtained from the Senate, or the major part of the Tribunes.* I may add here a passage in it self scarce worth Memoir, but as 'tis an evidence of the fewds between *Plebeian* Liberty, and the Insolency of the Nobles: This *Flavius* coming to visit his Colleague when he lay sick, some young Noblemen that were there agreed before hand, that to affront him, they would not rise up when he came into the Room, whereupon he commanded his Ivory Chair of State to be fetch'd thither, and placing himself in that Seat of Honor, beheld with contempt the envy of his Enemies. The truth is, this *Flavius* was chosen *Aedile* by that Factionous Rabble, that was first encouraged by *Ap. Claudius* in the time of his Censorship, who having stain'd the Dignity of the Senate by bringing in thither the Sons of *Libertines*; and afterwards perceiving that such his Choice was generally condemn'd, and that in the *Curia* or Assembly of the Wards, he had not so many Abettors of his doings as he desired: He intermix'd and admitted many of the scum of the Mobile into the several Tribes, thereby debauching both the *Forum* and *Campus Martius*, in all Elections there held. And indeed, this Election of *Flavius* was look'd upon as such an Affront, that most of the Nobles left off wearing their Rings and Horse-trappings, (the peculiar Marks of their Quality.) The City thence-forwards being divided into two Factions, one consisting of worthy honest Men, the encouragers of the Good and the Brave; the other of the Ruff-raff rabble manag'd by ambitious Upstarts to promote their Designs, and so it continued until *Q. Fabius* and *P. Decius* came to be Censors: For *Fabius*, as well to re-establish Amity and Concord, as to prevent the choice of Magistrates from falling into indigent and inconsiderable hands, retrench'd this over-grown multitude, took them out of the several Tribes wherein they bore sway, and cast them into four distinct Tribes by themselves, calling them *The City-Tribes*, because they had no Lands in the Country as the others had. Which Contrivance of his, 'tis said, was so acceptable, and gratefully receiv'd, that it gain'd him the Surname of *Maximus* [or *Most Great*] which was more than all his Victories could obtain. By him also it was Ordain'd, That all the Knights of Rome should every Year, on the fifteenth of July, appear in a General Muster before the Censor.

## DECADE I. BOOK X.

## E P I T O M E.

**T**WO Colonies Planted; one at Sora, the other at Alba. 3. The Marsians of Carleola submit to the Roman Government. 6. The College of Augurs increased to the number of Nine, who before were but Four. 9. A Law for Appeals to be made to the People, was now the third time Confirm'd, being put up by Valerius the Consul. Two new Tribes added; The Anian, and the Tarentine. 12, &c. War Proclaim'd against the Samnites, and several Victories obtain'd over them. 38, &c. In a Battel with the United Forces of the Tuscans, Umbrians, Samnites and Gauls, where P. Decius, and Q. Fabius were Generals, the Roman Army being hard put to't, and endanger'd, P. Decius following the Example of his Father, Devotes himself, and by his Death gains them a Victory. Papirius Cursor routs an Army of Samnites, who had bound themselves with a Solemn Oath, not to quit the Field without Victory. 47. A Censé being held, and the number taken of the Citizens, there appeared to be 262322. Polls.

**U. C.** 450. **I**N the Consulship of Lucius Genucius, and Ser. Cornelius, there being a Vacation almost from all Wars abroad, the Romans had leisure to Plant Colonies at Sora and Alba: To the latter, were sent six thousand to keep under the *Aequians*: The former, was part of the *Volscian* Territories, but of late possess'd by the *Samnites*; thither were carry'd Four thousand. The Inhabitants of *Arpinum* and *Trebula* obtain'd this Year the favour of being made Free-Denizens of Rome. The *Frusinates* were sentenced to lose one third part of their Lands, because it was found out they had solicited the *Hernicks* to Rebellion. Also the Consuls having, according to an Order of the Senate in that behalf, thoroughly inquired into the whole matter relating to that Insurrection, the Principal Officers thereof were first Scourged, and then Beheaded. Yet that the Year might not pass altogether void of Military Action, an Expedition (such as it was) is undertaken into *Umbria*, upon Advice of Incursions that were made by certain Men in Arms out of a kind of a Cave, by whom the Parts adjacent were much annoy'd and plunder'd. Into this Den, or hollow Passage between the Rocks, the Romans entred with Banners displayed; and by reason of the obscurity of the Place, many of them were shrewdly wounded, especially by Stones flung at them; until such time as they found out the other mouth of the Hole (for it was a Thorow-fare) but then, piling up heaps of Wood at both ends, they set Fire to it, the smoke and heat of which, those within being no longer able to endure, did at last, hoping to break through and escape, rush into the very Flames, and so were smothered and burnt, to the number of about 2000 Armed Men. The next Year, M. Livius Dentor, and C. *Emilius* being Consuls, the *Aequian* War broke out again, for they not abiding the Colony planted amongst them, looking upon it as a Garrison placed on their Frontiers on purpose to bridle them, gathered together, and with all their might endeavored to storm it; but the Colony bravely defended it self, and without any help beat them off: However, it so much startled those at Rome, because they could not think, the *Aequians* already so much crush'd, would alone of themselves make an Insurrection without some more Potent Allies to back them: That by means of this Hubbub C. *Junius Bubulcus* was made Dictator, who with M. *Titinius* General of the Horse, marching thither, at the very first Conflict sufficiently chastised the *Aequians*, and on the eighth Day return'd triumphant into Rome, and then that Temple of Concord, which he vow'd when he was Consul, and began to Build whilst he was Censor, he now Dedicated during his Dictatorship.

**II.** That Year a Grecian Fleet, under the Conduct of Cleonymus a Lacedæmonian, arriv'd upon the Coasts of Italy, and surprized *Thuria* a City of the *Salentines*. Against whom the Consul *Emilius* being sent forth, in the first Encounter beat them back into their Ships, restored the Town to its Inhabitants, and Peace to all the *Salentine* Territories. Yet in some Annals I read, that *Junius Bubulcus* the Dictator made an Expedition against the *Salentines* themselves, and that Cleonymus had quitted Italy, before the Romans could come up to engage him: who having doubled the Cape of *Brundisium*, Sail'd with a direct Wind through the middle of the *Adriaticque Gulf*, declining the Coasts of Italy on the Larbord-side, because there were no Ports or Havens to put in at, and afraid of those Nations towards the Star-bord side, the *Ilirians*, *Liburnians* and *Isirians*, since they were great Sea-Rovers, and infamous for Cruelty and Piracy. At length he arriv'd upon the *Venetian* Coast, and having Landed a few Men to discover the Country; they gave an account, that the strand that lay before them was but narrow, which having pass'd, there were certain Plashes over-flow'd with the Sea-tides; That next, and not far off, they could see Pasture-

Pasture-fields, and further off a ridge of Hills, whence they discover'd the Mouth of a very deep River (the name of it was *Meduacus*) into which they thought the Ships might be brought about, and ride at Anchor as in a safe Harbor; whereupon he directed his Course thither, and gave Orders to Sail up the River: But the Channel was not deep enough to bear his biggest Vessels, therefore the Soldiers were put aboard the Barques and Pinaces, and so Landed in a Country well Inhabited, as belonging to three Maritime Villages of *Padua*: These they set upon, take the People Captive, get great store of Plunder, and then set the Houses on Fire; and enticed with the sweetness of these Spoils, march up further from their Ships (with which they had left but a very slender Guard.) Tidings of this Invasion was soon carry'd to *Padua*, (a Place always in Arms, and upon their Guard for fear of their ill Neighbors, the *Gauls*;) who presently sent out two Parties, one up into the Country where they were playing their Plundering pranks; the other by a By-way directly to the Harbor where their Ships lay (which was about fifteen Miles off from that City:) And having cut to pieces the small Guard that was there, endeavor'd to Board the Vessels; but the affrighted Mariners got them over to the other side of the River. No less successful were they on Land against the stragling Rovers, who flying back to their Ships were intercepted, surrounded, and all either kill'd or taken; some of the Prisoners discovered whence their Fleet was, and that their King Cleonymus was but three Miles lower: Therefore having secured them in the next Village, the *Patavins*, some of them Man'd out their Flat-bottom'd Boats, fitted to pass the Shallows; others Imbarqu'd in the Pinaces taken from the Enemy, and so hastning down, beset the main Fleet, which was Riding at Anchor little dreaming of any danger, and fearing not so much an Enemy as the unknown Coasts, who being thus surprized made no resistance, but made all the Sail they could towards the Sea, being pursued as far as the Mouth of the River; several of their Ships that for fear and hast run upon the Flats, were taken and burnt; so that Cleonymus was glad to be gone, having scarce a fifth part of his Fleet left, and without Success in attempting to Land in any Coast of the *Adriatique*, returned home. The Stems of the Ships, and other Spoils of the *Lacedæmonians* here taken, were set up in the old Temple of *Juno*, and there be many yet alive who have seen them. The Memorial of this Victory is yearly celebrated (on the same day) at *Padua*, by a solem Skirmish of Ships, upon the River that runs through the middle of that City.

This Year a League was concluded at Rome with the *Vestines* at their Request: Soon after arriv'd Troublesom Intelligence from several parts, that *Hetruria* was in an Up-roar, occasion'd by the seditious and civil Broils of the *Aretines*, who envying the Riches of the *Cilnii*, a very Potent Family amongst them, would needs expel them by force of Arms. Also, that the *Marsians* stood out and defended their Territories against the Colony of 4000 Men that was sent to *Carleoli*. By reason of these Tumults, M. *Valerius Maximus* was created Dictator, who chose for his General of the Horse M. *Emilius Paulus*; for that I rather credit, than that it was (as others relate) Q. *Fabius*; it being improbable that a Person of his Age, and who had born the highest Honors, would serve under *Valerius*. The Dictator advancing with his Army, in one Battel routed the *Marsians*, and having driven them into their Fortified Cities, *Milionia*, *Plestina*, and *Fresilia*; in few days space took all those Places, and having for their further punishment taken away part of their Lands, received them again into the Ancient League. Then was the War turn'd upon the *Tuscans*; but whilst the Dictator was gone to consult the Sooth-sayers, and take anew his *Auspices*, or tokens of good Luck, the Master of the Horse being abroad a Foraging, fell into an Ambuscade, lost several Colours, and was beat into the Camp, after a foul Slaughter, and shameful flight of his Men. Now 'tis not probable that *Fabius* should be guilty of such a Miscarriage, both because, if for any commendable Qualities he deserved his Sir-name of *Most Great*, it was especially for his Courage and excellent skill in Military Affairs; as also, for that he must needs too well remember *Papirius*'s severe prosecution against him heretofore, to be induc'd by any means to fight again in the absence of the Dictator.

The noise of this Loss at Rome terrified them more than the thing deserved: For as if the whole Army had been destroy'd, a Cessation of all proceedings at Law was Proclaimed, Guards set at the Gates, Watches in every Street, Arms and Darts placed on the Walls, and all the younger fort List'd to be in readiness: And forthwith the Dictator was dispatch'd away to the Army, who found all things there in a better posture than he could expect, and very well compos'd by the careful diligence of the General of the Horse: The Camp removed to a place of more strength and safety; those Companies who had lost their Colours, left on the bare Earth without the Works, and allowed neither Tents or Coverts, for a punishment of their Cowardize; and the whole Army eager for a Battel, that they might the sooner wipe off the stain of the late Disgrace. Therefore he forthwith advanc'd with them into the Country of *Rosella*, whither the Enemy followed: And though their late Success had rais'd them to a confidence that they could deal well enough with the Romans by plain force in a fair Field, yet they were willing to use some Art and Stratagem, which they had found so advantagious. There happened to be not far from



the Roman Camp, a parcel of Houses half ruined, belonging to a Village that was burnt when the Country was over-run; there having hid a Party, they drove some Cattel within view of the *Corps-du-Guard*, Commanded by *Cn. Fulvius*, a Commissary-General; but none of them coming out of their station upon this Bait, one of the pretended Herdsmen came up almost to their Works, and called aloud to the rest (that seem'd for fear to drive but slowly by the Ruines of the aforesaid Village) asking, *What they staid for? since they might safe enough drive their Beasts clean through the Romans Camp*. Which words some *Cervites* that were present, Interpreting to the Commissary, fill'd all the several Bands with Indignation to be thus affronted, and their fingers itch'd to be at them, but durst not stir a step without Command: *Fulvius* bid those that were skilful in the Language, observe, Whether the Speech of the Herdsmen were Country-like, or sounded after a City Dialect? who acquainted him, *That to them they seem'd both by their Language and their Looks, to be more neat and better bred than Peasants or Country Clowns: Then go your ways* (quoth he) *to them, and bid them discover their Ambush, which in vain they have hid; That the Romans understand all their tricks, and can now be circumvented by their Fraud, no more than vanquish'd by their Force*. This being related to those that lay in wait, presently they start out of their Coverts, and advanc'd their Ensigns all abroad in the open Field: The Commissary finding them too numerous for his Guard alone to deal with, immediately sent to advertise the Dictator, and desire some assistance; whilst in the mean time he bore the brunt of the Enemies Charge.

V. Upon this Advice, the Dictator commanded the Soldiers to Arm and march; they were ready almost as soon as his Orders could be pronounc'd, and scarce could they be kept from running, being spur'd on as well by desires to revenge their late loss, as by hearing the shouts of their Fellows that were engag'd, redoubled thicker and thicker as the Conflict encreas'd. Therefore they push one another, and call to the Standard-bearers to mend their pace: But the faster they march'd, the more earnest was the Dictator to have them go softly. The *Tuscans* in the mean time, taking the Alarm from the aforesaid Parties beginning the Fight, had brought down all their Forces, which by one Messenger after another was told the Dictator; and, *That it was impossible for that small Party of his to resist them, if he did not hasten to their Aid*, and he himself from a little Hill might see in what danger they were. But as he was confident the Commissary was yet able to maintain the Dispute, so considering himself was so near to preserve him from any danger, he was desirous to have the Enemy tir'd out as much as might be, that with his fresh Forces he might fall upon them already almost spent. Though they march'd thus slow, they were come near enough for the Horse to take their carier for a Charge: However, that the Enemy might not expect any such sudden Attack, he caus'd the Foot to march before, but with spaces between their Files, through which the Cavalry might with ease advance. The Front had no sooner set up an Halloo, but the Horse gallop'd out three quarters speed upon the Enemy, who being not prepared to entertain a Charge from Horse, as not expecting any such thing, they were amazed and presently disorder'd. Thus though he came late to assist his Party, almost quite hemm'd in, yet as soon as he came, he eas'd them of all further Toil; for the fresh Men undertook the whole weight of the Conflict, which neither lasted long, nor was very dangerous: For the Enemy being worsted, fly to their Works, and as the Romans with Banners displayed press hard upon them, quitted their Posts there too, and huddled themselves up in an heap at the further side of their Camp, and endeavoring all to fly at once, wedge in one another, and stuck fast in the narrow Passages of the Ports: A great part of them then got up upon the Rampire, either the better to defend themselves by the height of the place, or hoping to get over somewhere: It happen'd at one place, the Mount being not well ramm'd, surcharged with the weight of those that stood on it, broke down and fell into the Trench, whereupon they cry'd out, *The Gods had opened them a passage for their escape*; and by that means indeed they saved themselves, but most of them were glad to leave their Arms behind them. By this overthrow both the Forces of the *Tuscans*, and their Spirits, were abated; so that agreeing to give the Army a Years pay, and Corn for two Months, they were permitted by the Dictator to send Ambassadors to Rome to negotiate a Peace, which would not be granted, but a Truce they obtained for two Years: The Dictator return'd to the City in Triumph. I have some Authors, that affirm he reduced *Etruria* without any memorable Battel, having only compos'd the *Aretines* Distractions, by making a Reconciliation between the House of the *Cilnii*, and the Commons. *M. Valerius* was made Consul upon his Dictatorship, though some say he was so far from seeking that Honor, that 'twas conferr'd in his absence, and that this Election was held by an *Inter-regent*; but 'tis without dispute that *Apulcius Panfa* was his Colleague.

VI. During their time, all was pretty quiet abroad; the Truce, and especially their ill success in the late War, kept the *Tuscans* in order. The *Sammites* had suffered so many overthrows for several Years past, that they were not yet weary of the new League: And at Rome, the drawing out of Multitudes of the poorer sort, and planting them in good Colonies abroad, where they had Lands and Houses for nothing, pleas'd the Commons very well;

well; yet that this Tranquillity might not be every where intire and perfect, a Quarrel was started between the chief of the City, *Patricians* of the one side, and *Commoners* of the other, fomented by the two *Ogulnii*, Tribunes of the Commons, who hunting for all occasions to expose and accuse the Nobility, and render them odious to the Commons; after several other projects had prov'd ineffectual, undertook at length an action that they knew would not fail to enflame, not only the Rabble, but the Heads of the Commons, Men that had born Consulships and rod in Triumphant Chariots, who now wanted no Offices or Honors, but those of Priest-hood, which the Nobles had hitherto kept wholly to themselves, and not suffered the same to be promiscuously enjoy'd by any others: What did they do therefore but propose a Law, *That since there were at that time but four Augurs or Soothsayers, and as many Pontiffs or Chief Priests, and it was thought fit that the number of Priests should be encreas'd, therefore four Pontiffs and five Augurs might henceforwards be chosen out of the Commons, to be added to those in being*. How this Colledge of *Augurs* came to be reduced to the number of Four, unless by the death of some of them, I do not understand, since 'twas a Rule amongst the *Augurs* that their number ought to be odd; that the three Ancient Tribes, *Ramnes*, *Titenses*, and *Luces*, might each have its Augur; or if there need-ed more, they should multiply them equally; as here five being added to four, makes nine, that is, three for each Tribe. But that which nettled the Nobles, was, That these new ones were to be chosen out of the Commonalty, which they resented no less than when they saw the Consulship first fall into *Plebeian* hands; yet they shrouded their Envy under a cloak of Piety, alledging, *That the Gods were much more concern'd in the business than they, who would best determine, whether or no their Sacred Mysteries were polluted; as for themselves, all they could do, was, to wish well, and pray that no severe Judgment or Calamity might for this befall the Common-wealth*. But though they were inwardly vex'd, yet they made the less earnest opposition publickly, because in such Disputes they were now used to be overborn, and have it carry'd against them, and saw their Competitors the Commons did not only aspire to great Honors, which in former times they durst not hope for, but were already in possession of all the Highest Dignities which had been so long controverted; viz. a multitude of Consulats, Censorships and Triumphs.

The Debate, 'tis said, touching this Law *pro* and *con*, was chiefly managed between *Appius Claudius*, and *Publius Decius Mus*, who having on either side alledged and musterd up much the same Argument touching the Rights both of Lords and Commons, as were heretofore used for and against the *Licinian Law*, when the matter was first started, that *Commoners might be Consuls*: For a close of the Debate, *Decius* is reported to have represented in a very lively Description, the resemblance of his Father, such as many present had seen him in his Gown in the *Gabine Tuck*, and standing over his Javelin, in which Habit he Devoted himself for the People and Legions of Rome, *Publius Decius the Commoner Consul* (quoth he) *was then as pure and Religious in the sight of the Immortal Gods, and altogether as acceptable as if T. Manlius his Collague (a Patrician) had been devoted: and can we imagine that the same man might not rightly have been chosen, to officiate the Publick Divine Services of the People of Rome? Is this the Doubt, that the Gods should not as readily bear his Prayers, as they would those of Appius Claudius? Is the latter more pure in his private Devotions, or does he serve the Gods more religiously than the former? What cause is there to repent of the Vows made by so many Plebeian Consuls and Dictators, either when they first set out with their Armies, or in the very heat of Battels? Let us number the Commanders in Chief ever since Affairs begun to fall under the management of Commoners, and reckon up the several Triumphs, it will appear, the Commons have no cause to blush at their own Nobility. This I am sure of, whenever any mighty dangerous War happens, the Senate and People of Rome do not repose more confidence in their Patritian, than in their Plebeian Commanders: Since this is so, how can it seem an indignity to God or Man, if to those great and illustrious Personages, whom you have dignified with Ivory Chairs of State, with Robes of Honor of all sorts, with Triumphant Crowns and Laurels; and whose Houses are above others rendred Glorious with the affix'd spoils of Enemies, you shall also add the Sacred Accoutrements of Pontiffs and Augurs? He that hath already been deck'd in the Ornaments of Almighty Jupiter, and being drawn through the City in a Chariot of Gold, hath mounted the Capitol, who can think it too much to see the same Person that hath thus appear'd as a God to Men, to shew himself an humble Suppliant to the Gods? to hold in Triumphant Hands the Sacred Cup, or Holy-water-pot, and the Divining Wand, or Crozier Staff? and with a veiled Head to kill the Sacrifices, or take the lucky Auguries for the Publick? When Posterity shall read the stile of some brave Man upon his Statue, and find there so many Consulats, Censorships, and Triumphs, Will they think you be frighted, if you shall have added thereunto an Augurship, or the Pontifical Dignity? For my part, I verily hope of Rome we are now such, as by our Quality may bring as much Credit and Honor to the Priestly Function, as we shall derive from it: And that we desire it more in respect of the Service of the Gods, than for any Interest of our own, That whom we have hitherto reverenc'd privately, we may henceforth have opportunities publickly to Worship.*

But why plead I all this while, as if the Patricians alone were intirely Invested with the Priviledge of Sacerdotal Dignities? and as if we were not already in possession of one Honorable and most Principal Priesthood? We see the Decemvirs appointed for Celebration of Sacrifices, and Interpreting the Sibylline Verses, for reading the Destinies of our Nation; the same Persons being Chief Ministers at the Sacred Rites of Apollo, and other Ceremonies, are Commoners. And as no Injury was done the Patritii, when in favor of the Commons the number of the Duumviri or Superintendents of the aforesaid Mysteries, was augmented to Ten; so neither have they now any greater cause to complain, if the Tribune, a worthy and brave Man, hath added five places more of Augurs and four of Pontiffs, unto which Commoners may be nominated: Not to dispossess you, Appius, but that Commoners may be assistant to you in Sacred Things, who are so highly helpful to you in Civils. Be not ashamed, O Appius! to have the same Person your Collegue in the Priesthood, who might fitly be your Companion in a Censor or Consulship: To whom being Dictator, you might be Master of the Horse, as well as he Master of the Horse when you happen to be Dictator. The Patritii of Old refus'd not to admit into their Rank a Sabine Stranger, Appius Claudius, or Claudius (I know not which his Name was) the very Top of your Kindred, you must not think much then to accept Us into the number of the Priests, who bring with us not a few Marks of Honor, nay, even all that you can boast of: You tell us, That the first Commoner that was made a Consul, was L. Sextius; the first Master of the Horse, Caius Licinius Stolo, the first both Dictator and Censor, C. Marcius Rutilus; we have heard you repeating a thousand times the same thredbare Allegations; That to you, forsooth alone, belongs the taking of the Auspicia; that you only are Gentlemen; that you, and none but you, ought to have the Chief management of Affairs both at home and abroad: Yet still I must tell you, the Commoners have always been as prosperous hitherto as the Nobles, in any brave or difficult Undertaking, and I doubt not but they ever will be so. Did you never hear that the Patritii, did not drop down from Heaven, but were at first establish'd by Humane Policy, being composed of such as were able to name their Father, that is to say, Honest Free-men, and no more? I my self can already nominate my Father to have been a Consul, and shortly my Son will be able to alledge his Grandfather of that Quality. The bottom of the Business is only this, That every thing must be denyed us, and nothing obtained without tugging: The Patritians Design is only to maintain a Faction, and contend, and regard not greatly what the end of the Dispute is. It is therefore my Vote, That (to the good of you all, and the Weal-Publick) this Law be passed and established.

IX. The People presently commanded the Tribes to be call'd to a Scrutiny, and it appeared, That without all doubt the Law would be accepted; but that day was lost by the Interposition and Negative of some of the Tribunes: But on the Morrow, they were afraid to oppose it, and then it pass'd unanimously, and the New additional Pontiffs then Created were, the Promoter of the Law P. Decius Mus, P. Sempronius Sophus, C. Marcius Rutilus, and M. Livius Dentor: The five Plebeian Augurs, C. Genutius, P. Aelius Pætus, M. Minucius Fessus, C. Marcius, and T. Publilius; thus the number of the Pontiffs came to be Eight, and of the Augurs Nine. The same Year M. Valerius the Consul, procured the Law, Touching Appeals to the People, to be confirm'd. This was the third time since the expulsion of Kings, that Law had been establish'd, and always by the same Family: The Cause of renewing it so oft, I conceive might be, because the power of a few of the Grandees and Nobles was apt to be too hard for the Liberties of the Commons. The Porcian Law seems Enacted only to save the Romans skins, imposing a grievous punishment on any that should Kill or Scourge a Citizen of Rome. The Valerian Law, which prohibited any man to be Whipt or Beheaded, that made his Appeal, had no expresse Penalty, but only declared, That whoever should act contrary, the same would be naughtily done, that seeming then as I believe (such was the Modesty and Reverence of those Times) a sufficient Obligation and Restraint, whereas now a days, if a Man should threaten but his Slave at such a rate, he would despise it. The same Consul manag'd the War against the Æquians, who were broke out in Rebellion, but there was little remarkable in it, for they had nothing left of their Antient Fortune, but the stoutness of their Stomachs. The other Consul Apuleius, besieged the City Nequinum in Umbria, a place difficult of Access, as being situate high, and on the one side was a steep Precipice, where now the River Narnia is, so that it could not be taken either by Assault or Mining; but the Service uneffected, was resign'd over to the new Consuls, M. Fulvius Pætus, and T. Manlius Torquatus. 'Tis related by Macer Licinius, and Tubero, That all the Wards having chosen that year Q. Fabius, although he did not pretend to it, He desired them to excuse him till a year when there were more Wars on foot, for at present he could do the Commonwealth better Service, by bearing some Civil Office in the City: Thereby not concealing what he aim'd at, nor yet expressly desiring it, and so he was made Ædile of State, together with L. Papirius Cursor. But I dare not avouch this for a certain truth, because Piso, a more antient Annalist, saith, That the Ædiles of the Chair that year were C. Domitius, Cn. F. Calvinus, and Sp. Carvilius Q. F. Maximus, which surname of Maximus might, as I conceive, give occasion to the Error, whereupon followed a Tale suitable to that Error, jumbling the Elections of Ædiles and Consuls together. The same year was a Lustrum, that is a general survey and purging of the City

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by Sacrifices, held by P. Sempronius Sophus, and P. Sulpitius Averrio, and two Tribes more were added to the rest, Anienis and Tarentina. Thus much for the Affairs at Rome.

Much time had now been spent in a lingering Siege of the before-mentioned Town Nequinum, but at last two of the Inhabitants, whose Houses join'd to the Wall, undermined the Ground as far as the Roman Out-guards, where coming forth, they desired to be carryed before the Consul, whom they do assure, That they were ready to let in a party of Armed Men, if he pleas'd, into the City. This was an Overture not to be slighted, nor yet to be credited without Caution. With one of these Renegado's (for the other was detain'd as an Hostage) two Scouts were sent by the same Mine to discover the Passage; and upon their return the Attempt appearing feasible, Three hundred Soldiers led by the Renegado into the City, seiz'd in the Night the Gate that was next, break it open, and let in the Consul and Roman Army without any resistance. Nequinum being thus reduced to the Roman Obedience, a Colony, called Narnia from the Rivers name, was Planted there, to serve as a Frontier against the Umbrians: And the Army return'd to Rome with a good Booty.

The same Year the Tuscans were contriving to violate their Truce, but whilst they were hammering several projects, they were for a while diverted by a vast Army of the Gauls making an Incurfion into their Country, but with Money, (whereof they had good store) they endeavor'd not only to make the Gauls their Friends, but draw them in to assist them against the Romans. This Alliance the Barbarians seeming not to refuse, they treat about the Sum, which being agreed and paid, when all other preparations for the War were ready, and the Tuscans desired them to March, they peremptorily denyed, that they contract-ed for any reward concerning a War against the Romans; whatever they received, the same was allowed them only in consideration of their forbearing to plunder the Tuscans Country, and not committing any Acts of Hostility upon the People: Yet if the Tuscans were so minded, they should still be ready to serve them, but upon no other Terms, but being admitted into part of their Territories, that at last they might have some certain abode, and place of settlement. The People of Etruria had several Diets or Councils about this Affair, but nothing was done in it, not so much that they were loth to part with their Lands, as because every body abhorred to have people of a such a Savage Race for their Neighbors. So the Gauls being dismis'd, carryed home a power of Money, got without either labor or hazard: However, they at Rome were startled at the noise of this Conjunction like to have been between the Gauls and the Tuscans, and therefore were the nimbler in clapping up a Peace with the People of Picenum.

T. Manlius the Consul had the charge of the Tuscan War allotted to him, who was scarce entred their Borders, when as he was exercising his Cavalry, turning his Horse suddenly in a full career, he was thrown off with a grievous Fall, whereof three days after he dyed. The Tuscans took heart at this Accident as a good Omen for their side, That the Gods had begun this War in their favour. At Rome 'twas sad news, as well for the loss of so brave a General, as for the unseasonableness of the time when it fell out, so that the Votes of the first Wards, which the rest followed, discharged the Senate from nominating a Dictator to hold the Election for a new Consul, and would needs bestow it themselves; and all of them pitch'd upon M. Valerius, who was the very Man that the Senate would have Created Dictator. This Gentleman is ordered forthwith to repair into Etruria to the Legions, and his coming kept the Tuscans in such awe, that none of them durst budge out of their Works, their condition being no better than a Siege; nor could the new Consul provoke them to a Battel, though he wasted their Country, and burnt their Habitations where-ever he came, so that not only their small Villages, but Well-peopled Towns were all in flames, or yet smoaking in Ruines. Whilst this War prov'd more tedious than was expected, there came the Report of another, which considering the mutual losses of both sides, was justly more terrible: For the Romans had Intelligence privately given them by the Picenes their new Allies: That the Samnites were upon a design to take Arms and Rebel, and had tampered with them to join therein. The Picenes had the thanks of the Senate returned for this Discovery, which diverted a great part of the Fathers cares from Tuscan towards the Samnites: Besides, the City was afflicted with a Dearth of Corn and Provisions; nay, as those Write who will have Fabius Maximus to be Ædile that year, it had been reduced to the last Extremity of Want, if that Gentleman had not prevented it, by his care in providing, and prudence in disposing of Corn, shewing himself as diligent and useful now at home in dispensing of Victuals, as he had often been abroad in the Conduct of their Arms. The same year there was an Inter-regency, but on what occasion does not appear; the Regents were Appius Claudius, and after him P. Sulpicius, who held the Elections, and Created L. Cornelius Scipio, and Cn. Fulvius, Consuls.

To these new Consuls, at their beginning of the very Year, Ambassadors from the Lucanes addrest themselves, complaining, That the Samnites, because they could not on any Terms inveigle them into an Association against the Romans, had with a formidable Army invaded and laid waste their Country, and intended by Arms to force them to take Arms as they would have them: But though the People of Lucania had heretofore too much fail'd in that respect, they were

X.

XI.

XII.

were now fully resolv'd to run all hazards and extremities, rather than offend the Roman name: Therefore they did humbly request the Fathers to take them into Protection, and to defend them from the force and outrages of the Samnites; That though their standing out a War with the Samnites, had already laid them under a necessity of being true and firmly Loyal to the Romans, yet they were further ready, if it should be required, to give Hostages for their Fidelity. The Senate, after a short debate, unanimously resolv'd to continue their League with the Lucanians, and send Heralds to the Samnites, to demand satisfaction, and require them to depart, and withdraw their Arms out of the Territories of the Lucanians, Allies and Confederates of the People of Rome. But as they were on their way, Messengers from the Samnites met them, declaring, That if they offered to address themselves to any of the Samnites Councils or Assemblies, they should not expect to depart again in safety, and therefore let them proceed at their peril. This was no sooner heard at Rome, but the Senate Voted, and the People Decreed a War against the Samnites. The Consuls divided the Provinces, Tuscany fell to Scipio's share, and the Samnites to Fulvius, and each of them departed to his Charge. Scipio expected a slow lingering Work on't, like last Years Campaign; but on the contrary, the Enemy in Battel-array meets him near Volaterra, where they fought the better part of the Day with great slaughter on both sides, and Night parted them before either could tell which had the best on't; but next Day declared the Victory, and which Party was vanquish'd, for the Tuscans taking the advantage of the Night were march'd off: The Romans being drawn up, and perceiving that the Victory was yielded them by the Enemies retreat, advance to their Camp, and find it, though empty of Men, yet not of Booty, for they had quitted it in such fear, as to leave much of their Baggage behind them. Then he retired with his Army into the Faliscan Territories, and leaving his Carriages at Falerii with a competent Guard, marches with a flying Army to Forrage the Country, and destroy it with Fire and Sword; vast Booties are got from all Parts, and he left not only their Fields wast and desart, but burnt down their Castles and Borough-Towns: As for the greater and better fortified Cities, into which fear had driven the Tuscans by heaps, he did not stand to Invest them, because he would not lose so much time as the Formalities of so many Sieges would require. The other Consul Fulvius, fought a gallant Battel with the Samnites near Bovianum, wherein he was Conqueror beyond dispute; after which, he attack'd Bovianum first, and then Ausidena, and took them both by Storm.

XIII.

The same Year a Colony was carry'd to Carsoli, to have an Eye over the Territories of the Aequicolæ. Fulvius the Consul Triumphs over the Samnites. About the time of Elections, Intelligence arriv'd, That the Tuscans and Samnites were making mighty Levies; That in all their Diets or Councils the Chiefs of the Tuscans were reproved for not engaging the Gauls in the War, whatever it had cost them: Nor were the Magistrates of the Samnites less blam'd for exposing to the fury of the Romans that Army which they had provided against the Lucanians, whom they ought first to have cut off, whereas now the Romans having their Assistance, as well as their own Forces, would be so much the harder to be dealt with. Now though there were several other gallant Persons put in for the Consulship, yet this new Alarm turned all the Peoples eyes upon Q. Fabius Maximus, so far from ambitioning that Honor, that as soon as he perceived their Inclinations, he openly refused it, asking, What they meant to trouble him that was now an old Man, and had already gone through both all sorts of Labors and Fatigues for the Publick, and also all the Honors and glorious Rewards which are wont to sweeten those toils and dangers to Youthful minds? That the vigor either of the Body or Mind could not always continue the same; and besides, he had jealous apprehensions of Fortune her self, lest some of the Gods should think her too partial, and more constantly kind to him than the common course, and necessary vicissitudes of Humane Affairs will allow of; That he was now grown up equal to the glories of his Ancestors, and should gladly behold others aspiring and mounting up to the same illustrious Height; That as Rome had always sufficient Encouragements and Honors for brave and valiant Men, so she never wanted excellent Persons fit for the greatest Charges and Preferments. This modesty added a greater edge to their Desires, which he thinking to rebate by the Authority of the Law, caused that Ordinance to be read, which Provides, That no Man that has served Consul, shall within the space of ten Years after, be chosen again to the same Office. But the same could scarce be heard for the noise of the People; and the Tribunes of the Commons, cryed out, That should be no Impediment, for they would presently prefer a Bill, That he should be exempted and dispensed with: Yet still he persisted in his refusal, demanding, To what purpose is it then to make Laws, when they shall be eluded by those very Persons that make them? This is not to be rul'd by Laws, but to over-rule and govern the Laws themselves at our pleasure. However, the People proceeded to a Scrutiny, and as every Ward was called in, they all gave their Suffrages without any Hesitation, for Fabius. Then overcome with this general Consent of the whole City, May the Gods (quoth he) approve, O Quirites! what you do, and are about; but since you will dispose of me as you please, I hope you will not deny me the favor of nominating my Colleague, and therefore make it my Request, that you would please to chuse for the other Consul, P. Decius, a Man that I have try'd, and born Office with already very lovingly, and a Person worthy of your regards, and that incomparable Father from whom he is descended: This was readily granted, and Q. Fabius and P. Decius

P. Decius created Consuls by a general consent. The same Year abundance of Persons were prosecuted by the Aediles, for holding greater quantities of Land than they ought to do by Law, and generally they were found guilty and punish'd, whereby their immoderate Avarice was for the present very much restrain'd.

While the new Consuls, Q. Fabius Maximus the fourth time, and P. Decius Mus the third, were concerting their Affairs that one should attack the Samnites, the other the Tuscans, what Forces would be sufficient for each Province, and which of them would be most proper to manage each War; Ambassadors from Sutrium, Nepes, and Falerii, advertise them, That the States of Tuscany were now consulting in their Diets about a Treaty of Peace, Whereupon they turned the whole bulk of the War upon the Samnites. For the reader provision of Grain and Victuals, and that the Enemy might be the more to seek where the Tempest would first fall upon them, the Consuls led their Legions into Samnium two different ways, Fabius through the Territories of Sora, and Decius along by the Sidicini. Being come up to the Enemies Confines, both of them immediately spread their Forces to Forrage the Country; yet warily sent out their Scouts before them, by whom they had advice, That the Enemy lay in readiness about a blind Valley or untoward Pass near Tifernum, designing as soon as the Romans should be got into it, to set upon them from the higher Grounds. Fabius having disposed of his Baggage in a place of safety, under a small Guard, and given his Soldiers notice, That a Battel was towards, marches in good order, directly to the aforesaid Ambuscade; the Samnites then despairing to do any good by surprize since their Design was discovered, and seeing the matter must once at length come to an open dispute and decision, were themselves pretty willing to venture a pitched Field; and so descended into the Plain, and committed themselves to Fortune, with greater courage than hopes. Whether it were that they had there amass'd together the utmost strength they could make from all parts, or whether the consideration that all was at stake, inspir'd them with an unusual Valor, certain it is, that even in fair fighting they held the Romans hard to it, and put them into no small fright. Insomuch that Fabius seeing he could not make them flinch in any part, commanded two Colonels, M. Fulvius, and M. Valerius, that were with him in the Front, to go to the Horse, and tell them, That if ever the Commonwealth were to be assisted by the Service of the Cavalry, they should this day strive to render the glory of their Order invincible and eternal; for now the Enemy had stood the utmost shocks of the Infantry, and no hopes left but in a brisk Charge from the Horse; and withal, he encouraged these two young Gentlemen by name, both with commendations and large promises of Reward. But when neither this attempt of the Horse could make any Impression, concluding, That Artifice must effect what down-right Force could not accomplish, he orders Scipio, a Commissary General, to retreat out of the Front with the Hastati, or Javelyneers, of the first Legion, and march them round about as secretly as possibly he could to the top of the next Hills, and from thence on a sudden to fall upon the back of the Enemy. The Horse led by the two Colonels, advancing before the Standards unexpectedly, disordered their own Men as much as they did the Samnites, who received them gallantly and repuls'd them, so that they were forced to fall back again behind the Ensigns, and troop'd out of the Battel. This encouraged the Enemy; nor had the Fore-front been able, after so tedious a Conflict, to sustain their Violence, still encreasing upon confidence of a Victory, had it not been reinforc'd by the Consuls command with the second Battalions coming up and relieving them; who being fresh, put a stop to the braving Samnites, and at the same time the Ensigns opportunely appearing on the Hill behind, and a shout from thence, did not only terrifie them with a just apprehension of danger, but the same was made far greater by a mistake: For both the Consul Fabius cryed out, That his Colleague Decius was come, and all the Soldiers repeated the same Note with the highest Joy: O the other Consul! the other Legions are yonder at hand! An happy error to the Romans, but fatal to the Samnites, causing them to be surprized with a Fright, and to run away as fast as they could, lest they should be hem'd in, and by these fresh Forces cut to pieces now they were already weary and over-toil'd. The slaughter was not so great as might be expected from such a Victory, because they disperfed themselves every way in their flight, there being only 3400 of them slain, and almost 330 taken Prisoners, together with Three and twenty Colours.

The Apulians had join'd the Samnites before this Battel, if the other Consul Decius had not intercepted and routed them at Maleventum: There too there was more flying than killing, for there were not above two thousand of them slain; and Decius making no reckoning of that Enemy, advanc'd into Samnium, where the two Consular Armies marching several ways, over-run the Country, and laid all wast before them for five whole months together. Decius encamp'd at no fewer than five and forty, and the other Consul at Eighty six several places in Samnium during that Expedition, leaving behind them not only the Monuments of their Rampires and Ditches, but other more notable marks of Desolation throughout those Regions. Fabius likewise took the City Cimitra, where there were taken Two thousand four hundred armed Men, and slain Four hundred and thirty, or near thereabouts. Thence by reason of the approaching Elections,

XV.



he hastned back to Rome; and when at first all the Wards chose him the said *Q. Fabius* to be again Consul for the next year; *Appius Claudius*, a Person of Consular Dignity, and one of the Candidates, but a Man hot and ambitious, not so much for his own Honor, as that the *Patricians* might recover into their hands both the Places of the Consulship, endeavored with all his own Interest, and that of the whole Nobility, That he might be Elected the other Consul with *Fabius*. When *Fabius* at first began to excuse himself with such kind of Arguments as he used last Year, the Nobles flock'd about his Chair in a full Body, intreating him, That he would pluck out the Consular Dignity from the Plebeian dirt, and restore the antient Majesty both to the Office it self, and the *Patrician Families*, to whom of right it appertain'd. *Fabius*, after silence made, with a kind of triumphing Oration qualified their Heats, telling them, That he would endeavor the People should accept of the Names of two *Patricians*, if they would pitch upon some other Man besides himself; for he would not now suffer himself to be put in Nomination, since the same being against the *Laws*, would be of very pernicious Example to after Times. So *Lucius Volumnius* a Commoner, was chosen Consul with *Appius Claudius*, who serv'd the same Office together before: But the Nobles ceased not to reproach *Fabius* for refusing to accept for his Colleague, *App. Claudius*, a Person for Eloquence, and dexterity in managing Civil Affairs scarce to be parallel'd.

XVI. The Elections thus over, the old Consuls were ordered to carry on the War in *Samnium*, their Commands being continued for six months longer; so that *P. Decius* in Quality of Pro-Consul, proceeded to spoil and harrafs all parts, so long till at last he drove the *Samnite* Army quite out of their Country; who made for *Tuscany*, and thinking they might in such a Troop of armed Men, by intreaties intermix'd with threats, obtain what by so many Embassies they had desired in vain, did demand to have a Diet or General Council of the chief Men of *Etruria* to be conven'd; which being assembled, they Remonstrate, For how many Years space they had stoutly disputed their Liberties with the Romans; that they had tryed all means, to sustain if it were possible, the whole weight of so desperate a War with their own proper shoulders; that they had also made proof of the Aids of the neighboring Nations, but to little purpose; that moreover, they desired a Peace of the Romans, when they were able no longer to maintain the War; that finding Peace with slavery more intolerable than the most unprosperous War with freedom, they had been again necessitated to take up Arms; that now the only hope they had left was in the *Tuscans*, as knowing them to be both for Men, Munition and Money, the mightiest Nation of all Italy, and having for their next Neighbors the *Gauls*, a People born to Arms and Blood-shed, and fierce as well by their Natural Inclinations, as especially in any quarrels against the Romans, whom they boast (and not untruly) to have been vanquish'd by their Arms, and forc'd tamely to ransom themselves and their City with Gold; that nothing would be wanting if the *Etrurians* had but the same brave Spirits, as *Porſena* and others their Ancestors had of old, they might then easily drive back the Romans out of all their usurped Possessions on this side the *Tiber*, and make them quit their design of enslaving all Italy, and be glad to defend themselves. That for their encouragement here was now a *Samnite* Army well arm'd and paid, at their service, who would readily march along whithersoever they would lead them, though it were up to the very Walls of Rome.

XVII. Whilst they were making these *Rhodomontado's* and preparations for War in *Etruria*, the Romans made havock of their Country at home; for *P. Decius* understanding by his Scouts, that they were gone, call'd a Council of War: And what, says he, do we stand piddling thus, ranging over empty Fields, and making Bon-fires of a few sorry Villages? Why should we not set upon their Cities and Walled Towns? There is now no Army in *Samnium* to oppose us, or relieve them; they are gone out of their own Confines, and voluntarily have inflicted banishment upon themselves. All approving this Counsel, he comes up before *Murgantia*, a very strong City, but such was the zeal of the Soldiers, both for the love they had for their General, and the hopes of a greater Booty than in the Country Hamlets, that the very first day they made themselves Masters of it. There 2100 *Samnites* were taken, and abundance of Pillage; which that it might not clog and encumber his Army, *Fabius* assembling his Soldiers, thus bespeaks them: *Fie, Gentlemen! Will you be content with this Victory, and this Plunder? rather raise and extend your Hopes equal to your Courage and Gallantry; All the Cities of the Samnites, and all their Fortunes and Riches therein, are yours, who in so many Battels have routed their Forces and beat them out of the Country. Therefore sell these Prizes, and with good penny-worths invite Chapmen to follow you as you march, I'll soon find you more Waves for you to put off. Let's away from hence strait to the City Romulea, there your pains will not be so great, but your spoils far greater.* So having sold their Pillage, they march on eagerly to *Romulea* of their own accord, spurring on their General to the expedition; and being come there, without casting up any Works, without using any Engines for Battery, in spite of all resistance, they fly up to the Walls, and every man clapping up his Scaling-Ladder, the Town in a Trice was taken and plundered, Two thousand and three hundred kill'd, and 6000 Persons taken: The Soldiers here had a mighty Booty, which they fold as they did the former. And though they had no rest given them, but were presently led to *Ferentinum*, yet they march'd with the greatest cheerfulness; but that prov'd a task of

of greater difficulty; for both the Walls were stoutly defended, and the Place as well by Nature as Art strongly fortified, but the Assailants were now so enur'd to, and eager after Plunder, that they surmounted all difficulties, and got possession, having first slain to the number of Three thousand of the Enemy about the Walls. The greatest share of Honor in winning these Cities, is in some Annals ascrib'd to *Maximus*, that he took *Ferentinum* and *Romulea*, and *Decius, Murgantia*; some assign the glory thereof to the new Con-management of the Province of *Samnium*.

Whilst these Actions (by whose Conduct soever it was) were perform'd in *Samnium*, the Romans are involv'd in a dreadful War like to be carry'd on by the united Forces of several Nations in *Etruria*, the principal Fomentor of which, was *Gellius Ignatius* a *Samnite*. The *Tuscans* almost all in general had taken Arms, and drawn in their next Neighbors, the several Nations of *Umbria*, into the Confederacy; besides, Auxiliaries were hired from the *Gauls*, who all came to a Rendezvous at the Camp of the *Samnite* Army. The news of this sudden tumult arriving at Rome, after *Volumnius* the Consul was gone into *Samnium*, with the second and third Legion, and Fifteen thousand of the Forces of the Allies, it was thought fit, That *Appius Claudius* should forthwith depart thither also, followed with the first and third Legions, and Twelve thousand of the Forces of the Allies, who encamped not far from the Enemy. But more advantage was gain'd by his coming thither in time, whereby some People of *Tuscany* already inclinable to a Revolt, were kept in awe, than by any thing wisely or fortunately atchieved by the Consuls conduct. Many Engagements he took heart, and grew every day more formidable, and to that ill pass were Affairs reduc'd, that neither could the Soldiers confide in their General, nor the General much trust his Soldiers. In three several Annals, I find, That *Appius* being in this bad condition, did patch'd his Letters to his Fellow Consul, and sent for him out of *Samnium*; but I know not how to assert this, since 'tis so uncertain, that even the Consuls themselves, and those too, the second time conjoin'd in that Office, fell into variance about it, *Appius* flatly denying that he sent any such Letters, and *Volumnius* as peremptorily averring that he was sent for by *Appius*.

*Volumnius* had already taken three Castles in *Samnium*, in which near three thousand were slain, and half as many taken Prisoners, and likewise had pacified the Seditions of the *Lucanians* occasioned by the beggarly Rabble, and adjusted all their Differences to the greater content of the better sort, by the pains of *Q. Fabius* then Proconsul, whom he had sent thither with his old Army; therefore leaving the other Proconsul *Decius*, to forrage upon the Enemy, he himself with his Forces march'd directly into *Tuscany* to his Colleague, and was there joyfully receiv'd by all but *Appius* himself, who had reason to be angry, if he were indeed conscious that he never wrote for him; or if he had written, was willing, out of an envious and ungrateful mind, to deny it, and dissemble that he stood in need of his Assistance: For scarce had they saluted each other after they met, but he thus accosts him, *How is it, Lucius Volumnius! are all things well? How go matters in Samnium? What makes you come out of your own Province? Volumnius* tells him, *All was very well and prosperous there, but he came thither upon his Letters desiring him so to do; which if they were counterfeit, and there were no occasion for him in Etruria, he would immediately turn his Ensigns and be gone: Marry, quoth the other, as fast as you please, here's no body will tarry you, for 'tis very preposterous that you, who perhaps are scarce able to manage your own War, should make your boasts that you quitted it, and came thither to help others: To which Volumnius only reply'd, Hercules turn all to the best, I had rather lose my labor than that any thing should have happened, whereby one Consular Army might not be sufficient to cope with all the Enemies in Etruria.*

The Consuls being thus ready to part, the Commissaries and Captains of *Appius's* Army flock about them; some intreat their own General, That his Colleagues assistance, which it could have been no disgrace to have sent for, might not be slighted now it was so frankly offered; but a greater number earnestly besought *Volumnius* as he was turning away, That he would not, by an unhappy contest, betray the Commonwealth into an inconvenience; that if any loss should happen, the blame would fall upon the Deserter, rather than the deserted; that things were now come to such a pass, that the honor or dishonor of the *Tuscan* War, succeed it well or ill, will reflect upon *Volumnius*; for none would inquire after the harsh words of *Appius* that provok'd him to go away, but after the ill fortune of the Army, the consequence of his going; That he was indeed sent away by *Appius*, but still detained both by the Interest of the Commonwealth and the desires of the Army; for proof whereof, let him but make trial of the Soldiers affections. Thus with Remonstrances and earnest Entreaties they drew both the Consuls as it were against their wills, to hold a general Audience before the whole Army, where they fell into longer Speeches, but to the same effect with what they had spoken before in the presence of a few. Now when *Volumnius* having the better Cause, seem'd after a good fashion, and with a greater readiness of Expression than ordinary, to answer the singular

and celebrated Eloquence of his Colleague, and Appius thereupon in a joking manner, had said, *They were beholden to him, that of a dumb and Tongue-ty'd Consul, they had got an eloquent one; for he who in his former Consulship, especially for the first months, could scarce open his mouth, was now grown an Orator, and a shrewd Man at popular Speech-making: Volumnius reparted, I wish with all my heart rather, that you had learn'd of me to fight valiantly, than I of you to speak prettily; however, I will make you a fair offer which shall decide, not which of us is the best Orator (for that the Common-wealth regards not) but which is the ablest General; Here are two Provinces, Etruria and Samnium, take your choice of either of them, and I with my own Army will manage the War in the other.* But the Soldiers crying out, and desiring, *That they would both for the present attend the Tuscan War, Volumnius perceiving their Inclinations, Since, said he, I mistook in construing my Partners mind, I will not have yours to be doubtful or obscure, Let me therefore know by a Shout, Whether you would have me depart or tarry?* They presently set up such a shout for his stay, that it raised the Enemy out of their Camp, who snatching up their Arms, drew out into the Field, and Volumnius gave order for the Trumpets to sound a Charge, and the Standards to advance. Appius, 'tis said, stood a while in a kind of quandary, since whether he fought or not, the honor of the day would be given to his Colleague; but afterwards, fearing his own Legions would follow Volumnius, if he himself should refuse to head them, he granted them the Signal, which they so eagerly call'd for. On neither side were the Battels rang'd in very good order, for the Samnites General, Gellius Egnatius, was absent, being abroad a Foraging with a Party, and his Soldiers undertook to fight rather of their own head, than under any regular conduct; and as the Roman Armies were not both laid up together, so neither had they time enough to marshal them: For Volumnius gave the first Charge, before Appius came near the Enemy, so that the Fronts were not equally attack'd, but as if Fortune had purposely chang'd the Enemy which each was wont to engage, the Tuscans receiv'd Volumnius, and the Samnites (who stayed a while for their General) entertain'd Appius.

It is reported, That Appius in the very heat of the Conflict, holding up his hands to Heaven so as they might be seen, in the front of the foremost Ensigns, did make this Prayer, *O Bellona! if thou shalt this day give us a Victory, I do now Vow to build thee a Temple.* Which words were no sooner pronounc'd, but, as if he had been inspir'd by that Goddess of War, both himself equaliz'd his Colleagues Virtue, and his Army that of their Leader: For as he now in all respects excellently perform'd the part of a brave General, so his Soldiers did strive with might and main, that the other Army should not prevent them in the Victory; whereby they routed the Enemy, who was not able to bear the present shock, far more fierce than what they were wont to grapple with; but being desperately press'd upon and pursued, retreated into their Camp, where by the coming in of Gellius, with some Sabellian Troops, the Fight for the time was renew'd, but they too being by and by defeated, the Conquerors now storm their Works, and whilst Volumnius bears his Ensigns in at the Port; Appius calling upon the Conquering Bellona, breaks through the Trenches and Rampire, and so the Camp was taken and pillaged, there being a mighty booty, which was all bestow'd upon the Soldiers. Here were Seven thousand and three hundred of the Enemy slain, and 2120 taken.

XX. Whilst both Consuls, and most of the Roman Forces were thus intent upon Tuscany, new Troops are levy'd in Samnium, to waite the borders of the Romans Dominions; for marching along through the Vescines Country, they fell into Campania, and the Falern Territories, where they committed abundance of spoil: It happened that as Volumnius, with large Marches was returning into Samnium (for the six Months time added to the Command of Fabius and Decius, was now expired) he received Intelligence of this new Samnite Army, and the havock they made in Campania, which turn'd him out of his way to the relief of his Allies; and being entered into the Fields of Calenum, both himself beheld the fresh Marks of that Devastation they had made, and the People informed him, *That they had got so much Plunder, Cattel, and other booty of all sorts, that they could hardly march in good order, insomuch that their own Captains had openly declared, that they must forthwith march into Samnium to secure their Spoils, and then return again for a fresh Expedition, rather than to hazard an Army so over-charg'd upon a Battel.* Though this seem'd probable enough, yet for more certainty he sent out a party of Horse to take up some of the Plunderers as they were stragling through the Fields; by whom he understood, *That their Army lay upon the River Vulturnus, whence at the third Watch (that is about mid-night) they would advance on their march for Samnium.* Having now sufficient Intelligence, he makes after them, and makes an halt at such a convenient distance, as they might not perceive him, and yet he might fall upon them as they went out of their Camp; whither, a little before day, he sent some Scouts skill'd in the Oscan Language (the Samnites Mother-tongue) to see what they were doing. These mingling with the Enemy (as was easie to do in the night, and that hurry they were in) understand, *That the Ensigns were gone before, but very slenderly guarded, That the Booty and its Convoy were just then setting forward; That the whole Party were but a kind of a base Crew and sorry Fellows, without order or discipline.* The day now began

began to break, which was thought the fittest time to fall upon them, and accordingly the Trumpets sounded, and presently they came up with the Enemy: The Samnites encumber'd as they were, and few of them arm'd, began some of them to double their pace, and drive their prey before them; others stood still, uncertain whether they were best to go on, or return into their Camp; but whilst they delay, they are surprized and knock'd o'th' head by the Romans, who were got over the Rampire. The Samnite Army, besides the unexpected assault of their Enemy, was disorder'd by the revolt of a vast number of Prisoners whom they were carrying home; for some of them being loose, unbound the rest, caught up Arms out of the Fardles, and being confusedly intermingled in this running march, made a more terrible havock than the Battel it self; and at last performed one very notable Exploit, for as Statius Egnatius (one of the Samnites chief Commanders) was riding through the Ranks and encouraging his Men, they set upon him, beat off the Troopers that attended him, hem'd him in, took him Prisoner, and on Horse-back as he was, carry'd him to the Roman Consul. Upon which tumult the Samnite foremost Ensigns were called back, and the skirmish, which was in a manner over, seem'd to be renewed, but long they could not hold it: There were slain about Six thousand Men, Two thousand five hundred taken, and amongst them four Colonels, and thirty Colours; and (which most of all over-joy'd the Conquerors) Seven thousand and four hundred Prisoners released, with a mighty booty taken from their Friends, recovered, the Owners being summon'd in by Proclamation to come in and challenge, and receive their own; and such things as had no Owners appearing at the day appointed, were distributed amongst the Soldiers, but they were compelled to make sale thereof, that they might not have their minds running after any thing but their Arms and their Duty.

This Inroad into Campania had set their hearts a pit-a-pat at Rome, the rather because at the same time they were told, That Etruria (after Volumnius's Army was withdrawn from thence) had again taken up Arms, and not only drawn Gellius Egnatius the Samnites General, and the People of Umbria to joyn in their defection, but also hired the Gauls for a great sum of money to assist them: Alarm'd with this news, the Senate commanded all proceedings at Law to cease, and a levy to be made of all sorts of Men, not only Youths and Free-born Citizens, but likewise some Regiments of the Elder sort, and of Libertines, or Persons newly Enfranchis'd, were listed in every Ward; the City to be put into a posture of Defence, and the Prætor P. Sempronius to have there the chief management of Affairs. But they were in a great measure eas'd of these disquietudes, by the Letters of Lucius Voluminus the Consul, giving an account how the Foragers of Campania were routed; therefore in favor of the Consul, solemn Thanksgivings were ordered to be held for his success; the Courts of Justice were again opened, after eighteen days Vacation, and the Thanksgiving Processions were joyfully celebrated. Then they took into consideration the providing of a Guard for defence of those parts which the Samnites had waisted, and it was Decreed, *That two Colonies should be Planted on the Vestine and Salern Coasts, one at the mouth of the River Liris, called Minturnæ; the other in the Vestine Forrest upon a Pass near the Salern Territories, where 'tis said a Greek City named Sinope, once stood, but by the Roman Colony called Sinuessa.* It was referred to the Tribunes of the Commons, that by an Act of the Commonalty P. Sempronius should be empowered to create Triumvirs for conducting these Colonies to the respective places: But much ado they had to find any that were willing to enter their names to go thither, supposing they were indeed sent thither, not so much to enjoy Lands, as to lie in Garison, since they must be almost always upon their Guard amongst such inveterate Warlike Enemies. But from the care of these Affairs the Sonate was diverted, by the Tuscan War, whereof the rumor daily increased; as also Letters came thick from Appius, advertising, *That by no means they should neglect the motions of that Province, since four several Nations had united their Arms; the Tuscans, the Samnites, the Umbrians, and the Gauls; and were already encamped at two places, because one could not contain so vast a multitude.* Hereupon, and because the Election-days drew nigh, L. Voluminus the Consul is recall'd to Rome; who before he would summon the several Wards to give their Suffrages, assembled the people to an Audience, and discours'd largely before them of the Importance of this Tuscan War: *That heretofore, when he and his Colleague together manag'd it, 'twas such as one General nor one Army was sufficient: But now 'tis reported, the Umbrians, and a power of the Gauls are added thereto; That they should remember they were that day to make choice of two Consuls against four Nations; That for his own part, were he not well assured that the People of Rome would declare him Consul, who without dispute was the most able General of that Age, he would presently nominate a Dictator.*

None doubted but Q. Fabius would unanimously be chosen, who accordingly was pitch'd upon by the Prerogative, and other principal Tribes, together with L. Voluminus: Fabius made the like Apologies as he had done two Years before, but finding the same not accepted, began to desire his old Colleague P. Decius, alledging, *That he would be a prop to his Age; That he had found by experience in one Consulship and two Consulates which he had already*

XXI.

XXII.

born with him; That nothing could more tend to the safety and preservation of the Commonwealth, than a good understanding between those that were intrusted with the Government; That his mind now grown old, would not so well suit with a new Partner; and that he could more freely communicate his Thoughts and Councils to a Person, whose humor and manners he had long been acquainted with. The present Consul Voluminus (though himself before nominated) was so far from taking this as any affront, that he seconded the motion, and highly applauded P. Decius, enumerating as well the advantages arising from the Agreement of Consuls, as the mischiefs attending their jars and discord in the management of Military Affairs, recounting how near they were to the very brink of destruction by the late differences between him and his Fellow-Consul App. Claudius; and withal, admonishing Decius and Fabius to live together with one heart and with one mind, telling them, They were both Persons born for War, renowned for their mighty Deeds, but regardless of fine Words, and unapt for brawling Controversies, which sort of Wits and Tempers, were naturally most fit for the Consular Dignity: But the crafty and subtle Men, affecting the reputation of Eloquence and Skill in the Quirks of Law, such as App. Claudius was, would best be employed as Lord Presidents of the City, or chief Justices, or Pretors for the administration of the Laws. These Speeches took up that day; next morning, by the Consuls order, Assemblies were held for the Election both of Consuls and Prætor; the Consuls, Q. Fabius and P. Decius; the Prætor App. Claudius, all absent: And L. Voluminus, both by an Act of the Senate, and Ordinance of the Commons, was continued in his Command for the space of a Year.

XXIII. That Year happened many Prodigies, for averting their Presages the Senate ordered Solemn Supplications to be held for two days together, where Wine and Incense for the Sacrifices was allowed at the publick Charge, and the People, both Men and Women, went in Procession and to their Devotions in great numbers. But that which rendered this Solemnity more remarkable, was a Controversie which happened amongst the Ladies in the Chappel of the Goddess Pudicitia Patricia [or the Chastity of the Noble Dames] which stood in the Beast-Market by the round Temple of Hercules. The Noblemens Wives would needs turn out Virginia the Daughter of Aulus, and not suffer her to be present at the Sacred Rites, because, though she were a Noble-woman born, she had married out of her Rank to Voluminus the Consul a Commoner: A few hard words (the bellows of Contention) soon blew them up into a Flame; as Women commonly are both impatient of Affronts, and quick in their Resentments: Virginia told them, *That being a Noble-woman born, and of unspotted Reputation, Married when she was a pure Virgin, and but once, she thought she had as good a right to resort to the Temple of Patricia Pudicitia, as the best of them: And as for her Husband, she had no reason in the World to repent her Match, or be ashamed either of him, or the brave Actions he had done, or the high Dignities which he had honorably born and discharged.* These generous Words she seconded with as Heroick a Deed; for in the Long street where she dwelt, she separated a part of her Mansion-house, as much as would handsomely serve for a Chappel, and set up an Altar therein; and having invited the principal Commoners Wives thither, and made her complaint to them of the unjust and injurious Treatment she had received from the Patrician Dames: *This Altar* (quoth she) *do I dedicate to Pudicitia Plebeia [The Chastity of the Commons] and do exhort you all, That as the Men, our Husbands, in this City contend which shall surpass the other in feats of Arms and Military Glory, so the Women with no less emulation, may strive to exceed each other in Modesty and Chastity; and that ye will all endeavor, That this Altar may have the credit to be frequented with more devout Reverence, and (if it be possible) of more chaste Dames, than that other of the Nobility:* And so it fell out indeed; This Altar from that day forward was resorted unto with the same Rites and Ceremonies (in a manner) as the other which was more antient, so that no Matrons, but such as were of approved Chastity, and but once Married, were admitted to Sacrifice at the same: But in process of time, this Religious Institution was prophand, and the Altar haunted by scandalous people, not only Matrons, but Women of all sorts, until at last (the abuse causing dislike) it came to be altogether neglected and forgotten. The same Year the two Ogulni, Cn. and Q. being *Ædiles* of the Nobility, indicted several Persons for Usury and Extortion, who being fined, and their Goods levied, with the Money they caused a Brazen Threshold to be made in the Capitol, and three Cupboards of Plate for Jupiters Chappel, and a Figure of Jove himself sitting in his Chariot, drawn with four Eagles on the top of the Capitol: Moreover at the Fig-tree, called *Ruminalis* [where the Wolf gave Romulus and Remus suck] they erected the Statues of the two Children that were Founders of the City, pendant at the Teats of a Shee-Wolf; they also paved with Free-stone the Foot-way from the Gate *Capena*, unto the Temple of Mars. In imitation of whom, the *Ædiles* of the Commons, L. *Emilius Pætus*, and C. *Fulvius Curvus*, did employ the Fines they had set upon the Graziers or Farmers of the Cities Pasture-Lands, for some offences, in exhibiting several fine Shows or Plays, and setting up Golden Challices in the Temple of Ceres.

XXIV. Now Q. Fabius the fifth time, and P. Decius the fourth, enter upon their Consulship, Colleagues thrice in that Office, and once in the Centorship, and not more famous for the glory

glory of their Actions, which was very great, than for that concord and good intelligence which had always been maintain'd between them: And truly, I think it was rather the fault of their several Ranks intermeddling, than any propensions of their own, that this their loving Agreement was not perpetual; for so it happened, That the Patricians would needs have the Province of *Tuscany* assigned to Fabius, without putting it to the Lot; and the Commons were as earnest with Decius to bring the matter to that ancient course of decision. The dispute began in the Senate, where Fabius having the greatest Interest, it was brought down to the People in the Common-Hall: where both of them, being Martial men, and standing more upon deeds than words, they made no long Harangues, only Decius said, *That it was an affront for another to gather the Fruit of that Tree which he had planted; That he was the Man that first pierced the Ciminian Woods, and taught the Roman Arms a passage through those pathless and almost unpassable Forrests: What did they mean so importunately to solicit him, a person of those years, to accept the trouble of the Office, if they resolv'd to commit the conduct of that War to another? Did they intend to chuse him an Adversary instead of a Companion in the Government? Or did Decius repent of, or envy that sweet Harmony and Accord which had been between them in three Offices? For his own part, he desired no more than this, That if they thought him worthy of the Province, they would send him thither; That as he had before left it to the Senate, so he would now intirely refer himself to the People to dispose of him as they thought fit.*

On the other side, Decius complain'd of the Injury offered him by the Senate, telling them, *That the Fathers had all along endeavored with all their Interest wholly to exclude Commoners from places of Trust and Honor: But after Virtue had so far prevail'd as not to be unrewarded, nor pass without due preferment in whatsoever rank of Men she appeared, they now were studying tricks, not only to elude the suffrages of the People, but over-rule Fortune it self, and reduce all things to the disposal and good pleasure of their own Cabal. That all Consuls hitherto, had by the Lot divided the Provinces; but now, contrary to custom, the Senate will by their absolute Authority assign a Province to Fabius without suffering it by the Lot to be fairly determined: Now what's the meaning of this? If it be out of respect to Fabius, I freely confess he hath deserved so well both of the Publick and of my self, that none shall be more ready than I to advance his Glory, provided always, I am not made the Foil to set it off with the greater Lustre; that mine own Honor be not Eclipsed, to make his shine the brighter, nor his reputation built upon my disgrace. But where there are two several Wars depending, but the one much more sharp and difficult than the other, and that shall be in an extraordinary way committed to the manage of one of the Consuls particularly, without so much as trusting Fortune with the decision: Who can doubt, but the other Consul is look'd upon as a Cipher, and reputed either needless, or unfit to be trusted in such an important Service? 'Tis true, Fabius does glory in his Achievements in *Tuscany*, and he has reason; but P. Decius desires an opportunity that he may have something to glory of in that Province likewise: And who knows but he may be able for ever to extinguish that unhappy Fire, which Fabius left behind him only rak'd up and cover'd, and which so often hath since unexpectedly broke forth in fresh Flames and Conbustions? I have that deference to my Colleague in respect of his venerable Age, and the Majesty of his Person, that I can be content to surrender to him all Titles of Honor and Rewards of Virtue; but when there is fighting in the case, and dangers to be undergone, I neither do, nor (by my good will) ever will give place to him, or any Man else whatsoever: However, if I get nothing more by this contestation of Right, I shall at least so far gain the point, that what belongs to the People they shall dispose of, rather than that the Senate should be gratified in their encroaching Pretensions: And I do heartily pray Jove, and all the Immortal Gods, so (and not otherwise) to give me a Lot as good and honorable as my Colleague, if they will also vouchsafe to give me equal Valor, Conduct and Success in the management of the War: And surely, as the antient method of the Lot is in its own nature most fair and indifferent, so the contrary practice may prove a very pernicious President; nor does it a little concern the Honor and Reputation of the People of Rome, to have it known, That her Consuls are such as either of them (not much material which) is fit and capable to manage the War in *Tuscany*. Fabius only prayed the People, *That before they gave their Suffrages, they would bear read the Letters which App. Claudius the Prætor had lately written out of Tuscany, giving an account of the present posture of that Convery, and so went out of the Hall.* And the People as unanimously as the Senate, conferr'd the Charge of *Etruria* upon Fabius, without putting it to the Lot.*

Mighty flocking there was now of almost all the young Blades in the Town to the Consul, and every one was ready to lift himself, so fond they were of serving under him; who told them, *That he resolv'd only to levy Four thousand Foot, and Six hundred Horse: You that will enter your selves to day or to morrow, I will take along with me; but my care is not so much to have a great number of Soldiers, as to bring them home safe and enrich'd with good Booties.*

XXV.



*Booties.* Setting forth with a competent Army (in which he confided the more, because they were select Men and Volunteers, and not a multitude of raw Fellows or pressed Men) he came to the Town *Atharna*, where *App. Claudius* the Prætor lay encamp'd, not far from the Enemy. A few miles off from thence, the Fuelers (or Persons sent out to provide Wood for the Army) with their Convoy, happened to meet him; and seeing the Lictors marching before, and understanding it was *Fabius* the Consul, they were almost over-joy'd, and returned Thanks both to the Gods, and People of *Rome*, for sending them such a worthy General: Then coming up to salute and welcome the Consul, he inquired, *Whither they were going?* who answered, *to get Wood and Timber: Why, says he, Is not your Camp fortified?* they replied, *Yes, with a double Rampire and Trench, and yet they were still terribly afraid.* Well, well, quoth he, *You have Timber enough, get you gone back, and down with the Rampire as fast as you can:* They did so, and thereby at first amaz'd not only the Soldiers that were left behind in the Camp, but *Appius* himself, until they told him, *They did it by the express Command of Fabius the Consul.* The next morning the Army dislodg'd from thence, and *Appius* the Prætor was dismiss'd and went to *Rome*: After this the Army had no standing Camp, for the Consul declared his Opinion, *That it was not convenient for an Army to lie long in a place,* but that it was as well more Noble, as more Healthful for them, often to change their Quarters: Their Marches were as long as the Season at present would permit, for the Winter was not yet altogether past.

Early in the Spring, leaving the second Legion at *Clusium*, which of old was called *Camers*, and having appointed *L. Scipio* the Pro-Prætor to be Commander in Chief during his absence, he himself return'd to *Rome*, to consult and take further Measures touching the War, whether of his own accord, as having a prospect that it would prove hotter Service than was commonly imagined; or whether he were call'd home by an Order of the Senate, for there are Authors that relate it each way. Some would have it thought, that his return was occasion'd by *Ap. Claudius* the Prætor, who both in the Senate, and to the People (as he had formerly done by his Letters) did continually augment the terror of the *Tuscan* War, and represent it in most hideous colours, "That one General, nor one Army, would never be enough against four several Nations; that it would be equally dangerous, whether jointly in a Body they gave Battel, or whether being separated, they carry'd on the War in divers Quarters, 'twas impossible one Man should be able to give the necessary Orders for all at once; That he left there but two Roman Legions, and that both the Horse and Foot that came with *Fabius* were not full Five thousand Men effective; that 'twas his Opinion the other Consul should immediately be dispatch'd into *Tuscany* to his Colleague, and that *L. Volumnius* in the mean time should have the charge of *Samnium*; or if the Consul had rather go into his own Province, that then *Volumnius*, with a compleat Consular Army, should be sent into *Etruria*. This Discourse of the Prætors had influenced a great part of the House, had not *P. Decius* thwarted it thus: "That all things, in his Opinion, should be left free and intire to the Judgment of *Fabius*, until such time as he himself, if it might stand with the Publick safety, came to *Rome*, or at least sent one of the Commissary-Generals, by whom the Senate may be truly informed of the State of the War in *Tuscany*, and what Forces and Commanders it would require.

XXVI. *Fabius*, when he came to *Rome*, both in the Senate and his Oration to the People, held a middle tenor of Discourse, so as he might not seem to over-magnifie, nor yet to under-rate the report of the War, and to shew them that in assuming another General, he did rather indulge other Mens fears, than do it for any need either himself or the Publick had thereof: But (says he) *if it be your pleasure that I shall have a Coadjutor and Partner in Command, How can I forget P. Decius the Consul, whom I have had such good Experience of? Of all Men in the World, there is none that I would rather have joyned with me; for having Decius with me, I will never think my own Forces too few, nor the Enemy too many: But if my Colleague Decius be not inclinable to it, then I desire L. Volumnius may be my Assistant.* The determination of all was left both by the Senate and the People, and by *Decius* himself, unto *Fabius*: And when *Decius* had declared, *That he was ready to go either to Samnium or Tuscany, which his Partner pleased,* there was such general rejoicing and congratulations, as if People did already in their minds preface a Victory, and the Consuls seem'd marching out to fetch home an assured Triumph, rather than manage a difficult and dangerous War. In some Authors, I find, that both *Fabius* and *Decius* went into *Etruria* at the very beginning of their Consulship, without mention of parting their Provinces by Lot, or any of those squabbles between them which I have recited. But there are others that do not only attest the same, but over and besides tell us how *Appius* the Prætor, accused *Fabius* in his absence before the People with sharp Invectives, and behav'd himself very obstinately and strangely to his face; and of another difference between the Consuls, occasioned by *Decius's* insisting, that each should keep himself wholly to the Province allotted him. But from the time that they both set forwards upon the Expedition, the Story is clear and certain.

Before

Before the Consuls were got quite to *Tuscany*, the Tribe of the *Gauls*, called *Senones*, came in vast multitudes as far as *Clusium* to attack the Roman Legion that lay there encamp'd. *Scipio*, who was their Commander in Chief, hoping to help out the finalness of his Numbers, with the advantages of the Ground, led his Army up to the Hill between the Town and the Camp; but (as often it happens in an hurry) having not sufficiently discovered the Passages before-hand, when he came near the top of the Hill, he found the same possess'd by the Enemy, who were got up to it another way. Thus was the Legion charg'd, Front, Flank and Rear, surrounded and cut to pieces, so that some Writers affirm, there was not one left alive to carry tidings of their Defeat, and that the Consuls knew nothing on't, until near *Clusium* they had a sight of some of the *Gallick* Troops, carrying in Triumph the Heads of those they had slain; some hanging at their Horses Petronels, others aloft advanced upon the points of their Spears, and they themselves chanting Songs of Victory after their barbarous fashion: Yet some say, they were not *Gauls*, but *Umbrians* that did this, and that the loss was nothing so great, for that *L. Manlius Torquatus*, selves sure of the day, to fight it over again; where he routed them, took many Prisoners, and recovered all the Booty. But still, 'tis more likely that they were *Gauls* than *Umbrians* that gave the Romans this overthrow, because, as often at other times, so especially this Year, the City was in great dread and fear of the *Gauls*. Inasmuch that besides the Consuls marching out with four Legions, and a great Body of Horse, all Romans, and a thousand *Campanian* Horse drawn out on purpose for that Service, and a power of *Larines* and other Allies, making a greater Body than that of the Romans: There were moreover two other Armies brought into the Field, not far from the City, on that side that looks towards the Frontiers of *Tuscany*; one in the *Faliscan* Territories, the other in the *Vatican*; *Cn. Fulvius*, and *L. Posthumus Megellus* the Pro-Prætors, being ordered to keep their standing Camps in those places respectively.

The Consuls having pass'd the *Appennine*, advanc'd near the Enemy in the Country of the *Sentinats*, and encamp'd not full four miles distant from them; who held frequent Councils, and at last agreed to act separately, and neither joyn in one Camp, nor engage all at once in any Battel; but that the *Gauls* should be united with the *Samnites*, and the *Umbrians* with the *Tuscans*: They also appointed a day for a Battel, which the *Samnites* and *Gauls* were to manage; and at the same time, the *Etrurians* and *Umbrians* to storm the Romans Camp. But these resolutions were frustrated by three *Clusine* Renegado's, who came secretly in the night to *Fabius*, and discovered all the Enemies Counsels, whom he rewarded and sent back, that from time to time as new Measures were taken, they might give him intelligence. The Consuls write to *Fulvius* and *Posthumus*, that removing from the several places where they were posted, they should advance to *Clusium*, and with all their Forces over-run, wast and destroy the Enemies Country. The News of which Incurfion call'd home the *Tuscans* to defend their own Territories; in whose absence, the Consuls for two days together provok'd the Enemy to a Battel, but little was done either of those days more than skirmishing, wherein some were kill'd on each side, and their Spirits warm'd for the grand Encounter, rather than any tryal made of the main Chance. But on the third day, into the plain Field they came with all their Forces. As the Armies stood in Battalia, a Hind chased by a Wolf out of the Mountains, happened to run in the midst between them, where they took several ways; the Hind to the *Cauls* (who kill'd her) the Wolf to the Romans, who opening their Ranks and Files, gave him clear passage through their Host: Upon which accident a Roman of the Forlorn-Hope, cryed out aloud, *There will the fight, there the slaughter be, where you see Diana's Beast yonder lie kill'd; but here on our side, the Martial Wolf, having gon clear away with Victory, unwounded and untouch'd, does fitly represent us and the Founder of our City, descended of God Mars's race.* The *Gauls* stood in the Right Wing, the *Samnites* in the left; against the latter *Fabius* placed himself in the Right Wing with the first and third Legions; and against the former, *Decius*, with the fifth and sixth: For the second and third were in *Samnium*, under *L. Volumnius* the Pro-Consul. At the first shock, the strength of either side appeared so equally ballanced, that if the *Tuscans* and *Umbrians* had either shew'd themselves in the Field, or attack'd the Camp, the Romans must needs in either place have received a great loss and overthrow.

But though Fortune had not as yet declared her self in favor of either party, yet the manner of the Fight was not alike in both Wings; for the Romans, under *Fabius*, fought rather defensively than offensively, and fought more to keep off, than charge the Enemy, lingering out the Battel as long as they could, till it was very late in the day; for the Consul was satisfied, that both the *Samnites* and *Gauls* were best at the first push, and therefore it was enough to keep off that Fury in the beginning; for the longer the Battel held, the *Samnites* spirits more and more would flag, and their Courage abate: That the Bodies of the *Gauls*, were the least able of all others, to endure heat and long fatigues, and their Courage would quickly be spent and languish; for though in the Onset they were more than

than Men, in the process of a Battel they were less than Women: Therefore he reserv'd his Soldiers fresh and in breath against that time when they should begin to faint. Decius more fierce, both by his Youth and natural Temper, charg'd the Enemy with all his Force at the very first, and thinking the Foot too slow, brought on the Cavalry to encrease the fury of the Battel; for mixing himself with a brave Troop of young Gentlemen, he begs they would follow him in a Charge upon the Enemy; *That they would gain a double Honor if the Victory began on the Left Wing, and by the Gallantry of the Horse.* Twice had they forc'd the Gallick Troops to retreat, and the second time made them give ground a great way, and were broke into the midst of them, when a new mode of fighting presented it self; the Gauls had certain Chariots or Waggon on which numbers of them stood extraordinarily armed, and with a strange noise of the Horses that drew them, and wonderful rattling of the Wheels, ran full upon the Romans, and frighted their Horses not enur'd to such uncouth noises: so that they who before were just at the point of Victory, now fled as if the Devil drove them, and both Men and Horses threw down one another: In this confused Repulse they disordered the Foot, and many of those that fought in the Van were trod to pieces, and their guts squash'd out either by the flying Horses, or these Chariots that pursued them, and forc'd their way through the midst of the Squadrons; for the Gauls seeing them in a consternation, press'd hard upon them, and would give them no time to rally. Decius fail'd not to call out to his Men, *Whither run you, Gentlemen? Or what hopes can you have in flight?* He endeavored all he could to stop those that retreated, and put those that were scatter'd, into order; but seeing his Soldiers so much daunted, that he could by no means prevail with them to make head against the Enemy, calling upon his Father Decius by name: *Why, quoth he, do I defer that Fate which is now familiar to our Family? 'Tis the privilege of our Race to be propitiatory Sacrifices for diverting threatened Dangers from the Publick. Even now therefore will I offer up the Enemies Legions, with my self, to Dame Tellus and the Infernal Gods:* Saying this, he commands M. Livius the Pontiff (whom when he first went into the Battel, he charg'd not to leave him) to pronounce the Solemn Words by which he might Devote himself for the Roman Army. And so with the same form of Imprecation, and in the same Habit as was used by his Father, adding this Prayer, *That he might wherever he went, carry with him Terror and Flight, Blood and Slaughter, and all the Wrath and Vengeance of the Gods in Heaven and Fiends in Hell; That he might infect the Banners, Ammunition and Armor of the Enemy with Curses, and the utmost overbrow and desolation; and that the same place might be both their destruction and his own:* He spurring on his Horse, hurl'd himself amongst the thickest of the Enemy, where with an heap of their Weapons he was immediately slain.

XXIX. Thenceforwards the Battel seem'd not to be manag'd by humane Force: The Romans having lost their General, which is wont to others to administer fear and terror, presently stop their flight, fac'd about, and renew'd the Battel as resolutely as if but just then they had come into the Field: The Gauls, and especially the croud, surrounding the Consuls Corps, as if they had left their Senses, either stood still, or flung their Darts from them at random to no purpose, and were altogether stupified, forgetting both to fight or to fly. On the other side, Livius the Pontiff, to whom Decius had left the Ensigns of his Office, and made him Pro-prator, cryed out as loud as he could, *That the Romans had already the Victory; That by their Consuls voluntary death they had discharged all their ill luck; but as for the Gauls and Samnites, they were now destinatd to mother Earth and the Gods below; That Decius was plucking after him that Army which with himself was devoted to destruction, and all the Enemies Host full of nothing but terror and consternation.* Whilst these were thus renewing the Fight, Cornelius Scipio and C. Marcius came up with fresh Forces from the Rear, sent by Fabius to the relief of his Colleague; who being informed of Decius's gallant end, it was a wonderful encouragement to them to run all hazards for their Country. The Gauls stood exceeding thick together, with their Targets before them, so that to cope with them at handy-strokes was to little purpose; the Roman Commanders therefore ordered the Darts and Lances that lay scattered on the ground between the two Armies to be gathered up, and flung at the Enemy, who now stood like a Tortoise in his shell impregnable: But these Darts and Javelins sticking in their Targets, and many of them lighting upon, and with their sharp points piercing into their Bodies, that Wedge-like Battalion began to scatter, and many of them, though not wounded, did like men amaz'd tumble upon one another. Thus various was the Fortune of the Romans Left Wing. But on the Right, Fabius having as aforesaid lingered out the day, at last, when he perceiv'd that the Enemies shouts grew fainter, their Charges weaker, and their Darts and Javelins not lanc'd with the same force and vigor as before, he commands the Captains of the Horse to wheel about from the Wings; that upon a Signal given, they might Charge the Samnites on the Flank: In the mean time, he by degrees advanc'd his Legionary Foot, and made the Enemy give ground; seeing therefore that they made no considerable resistance, and that 'twas plain they were weary'd out, then he brought up all his Reserves which he had kept fresh for such an opportunity, and at the same time gave the Signal

Signal to the Cavalry to fall on. The Samnites were not able to stand the fury of such an impetuous Charge, but fled in confusion to recover their Camp, running by the Battalions of their Friends the Gauls, whom they left to maintain the Fight as well as they could. The Gauls compacted themselves in a close order, and stood immovable; and therefore Fabius being advertis'd of the death of his Colleague, commands a Wing of Campanian Horse, consisting of almost Five hundred, to withdraw out of the Conflict, and wheeling about to Charge them in the Rear, and the foremost Divisions of the third Legion to follow them; and wherever the Horse should disorder the Enemy, they were to second them. Whilst he himself having first vow'd a Temple to Jupiter the Conqueror, and all the spoils of the Enemy, pursued the Samnites to their Camp, where he found all on an heap, and in the greatest consternation imaginable under the Rampire; for the Ports were so narrow that they could not all get in at once: They that were shut out by the throng, made an offer to renew the Fight, and there Gellius Egnatius the Samnite General was slain, but they were quickly cut off or beat into the Works, which after a small skirmish were also taken by the Romans, and then the Gauls surrounded and cut to pieces. There were kill'd that day of the Enemies Five and twenty thousand, and Eight thousand taken Prisoners. Nor was this glorious Victory purchased without Roman Blood, for of P. Decius's Army there fell Seven thousand, and Fabius lost Twelve hundred. The Spoils of the Enemy were all heap'd up together, and burnt as a Sacrifice to Jove the Victor. The Consul Decius's Body could not that day be found, being covered with the Carcasses of the Gauls; but next day it was discover'd, and brought to the Roman Camp, with a general lamentation of his Soldiers: Whose Funeral Obsèques, Fabius, setting all other Affairs aside for the time, caused to be Celebrated with the highest Honors and Applauses.

About the same time likewise Cn. Fulvius the Pro-Prator had as good Success in Tuscany as could be wish'd; for besides the vast damage done the Enemy by over-running and plundering the Country, he routed them in a pitch'd Battel, where of Perusines and Clusines, above Three thousand were slain, and twenty Colours taken. As the Relicks of the Samnites Army fled through the Territories of the Pelignians, they were by them intercepted, and slaughtered, so that of Five thousand there was scarce a thousand left. This Battel fought in the Sentinates Country, was certainly a great Action, and deservedly famous if a Man keep strictly to Truth, and make no more on't than 'twas; but some have Romanic'd upon it, and say, That the Enemy had Forty thousand three hundred and thirty Foot, Six thousand Horse, and a Thousand War-Chariots, including the Umbrians and Tuscans, whom they will have to be in this Fight; and that they may encrease the Roman Forces proportionably, they add to them L. Volumnius, the Pro-Consul, and his Army. But in most Chronicles, the honor of this Victory is ascribed only to the two Consuls; for Volumnius was at that time managing the War in Samnium, where, having forc'd the Enemy to take the Hill Tifernum, nothing discouraged with the disadvantage of the place, he pursued and utterly routed them. Q. Fabius leaving the Decian Army in Tuscany, march'd back with his own Legions to Rome, and Triumph'd over the Gauls, Tuscans and Samnites, the Soldiers following him with their rude Military Catches, wherein they did not more celebrate and applaud the Victory of Fabius, than the noble Death of Decius, equalling the Glories of the Son in all respects, publick or private, with the Renown of his Father, who expos'd himself in the same manner for the good of his Country not many years before. In lieu of the spoil, the Soldiers had given them Eighty two pieces of Money apiece, and every one a Campaign Coat and Tunick; no contemptible Military Reward in those days.

But for all these notable Victories, neither the Samnites nor the Tuscans would yet be quiet; for as soon as the Consul was gone with his Army, the Perusines began to Rebel, and the Samnites in several Parties came down to forrage and ransack the adjacent Provinces; some into the Territories of Vestin and Formianum, and others into Aferniac, and the Banks of the River Volturnus. Against whom Appius Claudius the Prator was sent forth with the Army which Decius lately commanded. Fabius himself undertook to chastize the Tuscan Rebels, and killed Four thousand and five hundred of the Perusines, and took One thousand seven hundred and forty of them Prisoners, who were forced to pay Three hundred and ten Asles [that is, about Forty six shillings and ten pence] apiece, for their Ransome: All the rest of the Booty was distributed amongst the Soldiers. The Samnite Forces being hard pursued by App. Claudius one way, and by L. Volumnius the other, rendezvouz'd altogether in the Territory of Stella; and there also Claudius and Volumnius join'd their Troops. A sharp and cruel Fight it was on both sides; the one enraged against those that had so oft rebelled, and the other now grown desperate and resolv'd to run all hazards: Of the Samnites Sixteen thousand and three hundred slain; of the Romans, Two thousand seven hundred.

This Year so prosperous in Military Affairs, was by reason of Pestilence very doleful, and mens minds much perplex'd with Prodigies; for 'twas reported, that in divers places it rain'd Earth, and in the Army of App. Claudius several Soldiers were blasted with Lightning, therefore the Books of the Sybils were consulted. The same Year Q. Fabius Gurges, the

the Consul's Son, find certain Matrons convicted and condemned before the People of Adultery, and with the Money caused the Temple of *Venus* to be built, which stands near the *Circus*, or grand Racing-place. The *Samnite* Wars still continued, which have already fill'd the most part of our last four Books, for the space of Six and forty years, from the Consulship of *M. Valerius* and *A. Cornelius*, who were the first that carried the War into that Country; and not to repeat the alternative overthrows and fatigues of both Nations, by which yet their stout Courages were nothing daunted; let it suffice to say, That although these *Samnites* the very last Year, both in the *Sentine* Fields, and amongst the *Pelignians*, and at *Tifernum* and *Stella*, were miserably shattered and defeated with their own proper Legions, and likewise join'd with others their Confederates, by four several Roman Armies, under four distinct Commanders in Chief; and though they had lost the bravest General of their Nation, and saw their Allies, the *Etrurians*, *Umbrians* and *Gauls*, in the same forlorn condition with themselves, and that they were no longer able to subsist either with their own Forces, or any Auxiliaries from abroad; yet for all this they would not give over the War, so little did they repent them of defending their Liberties, though unsuccessfully, and chose rather to be daily vanquish'd, than not daily try for a Victory. And who is it that will not be wearied in writing or reading so tedious a War, which never wearied those that manag'd it?

The next Consuls after *Q. Fabius* and *P. Decius*, were *L. Posthumius Megellus*, and *M. Atilius Regulus*, who were both ordered to take charge of *Samnium*, because 'twas reported the Enemy had prepared three compleat Armies; one for *Etruria*, another to Forrage *Campania*, and the third to defend their own Frontiers; but sickness detain'd *Posthumius* at *Rome*: *Atilius* marching out in all haste with the Army, that he might surprize the Enemy in *Samnium* before they had taken the Field (for so the Senate had given direction) found them ready on the way to meet him, as if it had been design'd; so that he could not enter into, much less forrage the *Samnites* Country; as on the other side he stop'd them from going thence into the peaceable Territories of the Roman Allies. Being Encamp'd near together, what the Romans, so often Conquerors, scarce durst attempt, the *Samnites* ventured upon (see how despair pushes Men on to extremities) even to attack the Romans in their Camp. And though this rash Enterprize succeeded not, yet it was not altogether in vain. There chanc'd to be a foggy Mist, which continued a good part of the day so thick and palpable, that it hindered all Prospect, not only from the Rampire at a distance, but also those that were near together could scarce see one another: The *Samnites* taking the advantage thereof, before it was full day, and that too so overcast, came up to the Roman *Corps-du-guard* at the entrance of the Camp, who were too secure and negligent; and being thus surprized, had neither the Courage, nor were strong enough to resist them. So that on the back side of the Camp, they rush'd in at the great Port called *Decumana*, and took the Questors Tent, the Questor himself, *L. Opimius Pansa*, being there slain, whereupon on every side the Alarm was given.

XXXIII.

The Consul raised with this Tumult, commanded two Companies of the Allies (one of *Lucanians*, the other *Suessans*) who were next at hand, to guard the Head-Quarters, and leads up some Legionary Bands that had scarce yet got on their Armor, along the principal Street of the Camp, and set them as well as he could in order. They knew the Enemy rather by their Out-cries, than that they could see them; nor could they guess at their number. This made them at first retreat, as doubtful of their Fortune, and receiv'd the Enemy into the middle of the Camp; but then the Consul cryed out, and ask'd them, *If they meant to be turn'd out of their own Fortifications, and afterwards make a new work on't to recover them?* Whereupon they first stop'd, set up a shout, and presently advanc'd, and charg'd the Enemy, whom they drove back with as much terror as they came in, and beat them clear out at the Gate, and beyond the Works, but did not think fit to pursue them any further, for fear of an Ambuscade, the weather being so dark and hazy. Glad that they had rid them out of the Camp, they kept themselves within their Trenches, having kill'd near Three hundred of the Enemy: Of the Roman Out-guard and Sentinels, and those about the Questors Tent, there were slain One hundred and twenty. This bold adventure proving not altogether unsuccessful, raised the spirits of the *Samnites*, so that they would not suffer the Romans to remove their Camp any further into the County, nor send out any Parties for Forrage; whereupon they were forced to retire into the peaceable Quarters of their Friends about *Sora* for Provisions. The noise of these unwelcome Occurrences (represented much worse than in truth they were) at *Rome* caused *L. Posthumius* the Consul, though he had scarce recovered his Health, to depart from thence, having by an Edict appointed all his Soldiers to come to a Rendezvous at *Sora*. Himself now dedicated unto the Goddess *Victoria* that Temple, which he ordered to be built when he was *Curule Aedile*, with the money raised out of the Fines of several Persons convicted of misdemeanors. Then he march'd his Army from *Sora* towards *Samnium* to the Camp of his Colleague; but the *Samnites* finding themselves incapable of making Head against two such Armies, dislodg'd and retreated, and the Consuls taking several Courses, proceed to harass the Country, and attack the Cities of the Enemy.

Posthumius

*Posthumius* invest'd *Milunium*, and first endeavored to carry it by Storm, but afterwards by approaches, and bringing Engines of Battery close up to the Walls, with which having made some Breaches, his Soldiers entred; yet from ten in the Morning, till two in the After-noon, the Fight continued very sharp and doubtful in all parts of the Town, but in the end the Romans became Masters of it; of the *Samnites* there were slain Three thousand two hundred, and Four thousand two hundred taken, besides other Booty. Next, the Army march'd to *Ferentinum*, but the Inhabitants, with all that they could either drive or carry, had in the Night quitted the Town at the Postern-Gate; so that when the Consul in the Morning had drawn up his Men expecting to have met with the same resistance as he had at *Milunium*, he admired at that strange Silence in the Town, and that he saw neither Men nor Arms on the Walls, or any of the Works, and kept back the eager Soldiers from scaling the deserted Walls, lest they should fall into some Ambush; therefore he commanded two Troops of Horse of the *Latines*, to skirt round about the Out-works for discovery, who finding a Gate or two wide open on one side, and apparent tracks of the Enemies Nocturnal flight, and that the City was wholly abandoned, brought back the news thereof to the Consul, who thereupon leading a Party thither, ordered five Horse-men to enter the Town, and if they saw all safe, three of them to stay there, and the other two to return; who informing him, That they could perceive nothing but silence and solitude, he with some light-arm'd Regiments went into the Town, charging the rest in the mean time to pitch their Tents and fortifie a Camp. The Soldiers that went in, fell presently to breaking open of the Doors, and found only a few aged People, or such as were sick and weak, left behind with Lumber that was too heavy to be removed; and by the Prisoners they understood, that not only the Inhabitants of that, but of several other Towns, were all with one accord fled and gone; that their own People went away in the beginning of the Night, and they verily believed he would find the rest of the Towns thereabouts quitted in like manner; which proved very true, and the Consul possess'd himself of those forsaken Places.

The other Consul *M. Atilius* met not with so easie a War; for having drawn his Legions to *Luceria*, which he understood was besieged by the *Samnites*, the Enemy came forth to encounter him upon the Frontiers, with a rage equal to their strength; the Fight was various and doubtful, but the issue more fatal to the Romans, as well because they were now not wont to be baffled, as for that they found more of their Men kill'd and wounded in their disorderly Retreat, than in the Combat it self. These dreadful considerations they were not sensible of, till after they were got into their Camp, which if they had apprehended during the Conflict, the loss and overthrow had undoubtedly been much greater. They pass'd over the Night very uneasily, as fearing the *Samnites* would storm their Camp, or at least that they must be obliged in the Morning to engage again with those who had already worsted them. But though the Enemies loss was less, their Courage was not greater, for at break of day they were very desirous to get away without renewing the Combate: But there was but one passage, and that lay just by the side of the Roman Leaguer, so that when they were come into it, they seemed as if they were marching to rights to attack that Camp; whereupon the Consul commanded his Men to arm, and follow him without the Rampire, and to his Lieutenants, Colonels, and Captains of the Associated Forces, he gave the necessary Orders, who all promised punctually to execute the same as far as 'twas possible, but withal told him, *That the Soldiers hearts were down; that they had scarce slept a wink all night, for the pains of their own Wounds, or the dismal groans of their Comrades that lay a dying; That if the Enemy had approach'd the Camp before it was day, so daunted they are, they would undoubtedly have fled from their Colours, and it must be only shame that can now keep them from running away, for otherwise they are already as bad as beaten.* The Consul hearing this, thought it best to go about amongst them in Person, and speak to and encourage them, and when he saw any backward to betake them to their Arms, check'd them thus: *Why loiter ye, Gentlemen? and go so coldly about your business? The Enemy will certainly come into the very Camp and cut our Throats, if we do not march out and repulse them, you must presently be forced to fight at your Tent-doors, if you will not manfully defend your Out-works; and whoever shall naked and unarmed attend the Enemies coming, must assuredly dye for it, or (which is worse) endure slavery as long as he lives.* Whilst thus he rebuk'd and reproach'd their Fears, they flatly answered, *That they had enough and too much of Yesterdays work; That they had no strength, nor scarce Blood left, and the Enemies appear in greater numbers now than before.* Whilst they were thus bandying of Words, the Enemy approached, and being now at a less distance, so that they could have a more certain prospect, because the *Samnites* had their Baggage with them (as designing not so much to fight as to march off) the Romans concluded they brought with them stakes and pales to raise a Palizado round about their Camp, and so meant to block them up: Then the Consul cry'd out upon them for shame, to suffer this most vile disgrace, from a pittiful cowardly Enemy: *What (says he) shall we let them empale and chop us up? and will you chuse rather to perish for hunger with Infamy, than to fall by the Swords point (if Fate will have it so) with*

M m 2

Gallantry



Gallantry and Honor? The Gods defend the Roman name from such dastardly baseness! Let each man do as he shall think best becomes him: The Consul M. Attilius (though not a Soul should follow him) resolves alone to Charge the Enemy, and thinks it much better to fall bravely amongst the Samnites Standards, than live to see the Romans besieged in their Camp. This resolution of the Consul, the Lieutenant-Generals and Colonels, the Cavalry and principal Centurions, all applauded, so that at last for very shame the common Soldiers began to handle their Arms, but after an heartless fashion, and as slowly did they march out of the Camp; not thick and close united, but in a long broken Train, with heavy cheer, and looks that would better have become a Rout than a Charge, they fac'd the Enemy, who were much in the same condition, as hopeless and dead-hearted as themselves. For as soon as they discovered the Roman Ensigns, a whisper ran amongst the Samnites from Van to Rear, *That the Romans were come out to intercept their Passage* (the only thing they always feared) so that there was now no means left to escape, no, though they would run for't, but they must either dye on the spot, or cut their way through the thickest Squadrons of the Enemy: Presently they flung all their Baggage together on an heap in the midst of their Army, and drew up in Battalia.

XXXVI. There was now but a very small space between the two Armies, and each stood expecting when the other would fall on, neither of them having any stomach to fight; so that they had parted without a stroke struck, but for fear which soever first should march away, the other would attack him with advantage. Thus between willing and unwilling, at last a kind of a dull fight was begun with a faint halloo shout, nor did a Man advance a step. To warm and quicken the work, the Roman Consul sent out some few Cornets of Horse from their main Body, to Charge the Enemy, who being for the most part knock'd off their Horses, or otherwise disordered, Parties came out apace both from the Samnites Host to kill those that were fallen, and from the Romans to relieve them. Here the Skirmish grew pretty hot, but the Samnites advanced forwards in greater numbers, and ply'd their Blows more lustily; and besides, the affrighted Horses flying backwards, trod to pieces many of the Foot that came to their rescue, who beginning to fly, set the whole Roman Army upon the run, and the Samnites plaid upon their backs as they fled; seeing this, the Consul wheeling about with his Horse, rode before to the Camp-Gate, where he planted a good Guard of the Cavalry, charging them, that whoever came thither, were he friend or foe, Samnite or Roman, they should immediately dispatch him. And threatening the same Severities, he set himself against the Soldiers that were running towards the Camp: *Whither away, Sirrah?* (cries he to each Soldier he met) *you shall here meet with Men and Arms to oppose your Cowardize as well as in the Field; as long as your Consul lives, here's no entering the Camp without Victory: Take your choice therefore, whether you will fight with the Enemy, or with your Fellow-Citizens.* Whilst the Consul thus entertain'd them, the Horse came round about, threatening them with the naked points of their Spears, and command them at their peril to face about. Fortune was not wanting in this Extremity to the Consul's courage, for it happened, that the Samnites did not follow the Chase so hard, but he had both ground and time enough to rally his Men, and bring about his Standards to face the Enemy: Then they began to hearten on one another to try the other Bout; the Captains snatch'd the Colours, and themselves advanc'd and flourish'd them to encourage their Men, telling them, *The Enemy was but few in number, and weary as well as they, and besides, came against them now in disorder and a confused march.* Amongst the rest, the Consul lifting up his hands to Heaven, with a loud Voice that the Soldiers might hear him, vows a Temple to Jupiter Stator (Jove the Stayer) if the Roman Army should cease their flight, stand to it bravely, and in this second Charge defeat the Samnites. Thence-forwards they endeavored on all hands, both Commanders and Soldiers, Foot and Horse, to reinforce the Battel with their utmost efforts; nor was the favor of the Gods (as it seems) wanting to take pity on the Roman Name at that Juncture, so quickly the Dice turn'd, the Enemies in a moment boat back from the Camp, and reduc'd to the same spot of Ground where the Fight first began: Where, by the great heap of their Fardles and Baggage, they were stop'd in their retreat, and for fear of losing their Gear, cast themselves in a Ring to defend it; but whilst the Roman Foot charg'd them in the Front, their Horse were got about, and fell upon in the Rear, so that they were cut to pieces in the middle, or taken Captive: For the number of the Prisoners was Seven thousand three hundred, who were all forced to pass naked under the Gallows, and so released; the number of those slain out-right, amounted to Four thousand eight hundred. Nor had the Romans much cause to boast of their Victory, for the Consul taking a review of his Army, found that he had lost in these two days, Seven thousand and three hundred Men.

During these Occurrences in *Apulia*, the Samnites with another Army, attack *Interamna*, a Roman Colony situate on the High Road to *Latium*, and though they could not win the Town, they plundered the Country round about it, and as they were driving away a vast Booty as well of Cattel as of People, whom they had taken, they chanc'd to be met with by the Victorious Consul in his return from *Luceria*, and lost not only their Prey, but marching

marching stragglingly and in disorder, were most of them cut to pieces. The Consul march'd to *Interamna*, where he made Proclamation for all persons to come and receive their Goods recovered from the Enemy; and leaving his Army there, he himself repair'd to *Rome* to hold the Elections: He put in for a Triumph, but that honor was denied him, as well because he had lost so many thousand Men, as because he had released the Prisoners only upon their passing under the Gallows, without holding them to Ransom, or some harder Articles.

The other Consul *Posthumus*, finding no work for his Arms in *Samnium*, carry'd his Army into *Tuscany*, where first he wasted the Fields of the *Volturnians*, and when they came out to defend themselves, fought with them almost under their own Walls; Two thousand and two hundred being slain, the rest sheltered themselves in the City, being so near. Thence he advanc'd to the Territory of *Rosellum*, where he not only harra's'd the Country, but also took the City, and therein above Two thousand People, besides almost Two thousand men slain before the Walls: But still the Peace that Year obtain'd in *Tuscany*, was more honorable and of greater advantage than all these successes of War: For three of the most considerable States, viz. The *Volturnians*, *Perusians*, and *Aretians*, (the principal People of all that Country) made Overtures for Peace; and having upon an agreement to allow his Soldiers so much Corn and Cloaths, obtain'd the Consul's leave to send their Agents to *Rome* for that purpose, obtain'd a Truce for the term of Forty years, each City paying down for a present Fine, the sum of Five hundred thousand Asces [about One thousand five hundred sixty two pound ten shillings, sterling.] For these exploits, the Consul claiming a Triumph, rather for fashion-sake, than that he could hope to obtain it; some of the Senators object'd against him, *That he did not set out from the City so early as he ought to have done*; others, that he left *Samnium*, and went into *Tuscany* without Orders; some because they were his Enemies; some because they were the other Consul's Friends (to whom it would be some satisfaction that his Colleague was put by that Honor as well as he) all for some reasons or other were against his Triumphing; whereupon in an Huff he thus express'd his Resentments to the Senate: *Though I have a very great Deference and Veneration, Conscript Fathers! for the Majesty and Authority of this House, yet I shall not so far regard it, as to forget that I am Consul: As by the right of my Place I manag'd these Wars, so having happily concluded them, subdued both the Samnites and Tuscans, and obtained Victory and Peace, by the same Right will I Triumph without asking your leave; and so in an heat flung out of the Senate.* Amongst the Tribunes of the Commons there was variance, some threatening to oppose their Negative, That he should not Triumph in this manner as had never yet been practis'd, and must be a very ill president; others of them were for favoring and promoting his Triumph: After much ado, the matter was brought before the People in Common-Hall; where the Consul being summoned, after he had Remonstrated how heretofore the Consuls *L. Horatius*, and *Marcus Valerius*, and of late his own Father *C. Marcus Rutilius*, when he was Censor, had all Triumph'd not by the Authority of the Senate, but by the Ordinance of the People; he added, *That he also would have moved the same to the People, but that he knew there were some of their Tribunes such Slaves to the Nobility, as they would have obstructed the Bill: As for himself he did, and ever would account the will and favor of the People agreeing together, to be as good as any formal Commands.* And the next day, by the interest of three Tribunes against the opposition of seven, and against the general Resolution of the Senate, he did celebrate a Triumph, and the People joyfully solemnized the honor of the day.

But it must be noted, That the actions of this Year are very uncertainly and variously related; for *Claudius* writes, That *Posthumus* after the taking of a few Cities in *Samnium*, was routed and put to flight in *Apulia*, and himself wounded, and glad to take shelter with a few others that escap'd in *Luceria*. And that the prosperous Actions in *Tuscany* were achiev'd by *Attilius*, and that he was the Man that Triumph'd. *Fabius* on the contrary sets down, That both the Consuls managed the War in *Samnium*, and at *Luceria*; and that one of the Armies was thence drawn into *Tuscany*, but mentions not which Consul it was that Commanded it. He also tells us, That before *Luceria* there was great slaughter on both sides, and that in that Battel it was, that a Temple was vowed to *Jupiter Stator*, as *Romulus* did of old; but all this while, there had been no Temple actually erected, but only a *Fanum* [that is, a place set out and consecrated; whereon to build a Temple.] But now this Year, the Commonwealth becoming a second time obliged to perform the same Vow, Religious Reverence mov'd the Senate to Decree and Order, that a Temple should there be built accordingly.

The next Year, succeeded both a most excellent Consul *L. Papirius Cursor*, a person illustrious, as well for his Fathers Glory as his own, and also a mighty great War, and such a signal Victory as never any to that day had obtain'd the like over the Samnites, except it were *L. Papirius* his Father; and as it fell out, they had made just the like pompous preparations, and gaudy Armor now as then: But at this time, they moreover sought to conciliate the favor of the Gods to their party, by initiating their Soldiers in a strange kind

kind of Oath administered with certain antient, but dreadful Rites and Ceremonies: For having made a general levy throughout all *Samnum*, with a new Law, *That whosoever of Age fit to bear Arms, should not appear at the Rendezvous according to the Generals Edict, or afterwards should depart without License, should forfeit his Head to Jupiter as accursed.* The place of Rendezvous was appointed at *Aquilonia*, where the whole strength of *Samnum* met together, to the number of Forty thousand fighting Men. In the midst of the Camp there was a plat of Ground fenced in with Hurdles and Boards, and covered over with Linnen Cloth, about Two hundred foot square: There a solemn Sacrifice was celebrated, and Service said out of an old Book with a Linnen cover, by one *Ovius Paccius* the Priest, a very old Fellow, who avow'd that he deriv'd that Sacred Form from the antient Religion of the *Samnites*, which their Ancestors had made use of, at such time as they secretly contrived to seize upon *Capua*, and take it from the *Etrurians*. The Sacrifice being dispatched, the General caused the Marshal to call in such as were most noble and renowned for their Quality and Valour, who were brought in one by one. There was besides other sacred Furniture, which might strike Mens minds with a Religious awe, in the middle of this place so covered on all parts, an Altar, and certain Sacrifices lying slain, and divers Captains standing round with their drawn Swords: The Soldier was brought up to the Altar, rather as a Sacrifice himself, than a partaker of the Oblations, and was first sworn to keep secret all that he should there see or hear; and then was forced also to take an Oath, composed after the manner of a Charm, with most bitter *Imprecations and Curses against his own Life, his Family and all his Race, unless he should go into the Battel wherever his Commanders should lead him; or if either he himself should at any time fly out of the Battel, or not presently kill any other whom he should see give ground or like to run away.* Some at first refusing to take this Curse were beheaded upon the Altars, and their Bodies lying amongst the slaughtered Carcasses, were a warning to the rest to conform. All the principal Persons having bound themselves with this Detestation; ten of them were particularly nominated by the Commander in chief, who every one were charged to chuse himself a Comrade, and they likewise to take others to them man by man, until they compleated the number of sixteen thousand, which were called the Linnen Legion, taking that name from the covering of that place where the *Samnite* Nobles were first sworn; these had brave Arms bestowed upon them, and crested Helmets, that they might seem taller than the rest. There was another Army consisting of Twenty thousand Men and upwards, who neither for able Bodies, nor past Services in the Wars, nor useful Armor, came short of the Linnen Brigade in any respect. This great multitude and so strong, Encamped themselves not far from *Aquilonia*.

XXXIX.

The Consuls setting forth from the City, first *Sp. Carvilius*, who had the Command of the old Legions which the former Consul *M. Atilius* left at *Interamna*, advances with them into *Samnum*; and whilst the Enemy was thus busie in their Superstitions and secret Consultations, took the City *Amiternum*, where were slain almost Two thousand eight hundred People, and Four thousand two hundred and seventy taken. *Papirius* having levied a new Army (for so the Senate had ordered) storm'd *Duronia*, where though he took not so many Prisoners as his Colleague, yet he kill'd more in the Conflict. At both places there was very rich Booty. Thence the Consuls proceeded to over-run the Country, especially about *Atinium*; *Carvilius* march'd to *Cominium*, and *Papirius* to *Aquilonia*, where the whole Power of the *Samnites* was posted. There for a while they were neither altogether idle, nor very smartly engaged, but spent their time in beating up of Quarters, Picquering, and Skirmishes, provoking one another, rather than coming to a close Fight; for whilst ever and anon they began, and as quickly gave over, the event even of those petty Rencontres was put off from day to day. The other Roman Army lay twenty miles off, yet though the other Consul was absent, he was frequently consulted with; *Carvilius* being more intent upon the Affairs at *Aquilonia*, whereon the main Chance of the War depended, than about the Town of *Cominium* which he then besieged. *L. Papirius* having by this time got all things ready for a Battel, sent a Currier to his Partner, That he resolved (if the *Auspices* prov'd favorable) to engage the Enemy next Morning, and therefore 'twas fit he should attack *Cominium* with all his Forces, to divert any assistance from thence: The Messenger returned at Night, and brought word, That his Colleague did well approve of those Resolutions. Then *Papirius* drew his Army together, and made an Oration in the Head of them, wherein he discours'd at large touching the nature of this War in general, and of the Enemies present Preparations, more gaudy in shew and for ostentation, than effectually of any real Advantage: For (he told them) "That it was no plumed Crests that gave the deadly Wounds; the Roman Lances would easily pierce their painted and gilded Shields; That this gay Army, glittering with their white Coats, would soon be dyed of a Crimson hue, when they came to handy strokes; That much such a Gold and Silver Army of *Samnites* was utterly defeated to the last; Man by his Father, and prov'd more honorable Spoils to the Conqueror, than safe Armor to themselves; That perhaps 'twas the Destiny of his Name and Family, to be chosen

"chosen Generals against the *Samnites* greatest Efforts and Preparations, and that they were born to bring away those Spoils which might be an ornament to the publick Buildings of the City; That the Immortal Gods would doubtless be present to revenge Leagues so often desired, and so often violated: For if we may lawfully guess at the Divine Pleasure, they were never more adverse to any Army, than to this, which being polluted with the intermingled Blood of Beasts and Men, had doubly devoted themselves to the wrath and vengeance of Heaven, dreading on the one side the Gods which are Witnesses of their Treaties with the *Romans*; and on the other side, the Curses of that late Oath which they have taken directly contrary to those Treaties; an Oath which as they took perforce, so the memory thereof must needs be odious to them, since it makes them perjured, and no less afraid of the Gods, and one another, than of their Enemies.

Having declared these things (which he came to know by the relation of some Deserters) unto his Soldiers, who were already of themselves sufficiently enraged against the Enemy; they being all confident of Divine Assistance, as well as trusting on their own valor, unanimously cry out for a Battel, were vex'd that it was put off till the Morrow, and repined at that delay of one Night as too long. About Midnight *Papirius* having received Letters from his Colleague, got up when all was silence, and sent to the Sooth-sayers to take the Presages, whether or no it might be lucky to fight the next day. There was not any sort of Men in the Camp but were eager for a Battel; all degrees, high and low, Captains and Soldiers, were enflamed with the same desires, which zealous ardour reached even those that had the charge of the *Auspices*; for though the Chickens would not peck, yet the Chick-master ventured rather to falsifie the token by a lye, than to put off the Engagement, and therefore sent the Consul word, *That they fell to their meat so greedily, that with their hasty feeding, the Corn fell from their Bills and rebounded again, which they called Tripudium Solistimum, and in their Learning counted it the best sign of Success that was in the World.* The Consul hereupon joyfully declares, *That the Auspices were excellent good, and that they should go on under the conduct and favor of the Gods, and so puts out the signal of Battel.*

As he was marching into the Field, a Renegado acquaints him, That twenty Regiments of the *Samnites* (for they were in all about forty) were gone towards *Cominium*, of which he presently sent to advertise his Colleague; then causes the Standards to be brought forth with all expedition, Posts his Reserves in proper places, and assigns to every one his Charge. *L. Volturnus* led the Right Wing; *L. Scipio* the Left, and the other Lieutenant-Generals, *C. Cædinius* and *C. Trebonius*, had the conduct of the Cavalry. He ordered *Sp. Nautius* to take off the Pack-Saddles from the Mules, and to mount some Companies of Light-arm'd Foot that used to serve in the Wings, on their backs, and with all speed, fetching a compass, to seize a certain Hill that lay in view, and in the heat of the Conflict to shew themselves from thence, raising as great a cloud of dust as possibly they could. Whilst the General was thus busie, there arose a squabble amongst the Chicken-Masters, or Sooth-Sayers, about the Presages of the Day, which being overheard by some of the Roman Horse, they looking upon it as a matter of consequence, told *Sp. Papirius* the Consul's Nephew, That there was some doubt or question about the *Auspice*. The Youth, born in those days when there were no Atheists, or despisers of Religion and the Gods, having further enquired into the matter (because he would not certifie any thing groundless) gave notice thereof to the Consul, who answered: *I commend your piety and diligence, however be not dismayed, but rather fight more heartily and use thy best endeavor; as for him that has charge of the Auspice, if he have made a wrong Report, let the punishment for his violating of Religion light upon his own head; for my part the Tripudium which was certified, I take to be a good and sufficient Omen of Success to me and the People of Rome.* Then he commanded the Centurions to place the Chicken-Prophets in the Forlorn-Hope. At the same time the *Samnites* advanced their Ensigns, and their Army in excellent equipage followed so glorious, that even the sight of the Enemy was a pleasing and magnificent Entertainment; before any shout made, or that they came to Charge, a Javelin darted at random lighted upon the chief Chicken-Fortune-teller, and struck him dead before the Ensigns, which being told the Consul, *The Gods (saith he) you see are present in the Field, and the guilty Wretch has his due reward:* Whilst he was speaking these words, a Raven set up her Throat just before him, at which lucky Augury the Consul rejoic'd, and affirmed, *That the Gods never did more evidently appear in Mens affairs, or give plainer Demonstrations of their favor.* And immediately commanded the Trumpets to sound a Charge, and the whole Army to set up a lusty Shout.

The Battel was fierce and terrible, but managed upon very different motives; the *Romans* rush'd on animated with rage, and hope, and an ardent eagerness of Fighting; but the *Samnites* for the most part by necessity, and the charms of Superstition, were forced even almost against their wills, to make resistance rather than attack the Enemy; nor would they ever have stood the *Romans* first Charge, having for many Years been cowed with

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XLI.

with constant Overthrows, but that a more prevailing fear imprinted on their minds, did retain them from flight: For they had continually before their Eyes the whole Parade of that secret Sacrifice, the armed Priests, and promiscuous slaughter of Beasts and Men; the Altars stain'd with humane Blood, the dreadful Execrations, and that furious Oath, wishing Plagues and Curses on their Kindred and Posterity; tyed with these Magical chains they kept indeed the Field, but still were more afraid of their own Companions than of the Enemy. The Romans press'd on from either Wing and the Main-Body with all imaginable fury, and butchered them at pleasure whilst they stood thus as it were astonish'd with a double dread of Gods and Men: The resistance they made was small and faint, and nothing but pure fear kept them from running away. So that by this time execution was done upon them up to their very Standards, when on a sudden there appeared at a distance on one side of them, a great cloud of Dust, as if some mighty Army had rais'd it with their march; for *Sp. Nautius* (*Octavius Metius* some call him) who had the Conduct of the *Alarian Bands* before-mentioned, purposely made a far greater dust than could be expected from so small a number, by causing his Regiment of the Black-Guard, as they sat on their Mules, to trail after them thick boughs of Trees; their Arms and Ensigns in the Front first appeared as it were through a dusky Light, but the dust behind them rising higher and thicker, seem'd to represent a great Body of Horse flanking an Army of Foot, and deceived not only the *Samnites*, but the *Romans* too: And to keep up that useful Error, the Consul so loud that even the Enemy might hear him, cry'd out, *That Cominium was taken, and his Victorious Colleague was come; That now they should use their utmost endeavors to compleat the Victory before the other Army snatch'd the Honor of it out of their hands.* Thus he spake as he gallop'd to and fro amongst the Ranks, and at the same time commanded the Colonels and Captains of the Foot to widen their Files, and make room for the Horse. He had before given Orders to *Trebonius* and *Cadicus*, that when they should see him flourish his Spear over his head, they should advance with the Cavalry, and as hard as they could drive Charge the Enemy. All things were punctually put in execution according to Order, the Files opened to the Right and Left, and the Horse thundered out upon the Enemy, and broke into the middle of their Main-Body, disordering their Ranks which way soever they turn'd their Force; *Volumnius* and *Scipio* bravely seconded them with the Infantry, and whilst they were thus disarray'd, beat down all before them. Then the *Limmen Brigade* went to pot, and fell under the fury both of the Gods and Men; the sworn and unsworn fled both alike, and no longer feared any but the Enemy. Their Foot, as many as escaped in the Battel, were beat into their Camp at *Aquilonia*; their Noble-men and Horse got to *Bovianum*; the Foot were by the Foot pursued, and the Horse by Horse; and the two Wings separated themselves, the Right marching up to the *Samnites* Camp, and the Left to the Town: *Volumnius* was somewhat the nimblest, and soon made himself Master of the Camp; *Scipio* had an harder task to win the City, not that they had greater Courage, being all alike disheartened with their Overthrow, but because Walls will better keep out Assailants, than a plain Trench and Rampire; and besides, from the *Courtine* they had an advantage to shour down Stones upon them so fast, as none could endure it. *Scipio* considering that it would prove a tedious piece of Work, unless he could carry the Town at this first Heat, whilst they within were in a fright, and before they could recollect their Spirits, ask'd his Soldiers, *If they would suffer this disgrace, to see the Camp bravely won by the other Wing, and themselves Conquerors too as well as the others, to be shamefully repulsed from the City?* They all testifying their Resolutions to the contrary by a loud shout, himself clapping his Target over his Head, march'd foremost up to the Gate, and all the rest following him in that posture, by main force they broke into the City, and knocking down those *Samnites* that were about the Gate, made themselves Masters of the Walls, but durst not venture up into the middle of the City, being so few in number.

XLII.

The Consul at first knew nothing of all this, but was busie in bringing the Main-Body of his Army to an orderly Retreat, for the Sun was now almost down, and Night coming on apace, made every thing seem dangerous and suspicious even to the Victors themselves; but when he was advanced further, he saw on his right hand the Enemies Camp taken, and on the left, heard a confused Cry and Tumult in the City, as compos'd of the mix'd clamors of Men fighting, and People in a fright, for it happened at that instant the Conflict was at the Gate. Upon this, he rides up nearer, and at last discovered his own Men upon the Walls, and that his Work was not yet at an end, since by a few Mens rash adventurousness, there was an opportunity of performing an excellent piece of Service, whereupon he recalled the Forces that were retreating, and caus'd them with Banners displayed to enter the City, where near the Gate they took up their Quarters, because the Night came on so fast, and before Morning the Enemy had deserted it. There were slain that day of the *Samnites*, Thirty thousand three hundred and forty; taken, Three thousand eight hundred and seventy, and ninety seven Colours. 'Tis Recorded, That never any General was more chearful and pleasant than *Papirius* during this Battel, whether it were of his own natural Disposition, or upon assured confidence of Victory; 'twas upon this strength

of

of mind that he would not be diverted from fighting by the controverted *Auspice*; and in the heat of the Conflict, when others are wont to make Vows of building Temples to the Immortal Gods, he only Vow'd, *That if he defeated the Enemies Legions, he would present Jupiter Victor with a Cup of Metheglin, before himself tasted a drop of strong Wine.* Which Vow the Gods accepted, and turn'd the ill Presages to good.

The other Consul had no less success at *Cominium*; for drawing up all his Forces by break XLIII. of day to the Walls, he invested it quite round, and set strong Guards at all the Gates to prevent any Sallies. But just as he was about to give the Signal for a general Assault, the Messenger from his Brother Consul in a great fright, brought word, *That twenty Cohorts of the Enemy were upon their march to relieve the City*, which made him for a while defer the Storm, and draw off part of his Forces. For immediately he dispatch'd the first Legion, and twenty Cohorts of the Wings, and Horse, under the Command of *D. Brutus Scaeva*, to meet this Party of the Enemy, with orders to stop or divert their march wherever they should find them, and if need were, to fight them rather than suffer them to come up to *Cominium*. This care being taken, he commands the Scaling-Ladders to be set to the Walls round the Town, and several parties in close Order, with their Targets over their heads, to make up to the Gates, so that at once the Gates were burst open, and the Walls mounted: The *Samnites*, that had some hopes before to keep off the Enemy, when they saw them now in possession of their Walls, that there was no longer any fighting at a distance with Darts and Lances, but they must come to Handy-strokes, concluded, that they who from below had got upon the Walls, would then more easily descend, and be too hard for them upon even ground, who could not withstand them with all the advantages of their Works; they therefore quitted their Towers and Bulwarks, and were beat up to the Market-place, where for a while they tryed their utmost Fortune, but at last flung down their Arms, and Fifteen thousand and five hundred surrendered themselves at discretion to the Consul; the number of the slain amounted to 4780.

Thus went things at *Cominium*, and at *Aquilonia*, but between both places where a third Battel was expected, no Enemies were to be found; for that Detachment of the *Samnites*, upon the Romans drawing up in Battalia, were re-called, when they were but seven miles from *Cominium*, and so came not in to either of the Battels; but being arrived about twilight, within sight of *Aquilonia* on one hand, and their Camp on the other, and from each place hearing a mighty Clamour, they made an halt, wondring what the matter might be; but by and by the Camp being fired by the Romans, gave them certain notice of their Parties defeat, so that they durst march no further, but lying down where they were in their Arms, spent a restless night, wishing for, and yet fearing the approach of day. As soon as 'twas light, being yet uncertain whether to bend their course, they were put to the Run by the sight of a party of Horse, who had been upon the pursuit of the *Samnites* that in the night stole out of the City, and spying this multitude lie in the open Field without Trenches or Out-guards, were coming up to Charge them: They were also seen from the Walls of *Aquilonia*, and thence several Regiments of Foot were making at them; but they came not up time enough, and the Horse only cut off about 280 in the Rear, the rest escap'd, but in great Consternation, to *Bovianum*, leaving abundance of Arms scattered behind them, and eighteen Colours.

The joy of each Roman Army was encreased by the good success of the other. The XLIV. Consuls, by mutual consent, gave their Soldiers the Plunder of both Cities, and when they had ranlack'd the Houses, order'd them to be set on fire; so that on one and the same day, both *Aquilonia* and *Cominium* were laid in ashes, and the Consuls with mighty Congratulations on either side, joined their Forces. There in the Head of both Armies, *Carvilius* bestowed large Commendations and Rewards on such of his Men as had signalized themselves by any special Action: And *Papirius*, who had been engag'd in variety of Service in the Field, and the City, and the Camp, gave Bracelets, and Coronets of Gold, to *Sp. Nautius* and *Sp. Papirius* his own Nephew, and to four Centurions, and one whole Band of *Hastati* or Javelyneers. To *Nautius* for his expedition and dexterity in terrifying the Enemy with a shew of a great Army; to young *Papirius* for his gallant Service with the Horse, both in the Battel, and in pursuing the *Samnites*, when in the night they got out of the City; and to the Centurions and *Hastati*, because they were the first that took the Gate, and mounted the Wall of *Aquilonia*. To all the Horse-men, because they had behav'd themselves very well, he gave Bracelets and little Horns of Silver.

In the next place a Council of War was held, to consult, Whether both or either of the Armies should yet be withdrawn out of *Samnium*, and it was resolv'd, *That the more irrecoverably to suppress the Enemy, they should with the greatest vigor improve their Victories, so as they might be able to deliver up the Country entirely subdued to the next Consuls: And since there was now no Army of the Enemies that durst appear in the Field, they had no business left but to assault their Cities and fortified Towns, the taking of which, would both enrich their own Soldiers, and impoverish the Enemy, besides the multitudes of them that must there be either slain or taken Prisoners.* Therefore having by Letters given the Senate an account of their Pro-

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ceedings, the Consuls divided their Armies; *Papirius* advancing to besiege *Sepinum*, and *Carvilius* to invest *Volana*.

XLV. These Letters from the Consuls were read with the highest Joy imaginable, as well in the Senate, as before all the People in the Common-Hall; and this Publick Rejoycing was celebrated with *Processions* and *Thanksgivings* for the space of four days together: For indeed this Victory was not only of great Importance in it self to the *Romans*, but also came very seasonably, for it happened, that just at the same time tidings arrived, That the *Tuscans* were in Rebellion, and People began to ponder in their minds how they should do to quell them, if any thing should happen amiss in *Samnium*, where both the Consuls, and all the *Roman* Forces were now engaged, which heartned on the *Etrurians* to this Insurrection. Ambassadors from some of the *Roman* Allies were introduced by *M. Attilius* the Prætor into the Senate, complaining, That their Territories were wasted with Fire and Sword by their Neighbors the *Tuscans*, because they would not relinquish the *Roman* Interest; therefore they did beseech the Fathers, to defend them from the Out-rages of these common Enemies: To whom Answer was return'd, That the Senate would take care, that their Allies should have no cause to repent them of their having continued faithful, and that very speedily they should see the *Tuscans* in as wretched a condition as the *Samnites*. Yet had they not proceeded with such Expedition against the *Tuscans*, but that News came, the *Faliscans*, who for many Years had been firm Friends, were now revolted and join'd with them. The near Neighborhood of this Nation quickned the Senate to send Heralds to demand satisfaction; which being not given, by the Authority of the Senate and Command of the People, War is Declared against the *Faliscans*, and the Consuls ordered to cast Lots which of them should remove with his Army out of *Samnium* into *Tuscany*. *Carvilius* had already taken from the *Samnites* three Cities, *Volana*, *Palumbinum*, and *Herculaneum*; *Volana* in few days time, *Palumbinum* the same day that he came before the Walls, but at *Herculaneum* he was forc'd to fight two set Battels, with doubtful Success, and more loss sustained on his side than on the Enemies. Then he Entrench'd himself, and shut them up within the Walls, and at last assaulted the Town and took it. In these three places there were taken or slain to the number of Ten thousand People. When the Consuls came to sort the Provinces, *Tuscany* fell to *Carvilius*, at which his Soldiers were pleas'd, who could not well endure any longer the sharpness of the Weather in *Samnium*. *Papirius* at *Sepinum* had an harder tug on't; he was forc'd to encounter the Enemy oft-times in Pitch'd-Battels, continual Skirmishes, and frequent Sallies, so that 'twas neither a meer Siege, nor an even War in the Field, for the *Samnites* did not so much defend themselves with their Walls, as their Walls with their Bodies and their Arms; but in the end, by these daily Conflicts he reduc'd it to a just Siege, and partly with Batteries, and partly by main force, took the City, where the enraged Soldiers committed great slaughter, there being 7400 cut to pieces, and not full 3000 that had Quarter: The Booty, which was very considerable, because the *Samnites* had brought all they had into a few Cities, was distributed amongst the Soldiers.

XLVI. The Ground was now all covered with Snow, and there was no enduring longer abroad in the Field; therefore the Consul march'd his Army out of *Samnium*, and coming to *Rome*, a Triumph was Decreed him by a universal consent; and accordingly he did Triumph before he went out of his Office, with as great State and Magnificence as those days could afford. The Horse and Foot appeared in the *Carvalcade* adorn'd with all their Prizes of Honor: Many a Civic Garland was worn that day by such as had saved the Lives of their Fellow-Citizens; many that first mounted the Enemies Rampire, and others that were formost in Scaling their Walls, were distinguish'd by their several Badges and Crowns. The *Samnites* spoils made a gallant show, and the People took great delight in comparing them with those brought home by his Father, wherewith the publick Buildings were beautified. Divers noble Prisoners, famous for their own or their Ancestors actions, were led along in Chains, and amongst the rest there was a vast quantity of *Brass Bullion*, raised by the ransom of Prisoners, amounting to Two millions five hundred thirty three thousand *Asses* in weight [about 25006 *l.* 13 *s.* 4 *d.* sterling] and of Silver taken in the several Cities, 1330 pounds weight, and upwards [amounting to 3990 *l.* of our money.] All this money, Brass and Silver, was carryed into the common Treasury, and nothing of the whole Booty given to the Soldiers; which as it caus'd much discontent and envy, so the same was encreased amongst the common People, because they were charged with a Tax to pay off the Soldiers; whereas if the Consul in a vain-glorious humor had not brought these Sums into the Chamber of the City, the same would have been enough both to have rewarded the Army, and satisfied their Arrears. Moreover, before he went out of his Consulship, he Dedicated the Temple of *Quirinus*, which his Father being Dictator had Vowed, for that he himself made any such Vow in the heat of the Battel, I find not in any ancient Author; nor could he in so short a time have finish'd it: This Temple he garnish'd with the Enemies Spoils, whereof there was such abundance, as not only suffic'd to deck up the same, and the Town-Hall, but great quantities of them were divided amongst, and sent unto their next Allies and Colonies to beautifie their Temples and publick Buildings. After

After the Triumph, the Army took up Winter-Quarters amongst the *Vestins*, because those parts were liable to be infested by the Incurfions of the *Samnites*.

In the interim, the other Consul *Carvilius* in *Etruria*, first sat down before the City *Trailus*, and for a great sum of money gave leave for 470 of the richest Burgers to depart thence whither they list, the rest of the Rabble fell into his hands after he had storm'd the Town. After which he took in five very strong and well fortified Castles. Here were slain of the Enemy 2400, and almost 2000 taken Prisoners: The *Faliscans* then coming to a Treaty, he granted them a Truce for a Year, upon paying down One hundred thousand *Asses* (312 *l.* 10 *s.* sterling) and paying off his Soldiers for that Year.

After these signal Successes he came home to receive the honor of a Triumph, which if not so glorious as his Colleagues for his Actions in *Samnium*, yet adding his Services in *Tuscany*, he might justly boast an equal merit. He brought into the Exchequer of Brass money, Three hundred and ninety thousand pieces [637 *l.* 15 *s.* 7 *d.* sterling] and with the rest built a Chappel to *Sors Fortune* (or good Fortune) near the Temple dedicated to the same Goddess by King *Servius Tullus*. Out of the Booty he gave his Soldiers 102 *Asses* [6 *s.* 5 *d.* sterling] apiece, and twice as much to each Centurion and Trooper, which was so much the more gratefully accepted, since his Colleague had been so niggardly as to give his Men nothing. And indeed, so much was this Consul in the Peoples favor, that 'tis said he protect'd his Lieutenant *L. Posthumus*, who being Indict'd by *M. Cautius*, a Tribune of the Commons, put off the Judgment by alledging his Command in the Army, and that during his absence they could not proceed to a definitive Sentence.

The Year being now expired, the new Tribunes of the Commons entred upon their Office; but they not being duly elected, five days after others were chosen in their stead. The same Year a *Lustrum* or general Survey of the City, was held by *P. Cornelius Arvina*, and *C. Marcius Rutilus* the Censors, and there were assessed 262322 *Roman* Citizens. These were the six and twentieth Censors since that Office erected, and this the nineteenth survey that had been taken. The same Year, and never before, divers Persons that had done good Services in the Wars, sat in the Publick Theaters to behold the *Roman* Plays with Wreaths and Garlands of Flowers upon their Heads, and then too came up the fashion, borrowed from the Greeks, to honor those with Palm-branches that won the Prizes at those solemn Sports. The *Curule Ediles* that exhibited these Sports, having fined the Grafiars that held City-Lands for defrauding the Publick, did with the Money, new pave the Road from *Mars's* Temple to the Beast-Market. *L. Papirius* held the Court for electing of Consuls, and chose *Gurges* the Son of *Q. Fabius Maximus*, and *D. Junius Brutus Scæva*; and *Papirius* himself was made Prætor. The many Prosperities of this Year were scarce able to ballance one Affliction, which was that of the Pestilence, so grievous both in the City and Country, that it was look'd upon as an immediate Judgment from Heaven: The Sacred Books of the *Sibyls* were consulted to know when the Gods would be pleas'd to put a period to this Calamity, or what remedy there might be for it; where 'twas found, That the God *Æsculapius* must be fetch'd from *Epidaurus* to *Rome*: But so involved they were in Wars, that nothing could this Year be done in it, save only, that one day was solemnly observed in honor of, and supplications to the said *Æsculapius*.

THE  
SUPPLEMENT  
OF  
LIVY,

By John Freinsheim.

DECADE II. BOOK XI.

*Lucius Annæus Florus*

H I S

E P I T O M E.

Fabius Gurges the Consul having been defeated by the Samnites; and the Senate minding to remove him from his Command, Fabius Maximus his Father interceding that he might not undergo this disgrace, overpersuades the Senate, by promising to go himself Lieutenant to his Son: which he does accordingly; and his Son assisted by his Counsels triumphs over the Samnites, and beheads C. Pontius the Samnite General, whom he had led in Triumph. Pestilence raging in the City, Embassadors are sent to fetch Æsculapius's Shrine from Epidaurus to Rome: And bring with 'em a Snake, that came aboard their Ship, which they took for the Deity. Where this Snake went out into the Isle of Tyber a Temple is built to Æsculapius. Lucius Posthumius a Person of consular Dignity, being General, puts his Soldiers to work in his Ground, for which he is Fir'd. With the Samnites suing for Peace a League is renew'd the fourth time. Curius Dentatus the Consul having defeated the Sabines and conquer'd the Rebel Samnites who surrendered themselves, twice Triumphs in the same year. Colonies are brought to Caltrum, Sena, and Adria. Triumviri Capitales are first made. The People are poll'd. The number amounting to two hundred, seventy two thousand Citizens. The Commons by reason of Debt, and troublesome Mutinies, withdraw into Janiculum whence they are brought back again by the Dictator Hortensius, who Died in his Office: Besides it contains the Wars with the Volturnians, and Lucanians, against whom 'twas thought fit to assist the Tyrrhenians.

**T**He Power of the Samnites was now weakned by several Battels, and there was no doubt made, but the War might be ended, if the Enemy after this defeat, and consternation, should be allow'd as little respite as could be, to recruit their Spirits. Therefore the Consul Q. Fabius a hot Spurr'd Youth, and resolved to get himself the Honour of ending the War, having speedily levied Forces, marched out of hand to Campania. For the Samnites being a hardy People, and driven to despair rather than fear by so many defeats, because the Consuls the year before had carried away all the Legions to their Triumph; made use of this opportunity, and raised considerable Forces partly from the remainders of former Fights, and partly by new Levies. And because they knew the Plague rag'd amongst the Romans at that time, and withal, that the Consuls for that year were not much to be feared either for their experience in War, or Authority, they took heart upon this, and annoy'd the Campanians a People always contemn'd by 'em, and now hated more than ever, as the Authors of their suffering, by spoiling and wasting their Country.

The Roman General had a courage equal to the reputation of the Fabian House, but the contempt of an Enemy so often routed by his Countrymen, and too much eagerness to Fight rendred him very unway. Marching thus against the Enemy with great precipitation, at last he came in sight of an advanced party sent by the General of the Samnites, who desecring the Romans marching forward, retreated to their own men: Fabius hereupon imagining that the Enemy fled, without informing himself either of the situation of Places, or the condition of the People, commands his Army with all speed to advance; as if the whole hopes of Victory lay in making extraordinary speed.

The Samnites forwarn'd by their Scouts manag'd all things more circumspectly: for they possessed themselves of advantageous Posts, embattell'd their men, and encouraged them by the Orations of their Commanders. The event therefore of this Battel was such, as might justly be expected. An Army well order'd and every way appointed easily routed men tin'd out, with their Ranks broken, as if they came not to Fight but to Plunder. Fabius lost three thousand of his men, and more were wounded: and had not the night interposing prevented it, he would have lost all his Army. Then he got to a place of more security, and fortified his Camp as well as he could in such a consternation: and here things were not in a better posture, nor mens minds better assur'd, than they were in the Field. Here was no repose for the weary, no Food for the Hungry, nor any Medicins for the wounded. For they took only their Arms with 'em, having left all their Baggage in their former Camp. There-

fore the whole night was spent between the groans of the Dying, and the complaints of the Living: whilst all waited for the next day with fear and despair, as their last. "For that men toil'd out and even spent with watching, weakn'd with wounds, and disheartn'd by their overthrow, and withal much lessen'd in numbers, were not able to withstand an Enemy, which an Army both in Courage, and Strength and also full of hopes had not been able to sustain.

- Things being thus given up for lost, as it happened, the Enemies mistake was a means to relieve them: who being alarm'd with the report of the other Consuls marching against him, dislodg'd, and went another way, contenting himself with this unexpected success, lest if he went to attack Fabius's Camp, he should be environ'd by these fresh Forces. When the Enemy went off, the Romans also retired to places of more security. When the News came to Rome, the People being more concern'd for the disgrace than the loss sustain'd, took it sadly to heart, that through the Consuls rashness matters should be ordered so ill that a War which had lasted as long as any before it, should be renew'd, now 'twas almost at an end; and that more terrible too than it had been of a long time before; because the Samnites were encourag'd by this Victory. Nor had the Tribunes of the Commons only, whose peculiar Trade it was, aggravated every thing as invidiously as they could, by their frequent Speeches to the Commons: But likewise when the Senate canvass'd the matter, very hard Sentences pass'd upon it, and a Decree was made by the Senate, whereby Fabius the Consul was commanded to Rome before such a time to answer to his Charge. When he came, several Persons accus'd him, nor could he defend the Fact, nay what is more, that very thing which should have helped him, namely the Interest of old Fabius, prejudiced his cause. For men thought him less worthy of Pardon, who having so gallant a Person for his Father, and being bred up among his Triumphs, had not only disgraced the Roman name in general, but the glories of his own Family in particular by his defeat imputable to his great rashness. The People were so incens'd that they would hardly hear the Defendant Plead: But however they were pacified by the extraordinary tenderness of Fabius, and afterwards by his Speech. For he fearing, lest his Son for his miscarriage in the War should be turn'd out of his Place, forbore altogether to excuse his fault: But modestly mentioning his own, and his Ancestors Merits, he pray'd "he might not undergo a disgrace so bitter to himself, so infamous to the whole Family of the Fabii: "But yet he did not in the least desire that the miscarriage of one Fabius should be Pardon'd for the sake of so many Fabii, who from the very Foundation of Rome almost had aggrandiz'd the Romans affairs: Nor likewise for those three hundreds sake, who by their own, and almost the universal destruction of the Fabian Race defended the Commonwealth: if so be that this fault were Incurable, and that more advantage was like to accrue to the publick from the punishment, than from the Pardon of his Son; for he had learnt to prefer the love of his Country before any other Relation. However the worst that could be feared from the Youth was already past, but the benefits, that may redound from one of such a temper, who has been Bred up by my self, a Master competent enough by your own Judgment, may yet be expected; unless you by a just, yet unseasonable severity destroy these hopes. Many men have by miscarrying in the beginning of an Enterprize been rendred more cautious; who being admonish'd of a fault have often repaired moderate losses with a great advantage; And for ought I know, we may impute it to Fortunes Spite rather than any mans fault, that the long Prosperity of our State, and of the Fabian Family has now by a slender disaster been thus allay'd, tho we may stile it the kindness, rather than the anger of the Gods thus to Arm us against that fatal Pride, which usually attends too much Prosperity: and withal to mind us of Mortality by a misfortune not so prejudicial to the publick, as advantageous to our Instruction. Whatever the matter was, Fellow Citizens, my mind misgave me, some mischance would happen: when in the Assemblies I solicited you not to make my Son Consul: for considering how my Father, Grand-Father, and others of my Ancestours had bore that Office often, and moreover that I my self had been Consul five times, I began to fear, that neither Gods nor Men would be willing to see the chief Honours continue still in the same Family. And I wish my Prayers had prevailed with you then; or else that you would make good your grant, lest what you have bestow'd on my Son for Honour against my will, should prove an occasion of extraordinary disgrace to us both: and you your selves also be accus'd of Rashness; who if you repeal your former Act touching Q. Fabius by another Order, you will be esteem'd by posterity, either to have given, or taken away that Power without a cause. If you take a milder course, you will then preserve your own Authority, together with the reputation of the Fabian house: and the Youths miscarriage, as it has done some hurt to the State, shall be also repair'd with greater advantage. But who can assure this? I my self, (Fellow Citizens) will be engag'd for my Son to the Commonwealth, (and may it be for the good of the Senate, the Commons, and our Family) He go Lieutenant to my Son, to share in any Fortune, which we shall find, or make our own. My Courage still remains: and for one of my Age I cannot complain for want of strength: I can yet endure the toils of War, and stand in the field. And were I good for nothing else, yet by the memory of former fights I shall be able to terrifie the Enemy, and encourage our own men: and (which is the main thing) I can by my Counsel direct the young Consul, whose Age betray'd him to this miscarriage, and by the cooler Counsels of elder years temper the vehement heat of Youth. Were I not acquainted with my Sons inclinations, and confident, that he will follow good Advice, now near the period of my Life spent with so much Honour, after so many Consulships born according to your and my own mind, such Victories and Triumphs, I would be loth to let a Reputation got by the toils of so many years at home and abroad, to be stain'd by the giddy rashness of one Youth.
- VIII. This Speech wanted neither weight to persuade the hearers, nor truth as to the assuring of better success. The Lieutenantcy being decreed by the joint consent of all, and every thing diligently provided, the Consul marches out honour'd now no less, than he was defam'd and quarrell'd at when he returned. Afterwards upon the way and in the Camp every thing was ordered according to the old Generals direction; and the Confederates who respected Q. Fabius for his kindnesses and great worth, were ready at hand to do whatsoever should be commanded them. The Soldiers also being desirous to repair their disgrace, and relying on their Generals Conduct, under whom they remembred how often that Nation had been routed by themselves and their Fathers, now wish'd with all their hearts to come to a Battel with the Enemy. The Samnites also after their last success were not less encourag'd, So that

that whilst the one strove to maintain the honour they had won, and the other to regain what they had lost, they fought very smartly on both sides. And now the Romans began to have the worst of it, and C. Pontius Herennius with a party of choice Men encompass'd the Consul himself, when old Fabius seeing his Sons danger rode full speed into the thickest of the Enemies. A Squadron of Horse immediately follows him, who beyond their wonted courage were incited with shame to see an old Man outdo such brave Sparks both in strength and valour. This Effort drew after it the fortune of the Battel. The Roman Legions first stood, and being encourag'd by the Horse routed the Enemy, whilst Herennius in vain made resistance: who that day perform'd all the parts of a good Commander and Soldier too, endeavouring to rally his Men that were disorder'd, to stop those that fled, and to make head against those that charg'd him. Yet he could not hinder the flight of his own Men, but lost himself the opportunity to escape. There were four thousand of the Samnites together with their General taken prisoners, and in the Field, and on their flight twenty thousand of 'em were slain. Their Camp was taken also with a great Booty therein, which by ravaging the Territories of the Enemy, and rising their Towns either conquer'd or surrendered, was increased exceedingly. So great an alteration of Affairs insuing upon the account of one Man, inasmuch that an Army now victorious is defeated by those it had beaten, and that General who had routed the Consul, is now himself taken Prisoner by him, making a great show for the Romans, and adorning his Triumph, which when he return'd home next year, he obtain'd by the consent of all.

Whilst the Fabii acted thus at Samnium the other Consul, D. Brutus, to whose share the Province of Faliscum fell, had good success. For being assist'd by S. Carvilius his Lieutenant (for the Senate thought fit to assign him one likewise) an experienc'd Soldier and one that understood that Enemy (against whom being Consul the year before, he had fought with good success) he both ravag'd a great part of *Hetruria*; and also routed the Falisci, who adventured to engage him.

These things being related in the City, when the time of the Assemblies came, and it was esteem'd disadvantageous to the State to take off the Consuls from the prosecution of the War, a Viceroy was set up. This Viceroy L. Posthumus Megellus is declar'd Consul, in those Assemblies he call'd himself, a thing without a former Precedent, except that of Appius Claudius, which no honest Men approv'd. But Posthumus manag'd his Office with as great insolence as he took it upon him. For being vainly arrogant both for his birth, and his now third Consulship, he formerly condemn'd his Colleague C. Junius Brutus a Plebeian by birth, as one much his inferior. But as soon as they began to consider about the Provinces, he would neither divide, nor call Lots with Brutus for them: demanding the manage of the Samnite War out of course as his due, because he said he had done such great exploits against that Enemy in his two former Consulships. The business being canvass'd in the Senate with great debate; when C. Junius saw, that being an upstart, he could not obtain his right against the Interest and Power of his Colleague, lest the variance of the Consuls should incommode the Publick, he declar'd at last that he yielded of his own accord to his Colleague.

The Pestilence as yet rag'd terribly in the City and the Country: which now after three years could not be abated by any divine, or humane remedy whatsoever, though Men had try'd all. Therefore either by the command of the Books of the Sybils, or the Counsel of the Delphic Oracle (for this is likewise said) ten Ambassadors were sent to fetch *Aesculapius* from *Epidaurus*, which was esteem'd his native place, to Rome. For though the Oracle was dark enough, and the Senate could not foresee the event, yet they were resolv'd to obey the gods, making account that they would themselves reveal their own destinies, and the order they were to proceed in. Hereupon a very strange thing int'd and manifestly true both from many faithful Historians, and also from the building of the Temple dedicated in the Isle of Tyber. When the Roman Ambassadors had deliver'd their Commands to the *Epidaurians*, they were civilly receiv'd, but because they knew not what might be given 'em to carry away that might be mott for their advantage they were brought into the Temple of *Aesculapius*. In most parts of Greece the Temples of this Deity are built in high and open places. The *Epidaurians* also had a Temple five miles distant from the Town, which was then very famous, and richly furnish'd with the Offerings of those, who thought they had recover'd their health there. Being got in hither, whilst they admire a huge Shrine made by that famous Artill *Thrasymedes the Parian*; a great Snake sliding of a sudden from the *Adytum* surpriz'd 'em all. For the Priests in a devout posture said that the Deity shew'd it self in this form, and that when he appear'd in this guise, it was look'd on as a happy Omen. The Snake was seen for two days in the Temple, and afterwards disappear'd again. But the third day he went straight through the midst of the crowd, which gaz'd on and worship'd, to the Port where the Roman Galley stood; entering into which he lay down in the Cabin of Q. Ogulnius the chief Ambassadour winding himself round in several folds.

There goes an old Story, that the same *Aesculapius* appearing in the form of a Serpent was drawn by Males from *Sicyon* to *Epidaurus*, one *Nicagora* the Wife of *Echetimus* attending him. The Romans therefore rejoycing at this sight, as much as if they carry'd with 'em the god himself, set sail, and in few days crossing the Sea arriv'd safely at *Antium* and afterwards to Rome; but whilst they lay here by reason of a storm at Sea, the Snake which had not stir'd all the while, creeping out of the Ship slides into the Porch of a Temple the most magnificent in the whole Town, and there continuing three days, the Ambassadors being fore afraid, that he could not be got from thence: because all that time he did not return to meals, until at last coming aboard again they carry'd him very joyfully to Rome. The whole City came out to see this wondrous thing, and along the River side, where it was brought up, Altars were built, Incense burnt, and Sacrifices offer'd. When they were come up as far as the Isle of Tyber, the Snake swam over to that Island, which was afterwards call'd *Aesculapius's Isle*, and since was never seen. The Senate concluding this to be the place chosen by the god, decreed, that a Temple should be built for *Aesculapius* there. The Sicknells whether by that means, or because 'twas otherwise like to do so, ceased. The Temple grew famous for rich Offerings, and for several persons saying they had been cur'd by that Deity. L. Posthumus treated his Colleague with the same insolence in the Province, as he had done in the City. For when Fabius Garges who had been Consul the year before, by order of the Senate manag'd the Affairs in Samnium instead of the Consul: Posthumus wrote to him saucily, commanding him to depart out of his Province, for that he was able of himself to manage that War. Fabius pleads to this the Commands of the Senate, that he could not quit a charge the Senate had laid upon him. When the news came to Rome, they were afraid, lest the Commonwealth should suffer by the difference of the Consuls. Wherefore 'twas determin'd that Ambassadors should be sent to the Consul to require him in the Senate.



nates name to let *Fabius* act as General in *Samnium*. To this they say that as his answer was impudent and saucy, so it had one expression that imply'd an extraordinary churlishness in the Man, namely, that as long as he was Consul he ought not to obey the Senate but the Senate him, and that he might not seem more insolent in words than in fact, he dismisses the Ambassadors presently, and marches with his Army to *Cominium*, which *Fabius* besieg'd then, intending if he could not otherwise remove his Competitor, to fight with him. What a shameful fight would the *Roman* Army have afforded to the Enemy, had *Fabius* resisted as senselessly, as he was urg'd. But *Fabius* being a more moderate Man both in his temper, and by reason of his Fathers counsels, declaring beforehand, that he quitted his right not for fear of the Consul, but for the Commonwealths sake, departed the Province. *Cominium* in few days was taken by *Posthumius*, who from thence march'd against *Venusia*, and having taken it, carry'd the War about to other Towns: whereof he won very many, partly by force, and partly upon surrender. Of the Enemies in that Expedition ten thousand were slain, six thousand and two hundred delivering their Arms, yielded upon discretion.

XVI. The Actions of the Consul in this War were indeed very considerable, had not his haughty behaviour reflected a great blemish upon 'em, inasmuch that when he wrote to the Senate and advertis'd 'em that the City *Venusia* and the Country thereabout would be a most fit place for a Colony. The thing it self was lik'd 'tis true, but no notice taken of the Author either of the Victory or Counsel. That a Colony of twenty thousand Men was brought there by others, is deliver'd by authentick Authors: a great number and almost incredible, unless we suppose, that this multitude was settled there as a common garison among those savage people the *Lucanians* and *Apulians*. But as the outrageousness of *Posthumius* besides his other miscarriages made all people hate him, so it procur'd the esteem of all to *Q. Fabius*: and to him after his return to *Rome* and that he had made his Speech touching his Actions, a Triumph was easily granted. He triumph'd in the Consuls stead over the *Samnites* furnam'd *Pentri* the first of *August*. The old *Fabius* riding behind the Chariot was applauded by all the multitude, not onely as the Adjutant to, but the Author of the Victory. But he being desirous to give the Consul all the credit of the Action us'd the Title as well as modesty of a Lieutenant, being as well pleas'd to see his Son honour'd now, as when he carry'd him about in his Chariot, when he was a stripling, at his own Triumph. Moreover, the Consul gave part of the booty to the Soldiers, the rest was laid up in the publick Treasury. *C. Pontius* the *Samnite* being led in triumph is beheaded immediately, a valiant and renowned Soldier, who sustain'd the *Roman* Power so long in those days, having given 'em many smart blows, and put 'em to the highest disgrace at the Gallows of *Caudium*. Who by report us'd to say, That if he had been born when the *Romans* had learnt to take bribes, he would have suffer'd 'em to rule no longer. So that then 'twas not the puissance of Arms, but a perseverance in vertue that supported the grandeur of the Commonwealth.

XVIII. *L. Posthumius* in the mean time being angry for the Honours bestow'd on his Competitor, no less than for those deny'd himself, out of a peevish humour quarrell'd continually with the Senate, but this was far from curing his bleeding wounds, that it incens'd those against him, whom by his submission he might have made his Friends. For he ceas'd not to complain of his Enemies, to rail against the States, and to vex the Senate yet more, he divided all the plunder between the Soldiers and dismiss'd the Army ere one could be sent to succeed him. The Triumph he celebrated against the *Samnites* will, though by some 'tis reckon'd to fall within his second Consulship: yet I rather judg it belongs to this time, which is also attested by Historians noted both for diligence and faith. For these his Actions he became liable to fresh displeasures, inasmuch that as soon as he went out of his Office two Tribunes of the people arrefted him, and order'd him to come to his Trial before the Commons. Besides what is mention'd already, he was charg'd that as soon as he went out of Town in his Martial Habilliments, he had sent two thousand Soldiers, chosen out of the Legions, into his ground to dig about his Trees, and for many days had detain'd 'em in that work; not considering that Soldiers and not Slaves had been given him, and those not to manure his ground but to enlarge the *Roman* Territories. Being shrewdly impeach'd of these crimes after he had in vain attempted to make his defence, he was condemned by the Votes of all the Tribes, and order'd to pay two hundred thousand Sesterces damage.

XIX. The two new Consuls *P. Cornelius Rufinus*, and *M. C. Dentatus* now enter'd upon their Office: both of which with their Legion wast'd *Samnium* by ravaging the Country and destroying the Towns, inasmuch that they forc'd the *Samnites* who had in several places fought with 'em, by great slaughters of their Men to sue for a Peace. For whereas in so many Battels they had lost almost all their young Men, and after *C. Pontius* their Councellour and Captain too was taken. Having sent Ambassadors to the Consuls and with their consent to *Rome*, they prevail'd to have the Peace renew'd with 'em the fourth time. The *Romans*, I suppose, being likewise wearied with Victory, and desiring sometimes to exchange an irksome War, that had prov'd often calamitous to themselves for the tranquillity of a sure Peace. The War I find began with the *Samnites*, when *M. Valerius* was third time Consul, and *A. Cor. Castus* his Colleague, which continuing four and fifty years after with alternate fortune, or intermitted onely by short Truces, employ'd these two Nations. Whether *Cornelius* triumph'd for this War is not certain, but as for *Manius* there is no doubt of it, whose success was therefore the more remarkable, forasmuch as he having conquer'd other Enemies, besides triumph'd twice in the same Office. For the *Sabines* a potent Nation grown wealthy by a long Peace being mov'd either by the prayers of the *Samnites*, and compassion to their Kinred, or because they would stop the fire, which was like to reach 'em after the conquest of their Neighbours, now took Arms, and invaded several places of the *Roman* Territories. *Curius* marching with his Army against 'em, being minded to divide the Enemy, and also to spoil the *Sabine* Country, sent part of his Forces by secret ways, having order'd them to alarm the Country and wait it as far as they could. This forc'd the several Armies to act separately, that each of them might defend their own: and thereby the formidable strength of the *Sabine* Army was broken, so that the Consul easily routed people thus dispers'd asunder. By this Expedition they came as far as the *Adriatic* Sea, and took so much Men and Land by it, that the saying of *Curius* was afterwards much celebrated, who according to the discipline of those times being readier with his Hands than his Tongue, said, "I have won so much ground, that would be like to lie desolate, had not I taken so many Men; and I have taken so many Men as would be famish'd, unless I had taken so much ground."

XXI. The *Sabines* suing for a Peace, in memory of the ancient Alliance under *Tatius*, and because the quarrel was not carried on with fierce animosities between 'em, were made Denizens of *Rome*, but without a Vote.

Vote. We have but a slender account left us of the Consuls next year, *M. Valerius Corvinus* and *Q. Cædicius Noctua*: save that about that time, we find that Colonies were brought to *Castum* and *Adria*, whence the *Adriatic* Sea is so call'd, and also to *Sena* in the *Gallic* Country. But considering those Countries were not then conquer'd as far as that place, I am rather inclin'd to believe other Authors, who refer the Origin of these Colonies to later times.

For suppressing Rogues in the City which were now very rife, a new Magistracy was erected, which had power to imprison and punish Malefactors. These Magistrates were stiled the *Capital Triumvirate* [or Lord chief Justices] from their number, there being three of 'em. Of a Law touching this matter made by *Papirius* the Tribune of the Commons I find these words: "Whosoever hereafter shall be made Praetor, and shall sit in Judgment, let him propose to the people the Election of a *Capital Triumvirate*, and let them set Fines, and give judgment, and each of 'em have equal Authority to fine, and give judgment according to the Laws and Statutes of the people. For then the fine was call'd *Sacramentum* because it was generally laid out to defray the expences of Sacrifices, by reason of the multitude there was of them in the City, and the necessities of the Treasury. Of the Polling that year we have no more account left, but that two hundred seventy three thousand were said to be poll'd. That the President of the Senate this year chosen by the Censors was *Fabius Maximus* is very probable, which we know upon another account, forasmuch as that honour continu'd in the Tribe of that Family, descending from *Ambustus* the Father to *Maximus*, and from him to *Gerges* the Son. In the mean time whilst Affairs abroad went very prosperously, the State was pester'd at home with sad mutinies and dissensions. The Populace now being much in Debt, demanded discharges of it, an ancient thing practis'd two hundred years before, variously according as some turbulent Tribune us'd it to incense the people, or the oppression of Ufurers inflam'd their choler. But under some of the former Consuls, the fear of sickness or Enemies did abate the public heats and animosities. When *Q. Marcius Tremulus*, and *P. Cornelius Arvina* were Consuls: but the year following, when *M. Cla. Marcellus* and *C. Nautius Rutilius*, bore Office, the tumults rose higher, to the suppressing of which rather than for any other business or War, I conceive that *Appius Claudius* afterwards furnam'd *Cæcus* was made Dictator: whom I find in the Ancient Records to have bore that Office. But besides the rigor and oppression of the Ufurers, the infamous debauchery of *C. Plotius* fomented those ill humours that were working already in the people, so that they fermented more vehemently, and suddenly. *T. Veturius* Son to *Veturius* the Consul, who had been deliver'd up to the people for the dishonourable Treaty with the *Samnites*, had by reason of the misfortunes of his Family run into great Debt, and being not able to pay, he of his own accord deliver'd himself prisoner to his Creditor *Plotius*, to work out his Debt, and accordingly he did all kind of drudgery for him. But *Plotius*, is not satisfied to have thrown this young Gentleman from the hopes of a Consular House into arrant misery, endeavour'd also by force to debauch him as well as to inflame and beggar him. Afterwards seeing *Veturius* unwilling, and readier to endure any thing than such a brutal act, he in a barbarous manner falls to beat him: whereupon *Veturius* gets out into the street, and then the multitude carrying him before the Consuls, judging it no small matter, brought a Bill to the Senate concerning it, and judgment was given, that *Plotius* should be imprison'd, and all that were in prison for Debt through the whole Town, should be discharged: a Law being made touching that particular. Instead of *Veturius* I know there is one *Publius* mention'd by others a Tribunes Son that was concern'd in the Peace of *Caudium*: j Moreover 'tis said, that forty years before a Law had been made concerning the Prisoners for Debt upon a very like occasion: but for all that might not many Ufurers exercise the same cruelties; and a former Law, as it happens, be neglected by reason of the Debtors patience: until a fresh Act of the like nature shall remind people of the same? So that for the future a fuller and more exact provision might be made touching that particular. But the people desirous to be freed not onely from their slavery, but withal from the severity of the Ufury, could not, though the Law and the revenge pleas'd 'em, sit contented. But as it happens in some violent Diseases that the use of Medicines rather increases, than mitigates the pain, so here the State was so distemper'd, that when the Tribunes of the Commons endeavour'd by all means to make a Law concerning discharging of Debts, and the Creditors on the other hand oppos'd it with no less zeal and interest, the Commons leaving the City as their Fathers had done, withdrew over the River into the Hill *Janiculum*: being resolv'd not to return home, unless they should gain their point.

The Consuls being not able to help these things (who are thought to be *M. Valer. Potitus*, and *C. Atilius Patrus*) they made use of the best remedy in times of great danger, and chose a Dictator. *Q. Hortensius* was the Man; who having applied those lenitives, which the season and occasion requir'd, when he understood that the publick Peace was hindred, because the People were griev'd to see their Acts condemn'd and the *Publian* Law despis'd, thought it best, though many oppos'd him, to yield to the times, and making a new Law upon the *Esculetum*, he ordain'd again more strictly, that an Order of the Commons should bind all the people. The Commons by these and the like Addresses being pacified, and call'd home, the Dictator either by a sudden fit of sickness, or else being worn out with the toils of business, dy'd in his Office, a thing that happen'd to none afore him. The differences between the States abated for a pretty while after. But in the mean time the lustre of the Empire was more and more eclips'd; for whilst the Commons either understood not the Intrigues of ambitious Men, or else to exercise their Power, became easie to pass any Bills; many things were enacted, which not onely lessen'd the grandeur, but likewise struck at the foundations of the Government. This may be a caution for Governours, not to let the Populace, who never aim higher, if they enjoy but a competent Estate, to be forc'd by the infolencies of the Rich to desire such a Power as they are not fit to manage. The Law concerning Votes I suppose, was made about this time, by which the Senate were forc'd to approve the proceedings in the public Assemblies of the People, whatever they should be: who till then had the Power in their hands, that none could bear Office, unless he were first approv'd by them. This restraint controll'd the wild humours of the multitude: and though the Senate rarely disapprov'd the Assemblies proceedings, yet because of their Power to do so, they were fear'd as if they would disapprove them.

But when the Tribune of the Commons *Menius* made this Law, the Power of the people was hereby much augmented; but the exactness in Elections, a thing as honourable as beneficial to the State was greatly impair'd. After *Q. Hortensius*'s death, 'tis said, that another Dictator was made for the administration of the Commonwealth: to wit, *Q. Fab. Maximus* now thrice Dictator. *L. Volturnus* was Censor, and *Flamma Violens* Master of the Horse. For then they had War with the *Volturnians* a Nation of *Hetruria*: which prov'd very seasonable to purge the City of innovators, and to efface the memory of former differences.

A. U.  
464.

XXII.

XXIII.

A. U.  
465, 466.

XXIV.

XXV.

XXVI.

A. U.  
467.

XXVII.

XXVIII.

More-

Moreover, a War broke out with the *Lucanians* upon a new score: who by molesting their Neighbours the *Thurini*, that inhabit a part of Italy called *Magna Græcia*, forced them after many injuries to put themselves under the protection of the *Romans*: and the people decreed a War should be made with the *Lucanians*, *Ælius* their Tribune proposing it to them. The Armies on both sides marched out, and several actions passed between them: the memory of which with the Annals that recorded them is quite lost. The *Thurini* presented a Statue and a Crown of Gold to *C. Ælius*.

- A. U. 468. The Consulship of *C. Claudius Canina*, and *M. Æmilius Lepidus* follows, which passed without any thing of note, whereof there is any Record, save that the Wars with the *Hetrurians* and *Lucanians* seem to have happen'd about that time. We have also the Triumph of *Manius Curius*, for his Victory over the *Lucanians*, which is to be reckon'd among his four Triumphs, so many being attributed to him; but when or in what Office he did these things, is not known. After this arose greater business, and memorable for no inconsiderable loss. A War being made with the *Senones* a people of *Gaul*, who had Peace and War at turns with the *Romans*, and now they had rested ten years after their defeat in the Country of *Sentium*, when upon *Decius's* devoting himself to death, great numbers of them were slain: only they let their young Men be killed by the *Hetrurians* against the *Romans*: but afterwards they came out in greater numbers than they had done for many years before, and cutting *Hetruria* besieg'd *Arretium*. The *Arretines* before that had a desired Peace with the *Romans*, but though that was denied them, yet they obtain'd a Truce, which was not yet expir'd; but now they were in greater hopes of aid because they knew the *Galls* could not clash with their Arms, but the *Romans* thought themselves concerned at it: therefore by their Ambassadors sent to *Rome* they begg'd aid against the common Enemy: and now the year ended when *C. Servilius Tullia*, and *L. Cæcilius Metellus* were Consuls. Some Annals put *Cælius* for *Cæcilius*, but the House of *Cælius* being of a meaner quality is supposed not to have bore the Consular Dignity till six hundred sixty years after the building of *Rome*.

## DECADE II. BOOK XII.

### Florus his Epitome of the Twelfth Book of Livy.

The Roman Ambassadors having been assassinated by the Gall Senones, a War is therefore declar'd against them, wherein Cæcilius the Pretor with his Forces is defeated. And the Roman Fleet being rob'd by the Florentines, and the Admiral kill'd, the Ambassadors sent to them to complain of these injuries, are beaten: Therefore a War is declar'd against them. The Samnites revolt, with whom as also the Lucanians and Brutians many Battels are fought with good success. Pyrrhus King of Epirus comes into Italy to aid the Tarentines. The Campanian Legion under the command of its Tribune, Decius Jubbilius, being sent for to aid the Rhegians, they slay the Inhabitants and seize on the Town of Rhegium.

- I. WHEN *P. Cornelius Dolabella*, and *Cn. Domitius Calvinus* were Consuls, there arose some fear again of the *Gallie* War, it being reported that many of the *Tuscan*s took part with the *Gauls*, so that the Senate looked on the danger of the *Arretines* as a thing not to be neglected; but because that neither *Dolabella* could be call'd out of the *Volsinian* Province, nor *Domitius* from *Lucania* without prejudice to the Affairs they had in hand: the Senate commanded *L. Cæcilius* the last year Consul, and then a Pretor to march out speedily to raise the Siege of *Arretium*; But lest this War should seem to be undertaken rashly, 'twas thought fit to send Ambassadors before to acquaint the *Gauls*, that *Arretium* was under the *Romans* protection; and that the *Gauls* would seem to act more honestly, if they would not suffer their young Men to leave in War against their Confederates. Whilst the Ambassadors carried this Message through the several *Canons* of the *Gauls*, one *Britomaris* a young Hotspur, descended from the Royal Line, whose Father among the Auxiliaries of the *Hetrurians* had been slain by the *Romans*, being blinfull with desire of revenge, not only seiz'd on the Ambassadors cutting them in pieces, but tore even their Robes, and badges of their Sacred Character. When this barbarous act was reported at *Rome*, and in the Camp of *Dolabella*, people were so incens'd at it, that a war was immediately declar'd against the *Senones*; and the Consul laying aside the *Hetrurian* Expedition, by great Journeys through the *Sabino* and *Picene* Countries, arrives upon the borders of the *Senones*, who being alarm'd by this sudden incursion of the Enemy, whilst the main of their Forces was absent, came out with a few unexperienced Soldiers, and were easily routed. The Consul giving no respite to the conquered, burns their Villages, and wafts all the Country round. In fine, he slew all that were of age, carried into captivity all the weak multitude of Women and Children, and left the Country as desert as he could be-hind him. *Britomaris* himself was taken, and after he had endured several tortures, he was releas'd for the Triumph. But at the same time Affairs did not succeed so well at *Arretium*, *L. Cæcilius* before the Town being routed by the *Senones* and *Hetrurians*. Seven Tribunes and many brave Men besides having been killed together with the General. Out of the Legions and Auxiliaries thirteen thousand Men were lost: but the joy for this Victory among the *Gauls* was quite damp'd with mourning and consternation, when they understood the ruin of their own Country: for these people being furious, desperate, and rash, having now no habitation to go to, drew together all their Countrymen that fought in *Hetruria*, resolving in a heat to march against *Rome*, as if they were led by Fate to their own destruction: "For they could not quit scores with the ravagers of their Territories, but by forcing them to behold their own City under the same Fate; and to be sure they had as much courage, and greater reason to march against *Rome* than their Ancestours, who setting out of *Clusium* a place in the same *Hetruria*, had conquer'd that City. Having provoked one another by such words as these, they marched out in a hurry being naturally impatient of delay, and now halting the more to surprize the Enemy; but whilst they pass through their Enemies Country, several devices were found to retard their motion, whereby time was gain'd to provide against

against the storm. Being thus put back, whilst they roam heedlessly through strange and dangerous places, at last they light on *Domitius* the Consul, and immediately joined Battel with him; but his Conduct easily prevail'd over their rashness, many of them being kill'd in the Battel, the rest in rage and despair turned the Swords upon themselves, which they had drawn in vain against their Enemies. So that a Nation but now flourishing in power for the barbarous Assassination of the Ambassadors is overtaken by a swift and a severe vengeance: infomuch that in a few months space 'twas destroyed quite, and ceas'd to have a name among the Nations, whose rights it had invaded. For the small remainder of the *Senones* that went to the *Boii* their Neighbours and Kinsmen, was wholly destroyed that same year by the Consul *Dolabella*. For when they by considering the bloody slaughters of their people, and fearing the like fate themselves had stirred the *Boii* and *Hetrurians* to take Arms, they fought a Battel at the Lake *Vadimonius* wherein many of the *Hetrurians* were killed, and of the *Boii* a few onely escaped, but the whole race of the *Senones* was quite extinguished: infomuch that none of that people which had burnt *Rome* was thought to have surviv'd.

It seems probable that a Colony was brought to *Sena* about the same time, when the *Romans* having made themselves Masters of the whole Country, the *Senones* in that part of Italy were utterly destroyed. But yet the *Boii* and the *Hetrurians* having reinforced their Army with such Men as were grown up to military Age by that time, made bold again to try their fortunes in the Field, who I believe were then routed by *Æmilius Papus*, for his and *Fabricius's* first Consulship fell as this year. And 'tis certain *Hetruria* was *Papus's* Province, yet in most Annals extant the account of these things, by the intervention of greater, is quite lost.

Those States of Italy that were yet free and unconquer'd, being afraid of the *Romans*, who by daily Victories improv'd both in valour and power, rais'd a dangerous and bloody War, joining all their Policy and Force, as if they went to suppress a common Enemy. Nor was it thought good to defer the War till the remnants of the *Boii* and *Hetrurians* should be strong enough to divert the *Roman* Arms.

The *Samnites* first of all take Arms, having again broke the League, and entered into a Confederacy with the *Brutians* and *Lucanians*. But *C. Fabricius* the Consul routed them in several Battels, the most remarkable whereof was that, when *Statilius* besieging *Thurina* the second time, they fought hand to hand: and after great numbers slain of the Enemies, their Camp was taken. 'Tis reported that whilst their Camp was bravely defended, a Man of prodigious Stature helping to bring the Ladders, so encouraged the *Romans*, that they gained a complete Victory. In the fight, and in the Enemies Camp twenty thousand are said to have been killed: five thousand with the General, and twenty Ensigns were taken. Next day when the Consul would have rewarded them who signaliz'd themselves in this Action, promising him that first entred the Enemies Camp a Coronet [*Corona Vallaris*] the Man after diligent search could not be found, whereas had he been a Soldier, he would have come of his own accord to receive his reward. 'Twas therefore credibly reported, that *Mars* himself was the Author of this Victory. And hence by the Consuls Edict a solemn Procession was celebrated in honour of him: the Soldiers being adorned with Laurel, and performing the Solemnity with extraordinary joy.

The *Tarentines* had not as yet openly aided those that enter'd into the Confederacy against the *Romans*, though they were the main contrivers of that League; yet they held it more adviseable to let others begin the quarrel, and run the first risk of the War. Yet this Policy would now do no longer, for by an accident provoking the giddy Rabble, the whole mystery was reveal'd.

That part of Italy at that time after the mode of the *Greeks* who built *Tarentum*, and most other Towns thereabouts, diverted themselves unreasonably with Shows and Stage-plays; the *Tarentines* being particularly notorious for this piece of luxury: who by report abandon'd themselves so much to pleasures, that they had more Feasts and Games, than the year had days. It happen'd that they were in the great Theatre which stands by the Haven, at a Play, when *L. Valerius* (according to others *Cornelius*) the Admiral with ten *Roman* Ships came into sight: making shew as if they design'd to put in at that Port, which bred a mistake hurtful to both sides; whilst the *Romans* mistrusting nothing, drew to shore, as to a place of hospitality: But the *Tarentines* being jealous, took the Fleet to be sent upon an hostile design. *Philocharus* was present (one for his lewd life called *Thais* by his Countrymen) who mentioning some ancient Treaties, alledg'd that the *Romans* were not allow'd to sail by the Cape of *Lacinium*, "therefore he commands them to make up against those rash *Barbarians*, and to correct their insolence by force. The rude multitude through constant drunkenness being half mad applaud the saying, infomuch, that all approv'd the vile fellow's advice, and immediately betaking themselves to their Arms, ran aboard their Ships. The *Romans* wholly unprepar'd for fight fled away, but the *Tarentines* chasing them very hard, five onely of the Ships escap'd, the other five being surrounded by the Enemy were forc'd back into the Port, of which they sunk four with the Admiral, and took one. The Men of military Age and strength they slew, and sold the rest for Slaves. Soon after out of the same whimsical humour they make War upon those of *Thurium*, charging them "of being the cause that the *Romans* were come into those places, who "when they were *Grecians* had chosen to be protected in their distresses by a barbarous people rather "than by their Countrymen and Neighbours. The Town hereupon being seiz'd was plunder'd: the principal Men banish'd, and the *Roman* Garison having capitulated for their lives, were sent away.

This news coming to *Rome*, it was resent'd, as the greatness of the injury deserv'd. But to undertake a new War at such a time was judged inconvenient. Ambassadors therefore were sent to complain of the wrong done, and to require restitution of Prisoners, and of whatever had been taken from those of "Thurium, or else an equal compensation for the same. As likewise that the Exiles should be sent back, "and that the Authors of these mischiefs be deliver'd up to the *Romans*.

After the *Grecian* manner the *Tarentines* were wont to assemble their People in the Theatre; where the Ambassadors with much ado getting admittance found the Rabble carowing and revelling: for they at that time also kept Holy-day. Here when *L. Posthumus* began his Speech, he was received with derision by the scurrilous multitude; whereupon he return'd to *Rome* with greater reasons for War than he had when he came thence; for they used him so despicably, that afterwards no body minded what he said: but as oft as he mis'd the pronunciation of a *Greek* word, being himself a *Roman*, the whole croud laugh'd loud at it, and tauntingly call'd him *Barbarian*. They likewise derided the Ambassadors garb, for they wore their Gowns, and in fine turn'd them out of the Theatre, they in vain appealing to the Laws of Nations.

This usage was follow'd with worse and not fit to be mention'd, but that it may be an instance for checking the exorbitances of popular insolence. When the Ambassadors were going away among the croud of the *Tarentines* that stood at the door of the Theatre, one *Philonides* a Buffoon (for this Town by her lewdness deserves to have the names of her Buffoons recorded in Story, whilst her Princes are forgotten) piss'd upon the sacred Robes of the Ambassador, like an impudent Dog. This might have pass'd for the fault of one Rascal, had not the whole Town approv'd the same, and the Theatre echo'd with the laughter and acclamations of those that applauded it. *Posthumus* speaking these words, *This Omen is welcome; Varlet, inasmuch as you give us what we do not ask you*; turning to the multitude, and throwing his garment that had been soiled; when with repeated laughter, he saw them also expose the Romans by Lampoons and antick Dances, he cry'd out, *Laugh, laugh you Tarentines, whilst you may, for you shall mourn sufficiently hereafter*. The *Tarentines* being angry at this: *To vex you yet more, I tell you beforehand (says he) that you will be forced to wash this garment clean in your own blood*. After which without receiving any other Answer they departed. Now *L. Aemilius Barbula*, and *Q. Marcus Philippus* being Consuls had entred upon their Office at Rome. Who having conven'd the Senate, when they saw the Vestment (which was brought foul as it was by the Ambassadors;) and that they had reported to the Senate the several circumstances of this multiplied contumely: all in general being highly incens'd thereat, 'twas resolv'd that it should be reveng'd by Arms. But because their Forces were engag'd in so many other Wars against very powerful Nations, they could not well determine, whether they should presently send an Army against the *Tarentines* or stay a little; and the matter being debated in the House from morning till night for several days, some being of Opinion that nothing should be attempted before the other Provinces, at least those adjacent to *Tarentum*, were subdued; and others advis'd that a War should be immediately declar'd. At last, when the Voices had been numbred, the Senate decreed that a War against *Tarentum* should be propos'd to the Commons. Which when the People had unanimously ratified, an Express was sent to *Aemilius* the Consul, who was gone to the Army at *Sammium*, that quitting the business in hand, he should incamp in the Country of the *Tarentines*. And if the *Tarentines* refus'd to give satisfaction for the injuries they had done, he should make a just and sacred War against them.

IX.

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X.

The *Tarentines* seeing they had not now to do with a few unarm'd Men, but with military Forces drawn in Battalia, as it were rous'd from their drunken fit, they began seriously to consider what they had best to do. To undertake the War seem'd dangerous, to submit servile, and both could not be avoid'd. Whilst they thus varied in their Opinions, one rises up, and speaks to this Effect.

XI.

XII.

XIII.

XIV.

"Why spend we the day in contrast, O *Tarentines*? These times require actions, not words, for the performing of which, to the advantage of the public, we want good Counsels and liberty of Speech. I am not at all concern'd, that according to the Epidemical distemper of all free States, you have been humour'd formerly with flattering Orations, though they often did you harm. For then as it happens in times of prosperity, what was most for the public Interest, you did not understand. But now the Roman Army is upon our Coasts, and the terror of the Enemy before our Gates: by such Schooling you shall easily learn to prefer your Interest before your pleasures: Do not yet mistake me, as if I stood up to upbraid you with things past; for to charge Men with an old fault out of season, proceeds from a malicious Spirit, such as insults over the mistakes of others: but honest Men, that love their Country, chuse to palliate and excuse the peoples miscarriages, unless when to avert a public Calamity the memory of former Errors does very much conduce. For to have ones self esteem'd free from Error as long as we are Men, is too proud; and yet to stumble often at the same stone, and never by the event correcting our folly, to learn Caution, is below a Man. Upon the Speech of one Man we sunk the Roman Gallies. Afterwards we annoy'd the *Thurians* our Countrymen after an hostile manner; because they chose to be protect'd by the Romans rather than to be worr'd by the *Brutians* and *Lucanians*. We let the Roman Ambassadors be affronted in a most contumelious manner: and hereby we have drawn upon our selves a dangerous, terrible and sudden War, which we might have been without, and that in the unhappiest time that could be for us. In fine, the Romans are incamp'd in the *Tarentine* Country: and we in the greatest uncertainty are demurring, whether we shall chuse a formidable War, or a dishonourable Peace; and I could wish now at least that foregoing all false hopes, and private Interests we concert our measures with an eye to the public Interest and Honour; then might we either treat upon honourable terms, or safely take up Arms. Now I see you are divided into two parts, and almost factions, not advising upon judgment and the true state of Affairs, but each of you is byas'd by his own private reasons; for why else should so many young and poor Men as I see, be bent upon the War? and why none of the rich and the old Men like it? Is there any other reason of the Peoples being thus divided equally; but that the one in times of Peace would enjoy their Estates, and the Interest of their Money, whilst the others in case of War hope for advantage from Places of Command, or free-booting. We have formerly been sick of this Disease, nor has our Commonwealth for a long while wanted such Men, as desir'd to improve their own Estates, though with the public damage. All which you will certainly prevent (for I must tell you, what I conceive most expedient in the present juncture) if you do neither buy a Peace upon such unequal terms, as may intrench upon the privileges of a Free State: nor yet oppose your own strength against so formidable an Enemy. The command in chief of our Forces has been given often to Foreiners by our Ancestors. From *Peloponnesus* or *Sicily*, *Archidamus* the Son of *Agessilaus*, afterwards *Cleonymus*, and then *Agathocles* have been sent for. In our memory, when we were infested by our Neighbours with War, our Forefathers sent for *Alexander* of *Epirus*: by which course they themselves not only enjoyed prosperity, but left the State flourishing to us. Between us and the *Epiriots* remains now the same Amity: and they are now as well appointed both for an Army and a General; and *Pyrhus* is oblig'd to us for the aid we gave him with our Fleet when he fought with the *Coreyreans*. Think not therefore this to be my advice onely, but that of the best and wisest Persons, who have fortunately govern'd this State: which you ought even for that reason to imbrace, because in the former instance you see as it were the whole reason thereof with the consequence. But besides, there are other strong and clear arguments for the thing. There is no Man among us so Eminent, that all the rest will condescend to obey him: how great the dangers of Emulation are, especially being to deal with a puissant, active Enemy, you your selves know; and whatever General you should make, he would ruin your Affairs, either by an immoderate desire of Peace, or an unreasonable inclination to War; not to tell you that against the Romans a Nation so inur'd to Arms, a War is not safely made under every General. But *Pyrhus* doubtless for Valour and Martial Conduct is outdone by none. Perhaps 'twill be said,

"said he will not come? Yes doubtless because he is a lover of action, and has no War in hand, he will not onely come willingly himself, but also bring with him an Army of brave experienced Soldiers, and that we may not fear any designs upon our own liberties, we may agree with him on such terms before-hand as may secure our Commonwealth. By this means we shall have some probable hopes of obtaining either an advantageous Peace for our selves, or the glorious opportunity of prescribing Conditions to them. Though it may be hop'd things will so fall out, that the Romans may upon even terms adjust their differences with us, rather than at such a juncture receive *Pyrhus* into Italy: who formerly stood in fear of a King of the same *Epirus* inferior to this for glory and power.

This Counsel prevail'd, not onely because it seem'd to propose a fair way for securing the State; but also because the Assembly being divided into two contrary parties, and neither side could prevail (the other still opposing) all of them consequently embrac'd that Opinion, which seem'd a mean betwixt 'em both. 'Tis reported that when the Decree for calling in *Pyrhus* was commonly talk'd of in the Town; One *Meto*, a sober Man, having a wither'd Garland and a Link like a Drunkard, entred the Theatre together with a She-piper: and then that the *Tarentines* after their usual merriment commanded them both to stand in the middle, the Man to sing, and the Woman to pipe. Then silence being made, *Meto* said, O *Tarentines*, you do well in allowing any that will, the liberty to sing and dance: For when once *Pyrhus* comes to Town, we shall scarce live as we would our selves.

The People being mov'd hereat, and some bustle rising among them, the Authors of the injuries done the Romans, left any proposals of Peace prevailing, they should be deliver'd to be punish'd, having rebuk'd the People for being so shamefully wheedled by such a senseless Fellow, drove *Meto* by force out of the Theatre: and then no body being left to oppose it, the Decree pass'd. But the Roman Consul having no answer of Peace from the *Tarentines*: and hearing besides that Ambassadors and Presents had been sent to *Pyrhus*, applied himself to the War, and wast'd the Country. Some Towns he takes by force, others upon surrender: and spreads terror and ruin all round. Forces were also sent from *Tarentum* to hinder the incursions of the Romans: and a shrewd Battel happen'd between them; but the Romans having the better of it, the *Grecians* after great slaughters of their Men were driven into the Town. *Aemilius* now burns and wasts the Country about, without any opposition. The *Tarentines* being frighted with their defeat, as the nature of the Rabble is, (who the more insolent they are in prosperity, are the more dejected in adversity) put the Government in the hands of *Agis*, who always advis'd them to have Peace with the Romans: whereof they had greater hopes and desire, by reason of some of their Noblemen who were dismiss'd by the Roman General: of whose civility they spoke much, and of the kind usage the *Tarentines* who were either taken in the Battel, or abroad in the Fields, had received of him. But their confidence in *Cyneas*'s coming with succors from *Epirus* alter'd and kept up their minds.

For *Pyrhus* being a brave-spirited Man, and out of emulation to *Alexander* the Great, in his fancy aspiring to some mighty Empire, believ'd he had a way mark'd out by the Fates themselves inviting him, to perform what he had design'd; 'tis said likewise, that he was confirm'd by the *Delphic* Oracle, which, though it was ambiguous, and consequently capable of a double signification, the King interpreted after his own fancy, taking it for a sure lucky Omen. For they say, when he consulted the Oracle touching the event of the War he had in hand, he was answer'd [*posse cum Romanos vincere.*] But the *Tarentine* Ambassadors encourag'd him more, who assur'd him that out of their own Territories, together with the *Lucanians*, *Samnites* and *Messapians*, and the rest of the Confederates twenty thousand Horse, and three hundred and fifty thousand Foot might be rais'd; and if he could but master the Romans with these Forces, he promis'd himself an easy Conquest of the rest of Italy. From hence also the short passage into *Sicily* discover'd that Island after the extinction of the House of *Agathocles* void, and at odds with it self, which he presum'd, did belong to him by Inheritance, because he had Children by *Lanassa* the Daughter of *Agathocles*. And when these things were done according to his mind, he intended to carry on the War against *Carthage*.

'Tis reported that *Cyneas* being a very discreet person, to shew that the King's immoderate ambition being like to mar the pleasure of his present enjoyments, was even by his own confession to be restrain'd, asked him, "What he design'd to do after the Conquest of the Romans? and when *Pyrhus* told him of "Victory upon Victory; What shall we do then, says he, when all this is compleated? Then, says "Pyrhus, we shall abundantly enjoy the blessings of Peace. To which *Cyneas* repli'd, Why cannot we, O "King, enjoy the same now, whilst they are in our power, and not by undertaking new Wars utterly lose and destroy them?

But *Pyrhus* being prevail'd with by a second Embassy from the *Tarentines*, and carried away by his own ambition answer'd, "That 'twas natural for the *Epiriots* to fight not onely for themselves but also for their "Confederates. Yet the better to colour his designs, he made his agreement with the Ambassadors precisely that he should return home as soon as he had reliev'd them, and not be detain'd in Italy any longer than there was need of him. Then he diligently made preparations for the War: and mann'd a great number of Gallies: besides he set out other Vessels for the transportation of Men and Horses; making use of most of the Italian Ambassadors, (that under pretence of honour he might keep them for Hostages) in raising and levying his Forces; he sent the rest with three thousand Men before to *Tarentum*, under the command of *Cyneas*.

All hopes of Peace being destroy'd by the arrival of these, *Agis* is depos'd from the Government: and one of the Ambassadors that were return'd was put in his room by a decree of the People. Not long after *Milo* being sent by the King plac'd a Garrison in the Fort of *Tarentum*, and requir'd that he should guard the Town himself, the simple multitude being glad of it, for they thought that Strangers took all the pains and trouble, whilst they had ease and security. An allowance of Victuals was therefore order'd for the Soldiers, and Money for *Pyrhus* with all cheerfulness.

*Aemilius* in the mean time being inform'd of the arrival of these forc'd Soldiers, that he might take his Winter-quarters in places of more security, resolv'd to carry away his Army into *Lucania*; but he was to pass through several defiles, which were environ'd with steep, and unpassable Rocks on one side, and on the other side with the Sea. The *Tarentines* having intelligence of the Roman Generals design, put to shoar with several Ships carrying Engines to throw Stones, wherewith they gall'd the Roman Soldiers: whilst they march'd through these narrow Passes, which were expos'd to their shot. *Aemilius* seeing Valour could not prevail, made his way through by a Stratagem, placing in the Flank of his Army which was expos'd to danger, those Prisoners which were in the Rear: in compassion of whom (whilst they



fear'd to shoot their own Men) the *Tarentines* spar'd the Enemies also. These are almost all the transactions of this Campaign at *Tarentum*.

XX. At *Rome* *C. Fabricius Luscinus*, who in his Consulship had bravely defeated the *Samnites*, *Brutians* and *Lucanians*, enter'd the Capitol in Triumph, and not many days after *Q. Marcius* the Consul had the same honour, being return'd from *Hetruria*, where he fought with good success: what the reason was that brought him back from that Province, the *Hetrurian* War being as yet not ended at such an inconvenient time (for he triumph'd the 11th of *March*) is not recorded. I guess he was call'd by the Senate, who being then much concern'd with the expectation of *Pyrrhus*, drew from every part all their Forces to oppose him. For then first of all (whilst this terrible War forced the *Romans* to put out several Armies for their defence) the common Subjects, who were anciently exempt from warfare, were listed, and Arms were given them upon the public charge, they being too poor to buy for themselves: So that whilst the Legions were elsewhere employed, several Squadrons of these being posted upon the walls and in the Market-place might guard the City.

Nor could all these Methods have prevented imminent ruin, had not the fortune of a People design'd by Fate to be Sovereign of the World, reserv'd for these dangerous times, very great Men, and perhaps the bravest of any that State ever had; being not renown'd for Wealth or Parentage, but for their Valour and contempt of Riches. For this Age bred up the *Curii*, and the *Coruncanii*, persons not esteem'd for Wealth, or Extraction, but of eminent Renown; which they (being persons of great integrity) acquir'd by their experience in War, and an equal probity of Manners, doing good service to their Country both ways, which against a King to be fear'd on either account, had as great need of Men that would contemn his Gold, as of such as would put back his Sword.

XXII. *Pyrrhus* in the mean while not tarrying 'till Spring, as he was bringing with him an Army of 22 thousand Foot, and 3000 Horse, besides twenty Elephants, and a company of Archers, and Slingers, met in the midst of his Voyage with a great storm, wherein he was almost cast away: the Navy being dispersed and several Ships wrack'd, when the Admiral also was in danger, *Pyrrhus* threw himself into the Sea, and with much ado swam to shore: his courage supporting his loss of strength, and the good attendance of the *Messapians*, who treated him being cast out upon their shore, with all kindness and civility; some of the Ships that had escap'd, were recover'd by their means: and a few Horsemen, two Elephants, and under two thousand Foot were got together. With these Forces he marches towards *Tarentum*, where *Cynaeas* with his Men went out to meet him, and waited on him into the Town, where being receiv'd by the *Tarentines* with all expressions of joy, he repos'd himself a few days: in which time when he observ'd the manners of this People to be such, that unless they were reform'd, they could not be preserv'd by any body, but would be like to undo their own defenders, he took no more notice of it for the present: till the Ships that had been scatter'd by the storm were arriv'd, so that he had Forces enough. Then he shut up their Galleries and Theaters (where the idle youth spent whole days in walking, and pastime) and prohibited all Feasts and Clubs, and retrench'd the excesses of their solemn Games. After which he strictly muster'd their young Men, commanding the Pref-masters (as he us'd to do) to list Men that were big set, and he would make them valiant: These being mingled among his own Troops, lest if they were separated from the rest, they should mutiny, were train'd by him with the same exactness of discipline, none being permitted to be often absent from his Colours upon pain of death. And as for those that bore Arms already, he compell'd them for the greatest part of the day to keep guard in the Market-place. The unwontedness of which usage to Men of soft effeminate lives was mighty troublefom, so that they call'd it Slavery, thus to be constrain'd to save themselves, whilst they were willing to perish by their idleness and Luxury. And that which offended them more was the rudeness of some of the King's Guards, who taking up their Quarters where they fancy'd, kept them against the Masters will, and afterwards behaved themselves with the same incivility towards their Wives and Children.

XXIII. Many therefore being weary of such a life, left the Town, and departed into the Country, till the Gates were shut up, and a Guard was set to hinder them. Then the *Tarentines* understanding too late, that they had received a Master instead of a Confederate, with anger and murmuring deploir'd their condition, and that more freely, when they had assembled together upon some necessary occasions, and besides their usual passion were heated also with Wine: and some inform'd *Pyrrhus* of the same; who sent for several that were charged for railing against him at a Feast. But the downright confession of one Person among them brought off the rest: saying, "We own our selves to have spoken these words, and if our Wine had not been out, we had said worse than this." Then *Pyrrhus*, who had rather have the fault imputed to the Wine, than to the Men, smiling at the matter, discharged them. But still mistrusting the humours of this people, where he saw any Person esteem'd either for his Authority or Counsel by the *Tarentines*, he upon just, or pretended causes sent him away to his Son *Ptolemy* (a Youth of fifteen years of age, to whom at his departure he had committed his Kingdom to be govern'd:) He destroy'd others by secret wiles. There were some, whom with a feigned civility he carel'd, using them as his Minions, that they might become the more suspected by the People: Of this number *Aristarchus* was one, a Person eminent among the *Grandees* both for his Eloquence, and also because the People lov'd him. Now because he saw this Man in such favour with the People, he commands him upon pretence of business to sail to *Epirus*. *Aristarchus* when he saw it was present death to disobey the King's Command, and to obey it a more slow, but every whit as certain a destruction, went aboard, and when he got pretty far into the Sea, he changed his course for *Rome*, and being received there into protection, he inform'd the Senate at large of several important Affairs.

XXIV. Whilst *Pyrrhus* acts thus at *Tarentum*, the *Romans* with no less diligence levied Men and Money for the War. *C. Fabricius* being sent to the Confederates to deter them by his Interest and Authority from Innovation: they put Garisons likewise into some convenient places to keep those from revolting, whose inconstancy they were jealous of. For now whatever discontent upon account of former injuries, or turbulent humour out of a desire of change was entertain'd by any Man, the strength of so many Nations joining against one, and the expectation of such a warlike Prince had set all this a working. Whence the *Romans* were very diligent in securing themselves by crushing the Ring-leaders of the Factions. A remarkable accident happened about that time; some Noblemen of *Prænestæ*, who were brought to *Rome* in the dusk of the Evening being imprison'd in the common Treasury: whereby they came at last to understand the quibble of that false Oracle, upon the confidence of which they had oft assur'd their Countrymen, when they solicited them to revolt, that it was doom'd for the *Prænestines* to enter the *Roman* Treasury.

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XXVI. Whilst *Pyrrhus* acts thus at *Tarentum*, the *Romans* with no less diligence levied Men and Money for the War. *C. Fabricius* being sent to the Confederates to deter them by his Interest and Authority from Innovation: they put Garisons likewise into some convenient places to keep those from revolting, whose inconstancy they were jealous of. For now whatever discontent upon account of former injuries, or turbulent humour out of a desire of change was entertain'd by any Man, the strength of so many Nations joining against one, and the expectation of such a warlike Prince had set all this a working. Whence the *Romans* were very diligent in securing themselves by crushing the Ring-leaders of the Factions. A remarkable accident happened about that time; some Noblemen of *Prænestæ*, who were brought to *Rome* in the dusk of the Evening being imprison'd in the common Treasury: whereby they came at last to understand the quibble of that false Oracle, upon the confidence of which they had oft assur'd their Countrymen, when they solicited them to revolt, that it was doom'd for the *Prænestines* to enter the *Roman* Treasury.

Treasury. The Senate being already much concern'd, (upon news that *Fabrizius* was kept by their Confederates, that they by such a pledge might receive their own Men safe from the *Romans*, and that Ambassadors were sent to stir the *Hetrurians*, *Umbrians* and *Gauls* against the *Romans*) were now perplex'd with new trouble, by reason of an action both horrid in it self, and also of dangerous consequence at such an ill juncture, being like to bring the *Roman* faith into suspicion and discredit among the *Italians*. In the utmost coast of *Italy* opposite to *Sicily* *Rhegium* stands, a Town nam'd so by the *Grecians*; the People wealthy and flourishing in those days. These upon the arrival of *Pyrrhus* apprehending the danger of the War, and being affrighted by the *Carthaginian* Fleets roving in that Sea, distrustful their own strength, they resolv'd to send for a Garison of *Roman* Soldiers, and accordingly four thousand Men were sent that were raised in the Colonies of *Campania*, (whence they were call'd the *Campanian Legion*) under the command of *D. Iulius* the Tribune. These Men at the first wanted neither faithfulness nor diligence in defending the Town. But afterwards, because there was no fear of War near them, they grew Luxurious through sloth, and an imitation of the *Grecian* softness, and comparing their present plenty with the hard labourious life they had led hitherto, they began to look with an envious Eye on the commodiousness of the place, and the prosperity of the Inhabitants; and when they were together in their Quarters they would talk of plundering them. This pleas'd *Decius* being himself of the same rapacious humour; and having long since contriv'd that villanous design of seizing the Town into his own hands. The conjuncture of the present War favour'd the enterprize, whereby he knew the *Romans* would be so taken up that they could not mind the *Rhegians*: and on the opposite shore he look'd on the *Mamertines* as a President of thriving Villany, and doubtless like to be abettors of his treachery: besides that they were ally'd together as Countrymen. For these being *Campanians* originally, when they served formerly among the Auxiliaries of *Agathocles*, being received as Friends by those of *Messina* possess'd themselves of the City, having killed or cast out the Men and divided their Wives and Houses amongst themselves. They remembered also how the Ancient *Campanians* seized on *Capua* being taken away from the *Tuscanians* by a like perfidy: The design then being well approv'd, it remain'd that they should consult, how they might act this Villany safely, lest being but a few in a populous City they should be environ'd by greater numbers and kill'd. He counterfeit's Letters as sent from the *Rhegians* to *Pyrrhus*, that the *Roman* Garison should be betrayed to him, and the Soldiers were privately call'd, and the Letters read, as intercepted: *Decius* complaining heavily of the *Rhegians* treachery, and some of the Soldiers prepared on purpose, crying out, that they must defend themselves with their Arms, and turn the destruction contriv'd against them upon the heads of its contrivers: withal there comes one, as they had order'd it beforehand, who says, that *Pyrrhus's* Navy was seen upon the *Rhegian* shore, and that private correspondence pass'd between *Pyrrhus* and the *Rhegians*. The Soldiers besides their former eagerness to the thing, were now also enrag'd by the treachery of the Enemy, and the fear of danger, and by the consent of all they came to this resolution, that they should surprize the Town, and having kill'd the men they should seize upon all their public and private Wealth. Hereupon this horrid and infamous act was committed; for *Decius* having invited some of the chief Men to Supper, kills them at his Table, against all the sacred ties of hospitality. Others were assassinated in their own Houses, and the greatest part of the *Rhegians*, being murder'd: the rest were expelled their Country by those very persons, whom a little before they had receiv'd into it (for the defence of themselves and their Country) under the name of Friends and Confederates. This done, they drew up a new Model of Government: the Houses and Estates of these poor wretches being divided among the Villains: and whilst the slaughter was yet fresh, the Widows and Virgins were forced to marry those who had slain their Husbands and Fathers: and the power and name of the *Rhegian* State was assum'd by this treacherous Legion.

But God has well order'd for Mankind that generally instances of notorious Villanies prove likewise Examples of as remarkable vengeance, that no man should be encouraged to the same practices by the success of Impiety, but deter'd by the consequence thereof. For wicked men can never enjoy true felicity; nor is there any greater folly than to imagine any man happier by his wickedness; for, supposing that no punishments remain'd after this life, which yet wise men know to be very great, (though such is the infidelity of some Men, that they are apt to disbelieve even what they see; much more what they are not sensible of) yet though every thing should hit luckily, the reflexion upon their own guilts will gall their minds with inward anxiety: their names whilst they live, and their memories when they are dead will be hated and abhorred amongst Men; and what they have got so basely, and kept so diligently, is taken away from them to their great sorrow, neither God nor Man suffering Villains to pass long with impunity.

And here I think it not amiss to relate the punishments inflict'd on *Decius Iulius*, and his Complices in this barbarous act: which in point of time fell in with these matters we treat of; for their final destruction, (they being in the mean while plagu'd with several disasters) was defer'd till ten years after, as we shall mention in time; for these Rogues had no long peace or joy among themselves. However they secur'd themselves from the *Romans* and *Pyrrhus*, besides the opportunity of the times, by making a Peace with the *Mamertines*, with conditions for mutual Security. For at present in the infancy of their State, until their Commonwealth erected so violently and suddenly were establish'd, it was thought the best course to abstain from War: for that they could not safely take Arms against the King, and hop'd for an easier pardon from the *Romans*, if they should not fight against them also. The first occasion of their Quarrel, (as it is wont to be among Thieves) arose from the unequal division of the Spoil. *Decius* in the tumult being driven out fled to *Messina*. The Garison of the place chusing his Secretary *M. Cæsius* for their Commander. *Decius* likewise, having brought with him a great sum of Money, received the same honour from the *Mamertines*; but he did not long enjoy his good fortunes. For it happen'd, that having fore Eyes he caus'd a famous Physician to be sent for (the divine Vengeance now halting the Villain to heavier punishments) and the Physician was brought, who was a native of *Rhegium*, but because he had dwelt at *Messina* many years, his Country became unknown, not onely to *Decius*, who wittingly would never have trusted any *Rhegian*, but also to most of the Inhabitants of the Town.

This Man remembering his own Country, and being resolv'd to revenge its wrongs, persuades *Decius* that he had brought a strong Medicine for him, but that it was very safe and quick in its Operation. And then having applied a Plaster, made of *Spanish* Flies, and forbidding it to be taken off, 'till he was return'd to his Patient, he presently took Ship and left *Messina*. *Decius* having long enough endur'd an incredible torment, after that the Physician return'd not, commanded the Eye-salve to be taken off: which was no sooner done, but he found his Eyes were put out: and thus he leads an infamous vagrant life; being blind, and likewise troubled with a crazy body as well as a discontented mind, (like a Prisoner chain'd) he is reserv'd

reserv'd for his Execution. A strange providence it was, that he should suffer this calamity from that very Man, to whom he had trusted his life, who himself had barbarously and perfidiously circumvented thole whom he ought to have defended. Such examples for the good of Mankind ought to be recorded in Story. For Men can never be too much convinc'd, how far that Craftiness is distant from true Prudence, by which for a certain false good, men having condemn'd Vertue and Honesty, through base and dishonest passions run into real evils.

## DECADE II. BOOK XIII.

### Florus his Epitome of the Thirteenth Book of Livy.

Valerius Levinus the Consul is worsted by King Pyrrhus, chiefly occasion'd by the Soldiers being frighted at the sight of his Elephants. Pyrrhus after the Fight viewing the Bodies of the Romans that were slain, takes notice that they all lay with their faces towards the Enemy. He spoils the Country almost up to the Walls of Rome. He attempts to seduce C. Fabricius that was sent by the Senate to treat with him about redeeming of Prisoners, but cannot prevail with him to forsake and betray his Country. The Prisoners are released gratis. Cynæas is sent by Pyrrhus Ambassador to the Senate, desiring that for the better Treating and concluding a Peace; his Master the King with a small Guard might be admitted into the City; The Debate whereof being adjourn'd to a fuller Senate, Appius Claudiuſ who by reason of the weakness of his sight, had a long time refrain'd coming to publick Councils, then appeared in the House, and argued so smartly against it, that Pyrrhus's request was flatly deny'd. Cn. Domitius the first Commoner that ever was Censor, makes a Cessing or general Poll, and finds 278222. Citizens. Another Battel is fought with King Pyrrhus, but with doubtful success. The League with the Carthaginians is renewed the fourth time. A Renegado having offered C. Fabricius the Consul to poison King Pyrrhus, is sent back again and his Treason discovered. This Book also contains several successes against the Tullians, Lucanians, Brutians and Samnites.

- I. IN the mean while part of the Forces being kept at Rome for its defence, and the uncertain chances of War, the Army and the Provinces were dispos'd of among the new Consuls. To P. Valerius Levinus the Tarentines and Pyrrhus were allotted, and the relicks of the Hetrurian War to Coruncanius. Levinus conceiving that it might render him more terrible and renown'd, if he should first attack the Enemy; and withal that it was advantageous to the State, to have the fear and damages, as far as might be, remov'd from the Roman Territories, marches out of hand into Lucania and fortifies a Castle, that was conveniently situated there: putting in it a strong Garison, that he might both obstruct Pyrrhus's designs, and hinder the Lucanians whose treachery he fear'd, from revolting to the Enemy.

Upon the news of the Roman Consuls arrival, Pyrrhus, though the Confederates were not come together, judging it a disgrace to him to discover any signs of fear in the beginning of the War, marches out with the Forces he had immediately against him; but that by some plausible pretence he might put off the matter, and gain time, he sent a Herald with Letters, the Contents wherof were as followeth:

#### PYRRHUS to LEVINUS.

- II. I hear that you are coming with an Army against the Tarentines: but leave the Army, and come with a few Men to me. "For when I shall have understood the matter, I will force one side to do to the other whatever is just, though against their wills."
- To this Levinus answers: "We neither take you to be Judg of our differences, nor fear you as our Enemy: but 'tis impertinently done by you, thus to meddle with other mens matters, who your self being very blame-worthy have not yet made us any satisfaction for entring Italy without our leave."
- "Therefore we are come with our Armies in Battalia, to fight with you, as well as the Tarentines, referring the decision of our Quarrel to the arbitration of Mars the founder of our Race."

- Then he march'd outright against the Enemy, and late down between the Cities Pandosia and Heraclea; the River Siris parting his Camp from the Enemies. 'Tis reported, that Pyrrhus having gone to the River to view the Enemies posture, told Megacles one of his Friends: Those Barbarians certainly are not drawn up after the manner of Barbarians, but we shall soon understand their mistle. Afterwards having set a strong Guard to secure the Passes of the River, that the Enemy might not come over, he resolv'd to wait for the Confederates. For he was concern'd not onely for the present posture of Affairs, being deceived in his hopes that the Romans would be straitned for Provisions in a Hostile Country, but also by reason of Levinus's confidence, which by a fresh instance he had rendred more admirable; having freely dismissed the Enemies Spies, that came to view his Camp, and telling them, that he had another Army greater than that.

In the mean while the two Armies lying so near, there happen'd continual Skirmishes between them; but there was no set Battel fought: and after they had spent fifty days in these Skirmishings, the Consul being concern'd for the same reasons to hasten a Battel, as Pyrrhus was to put it off, assembled his Soldiers and informed them of his design; he incouraged them also not to fear this strange Enemy, by lessening the Fame of Pyrrhus, and the terrour of his Elephants as much as he could. In fine, he prepares so as to be able to fight the Enemy, if he would give him Battel, or else to force him to it against his will.

After-

Afterwards finding that Pyrrhus continu'd in his resolution, he sent the Cavalry before, as if they made an incursion to plunder the Country, waiting in the mean time with his Army in order of Battel, till the shout was heard from the other side of the River. The Horsemen taking a great compass about from their Camp, pass'd the River where it was not guarded, and with great speed advanc'd against those that were posted on that side where the Enemies lay. The Epirots affrighted with this sudden appearance of the Enemy, betook themselves to their Camp; and Pyrrhus understanding that the Enemies were coming up, made haste with his Horsemen, being in all three thousand, to the River: hoping to surprize the Romans, whilst they pass'd over with their Ranks broken, and strugled with the roughness of the ground and waters, in a blind Foord; but when the Roman Horsemen had oppos'd themselves, the King charging at the head of his Troops, fought with a Courage equal to his Fame, being distinguish'd by his valour and gallantry, as well as by his glittering Arms. For he govern'd the whole Army by his Conduct, as if he late tooke from all other businels, and also fought upon occasion, as if he had been a Common Soldier, and some other Person had been General of the Army.

In the mean time one Leonnatus a Macedonian acquaints Pyrrhus, that he had observ'd one of the Enemies, who had his Eye upon him in particular, watching his motions through the Army, and riding up thither, where ever he saw him charge: To whom Pyrrhus replies, O Leonnatus, "Tis impossible to avoid Fate: but yet neither shall this Italian nor any other man whatsoever come off with safety, if he in-counters with me: And he had scarce spoken this but Oplacus (for that was the man's name, he being Commander of the Fretane Squadron) with his Lance kill'd his Horse under him, and Leonnatus serv'd his Horse likewise after the same manner, and then the King's Friends besetting Oplacus round about, kill'd him fighting, and so rescued the King.

But this accident caus'd a great consternation among the Epirots, who imagin'd the King himself had been kill'd: therefore to incourage his men, and to secure himself withal from all dangers that might lie in his way, he changes his Arms with Megacles, and having left him in the Affray he goes himself to arrange and bring on the Phalanx. The Roman Legions likewise had a warm dispute with them, which held a long while with alternate success; the fortune of the Battel varying by report seven times: in-somuch that one while the Romans forc'd the Enemies to quit their ground, and another while the Epirots made the Romans retire. But things were like to come to a desperate condition on the King's side, when Megacles was slain; for he being distinguish'd by the King's Armour was set upon by the stoutest of the Enemies, whilst each was desirous to have the honour of killing the King; till at last one Dexter a Horseman, bringing his Coat and Helmet taken from him when he was kill'd with a great shout to the Consul, made both Armies to believe the King had been slain. Hereupon the Grecians were seiz'd upon with consternation, and they would have fled doubtless had not Pyrrhus (as soon as ever he could) rode to and fro bare-headed, and spoke to them with a loud voice that he was with them and alive: whereby he both abated the confidence of the Enemy, and rais'd the Spirits of his own Men.

Levinus now thinking it high time to have recourse to the last reserve, gave the Signal to those Horsemen that lay in Ambush, to fall upon the Enemy in the Rear: but Pyrrhus sent out the Elephants against them, having reserv'd them for the last terrour of the Enemies. This Stratagem spoil'd the Romans Game: and gave the fortune of the Battel to Pyrrhus. For the men themselves being amaz'd at their huge bulks, and the terrible sight of arm'd men standing upon their backs, fancied, that they saw some strange Monster, rather than the shape of any natural Creature: and the Horses likewise being frighted with the sight, smell, and noise of Beasts never seen before by them, presently disorder'd the Ranks: and in a wild carrier took the next way before them; either throwing their Riders, or else running away with them, while they in vain endeavour'd to stop them. Moreover, by running upon the main Body of their own Army, they put all into confusion. The Masters of the Elephants went in pursuit of those that fled, and those that stood in little Castles upon the Elephants wounded many of them: but there were more kill'd and bruise'd by the Elephants themselves.

The Consul with much ado kept his men however yet in a body: till a Squadron of Theffalians being detached by the King broke and dispers'd them, though they made a brave resistance; and doubtless all of them had either been slain or taken, because they were coop'd up into such a narrow place, but, besides that Pyrrhus's held it to be a Generals Policy not to pursue the Enemies flying too eagerly, lest they should make a more obstinate resistance another time through despair of saving themselves, the Evening likewise drawing on had forc'd the Conquerour to leave the pursuit. Good fortune also favour'd the remaining part of this poor Army: for one of the Elephants having received a wound turn'd back, and with his braying disorder'd all the rest. This stopp'd the Enemy, and gave the Romans, who fled, time to pass the River, and to get into Apulia, where they were secur'd from the present danger by the fortifications of a City.

In this Battel there fell of the Romans and their Confederates 14870 Foot, 246 Horse. Prisoners taken in all 1812. among these were 802 Horsemen, beside 22 Ensigns. Which makes me marvel the more, why the Authors who have so diligently related these things should deny, that the number of those the King lost was not taken notice of: whereas Dionysius writes that Levinus lost near fifteen thousand, and Pyrrhus thirteen: but Hieronymus Cardianus a Writer of those times says, that there were not above seven thousand of the Romans lost, and of the King's side but four thousand; but all agree that this Victory cost Pyrrhus the flower of his Army: and he was heard to say, that he lost as much as he gain'd by this Battel, and even when he offer'd his spoils to Jupiter of Tarentum, 'tis said, that he confels'd the same in an Inscription to that purpose: and that when his Confederates made complaints to him, he answered, "Truly, if I get such another Victory, I shall be forc'd to go home without a man left me. I am inform'd also, that the King himself receiv'd a great Wound in this Battel: but because others report no such matters: and seeing the actions of different Fights are sometimes jumbled together, I dare not believe one man against so many and those exact Writers too, who speak not a syllable of it. That this was a very smart engagement, may be gathered hence: because that when Pyrrhus the next day after the fight view'd the bodies of the slain, which for the credit of being esteem'd merciful he order'd to be bury'd: and saw the Romans with their Faces towards the Enemy, having dy'd all in the bed of Honour, he broke out into these expressions: "O how easie a thing would it be for me to conquer the World, if I had Roman Soldiers. Therefore by courteous address and great promises he sollicit'd those that were taken, to take pay of him, and though they obstinately refused it; yet he us'd them with the same civility as before: never putting them in Chains, or to any of those disgraces that usually attend the fate of Prisoners.

But

But the Romans after this their defeat were terrified with another Calamity, which though as to the loss it was lighter than the former, yet it was look'd upon as more dismal and astonishing. For they reckon'd it a signal judgment from Heaven, that a sudden storm had destroy'd their forage in the Fields, so that four and thirty Men were kill'd by the Thunder, and two and twenty left half dead: their Horses being likewise either kill'd or hurt by the same storm. In the mean while Pyrrhus took the Romans Camp, which they had quitted, and making the best use of his success he advanc'd with his Army, and by waiting the grounds of all the bordering Nations alienated many from their friendship with Rome.

- XI. Afterwards arriv'd the Lucanians and Samnites his Confederates, to whom after a light rebuke given them, for not assisting him in the Battel, he bestow'd part of the booty: being exceedingly pleas'd for that he had routed such a numerous Army of the Romans, having only the Auxiliaries of the Tarentines, besides his own Forces.

Whilst Pyrrhus was thus intent upon making the best advantage of the Victory, *Levinus* on the contrary by taking care of the maimed Soldiers and drawing those that were dispers'd into a Body got a considerable Army together: and the Senate, notwithstanding this defeat was laid to the Consuls charge by many, and that *Fabritius* said, the Romans were not conquer'd by the Epirots, but *Levinus* by Pyrrhus, order'd supplies of Men to be lent him.

- XII. When the Crier made Proclamation, that whosoever was willing to serve his Country in the room of those that were kill'd, he should list himself; such numbers of men came into the service, that two Legions were made up immediately. With which the Consul being now recruited followed Pyrrhus at the heels, annoying his Army as much as he could: and having intelligence that Pyrrhus design'd to make himself Master of *Capua*, he march'd speedily to prevent him, and having prepar'd all things for its defence deterr'd Pyrrhus from attacking it.

Pyrrhus then turns his course towards *Naples*, and being there likewise disappointed in his designs, marches speedily by the *Latine* road towards *Rome*. And now he was got from *Anagnia* and the Country of the *Hernicans* as far as *Preneſte* within twenty miles of *Rome*, having taken *Fregelle* in his way. But the Magistrates of the City upon the first news of this defeat, had put all the young men in Arms by an Order of the Senate; and at this juncture the Romans were luckily furnished with another considerable help; for the other Consul, who had better success against the *Hetrurians*, had engaged that Nation by a new Treaty, so that when the Senate call'd him away for the defence of his Country, he hastned with his victorious Army to its relief being now hindred by no other Enemy.

- XIII. Pyrrhus having in vain solicited the *Hetrurians* to take Arms again, and considering withal, that two Consular Armies, one before and the other behind were ready to fall upon him, return'd into *Campania*. Where finding *Levinus* marching against him with greater forces than he had before his defeat, he said, "He was to deal with the *Lernean Hydra*, whose heads grew more numerous by being cut off. Yet relying on his former Victory, he led his men forth, and let them in Battel-array. Moreover, to try the hearts of his men, and to strike a terrour into the Enemy, he caus'd the Soldiers to shout, and the Elephants to bray: but the Romans answer'd them with a more terrible noise; so that the King guessing of the Courage of both, judg'd it more advisable for the present to forbear Battel; and pretending some ill Omens from the Sacrifices, he led his Army back into the Camp, from whence he return'd to *Tarentum*, carrying with him a rich booty, and a multitude of Prisoners.

- XIV. The Romans, who had not abated a jot of their former Courage in these hard times, but had always hop'd the best, and spoke confidently of the success of the War, conceiving that the rewards of Valour were then especially to be bestow'd, decreed a Triumph to *L. Aemilius Barbula* for his actions in his Consulship, who accordingly triumph'd for the conquest of the *Samnites*, and *Tarentines*, and of the *Salentines* who had aided the *Tarentines*. But *Valerius* the Consul was commanded "that he should carry the rest of his defeated Army to *Setinum*, there to encamp: and that he should make them take their Winter-quarters in Tents.

At the same time it being debated in the Senate, concerning ransoming the Captives, it was order'd that they should be redeemed; their minds being chiefly mov'd thereunto (I suppose) in compassion of the Horsemen, who had play'd their parts very bravely, until the Elephants came on: but when their Horses were frightned by them, the men without any fault of their own fell into the Enemies hands, and were either killed or taken by them. Upon this account Persons of very great quality were sent Ambassadors, *P. Cornelius Dolabella* famous for overthrowing the *Senones*, and *C. Fabritius Luscinus*, and *Q. Aemilius Pa-pus* Fellow-Consuls two years before.

- XV. Pyrrhus was naturally a Person of an obliging address, this being the inseparable attendant of all generous Spirits: but yet his ambition whilst by a common mistake he thought Vertues to be but the handmaids of Empire, had rendred him too complaisant: so that being extravagantly addicted to desire of Glory, he had an Eye to it in all his undertakings: and though he was as valiant and as experienced a Commander as any then living, yet he us'd to try all means, before he would put things to the hazard of Battel, endeavouring to win his Enemy, according as each was to be wrought on, by arguments of fear, or interest, pleasure, or pity; and in fine by just and reasonable compositions. Therefore hearing that Ambassadors were coming to him from *Rome*, and imagining, that so many Persons of Consular quality were not sent upon a slender Errand, he was in hopes they came to treat of a Peace.

Therefore that they might have the safer and more honourable access, he sent *Lyco* the *Molossian* as far as the borders of the *Tarentines* Country to meet them with a Convoy, and he himself with a Troop of Horse bravely mounted met them out of Town, and attending them with great civility gave them a noble Entertainment. They having at first spoken something touching moderation of mind, and of the inconstancy of Fortune, how sudden the alterations of War, and that futurities cannot be foreseen: deliver'd their Message; That they were come to ransom their Prisoners, if he would let them be redeem'd at such a sum, or else be exchange'd for the *Tarentines* and others.

- XVI. Pyrrhus did not use to determine any great Affairs without the Counsel of his Friends: who being then assembled: One of them, *Milo* by name advis'd, that he should detain the Prisoners, and make good use of his Successes, not leaving the War till the Romans were subdu'd. But *Cynias* spoke quite contrary, who first taking notice of the constancy of the Senate and People of *Rome*, which they had shewn to be invincible, in their greatest extremities, added, "We may hate the Customs, and despise the Arms of another Enemy perhaps, but O King, I think we ought rather to be at Peace than in War with this People. Nor will it be onely your Interest to restore, but even to give them their Prisoners: and I think you should

"should not delay, but send the Ambassadors immediately with Presents to *Rome* to conclude a Peace upon even terms. For now I suppose the time is come, wherein, if I am not mistaken, you may get to your self some advantage, and that with honour; for now in time of prosperity, if you will treat of Peace, you shall more easily obtain what you desire, and withal seem for no other cause, but onely of your wonted generosity to have offer'd Peace to those whom by your Arms you might have Conquer'd. But supposing you do not miscarry in your designs, but run on successfully as you have begun, and God forbid it should be otherwise, yet we are still but Men, and if Fortune varies, we shall not make Peace upon so easie, nor so honourable terms.

The rest having spoke likewise to the same effect, and the King himself assenting thereunto, command'd the Ambassadors to be call'd in, and as soon as they came, the King spake to them in this manner:

"That which you Romans propose, is indeed very unhandson, when without offering any Conditions of Peace: You demand the Prisoners I have taken in the War, intending when I shall have restor'd them, to employ them against me; if you will take better measures, and such as may be advantageous to both sides, let us enter into an Alliance, and then you shall have all your own Men and those of your Confederates whom I have taken, without Ransom; but if you are resolv'd to persevere in hostility with me, I should be esteem'd a Fool, if I should strengthen my Enemy with so many stout Men: Nor am I so straitned for Money, as to want any of the Romans: who, were we Friends, might be more proper Subjects of my Liberality.

And hereupon he commanded that Presents of considerable value should be given to the Ambassadors with promises of larger.

These things were done and said before all the Ambassadors, but he had a longer and a more particular Conference with *Fabritius* alone, which I shall relate, as I find it in authentick Authors. When they discours'd privately, 'tis reported that the King among other things spake to this effect:

"As I desire to have all the rest of the Romans for my Friends, so especially you *C. Fabritius*: whom I esteem as a Person that excels all others for your Conduct as well in Civil as Military Affairs. Yet I am sorry to see you wanting in one point, I mean, of an Estate that may enable you to live in that Port which becomes a person of your Quality. But I will not suffer this injury of Fortune any longer to be troublesome to you: and I will bestow on you so much Gold and Silver coin'd and in the Bullion, as shall make you richer than any of your fellow-Citizens: For I hold it to befit my condition to relieve such great Men as are poor, who have aim'd more at getting Honour than Money. This I look upon as a very glorious Action: by which a Prince rears the noblest Monument of his Magnificence, and tenders the most sacred and well-pleasing Sacrifice to the Gods. I shall therefore think that I have receiv'd a benefit rather than bestow'd one, if you will let me supply your necessities. Yet I would not have desir'd this of you, if the honour of this benefit accru'd to me with dishonour to your self; but now because you come not upon any perfidious design, or that which is at all unworthy your Character, why should you refuse a small Present offered you out of kindness by a Friend with an obstinate averleness? For I ask nothing of you but what may, yea and ought to be done by any honest Man that is a lover of his Country: That you would bring the Senate off from their obstinacy to a more moderate temper: telling them the truth of the matter, that a War cannot be undertaken by them without great danger and detriment: nor yet be foregone by me (who promising the *Tarentines* my assistance, have even won the first Battel) without breach of Faith and dishonour. Nor am I for having War with you, whom I esteem worthier my friendship, than my hatred: and by reason of many businesses falling out, which require my presence I had rather return into my own Kingdom; and for this I will give all the Security you can desire, that you may be sure of my intentions: and also take away all doubts from other Men, if there be any that will say perhaps, that Kings cannot be trusted safely, because of the perfidiousness of some few, who having no sense of honesty, stand onely to their Articles as long as they make for their Interest: but upon the first apprehension of any good to be got by falsehood, they will break their faith, rather than let go their advantage; but when the Peace is made, there can be nothing more grateful to me, nor more conducive to us both, than if you would go with me to *Epirus*, there to be prefer'd to the highest Honours among my Friends, and to be my Lieutenant in War, and a sharer with me in all my Fortunes: for I value no possession more than that of a faithful and valiant Friend. Moreover, the State of a Court, and the grandeur of a King's service is more suitable to your Genius. If therefore we shall mutually assist each other herein we shall attain the greatest humane Felicity.

When the King had ended his Speech, *Fabritius* a little after began thus:

"If I am observ'd to have any Skill in the management either of Civil or Military Affairs, 'tis needless for me to say any thing of it: since you have believ'd others so much concerning it; nor is it necessary that I should speak any thing touching my Poverty: and how being Master of a little spot of ground and Cottage, I live not upon the Interest of Money or by the labours of Slaves, but by my own. For as to these things I suppose you are sufficiently inform'd by the relation of others; but yet if you suppose that I am in a worse condition, because I am poor, than any other Roman, truly whether you imagine so of your self, or follow others Opinion in the point, you are mightily mistaken; for whilst I do my duty with contempt of Wealth, I feel no misery; nor have I ever yet lamented my fate, either in my publick or private Concerns: for why should I quarrel at it? unless I should blame it, because in this condition as poor as 'tis I enjoy all those things in my Country, which seem desirable by a generous Spirit, nor onely with but before the wealthy. For I bear the greatest Offices among us: I manage the most important Wars: I am employ'd in the most honourable Embassies. The charge of Religion is committed to my care: I am call'd to the Senate, and consulted with concerning the weightiest Affairs of State. There are many that praise and imitate my Actions of their own accord. Nor am I less esteem'd than any of the principal Men of our Commonwealth: and I am thought by others an Example for the undertaking noble things. But yet all this while I do not spend a penny of my own Money, nor does any of the rest do so. For in other places where Riches lie generally in the hands of private men, and the public Revenues are but small, the Officers out of their own Purses maintain the Port and splendour of their Place; but our Commonwealth has far different Constitutions, being no ways burthensome to the Estates of private men. All that Equipage wherewith our Countrymen, as many of them as are employ'd in the management of State Affairs, are so splendidly furnish'd, is given by the Public. Hereby all Estates are made equal: inasmuch that the poorest can lack nothing for the maintaining either his public or personal Honour, nor the richest have



"have any thing over. Therefore inasmuch as being the poorest of all, I come not short of any of the wealthiest in what is commendable and good, why should I complain of my Fortune? Should I require of her that she should have made me equal to Kings, who have it in their power to heap up vast Treasures.

XXII. "Thus far touching my publick Capacity: now in my private one, my poverty is so far from being a burthen to me: that on the contrary when I compare my self with your Rich men, my condition seems infinitely happier than theirs: and I count my self one of those few, who have attain'd the greatest happiness of this World: and therefore I bless my Stars for my condition, and I am thankful for my poverty. For since it seems but an idle thing to me to covet superfluities, and withal since my little Spot of ground, if well cultivated, will supply me with necessaries, I do not know why I should be solicitous for any more Wealth. For my appetite recommends any sort of Diet to my taste: I procure my self an ease sleep by labour: my Cloaths if they are warm, satisfy me: in Householdstuffs I like that best which is cheapest and fittest for the use it is designed to; wherefore I should be unjust to accuse Fortune for not granting me a greater stock of Wealth than my nature requires: which never implanted in me either a desire of too great Riches, or the skill of getting them. Wherefore (as poor as I am) I think my self

XXIII. "richer than the richest, not excepting your self, for I have as much as I desire. But what made you come into Italy seeing you already posses'd *Epirus* and other places, but that you thought your self poor? Ay, but Wealth enables one man to benefit others: and this I cannot do for poverty. But this concerns me no more, than that I have no other extraordinary accomplishments; that God has not made me a great Scholar, or a Prophet, for other mens good, or any thing else; but if I serve my Friends and my Country with those Talents that I have, and do all the good I can to any man: I think I am thus far free also from this imputation. Nor may you count these things small and trivial, who pretend to an high value of them, and seem ready to buy them off at such a dear rate; but if great Wealth be onely

XXIV. "desireable for helping the necessitous, and that the possession thereof upon that score renders a man any thing happy; as to you, Kings, the matter seemeth: Which is the best way of getting Wealth, to receive it from you dishonorably, or to get it my self hereafter handlomly? My good successes in the service of the State have given me brave opportunities to improve my fortunes, as at other times often, so especially four years ago, when being Consul I was sent with an Army against the *Lucanians*, *Samnites* and *Brutians*, and wasted their large Territories; and having routed them in several Battels took and rifled their rich Towns: from which Booty after I had given largesses to my Soldiers, and repay'd private persons, whatever they had lent the State upon the occasions of the War, there remain'd the sum of four hundred Talents, which I laid up in the common Treasure-house. Seeing therefore that I have thus myself made my fortune by just and honourable means out of this Booty, which was ready in my

XXV. "hand; and like *V. Publicola* and many other noble Romans who have rais'd the State to this pitch, prefer'd Honour before Interest; shall I now take Bribes of you, quitting an honest way of getting Wealth for one as infamous as dangerous? Besides, as for that Wealth I could have spent it freely upon some good uses: but there is no probability of getting so much good by this; for that Money which comes by anothers bounty, seems rather to be lent than given: and it is an incumbrance to a generous man, until it is repay'd, whether it be given and receiv'd upon the account of friendship, hospitality, or kindness. But now what do you think would be the issue of the matter, if the thing should be discover'd (and it cannot be conceal'd) to those Magistrates, called *Censors* from their Authority in reforming Manners, and that they should impeach me of Bribery?

'Tis added by most that *Pyrrhus* knowing such a brave Man was not too dearly bought at any rate, try'd his constancy and resolution more importunately a second time; after other large Promises offering to him part of his Kingdom. And that the Roman was concern'd at it, onely so far, that he could not tell what to think of *Pyrrhus's* design. For, says he, if you think me an honest Man, why do you corrupt me? if a Knave, why do you court me?

Afterwards, 'tis reported that he should say, This business would prove neither pleasing nor profitable to *Pyrrhus* himself if it would succeed; for his free carriage might give distaste both to the King and his Friends: and if the *Epirois* would but taste his justice and temperance, they would probably leave the King, and come over to him. All which together with what I shall hereafter deliver, as being related by several Authors I thought pertinent and useful to mention: whereby the minds and dispositions of those persons might be known, by whom the Roman State being buoy'd up, through so many difficulties and calamities arriv'd to such an incomparable grandeur of Empire and Renown: and that by a remarkable instance it might more easily appear, how men ought to be qualified if they intend to be admir'd; and to leave their posterity a more flourishing State than they receiv'd from their Forefathers.

When these things therefore had been said and heard 'tis reported, that the King gave over the business for the present. But two days after he order'd *Fabricius* to be call'd to him: and whilst they were talking, an Elephant which was prepar'd beforehand to affright *Fabricius*, and placed behind a Curtain at their backs, when the Curtain was suddenly drawn aside, let down his Trunk upon *Fabricius's* head, and roar'd terribly, but the undaunted Hero, onely turn'd himself leisurely about, and smiling upon the matter, said, "Your Gold could not corrupt me yesterday, nor has your Elephant affrighted me to day.

XXVII. "Afterwards at Supper when he heard *Cyneas* discourse of the Grecian Philosophers: how the Scholars of *Epicurus* made Pleasure the chiefest good, and held the management of State-affairs among the chief impediments of happiness: that the Gods took no care of humane affairs, but liv'd at ease and rest neither loving the good, nor hating the bad; 'tis reported that *Fabricius* should say, I wish, *Pyrrhus* and the *Samnites* may be taken with that Philosophy as long as they War with the Romans.

These were the manners of those days: Great men did not then strive to exceed in Wealth and Luxury, but in Valour and Conduct, in hardiness, and fidelity to their Country: for these were no warm expressions, arising from passion, nor premeditated by the speakers the more plausibly to carry on some secret Intrigue: but these men being rather admirable than imitable in our days by the constant tenor of their actions verified their words.

XXVIII. "This same *Fabricius*, when he had but two pieces of Plate in his House, a Saltcellar and a Dish, with a horn Stand to hold it, and the Ambassadors of the *Samnites* would have presented him with Money and rich Household goods, carry'd his hands wide open to his Ears, and thence to his Eyes, nostrils, mouth, throat, and at last down to his Belly, saying, "As long as I can rule these, I shall want nothing: carry you the Money to them that want it. In fine, he liv'd so all his life, that he had not any thing left

to

to raise fortunes for his Daughters: but this was a glorious Poverty (for the Senate being ashamed to let them continue without Portions, whilst their Father was not ashamed to leave them so, paid their Portions out of the common Treasury.

The chief Senators liv'd then with the same continence and moderation. Among whom was *Q. Fabius Maximus*, a person who had often bore the greatest Offices; who having been once *Censor* refus'd the Office a second time, saying, that it was not for the Interest of the Commonwealth, to have the same men often chosen *Censors*. This Man also receiv'd a like testimony of his poverty, and the publick Charity from the Romans. For when he dy'd there was so much Money given by the people as enabled his Son *Gargus* to give a Dole, and to make a publick Feast.

*Cyneas* also out of a like generosity condemn'd the *Sabines* Presents, as *Fabricius* had done those of the *Samnites*. *Amilius Papus Fabricius's* Colleague in several Offices, as also *Tib. Coruncanius*, and other eminent Persons, being of like dispositions, maintain'd a constant friendship among themselves. So that the Poet seems to me to have hit exactly the humour of those times, when he said that the Roman State was onely supported by Persons and Principles that were honest and vertuous.

In consideration of which things *Pyrrhus* being more inclin'd to conclude a Peace with this Nation, sends home two hundred Prisoners without any Ransom; and if any others desired to go to Rome to celebrate the *Saturnalia* then near at hand, they were permitted to go: the King relying on *Fabricius's* word, which he had engag'd for their return as soon as the Feast was ended, unless a Peace were in the mean while concluded. And such was both the Authority of the Senate, and the honesty of each of them at that time, that they return'd every man upon the day appointed by the Senate; though they had earnestly solicited their Friends who were stily bent against a Peace.

For now whilst their minds were softned with the sight of their dear Relations, and fill'd with desires of enjoying them, they might be thought more inclin'd to embrace friendship and amity; and hereupon the politick Prince looking on it as a convenient juncture, resolves to send Ambassadors to Rome to conclude a Peace upon those terms he propos'd to *Fabricius*, to wit, "That the *Tarentines* should be included in the same Treaty: That the rest of the *Grecians* who inhabited Italy should live free, and be govern'd onely by their own Laws: and whatever was taken away by the Romans should be restore'd to the *Samnites*, *Apulians*, *Lucanians* and *Brutians*: and the Romans should receive their Prisoners without Ransom from *Pyrrhus*.

*Cyneas*, whom we mention'd before, was then with *Pyrrhus*; He was an excellent Politician, and withal an honest Man: one who by adding study and practice to the pregnancy of his own Genius had attain'd to a very masterly Eloquence. For these his Accomplishments he was very gracious with the King; who often said, "That he had conquer'd more Cities by the Tongue of *Cyneas*, than by his Arms.

When this Man was come Ambassador to Rome, he cunningly delay'd the time from coming to have his Audience before the Senate, and sent Presents in the King's name to the Nobility. Being afterwards introduced into the Senate, and having largely magnified his Master's Valour, and his affection to the Romans, and likewise discours'd of the equity of those terms he propos'd, a great part of the Senate were almost perswaded to embrace them. For besides other things, he promised them so much Aid, if they would desist from spoiling his Confederates, with which they might easily make themselves Masters of all the rest of Italy.

But the debate held many days, the Senate being solicitous upon an Affair of so great importance, so that some report and suspicion of a Peace was rais'd. Hereupon *Appius Claudius*, who formerly by his Age and blindness was forced to absent himself from the Senate, caus'd himself immediately to be carried thither in a Chair, where at the first sight of him, his Sons, and Relations receiv'd him, and standing about him with respect and honour conducted him to his Seat.

There, when by reason of the strangeness of the thing, and out of reverence to the Person all were silent, and expecting to hear the reasons that had induc'd him after so long absence to return to the Senate; beginning with the relation of his infirmities, he said,

"Hitherto I have been sorry, because I am blind, but now I do not onely rejoyce for it, because I cannot see the things you do; but I am sorry, that I am not deaf also, that I might not be forc'd to hear such scandalous things, so unworthy the Roman name. For whither is that Courage fled? Where are the ancient Roman Spirits? You us'd formerly to say, when you heard *Alexander* the Great celebrated for a mighty Hero; that his Glory was not so much to be imputed to his Valour as to his Success. For had Fortune constrain'd him to have had War with the Romans, the case would have been alter'd with him, and the World would have had another Opinion of him. But now see how much you have degenerated from that magnanimity. You thought you might have conquer'd the *Macedonians*: You are now afraid of the *Molossians* and *Chonians*, the constant prey of the *Macedonians*. You despised *Alexander* then; now you fear *Pyrrhus*, a Vassal not of *Alexander* himself, but even of his Vassals. Who to run away from old Enemies, rather than to seek new ones has pass'd over into Italy: intending forsooth to get an Empire for the Romans with those forces, wherewith he could not defend the least Spot of Macedonia: Unless therefore we drive him hence with considerable loss, we shall invite other Guests to come boldly into Italy, as to a ready prey, in just contempt of us. For what will the World take us for but onely a company of Cowards; if *Pyrrhus* being admitted into our friendship, shall be so well rewarded for affronting us, that he may be able to expose us Romans to be jeer'd by the *Tarentines* and *Samnites*.

This is well nigh the whole drift of that Speech spoken by *Appius* at that instant, wherewith they were all put into such a heat, that in pursuance of this resolute Counsel of his, by common consent they decreed, "That the War should be carried on; and that *Cyneas* should be commanded to depart the Town that very day, and acquaint *Pyrrhus*, that they would neither let him come into the Town (which he desir'd) nor treat at all of Peace with him, unless he left Italy. Afterwards a decree of equal rigor was made by the Counsel of *Appius* touching the Prisoners; the Senate ordering, "That they should neither be sent out against *Pyrrhus*, nor be kept together all of them in any other place; but that some should be dispos'd in one Garison, and some in another, their Posts being alter'd for the greater disgrace: So that the Horsemen were turned over to the Foot, and the Legionary Foot were entred among the Light-armed's, none being allowed to recover his former Post, till he should twice have gotten the spoils of an Enemy.

When the Ambassadors return'd with this terrible Answer. 'Tis reported, that the King being astonish'd at the Roman Courage, ask'd how the City and the Senate look'd? And that *Cyneas* answer'd him, "That the

"the City appear'd like a Temple, the Senate like an Assembly of Kings. After this some imagine that *Fabricius* was sent Ambassadour to the King: but besides the testimonies of Authors, they may be convinc'd of their Error by duly considering the Series of the things themselves.

Now all hopes of Peace was over, and preparations were made for the War with all vigour and application, so that this was a busy Winter on both sides. I think this was the time when *Pyrrhus* to escape Shipwracks, and to make a passage for the *Epirots* and *Tarentines* to go to and fro to one another's assistance, intended to lay a Bridge from *Hydrus* in the utmost point of *Italy* to *Apollonia* a Town situate on the opposite shore, for the space of fifty miles. For thereabouts *Greece* and *Italy* are so far distant from one another. *M. Tarentinus Varro* afterwards is reported to have attempted the same thing: when in the Pyrate War being Lieutenant under *Pompey* he guarded the *Ionian* and *Aegean* Seas with his Fleet.

In the mean time *Tib. Cornelianus* the Consul triumphed over the *Volturnians* and *Vulcentians* a People of *Herruria* the first day of *February*. The Censorship was remarkable that year, the ceremony of the *Lustrum* being then first perform'd by a Censor descended of a *Plæbeian* House, 278222 men were Poll'd. That *Fabius Maximus* us'd to be chosen in those times President of the Senate is very certain. And 'tis thought his Son surnam'd *Gurgus* was Censor then. *Cn. Domitius* for having perform'd the *Lustration*, and because the privileges of the Commons were enlarg'd was had in great esteem.

In the beginning of the Spring *Pyrrhus* having got together the Forces of the Confederates advanc'd to *Apulia*, and took there several Towns partly by assault, and partly by surrender. Against whom the new Consuls, *P. Sulpicius Saverrio*, and *P. Decius Mus* marching out with two Consular Armies pitch'd their Camp opposite to the Enemies near *Asculum* a Town of *Apulia* of the same name with that in *Picentia*. There was no doubt but that they would come to a set Battel: which was delay'd for many days, not onely because of the deep River that parted the two Armies, but also because they fear'd each other. The success of the former Battel and the Victory of *Pyrrhus* affrighted the *Romans*; and the courage of the *Romans*, together with the name of one of the Consuls, which was fatal to the Enemies, terrified the *Epirots*. For it was said, that, *P. Decius* to procure Victory for his men, was about to devote himself as his Father and Grandfather had done before: and the ill success of those Battels, wherein they dy'd, render'd the threats of the *Decii* devoting themselves ominous to all.

XXXVII. *Pyrrhus* looking on this as a thing not to be slighted, assembled his Soldiers, and told them plainly, "That the success of the War was not dispos'd by the Goddesses *Tellus*, or the infernal deities, who were invoc'd in that Curse: for that the Gods could not be esteem'd so unjust as for the sake of one Madman to alter and dispose the fates of Armies: that Victories were not won by superstition and Sorceries, but by fighting, as the *Romans* themselves might bear witness, who use not to encounter their Enemies with a company of Wizards and Priests, but with armed men. But yet because ignorant People are more apt to be mov'd by the fooleries of Superstition, than by true causes of fear, he told them how they might rid themselves of this fear, by describing to them the gabs, wherein the other *Decii* had offer'd themselves, and warning them if they met any man so accoutred, they should not kill him, but take him alive.

He sent also a Messenger to *Decius* himself to acquaint him, that he should not play the Fool among armed men, for that his design would not succeed; and if he should be taken alive he should smart for it.

XXXVIII. The Consuls answer'd, That they trusted onely in their Arms, and needed no such desperate means of help: and to assure him of the truth hereof, they gave him his choice either to pass the River himself (which as was said before, ran between the two Armies) or else to expect the *Romans* on the other side: for they would either retire with their forces to leave safe passage for the King, or if he retir'd, pass over themselves. So that coming to Battel with all their forces, it might appear that they plac'd the hopes of Victory in nothing but Valour.

*Pyrrhus* being affraid to discover any sign of fear or doubt in the case approves the last Proposal, giving the Enemy liberty to pass over. Their fear of the Elephants (being now grown a familiar sight to them) abated of it self, and by the experience of the former Battel they had learnt that their Trunks might easily be cut off. *C. Minucius* a Pikeman in the Vanguard of the fourth Legion having with his Sword chop'd off one of them at one stroke. But now they had contriv'd other means of defence that were safer. For they had a Chariot set round about with Iron Spikes, which was drawn by Horses covered with Armour. In the Chariot there were placed Soldiers to beat the Elephants back by shot, and casting fire among them.

XXXIX. The Soldiers being thus appointed passed over, and *Pyrrhus* on the other side set his men in Battel Array according to his great skill in Marshal Discipline, and that excellent Conduct, wherein he was esteem'd to outdo all the Commanders of his time. Having therefore observ'd the situation of the Country, which by reason of the unevenness of the ground and because the place was woody, was onely fit for the Foot to post themselves in, he plac'd the Horsemen and the Elephants upon the reserves. The Right Wing consisted of his own Soldiers with the Auxiliaries of the *Sammites*: the *Brutians*, *Lucanians* and *Salentines* were posted on the left Wing: and the *Tarentines* whose Valour he most distrust'd were placed in the body of the Army. The Consul's Army was made up of the Legionary Foot with some parties of Light-arm'd Soldiers mingled in convenient places among them for their assistance, and their reserves were order'd in the same posture. The Horse spreading themselves out upon both the Wings would neither hinder the Foot when they engag'd, nor were they yet too far off in case there should be occasion for them.

The two Armies thus match'd not onely for Valour but numbers (each of them consisting of forty thousand men) fought with so much bravery as might be expected: but Night at last parted them, when neither side could claim the Victory.

XL. *Pyrrhus* on the morrow having secur'd all the most difficult Passes with Guards, forced the *Romans* to come down into a more level ground, where the Elephants stood him in some stead: for they being suddenly brought on in another part of the Army than that where the Chariots stood ready against them, frightened and put to flight the Enemies Horse, as they had done in the former Battel, but to the Foot they did no great harm. The account of this fight is very different: some report that the *Romans* overcame, and that by an accident: when the Detachments sent by the King against the *Apulians*, that plunder'd the Baggage, appear'd by their going off to the rest of the Army, as if they fled, so that by this fear and mistake all the King's Army was discomfited. A vast number are reported to have been slain: twenty thousand on *Pyrrhus*'s side, and five thousand of the Conquerors. Besides, 'tis said that the King, after he had been

wounded

wounded with a Lance through the Arm, being not able to rally his men, was carry'd almost last of all out of the Field by his Guards, and that *Fabricius* who was Lieutenant to one of the Consuls was wounded.

Others on the contrary say, that the fortune of this Battel and the former was alike: and that the *Romans* being secur'd by the nearness of their Camp, the loss on their side was not so considerable: but yet that they retir'd in great disorder having lost six thousand men, and that on *Pyrrhus*'s side there were three thousand five hundred and five killed, and that was the number recorded in the King's Journal as *Hieronymus* writes; and this not onely difference but contradiction of Authors induces me rather to believe those, who affirm that they parted upon equal terms. For both sides use to challenge the credit of the Victory, when they go off with equal loss: which is afterwards through the carelessness or knavery of others recorded: this being a great Cheat, and a great shame to those men, who report such things for truths, for which they have onely a bare hearsay, or else believe them to be true because they would have it so. Wherefore the account of those Annals seems more probable, which tell us, that at *Asculum* they fought but once, and that after a very warm Dispute and great slaughters on both sides, at Sun-setting by reason of the King's Wound and the loss of his Baggage with much ado they parted, and that both Armies then founded a retreat, about fifteen thousand having been slain on either side. And that this was the time when *Pyrrhus* answer'd one who congratulated him for his Victory: "If the *Romans* must be conquer'd thus once more, we shall be quite undone.

XLII. And the sequel confirms me in this Opinion. For *Pyrrhus* went to *Tarentum*: and the Consuls not pursuing the Enemy, settled their Army in their Winter-quarters in the Towns of *Apulia*. Whereas if we consider the season of the year and the posture of Affairs, the first did easily admit the prosecution of such a noble Victory; and the latter might even have enforce'd it. Moreover, I find not that these Consuls triumphed; but there are many who imagine that *P. Decius* the Consul devoted himself in this Battel, who immediately following his Father and Grandfather, that dy'd in the same manner offer'd himself a third Sacrifice for the Commonwealth. A thing I should not have thought fit to relate, much less to confute, unless *Cicero* in some of his Philosophical Discourses has mention'd it, and that more than once: whilst Histories are silent in the matter.

The Battel of *Asculum*, whatever the issue of it was, concluded that Campaign: but in the mean while they were concerting their Measures and preparing for the War.

*Pyrrhus* having lost most of his Soldiers and a great part of his Officers, sent to *Epirus* for men and Money to be brought to him about the beginning of Spring. But before that Fleet could be fitted out, some new hopes arising alter'd the King's resolutions.

For *Pyrrhus* had formerly possess'd *Macedonia*, having won it from *Demetrius*: but afterwards he lost it to *Lysimachus* in Battel. And now again there seem'd a fair way made to him for recovering it by the death of *Protony Ceraunus*, who being slain by the *Gauls*, whilst *Pyrrhus* was in *Italy*, had left his Kingdom in a very troublefom condition, and no man in actual possession of it. For this reason he determin'd not to leave *Epirus* without Soldiers: left at the same time it should be expos'd to the injuries of the *Gauls*, that were then burning its neighbouring Province *Macedonia*. He went not however just then into *Sicily*, but other occasions call'd him thither afterwards, as we shall shew in due time.

XLIV. When Winter had been spent in such cares as these, the two new Consuls *Caius Fabricius Luscinius*, and *Q. Æmilius Papus* both of them Consuls together before, came to the Army. Upon intelligence hereof *Pyrrhus* march'd out with his Forces against them, being resolv'd to observe the motions of the Enemy. And whilst they were thus incamp'd very near one another, a very odd accident happen'd, which is deliver'd by several without any material difference.

One *Timochares* an Ambraciot a favourite of the King, came privately to *Fabricius* the Consul, promising, if he should be well rewarded for his pains, to poison his Master: which he made account to do easily by means of his Sons who were the King's Cup-bearers. *Fabricius* though he abhor'd the Treason, gave the Senate however an account of it. The Senate sent Ambassadors to *Pyrrhus*, not to inform him of the Treachery of *Timochares*, who intended to do the *Romans* a kindness however, but to warn him in general to look about him, and see what sort of Men, and how honest, he employ'd in his service. Thus *Valerius Antias* says; but *Claud. Quadrigarius*, for *Timochares* mentions *Nicias* as the person who offer'd to poison the King: and that Ambassadors were sent by the Consuls, not by the Senate; who in their Letter to *Pyrrhus* discover'd *Nicias*'s design, and told him withal that they would not fight with him by Money or Treachery, but by Valour: adding, That they wish'd the King safe from all traitorous designs, hoping to have him reserv'd for the subject of their Triumph, and the noble Subject of their Victory.

By others 'tis said, that the King's Physician either by word of mouth, or Letter inform'd *Fabricius* of the matter, and that upon the Consul's discovery thereof to the King, the man was hang'd for it. Though this is uncertain, yet they are manifestly mistaken, who say, that the Physician was sent by *Curius* to the King. 'Tis said, that *Pyrrhus* being surpriz'd at this extraordinary generosity cry'd out, "This is that *Fabricius* whom it is harder to turn from the ways of Vertue and Honesty than the Sun from his course.

XLVI. And immediately that he might not seem to be outdone in kindness, he restored all the *Roman* Prisoners he had taken, and sent *Cynas* again to sue for Peace and Alliance. It was not thought honourable, either to receive a gift from an Enemy, or to have abhor'd a Vice for lucre, rather than out of any generous principle; and therefore that they might not receive the Captives gratis: as many more of the *Tarentines* and *Sammites* were sent in lieu of them. This public moderation of the chief Men was follow'd (with conspicuous generosity) by a like grave and continent behaviour in private Men: insomuch that *Pyrrhus*'s presents (for he had brought several precious ones for both Sexes) were refus'd not onely by the Men but even by the Women too. For when they had been refus'd by those who had the first offer, and were carry'd to others, there could not be found one Man or Woman so mean or covetous, as to open his door to receive them. The Ambassadors after this receiv'd their former Answer: That *Pyrrhus* should be treated as an Enemy of that State till he had quitted *Italy*. The King who was puzzled at this, being unwilling to continue the War, and also to quit it dishonourably, was in this streight reliev'd by the Expedition into *Sicily*, which he after a long and doubtful Consultation resolv'd at length to undertake: For so he hoped he might upon specious pretences decline the *Roman* War; and also subjugate that wealthy Island. Withal he desir'd to be aveng'd of the *Carthaginians*, who had first affronted him. For they upon suspicion of the King's designs, a little before had sent *Mago* their General with a Navy of a hundred and fifty Ships, pretending, "That they came with foreign succours to aid the *Romans* against a foreign Enemy: and though

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"the Romans did not make use of their service, the Senate answering, That they were wont to undertake no War, but such as they could wage with their own Countrymen; yet a League was renew'd a fourth time between the two States. And to the former Articles it was added, "That if either the Romans or Carthaginians should make Peace with Pyrrhus, it should be with this particular exception; That if either of them were invaded, the other should be at liberty to assist him: and that as often as either of them wanted aid, the Carthaginians should furnish Shipping: and that every one should pay their own Soldiers; that the Punic succours should aid the Romans by Sea, and not be forced to Land-service.

XLVIII. When this was done, Mago goes to Pyrrhus, pretending that he came to conclude Peace with him, but indeed he came as a Spy to observe the King's designs, who as the Carthaginians were inform'd, had been called into Sicily: and they offer'd their Fleet to the Romans not out of any respect or love for them, but onely that they might make Pyrrhus the more deeply engag'd in the War in Italy, that so he might not overthrow their flourishing Power in that Island. They were then with a great Fleet guarding the Seas between Italy and Sicily, and made shew as if they would attack Rhegium, but indeed it was onely to hinder Pyrrhus that he might not pass over into Sicily.

For these reasons therefore the King apply'd his mind to the business of Sicily, being mightily encouraged thereunto, partly by the posture of Affairs there, and partly by the Embassies of the Sicilians, which coming one after the other brought word that he was desir'd to come by all men, as the onely support of those miseries, wherewith that unhappy Island was at that time more grievously harrass'd than ever it had been before. For after the miserable rather than unworthy death of Agathocles, one Manno a native of Egesta in Sicily, who also had poison'd the King, aspiring to the Government and being driven out of Syracuse by the Prætor Hicetas, had put himself under the protection of the Carthaginians; hence there arose a greater War, which was unfortunate to the Syracusians: at which time notwithstanding Hicetas's Power was increased by private means, who afterwards turning his Arms against Phintia the Agrigentine, held the Government of the Island for a long while in his hands, though in a very unsettled posture: till at length by the courage of one Thenio he was depos'd after he had govern'd the Island nine years. Thenio who endeavoured to keep the Power in his own hands was oppos'd by Sosistratus a Nobleman of Syracuse: and between these two there was a long War: whilst Thenio was Master of the Island (call'd by them Nasus) which is part of Syracuse, and Sosistratus play'd the Tyrant over the rest of the City.

At length, when both Parties saw that these quarrels would end in the common destruction of them all, they unanimously agreed to send for Pyrrhus: who being the Son-in-law of Agathocles and next Heir to the Crown, having had a Son by Lanassa his Wife, was esteem'd also a man capable both for Courage and Power to settle the Affairs of Sicily. Moreover, the Princes of the Agrigentines and Leontines, who also offer'd him the Government of their respective Seignories, ask'd him with one accord to come over into Sicily: that he might by his presence succour their distressed State, and preserve their liberty now endangered by the Arms of Barbarians.

For the Carthaginians having waisted the Country belonging to Syracuse, besieg'd the Town it self with a hundred Gallies by Sea, and an Army of fifty thousand men by Land. Pyrrhus therefore being resolv'd not to lose time, sends Cynæas before, whom for his prudence and fidelity he employ'd very much to make Leagues with the several Provinces of Sicily. Moreover, he comforted his Confederates who were troubled for his departure by telling them, that if the Romans should molest them he would come time enough out of the Neighbouring Island to their aid, being strengthened with the addition of these new Confederates.

But when he was about to leave a Garrison in Tarentum, the Tarentines earnestly request'd him either to give them the aid he promis'd upon those terms agreed betwixt them, or else to leave their City free; but they could prevail in neither: Pyrrhus giving them no satisfactory Answer, but commanding them to wait his time.

LI. Whilst Pyrrhus bends his mind this way, the Consuls find it easier to deal with the rest of their Enemies: We find therefore that at this time they fought with good success against the Hetrurians, Lucanians, Brutians and Samnites. That they had but little action with the Hetrurians appears hence, because no Triumph follow'd that War: and I think they did not fight with the whole Nation, but onely with one or two Provinces: which being solicited by the Samnites, that were left in a forlorn Estate upon the departure of Pyrrhus, took Arms again against the Romans, having been at Peace a little before with them. With the other Nations as the War was greater, so the Conquest was more illustrious. C. Fabricius the Consul, his Colleague being gone, as is conjectured, to the Hetrurian War, because that one Consular Army seem'd sufficient upon the Epirots departure, overcame the Lucanians, Brutians, Tarentines and Samnites. With some of those States he made a League, among which was that of Heraclea: and he Triumph'd over all these Nations before the fifth of December.

LII. Afterwards when the Election was held, Pub. Cornelius Rufinus, and C. Junius Brutus were elected Consuls the second time. There were other Noblemen likewise who stood in competition with Rufinus, but he got it by the interest of Fabricius: who having an Eye to the public good, valu'd the safety of his Country more than any private animosities. For there was some pique betwixt these two upon the account of their different dispositions: Fabricius being a Person not superable by Money, that wholly minded the good of the Community: But Rufinus being a greater lover of Money acted and design'd several things for his own Interest. However, because he was otherwise a good careful Commander Fabricius judg'd him preferable to his Competitors, far inferiour to him for experience in Arms. 'Tis reported, that Rufinus afterwards thank'd him, because though he was his Adversary yet he should make him Consul, especially for so great and important a War: and that he answer'd him: That it was no wonder if he had rather be pillag'd than sold. For there were yet remaining in Italy very dangerous Wars, and Pyrrhus proceeding successfully in Sicily (whither he was now arriv'd) gave them just cause to fear, lest the King back'd with the additional Forces of this noble Island should return a more formidable Enemy to Rome.

## DECADE II. BOOK XIV.

## Florus his Epitome of the Fourteenth Book of Livy.

Pyrrhus crosseth the Sea into Sicily. Amongst other Prodigies the Image of Jupiter in the Capitol is overthrow'd by Lightning, and the Head thereof supposed to be lost, recovered and found again by the skill of the Aruspices or Soothsayers. Curius Dentatus the Consul when he was making his Levies, caus'd the Goods of one that being Cited would not answer to his name, but declined the Service, to be presently sold by the public Cryer, and he was the first that took that Course to punish such as refused to be Listed. The same General routs King Pyrrhus being now return'd out of Sicily, and beats him quite out of Italy. Fabricius the Censor turns P. Cornelius Rufinus, one that had been Consul, out of the Senate, because he had as much Silver Plate in his House as weighed Ten Pounds. Upon a Poll taken by the Censors the number of Citizens is cast up to be 271224. An Alliance is made with Ptolomy King of Egypt. Sextilia a Vestal Virgin convicted of Incest [Fornication was called so in one of her sacred Order] is buried alive. Two Colonies peopled, Pollidonia and Cosa. A Fleet of Carthaginians comes to assist the Tarentines, by which they first broke the League with the Romans; It likewise relates several Exploits against the Lucanians, Samnites, and Brutians, and the death of King Pyrrhus.

WHILE Affairs went thus in Italy, Pyrrhus carrying his Army and Elephants aboard his Ships, set sail from the Port of Tarentum to Sicily. After he had stay'd in Italy two years and four months: being attended by Thenio, who met him with his Fleet, he was receiv'd with the general satisfaction of all the Sicilians: who deliver'd their Towns, Forces and Money into his hands, striving which should come first. Therefore having in a short time brought all the Territories of the Greeks under his subjection; he won likewise all the Punic Dominions by Arms, except onely the Town of Lilybeum: which the Carthaginians being much advantag'd by its natural strength defended against Pyrrhus, who had in vain attack'd it. From whence having (not without cause) entertain'd great hopes in his mind, he intended to leave his eldest Son his own hereditary Dominions, and of his other two, to make one King of Italy and the other of Sicily. This King was then a Man of great fame, and worth, and the Sicilians having for many years endured forein and domestick Wars, and what was yet worse than either, Tyranny, they were ready with all their hearts to accept of a Prince that was but tolerably good. But a little after when he fell to oppress them with heavy impositions of Taxes, and to make away those that were in greatest sway among them, he render'd himself very odious. Moreover, the covetousness and arrogance of his Ministers did him no less prejudice than his own faults. So that next to that prime duty incumbent upon Kings to be good themselves, they cannot fix their thoughts upon any better or worthier concern, than to chuse virtuous Friends: for whereas among private men every one is hated for his own fault, the misdemeanours of others are imputed to the Prince. But these things came to pass afterwards.

But then while Peoples affections were warm, being first nobly entertain'd and honour'd by Tindario the Prince of the Taurominitans (for he had landed first in that part of the Island) and afterwards by the People of Catania, he march'd with an Army of Foot to Syracuse, and order'd that the Fleet being in a readiness should steer its course near the shore: for that the Carthaginian Fleet belike would not let them have passage to Syracuse without running the risque of a Battel: but as it happen'd, a little before that time thirty Ships of the Carthaginians were gone off from the Fleet upon other occasions; and because these were not yet return'd, the Carthaginian Admiral durst not hazard Battel with the rest. Therefore having entred the Town without any opposition, Thenio and Sosistratus deliver'd him their public Fond, with their Artillery and Ammunition of War, as also one hundred Gallies, and twenty Long-boats. While he was doing these things, there came to him Ambassadors from the Leontines, who in the name of their Prince Heraclides offer'd to him their City: and other Towns likewise resign'd their Power readily into his hands: his success flowing upon him in a full tide. Pyrrhus by his obliging meen, and good entertainment having endear'd himself to them all, dismissed them; for now he had greater designs in his head, and intended, if things should thus succeed, to pass over into Africa. But his Confederates had no such happy times: for the Romans taking this advantage of the King's absence, and the strength of the Army, annoy'd them daily more and more; whilst Milo, that was left with a part of the Army at Tarentum, was not in a capacity to defend them. However, he stood them in so much stead, that the Consuls did not fall upon them presently, but employ'd their Arms against Samnium. The Samnites, when they saw the ruine of their Castles and Country, their Allies falling off, and the burden of the War lying upon them, being unequal both for courage and strength to their Enemies, retir'd into high Mountains, carrying with them their Wives, Children, and as much of their most valuable goods, as they could for the hurry and confusion. The Romans besides the piques of their Officers, were also through contempt of the Enemy and prosperity seiz'd upon with supine security, the attendant of success. Hence they incur'd some danger and disgrace: for whilst the Soldiers crept up those crags in a careless and disorderly manner, they were routed by the Samnites that had the advantage of the ground. In which action many were slain, some with Darts and Stones, and some with tumbling down the Precipices: but others having neither room to fight, nor to retreat, fell into the hands of the Enemy.

This Accident made the Generals divide their Armies again, whilst one charg'd the other with the miscarriage, and each of them pretended, that if he had acted separately, things should have succeeded better. Caius Junius with his Regiments staid in Samnium; and Publius Cornelius bends his course against the Lucanians and Brutians: There while he was spreading terror and ruin all around, by burning the Villages, and laying the Country waste, he lights upon an opportunity of undertaking a greater Enterprize.



In the utmost Coast of *Italy* at the farthest point of the *Lucanian* Promontory to the Eastward, on the *Ionian* Sea *Croton* is situated a Town of Ancient Fame, and then considerable for Wealth; through the middle of it in those days the River *Esfarus* ran, on both sides of which a great number of Houses stood inclosed with a Wall twelve miles round: the Consul not daring openly to besiege the place, trusted that he might possess it by treachery; for that he was assured by several of the *Roman* party within, that the Town having no extraordinary Garrison in it, might be taken by the interest and assistance of those that disgusted *Pyrrhus's* Government, if he should lead his Forces to the place in time. But by chance, at that nick, whether for fear of the Enemies approach, or upon suspicion of Treason (which is not generally conceal'd long) the *Crotonians* had sent to *Milo* for a Garrison; and there arriv'd a strong Body of *Lucanians* to the place, which issuing forth suddenly defeated the Consul, who without fear of danger had made his approaches nearer to the Walls, and slew and wounded several of his men upon the place.

*Rufinus* was resolv'd by Stratagem to repair the loss sustain'd by his temerity, and therefore of himself enhances the report of his defeat: and that he might seem to be more afraid, he makes a shew of quitting this design, and gives Orders to his Soldiers to make ready their Bag and Baggage, as being for the march. This was soon understood in the Town, the Camp lying so near it: and besides the probability of the thing, they believ'd it the more because they wish'd it to be true. And now while they were of themselves leaning to this Opinion, a certain Prisoner induc'd with hopes of liberty and reward by the Consul, came among them, pretending that he had made his escape, taking this opportunity of the haste they were in at their departure. This person informs them, that *Cornelius Rufinus* having not men enough to attack *Croton*, was gone for *Locri*, being inticed thither by certain, who promis'd to betray the place to him. A little after there comes in another, and tells the same story with the former; adding withal, that the *Romans* had now begun their Journey, and at the same time the Ensigns and the Army were seen afar off advancing toward *Locri*.

*Nicomachus* being thus trepann'd makes all haste with his men, taking the shortest cut to *Locri*, with an intention to defend it; which when *Rufinus* understood by secret intelligence, he returns back to *Croton*, having now by so much better success, by how much he was more subtle than before: and not only the security of the Enemy, but good fortune too contributed to his diligence. For a thick mist happened at that time very seasonably, so that he was not seen coming towards the Town, nay his Army was almost entred within the Walls, before the *Crotoniates* knew of his returning back. And the joy for this Victory, which was great enough of it self, was accompanied with other successes not inconsiderable, Fortune being mostly in the extremes, either over-crofs, or over-kind.

For *Nicomachus* reflecting upon his irreparable mistake while he returns to *Tarentum* being at a great non-plus, in his way is encountered by *Rufinus*, and loses a great part of his men, himself with the rest with much ado saving themselves by flight; after he had lost two Towns, by being not contented to defend one: for the *Locrians* were animated with this success, insomuch that they slew the Garrison of *Pyrrhus* and the Governour, and enter'd into Alliance with the *Romans*. While matters went on in this manner the *Sammites* and the other Nations were not so disheartned thereby, but that besides their innate stubbornness they were by the expectation of *Pyrrhus* and his successes in *Sicily* encouraged to stand it out and expect whatever should happen.

For *Pyrrhus* (to speak something of his actions abroad, (as having relation both in times and places, and in the very nature of the things themselves with our *Roman* Affairs) having settled the Affairs of the *Locri*, *Aruntines* and *Syracusians*: about the same time went with his Army to *Agrirentum*, and had intelligence by the way, that the Punic Garrison was put out of the Town, and that the *Agrirentines* were willing to serve him with their lives and fortunes; and they were as good as their word.

For *Sofistratus*, that had surrendred *Syracusa* into his hands, deliver'd to him the Town, and also eight thousand Foot, and eight hundred Horse, brave Soldiers, and not inferiour to his own Countrymen. *Sofistratus* also caused thirty other Towns, whereof he was Governour, to submit themselves to him. After this was done, he sent men to *Syracusa* to fetch Arms and Engines of all sorts, that were necessary for besieging of Towns. For he had a mind to attack those Towns that belonged to the *Carthaginians*, having now in readiness an Army of thirty thousand men, besides one thousand five hundred Horsemen and the Elephants which he had brought with him into *Sicily*. And in the first place he took *Heraclea*, once a Garrison of the *Carthaginians*: afterwards he made himself Master of *Agone*: and presently after the *Selinuntians* tack'd about together with the *Egestanes* and *Halcyans*, who revolting from the *Carthaginians* incited by their Example a great many other Towns in that Coast to espouse the same Interest. But the *Erycinians*, who trusted in the numbers of their Auxiliaries, and the fortifications of the place, he resolves to attack with all his strength. Therefore with his Army in Battalia, he marches in his Arms towards the Town, having obliged himself by a Vow to *Hercules* upon condition, That he should shew himself that day to the *Grecians* a Warrior worthy his Race and Quality.

After that an Assault had been made upon the place, and the Defendants were by shot continually poured upon them, forced to give ground, so that there was room to apply the Ladders to the Walls; *Pyrrhus* got up first himself, and there fought very stoutly with the Enemies, hand to hand; some of whom he strook down with his Buckler, killed others with his Sword, and terrified all with his Courage.

Nor was this Action only honourable to him, but successful too; for with safety and honour he carried the Town at the same effort. The rest being encouraged with the King's Example no less than concern'd for his danger, for both reasons behav'd themselves gallantly. Afterwards he sacrific'd to *Hercules* according to his Vow, and exhibited magnificent Shews of several sorts for many days together.

This year also we find that they Triumph'd at *Rome* over the *Lucanians* and *Brutians* the 14th day of *January*: but I wonder, why *C. Junius* is entitl'd to that Triumph, whereas *Rufinus* fought with those People, and took from them two famous Towns: whom also I find by some Authors honoured with the title of a *Triumphal Person*.

The City, which was already disturb'd with *Pyrrhus's* successes, falls also under fresh terrors proceeding from Prodigies, and pestilential Diseases; but that which was reckon'd the most ominous of all, was the Statue of *Capitoline Jove* beaten down by Lightning, the head of which being broken off could not be found again, but by the Augurs Art and diligence; the City afterwards was not only fear'd but hurt by a Pestilence equally destroying Men and Beasts: but yet it was more especially formidable for causing Abortions

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Abortions in all Creatures, so that when neither the Off-spring of Men, nor of Beasts could be brought forth alive, it was imagin'd that the whole race of living Creatures should be destroy'd by the indignation of the Gods.

This violent Calamity rendred the second Consulship of *Q. Fab. Maximus* very remarkable, wherein *C. Genucius Clepsius* was his Colleague. But for all this they gave not over the Wars with the *Lucanians* and *Sammites*: of the great slaughters of both which there are two certain proofs, namely, because *Q. Fabius* triumph'd over the *Sammites*, *Brutians* and *Lucanians*, in the *Quirinalia*: and also because those People sent Ambassadors and Letters to *Pyrrhus* to inform him of their desperate condition, "If they were not succour'd; and that they could not hold out against the *Romans* any longer, but must yield themselves to prevent their own utter destruction."

For this Reason, and also because that things did not go right in the Island, the People being quite averse from him for his cruelty, *Pyrrhus* was induc'd to leave *Sicily*, and to carry back his Army into *Italy*.

For the fuller demonstration of which design of his, and of the series of Affairs ensuing thereupon: 'tis convenient that I should more particularly relate the Actions he did in the mean time.

After he had taken *Eryx* and put a Garrison into it, he went to *Egina* remarkable for its strength, and commodious site near the Haven of *Palermo*; and being received into that Town by the Burgers of their own accord, he marched to *Palermo* to called from its commodious and capacious Harbour: and having carried this place also by assault, together with a place called *Epiroete* lying between *Palermo* and *Eryx* upon a pleasant Mountain but of difficult access, he was now Master of all the *Carthaginians* Province, except *Lilybeum*. This Town had not been long before built by the *Carthaginians* to fear the *Mortians*: in whose City had been raz'd by *Dionysius* the Tyrant in the *Carthaginian* War.

When therefore the *Carthaginians* saw that of all their Empire in *Sicily*, there was only this place remaining in their power; hearing of preparations made by *Pyrrhus* to attack it, they resolv'd to defend it with all their strength. Having put therefore a strong Garrison into the place with good store of Ammunition, and abundance of Arms and Engines (wherewith they might be well furnish'd, having the Sea at their command) they fell to fortify the place with all diligence, especially on that side where it was accessible by Land; they rais'd several Towers, and made a broad Ditch: the work going on the more speedily, because the Town being for the most part built upon the Rocks of the Sea, needed no works for all that space.

In the mean while though they had made great preparations for the War, having rais'd a great many mercenary Soldiers in *Italy* and other places, yet they sent Ambassadors promising Money, and their Fleet to *Pyrrhus*, if Peace might be obtain'd upon reasonable terms.

*Pyrrhus* would not hear of the Money, being desirous to hold the Cities he had taken: but as for *Lilybeum* he seem'd to like of their propositions.

But yet his Friends and the Grandees of *Sicily* telling him, "That *Sicily* could never be quiet for the descent by, persuading him to answer them, That he would not conclude Peace with them, unless they would quit the Island, leaving the Sea to be the limit of both Empires."

The Treaty thus broken off, he led his Forces immediately against the Town, and encamping near the Walls formally invest'd the place: having so order'd his men, that such of them as were tir'd, might be reliev'd by fresh ones; but the *Lilybetanes* defended the Town, being strengthened with men, and well furnish'd with Engines: for the *Carthaginians* had put so many into the place, that the compass of the Walls was hardly large enough to hold them all. Therefore having pour'd all manner of shot upon the *Epirotes*, and kill'd and wounded many of them they forced them to desist from their Enterprize.

The King after this makes other Engines besides those brought from *Syracusa*, and by mining and all other methods of besieging tries what might be done. But after he had tired himself in vain for almost two Months, the *Carthaginians* not losing ground at all, and considered that as long as they had the Sea open to go in and out, *Lilybeum* could not be taken; he rais'd the Siege, and directed his course another way. For certain *Grecian* Cities desir'd his protection against the *Mamertines*, who besides other injuries done to them forced them to pay Tribute.

*Pyrrhus* then leading out his Army with great speed, takes and kills some of these *Mamertines*, who were gathering the Contributions, and overcomes those that encountred him in Battel, and withal takes and demolishes many of their strong Holds.

Hitherto the King by noble Exploits had gain'd great power and glory, having not so much got as deserv'd the love of every man in particular, and the good will of all the Country by his obliging address, not to speak of his other good Qualities.

But his so great felicity, which one would think had been firmly establish'd was destroy'd in a moment, the occasion hereof proceeding not only from the natural levity of that People, and the extravagancies of the King's Officers, but also from the King's own fault, who though a brave Man in Adversities, yet by Prosperity, which generally men are too weak to bear, was puff'd up with pride.

For finding, as was before said, a Fleet to be absolutely necessary for the effecting of his designs, and that though he had several Ships, yet they were ill furnish'd with Mariners: by too vigorously pressing men for Sea-service he disgust'd the People extremely: He was now quite another man, his former lenity was turn'd into imperiousness and insolence, and these vented themselves in threats and punishments too. However the People made shift to suffer these things, because they were done under pretence of the publick good, till they saw those very Persons kill'd by whose Interest he had got *Sicily*; and then they turn'd Enemies to him, not by degrees but all on the sudden, and many revolted from him, some joining themselves to the *Carthaginians* and others to the *Mamertines*, according as best serv'd their turns.

Thus Cruelty however odious of it self, becomes intolerable when 'tis exercised against the well-deserving, and improves every private hatred with the general detestation that all mankind have for an ungrateful and perfidious man. That which chiefly seems to have forc'd him upon using these violent courses, was his too great compliance with the Counsels and perverse dispositions of his Friends: for the *Elites* he had taken away from the Relations and Friends of *Agathocles* he bestow'd on these men, who were not one grain better than they: Some of his Guards and Captains he set up for Magistrates of Towns, contrary to the constitutions of the places, nor for the lawful time, but after what manner and as long as he pleas'd himself.

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He ingrossed all the Power in their Courts of Judicature, all the administration of publick Affairs into his own hands, committing most of those matters to his Creatures, who were abhor'd by all for their Luxury and Avarice, and who minding only how to get and to spend Money dishonestly, for the satisfaction of their lusts, made no difference of right and wrong.

At these things the People being incens'd, began first to mutter, and then to complain openly, "That they ought not to have repented of their former condition, if they must suffer the same things over again: That *Pyrhus* had been sent for and entertain'd in vain, if he thought to imitate those men he came to punish, and that no injury made so deep an impression, as that whereof he was the Author, who ought to have been the Avenger.

XIX. And by this time many People did apparently incline to a revolt from him, whilst he taking the worst measures, chafes to exasperate rather than assuage their Animosities, as if by Cruelty he intended to atone for the Crimes of injustice.

The *Carthaginians* in the mean while looking on the King as not very strong in forces of his own, and daily more weakened in the affections of the *Scilians*, entertain'd hopes of recovering their Territories, and landed a fresh Army. And while People daily deserted *Pyrhus* for fear of his Cruelty, they annoy'd the *Epirots* very considerably.

*Pyrhus* by reason of the Punic War having put a Garison into every Town, resolves to make away all the principal Men, by forging accusations of Treason against them: When these were taken off, he made account the multitude would be more easily kept in awe: at last he seizes on *Thenio* and *Soffstratus*, two Persons of the greatest Quality in the whole Isle, by whose Interest, we told you, he had attain'd the Dominion of *Sicily*, and *Thenio* was kill'd, but *Soffstratus* escap'd to the Enemy, where he becomes no less instrumental to the expelling of the King, than he had been before to the setting of him up and establishing him. Afterwards vying who should be first, they revolted from him most to the *Carthaginians*, and some to the *Mamertines*: so that now the once flourishing Power of the *Epirots*, here was reduc'd to the lowest ebb of Fortune.

XX. In this state of Affairs the Ambassadors from his *Italian* Confederates came welcome to the King: who complaining to him, that several Towns being lost, the rest with much ado kept out the assailing Foe, gave him a fair pretence to be going, which he wish'd heartily; for that now being to aid his Confederates he could seem to return into *Italy*, not as forc'd by the *Carthaginians*.

Being upon his departure, when he consider'd with himself the Wealth and Situation of the Island, and tempers of the People, 'tis reported that he said, "O my Friends, what a Prize do we leave here for the *Romans* and *Carthaginians*! And this was a true preface being sufficiently fulfill'd in those long Wars that follow'd, wherein so many men were kill'd, and such great Navies sunk on either side.

And now the Enemies being encouraged with their fortune rendred *Pyrhus's* journey very dangerous to him from *Sicily*, and also very unsecure after his landing in *Italy*. For the *Carthaginians* tell upon him in the Streight, and having to do with unexperienc'd men in Naval Fights, themselves being most expert, sunk seventy of his Gallies, and disabled the rest. So that after this blow he escap'd into *Italy* with twelve Gallies onely, having set out with one hundred Gallies with Decks, besides a far greater number of Barks, and such as were for transporting provisions for the Army.

But having got together as many of his men as recover'd Land after this defeat, he presently had so strong an Army on foot that he was in good hopes to surprize *Rhegium*; but being repuls'd by the *Campanians*, who defended *Rhegium*, he fell soon after into another considerable danger. For, while he led his Army through difficult and woody places, the Enemy lying in Ambush suddenly charg'd and disorder'd the Rear of his Army, having kill'd many of his men and two of his Elephants: this was a strong Body of men, both in respect of their kind and number. There were ten thousand of them, no less, experienc'd Soldiers, and most of them were *Mamertines*: for these trusting in their Alliance and Kindred to the *Rhegians*, upon intelligence had of *Pyrhus's* intentions to return into *Italy*, crossed the Sea before him, and in hopes of booty lodged themselves in places convenient to surprize him: In this Action *Pyrhus*, while he was fighting according to his usual Courage in the front of his Army, receiv'd a wound in his Head: and when he had withdrawn for a little while from the Army to stop the blood, one of the Enemies, a man remarkable for the bigness of his Stature, and glittering Arms, thrusts himself before the rest, and defies him with a loud Voice, commanding him if he were alive to come out. *Pyrhus* being fir'd with rage, and looking terribly with his blood running down his Face, presently engages this Challenger, his men being not able to hinder him: and with a blow upon his Head killed him there right.

It is reported that the temper of his Sword was such, and the stroak so strong, that it cut the man through the Body, so that the wound cleft one half of him from the other. This frightful sight terrified the Enemies, insomuch that they quitted the fight, looking on him with Reverence as something more than a Man. *Pyrhus*, though freed from this trouble, had no great pleasure for all that; for when he had lost part of his Baggage in that Battel, and that all his rich Booty taken from the *Scilians* had been intercepted in that unfortunate fight with the *Carthaginians*, he was so streightned for Money to pay off his Soldiers, that he was forc'd to rob the sacred Treasures of *Proserpina*.

Her Shrine was then famous among the *Locrians* for an Opinion held of its Sanctity. *Pyrhus* having retaken this Town *Locri*, his Party within being encouraged by his presence, acted several cruelties upon the *Locrians*, prosecuting the revenge of the Garison, slain by them, more eagerly and furiously than he ought to have done, by making a prey of the Lives and Estates of those wretches. When he had taken from the People all they could, or would part with, he seiz'd on the holy Treasure; the most profligate of his Friends, who always had given him the worst Counsel, fomented this covetous humour of his.

XXIV. Their names were *Evagoras* the Son of *Theodorus*, *Balacer* the Son of *Nicanor*, and *Dinarchus* the Son of *Nicias*. These were not onely advisers to *Pyrhus* in the thing, telling him, That necessity had no Law, but likewise became the Instruments in committing the Sacriledge, having got out a great quantity of Gold, which had been kept in Vaults under ground for many years. The thing took mighty well with the King, who said, that Religion out of season was foppish, and that none but a Madman would refuse ready Cash: and accordingly he commanded the Prize to be carried by Sea to *Tarentum*, he himself going by Land; but this Act of his was not more dishonest in the Execution, than unfortunate in the Event; for a sudden storm surpriz'd his Fleet, the Wind, that stood fair before, changing all night, insomuch that some of his Ships being tossed about in the dark were driven out into the Sea: but as for those which carried the Holy Treasure, they were torn and scattered by the storm, and all of them lost with the men; but the

the Money stuck upon some planks remaining of this Wreck, and within two days after it had been carried away, was thrown out by the Sea upon the shore near this Temple. When the thing was known, he caused all the Treasure diligently to be got together and to be carried back to the old place, thinking hereby to procure the pardon of the Gods.

But notwithstanding all this, he could never prosper afterwards, Fortune still crossing all his designs XXVII. even those which were manag'd with Conduct and resolution too, which he ever after imputed to the anger of the Goddess, as *Proxenus* the Historian, and *Pyrhus* himself says in his Commentaries; Beside this, quickly after the perpetration of this vile Act, he sacrificed to *Proserpina*; but when none of his Offerings prov'd auspicious, he fell into such a rage, that he took off all the Counsellors and Intriguers; and these men indeed dy'd as they deserv'd.

*Pyrhus* after this continues on his Journey, and without any trouble arrives at *Tarentum*. The *Romans* who were extremely afflicted with a Pestilence, and the fear of War increasing upon *Pyrhus's* return into *Italy*, against both these made use of all humane and divine means whatsoever. There was an Ancient Concern- ing this Opion among them, that the driving in of a Nail by the Dictator might assuage the Disease, and it may be very probably guess'd, that this shift was made use of, and that *P. Cornelius Rufinus* was made Dictator to drive the Nail, whilst the greatness of the Calamity was apt to urge People to seek for any Remedies: and 'tis manifest that *Rufinus* was disgrac'd by the Censors the next year after he had been twice Consul and Dictator: and there cannot be found a surer Record, or a sitter place for his Dictatorship. &c.

Thus they did all they could to remove the Pestilence; but the care of the War by reason of the difficulty in making Levies put them to a greater trouble. For besides the long continuance of the War, the Pestilence having rag'd a long while made People weary of their lives: and the young Men being cited, obstinately refus'd to enter into service. But the severity and resolution of *M. Curius Dentatus* being Consul the second time broke their obstinacy: for he was now entred upon his Office with *L. Cornelius Lentulus* his Colleague. While *Curius* was making new Levies in the Capitol, and saw that none would list themselves, he commanded the names of all the Tribes to be put into the Box, and the Lot falling upon the *Pollian* Tribe, the first name of that Tribe that was drawn, was cited; but when the Man would not answer, he first of all sold his goods, and afterwards, when with grievous complaints he had made his Appeal to the Tribune, he sold the man himself, laying beforehand, "That the Commonwealth had no need of such a Member as would not be obedient. The Tribunes did not assist the Fellow in the least; and from that time this action was esteem'd to good a President, that if any one refus'd to list himself, when he was commanded to do so in a Muster rightly held, it became a Custom to make a Slave of him. This terrour forced the rest to enroll themselves more readily: and so having rais'd as many Regiments as they had design'd, the two Consuls advanc'd towards the Enemy. *Lentulus* makes an inroad into *Lucania*, and *Curius* invades the *Samnites*.

*Pyrhus* bestirring himself at this news, in a general Rendezvous of his Forces at *Tarentum*, review'd XXVIII. his Army consisting of twenty thousand Foot, and three thousand Horse. With which, and a choice Troop of *Tarentines* he entred into *Samnium*: where he found that Nation but coldly affected to him, and his aids from other places came in very slowly and thin: People being not onely wearied out by their great losses, but very much nettled, because he was reckon'd to be the Author of all the miseries they suffer'd, whilst betraying his *Italian* Allies by his departure he undertook an Expedition into *Sicily*.

But yet for all this being furnish'd with great Forces he sent part of them into *Lucania*, to divert the other Consul, and goes himself against *Man. Curius*, promising himself an easie conquest of the rest, if he could but conquer this Man. But the *Roman* knowing full well, that no Army could be a match to the *Macedonian Phalanx*, if it were drawn out in Battalia; posted himself in a place that was of difficult access: and because he hop'd for Aids out of *Lucania*, beside that the Sacrifices and Auguries did not bode well, he was not willing to give Battel.

*Pyrhus* the more earnestly desir'd Battel before the two consular Armies were joyn'd: and therefore taking with him some of the Light-arm'd Soldiers together with some Elephants he resolv'd by Night to surprize the *Roman* Camp. And now when all things are prepar'd for this attempt, he falls asleep, and dreams that most of his Teeth drop'd out of their place, and a great deal of blood ran out of his Mouth. Being perplex'd with this Dream he determin'd for the present to forbear all Action; But because his Friends importun'd him not to pretermitt an opportunity, not likely to be retriev'd, he commanded that the Signal for the March should be given. About the Town of *Maleventum* (which was so called in those days) the County is woody and mountainous, but further on the Hills by moderate and gentle descents it determines in a spacious Plain, called the Fields of *Taurasimum*. Whilst *Pyrhus* was going from the lower ground by the ascent of these hilly and woody places, the Lights he carried with him went quite out, so that straying in the dark, and being stop'd in his Journey he could be seen from the *Roman* Camp by break of day.

The *Romans* were not a little surpriz'd at the sudden arrival of the Enemy; but because they knew XXX. for certain they must engage, and considering that their Sacrifices appear'd auspicious: the Consul marches speedily out of the Camp, and falls upon and routs the foremost of the Enemies that were broken from the rest, and in disarray; these running back upon their own men, disorder'd the Army, and a great many were kill'd, and some Elephants left by the Enemy were taken by the *Romans*. This success encouraged *Curius* to pursue his good fortune, and to lead his Army in Battalia down into the Plain, where the *Epirots* were ready to receive them. They fought very sharply on both sides; but the *Romans* having gotten the better in the former Battel, they were more courageous now. The *Epirots* at length gave ground, which made *Pyrhus* to have recourse to the assistance of his Elephants, by which means when one Wing of his Army fled, he forced the *Romans* in the other Wing to retire to their Posts.

The Consul having before left there a strong Guard, commands them now being fresh to receive the XXXI. Enemy, and beat back the Elephants. Against these Creatures experience had taught them how to secure themselves very easily: and they had learn'd in the former Battels that they were more afraid of Fire than Sword; they got therefore bundles of Hempen stalks besmear'd with Pitch, which being fir'd they threw upon the backs or Towers of the Elephants: and these, whether they lighted on the skin of the Elephants, or on their wooden Towers, stuck fast by shap hooks they were arm'd withal.

While they ply'd them with these and several other kinds of shot very thick from the upper ground; the Elephants partly by the terrour of the fire, and partly by their Wounds were put into a rage, and in an ungovern'd

ungovern'd manner retreating upon their own men disordered and destroy'd all where they bent their course. This confusion, as they say, began by a young Elephant, who being shot in the head with a Dart, made a mournful noise, at which (as being known by her) his Dam leaping out, and increasing the disorder afterwards, put all the rest of the Elephants into the like hurry and confusion.

XXXII. This Battel was a very great one both for the number of the slain, and the advantages of the Victory. For then was *Pyrrhus* quite defeated: nor did the rest of *Italy* hold out long after him, nor other Countries and States after *Italy*.

'Tis said, that the King had in that Battel three times more men than the *Romans*: for that he had eighty thousand Foot, and six thousand Horse; whereof according to those who say most, there were thirty six thousand slain, and according to those that say least, twenty six thousand. There were taken one thousand three hundred men with eight Elephants, *Pyrrhus* with few Horsemen escaping to *Tarentum*.

His Camp was also taken, which was not onely admird, but likewise prov'd of very great use afterwards. For anciently the *Romans* and all other Nations us'd to pitch their Tents here and there after the manner of Booths in the midst of their several Battalions: but *Pyrrhus* was the first who measuring out the ground incamp'd all his Army within a Trench. By which Example the *Romans* being enlighten'd in the matter, adding onely such things as seem'd necessary attain'd to that absolute skill in incampments in succeeding times. This year was not onely remarkable for successes abroad, but also for domestick Affairs, and great severity of Discipline. *Q. Fabricius Lucinus*, and *Q. Aemilius Papus* bore the Consulship with good accord together. Many had their Horses taken from them: some were paid by, when they chose Members for the Senate; but the most memorable thing of all was the Censure upon *P. Cornelius Rufinus*. This Man had been twice Consul and Dictator, and having perform'd many warlike Exploits had triumph'd also; but now the Censors turn'd him out of the House, and for the reason of their proceedings gave this, That they found him to have ten pound of Silver Plate for the use of his Table. And this blot remain'd so long upon the Family, that none thereof were admitted to Honours and Offices till the times of *Sulla* the Dictator.

So great was the abstinence of those days, and their Luxury was as great afterwards, so that that Household-stuff, which would have been looked upon by their Posterity as mean and lewd, should have been esteem'd too anxious and gay by these their Forefathers.

XXXIV. After the Poll there follow'd a lustration. There were poll'd 271222. In the end of this year, both the Consuls rode into the Capitol in triumph; *Curius* was first, whose triumph both for the honour of his Achievements, and the joy of his Successes, as also for the splendour of his Train made the more glorious show. For till that day there was nothing to set off a Triumph (as being but overpoor neighbouring Nations) but onely some rusty Arms, or Gallic Waggon: and there was no booty, but Flocks and Herds. But now both for the variety of Nations, whose Captives were led before the Chariot, as also for the beauty and magnificence of the Spoils the Show was splendid and great. Here you might see *Epirots*, *Thessalians*, *Macedonians*, *Apulians*, *Lucanians* and *Brutians* led in Chains before the Chariot: while curious Pictures, and Statues of noble Artificers with Gold, Purple, and other transmarine Rarities, implements of the *Tarentine* luxury were carried before to adorn the Triumph. But the pleasantest and most surprising sight of all was, the Elephants; four of which with their Towers (for the rest dy'd before of their Wounds) were then first seen at *Rome*: the common People from the name of the biggest Creature they knew, and the place they had been first seen in, call'd them *Lucanian Oxen*. The other Consuls triumph a few days after was more obscure: though his Actions were none of the meanest; for he had beaten the *Sannites* and *Lucanians*, and taken several Towns: but yet the lustre of *Curius's* fame outshone these lesser exploits.

XXXV. Among those who were rewarded for their Courage, he bestow'd a golden Coronet out of the booty upon *Ser. Corn. Merenda*, who had been a chief Instrument in taking a Town of the *Sannites*. While the *Romans* thus enjoy'd the fruits of their Victory, their Enemies were in a quite different humour; for they, who a long while had been dissatisfied with the Government of *Pyrrhus*, after this unhappy Battel, being filled with fear and indignation, began to murmur and mutiny. The King himself who had a long while been weary of this game with the *Romans*, and now wholly despair'd of Victory, thought of nothing else, but onely how he might without danger and disgrace go away. But dissimbling his design for the present, he exhorted his Allies, by telling them, "That they should not be cast down for one defeat, for that they had not been worse beaten by the *Romans* in the last Battel, than they had beaten them in the first: who for all that could not be persuaded to make Peace with them; and if they would but imitate their Constancy, and wait for better times, then all things would appear more tolerable: Besides that, they had strength sufficient for a longer War; and that he had in *Greece* many potent Friends from whom he might expect certain assistance. Nor were these idle stories; for the truth of it is, he had been aided considerably before by *Ptolemy* King of *Macedonia*, and was held in great esteem by the *Grecians* and *Barbarians* too. And withal, he was honour'd by the *Etolians* then a powerful People, by the *Macedonians* and the Princes of the *Slavonians*; whom he had won partly by fear, and partly by kindness. But yet he pretended these things to keep his Allies from revolting from him, until the Sea being open for his Voyage, he might return into his Country; and not because he was willing to continue the War in *Italy*, or did put any great hopes in foreign Succours: but yet he sent Ambassadors about to the Kings of *Asia* and *Macedonia*, desiring Money of some, and Aid of others, and both of *Antigonus* King of *Macedonia*. By such hopes as these he preserv'd to himself the good will of his Allies however, so that while he had prepar'd all things ready for his departure under-hand, his Ambassadors return'd from *Antigonus*. Having therefore assembled the Chiefs of the *Italians* and *Epirots*, he reads to them not those Letters he had receiv'd but counterfeit ones, wherein *Antigonus* signifi'd that he would send him aid speedily.

XXXVII. By this Intrigue having wheeled not onely his Allies but the *Romans* too, who kept Guard in the Neighbourhood, he set Sail the next day without any hindrance, and so arriv'd at the *Ceraunan* Mountains (a Promontory of *Epire* so call'd). But to take off the shame of his having quitted the War, and to make men believe he would return when he had perform'd those things for which he was call'd away, he left *Milo* to guard the Citadel of *Tarentum*: and that he might continue faithful to him, not onely in hopes of rewards from him, but also for fear of the same doom, he presented him with a Chair, the Cords of which were made of the skin of *Nicias*, whom for Treason design'd against him, he had put to death.

Having given this Man a Guard of Soldiers, he return'd with the rest of his Forces being eight thousand Foot and five hundred Horse into his own Kingdom, now in the sixth year after he had come from thence.

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In the mean while when the Centuriate assemblies were held at *Rome*, and that it was thought *Pyrrhus* would renew the War, they determined to make *Curius* Consul the second time, because he of all Men had managed the business most handsomely against that King; and therefore seem'd a Person of the greatest stroke and fortune to go through with the rest of the War. Of the Nobility *Ser. Cornelius Merenda* was made Consul, his late Achievements and glory advancing him, and also the recommendation of his Kinsman under whom he had bore Arms in the last Campaign.

These Consuls bent the effort of their Arms against the *Lucanians*, *Sannites* and *Brutians*; who defended themselves rather by strength of places, than by Arms, so that no Action could be perform'd comparable to the rest. Yet this did not in the least impair *Curius's* glory, whilst all were of Opinion, that the warlike King would not onely be afraid for the blow he had receiv'd, but also because *Curius* would be made General again, to fight against him. Therefore the whole honour of ending this War, and routing *Pyrrhus* out of *Italy* ought to be ascribed to this Great Man.

The next year after *Curius's* third Consulship, the first Embassy came from the Kings of *Alexandria* with Presents to *Rome*, in the Consulship of *C. Corfo*, and *C. Claud. Canina*. *Ptolemy* surnam'd *Philadelphus* upon intelligence of *Pyrrhus's* flight sent to congratulate the *Romans*, and to desire an Alliance with them. The Senators thought it highly honourable, and a great happiness thus to be courted by Kings so potent and remote of their own accord for their Alliance, therefore they received the Ambassadors civilly, and enter'd into Alliance with *Ptolemy*. Moreover, they nominated persons of the greatest Quality to go Ambassadors to the King to ratify the Alliance, and to return the Complement, namely, *Q. Fabius Ginges* a Consular Person, and with him *Caius Fabius Pictor*, *Numerius Fabius Pictor*, and *Q. Ogulnius*. When these were gone, the Consuls fought with good success against those *Italian* Nations, who out of necessity and despair continued yet in Arms: but that the actions of one of the Consuls exceeded the others, may be collected from the Triumph of *C. Claudius Canina* had over the *Sannites*, *Lucanians* and *Brutians*, in his Consulship, at the Feast *Romulus*. But these Joys for successes abroad were somewhat disturbed by *Sex-tilia* a Vestal Virgin convicted of Incest, and thought to have incens'd the Gods against the City by her Irreligion; but the anger of the Gods was appeas'd by Sacrifices and Atonements, and the Nun suffering the punishment due to so great a Crime was buried alive at the *Collatine* Gate. The same year Colonies were brought to *Cosa* of the *Volsians* and *Pestum* in *Lucania*, called by the *Greeks*, *Possidonia*. This place the *Lucanians* had taken from the *Sybarites*: and now it was newly subjected to the *Romans*. The year following was more remarkable, wherein not only the War against the *Sannites* and others, but also against the *Tarentines* was ended.

*L. Papirius Cursor*, and *Sp. Carvilius* Consuls the second time, having the *Lucanians*, *Brutians*, *Sannites* and *Tarentines* for their Provinces, by their great Exploits and undertakings answer'd the expectations they had rais'd (being both chosen on purpose in hopes to conclude the War that year): and the *Sannites* being totally subdued by *Carvilius* after a War of seventy one years, now with more fidelity than before imbrac'd the conditions of Peace impos'd upon them by the *Romans*. *L. Papirius* forc'd the *Brutians* and *Lucanians*, after great slaughters made of them, to sue for Peace. But as it happens in a War against several bordering People *Papirius* was also engag'd with the *Sannites*, and *Carvilius* with the *Brutians* and *Lucanians*, and both with the *Tarentines*: nor were the Forces of the *Tarentines* onely defeated, but the City it self was taken; which whole affair I shall more particularly relate as containing not only the Conquest of this famous City, but also the death of King *Pyrrhus*, with the false dealings of the *Carthaginians*, and the source of that Rupture between them and the *Romans*.

*Pyrrhus* two years before had so departed from *Italy*, as by his Garison left behind at *Tarentum*, to give People hopes of his return: which soon after being much increas'd by the late successes of that King in *Macedonia*, kept up the spirits of the *Italians* in their present sufferings: for being a Man of an active Spirit, who could not long rest, he had made War against *Antigonus*, for not aiding him in the business of *Italy*, and having defeated him, almost dispossest him of his whole Dominions. Whence the *Romans* were then continually afraid, lest returning with more Forces into *Italy* he should raise a greater War than the former. But the sudden death of *Pyrrhus* destroy'd the hopes, and remov'd the fears of all People. For *Pyrrhus* insatiably coveting to enlarge his Dominions to the utmost, under pretence of re-inflating *Cleonymus* in the Kingdom of *Sparta*, who then had difference with *Arens*, entering *Peloponnesus*, resolv'd to make himself Master thereof likewise; and he annoy'd the *Lacedemonians* very much, though he had in vain attacked their City. In the mean time at *Argos* there were two contrary Parties, headed by *Aristippus* and *Aristias*, the first of which sends for *Antigonus*, the latter for *Pyrrhus* to help to pull down their Enemies: For *Antigonus* also was come to *Peloponnesus*, to assist the *Lacedemonians* against the common Enemy. So that the same Night the Forces of both Kings were receiv'd through several Gates into the Town. *Pyrrhus* understanding that his men were press'd hard by the Enemies, entering himself likewise into the City; when he saw at break of day a figure of a Wolf and a Bull in Brags representing them fighting with one another, was astonish'd at this Omen of his imminent danger. For there was an ancient Oracle which said that the place where *Æacides* should see a Bull and a Wolf fighting, should be fatal to him. Therefore he design'd to draw back with his Forces, and to retire out of the Town; but his Son *Helenus* meeting him with the reserves and Elephants had stop'd his way; and the one endeavouring to get out of the Town, and the others to enter in, whilst the Enemies bore hardly upon the multitude retiring, and the *Argives*, *Epirots*, and *Macedonians*, together with the *Spartans* and *Cretians* belonging to *Arens*, and some Elephants were in those narrow streets crouded together, and trampled upon one another, all was in a hurry and confusion. Mean while *Pyrrhus*, whilst he does all he can by his directions, exhortations, and valour to repel the Enemy and defend his own men, receiv'd a light Wound with a Lance from an *Argive* Youth, whose Mother being a poor old Woman was there among others of her Sex looking upon the Battel from the top of a House, and happening to see *Pyrrhus* eagerly coming up towards the person that wounded him, was so concern'd for her Sons danger, that she took a Tile from the top of the House, and with both hands threw it on *Pyrrhus's* head. Thus *Pyrrhus* died miserably and ignobly: a Person outdone by none in that Age for Courage, Conduct, and Experience in Military Affairs, and several other endowments both of Body and Mind; but the fruit of his Achievements, and the lustre of his other Excellencies was destroy'd by his Ambition; for he wanted nothing of being a happy Man but Contentment. In fine, had he been as circumspect in maintaining, as he was industrious in making Conquests, the World could not have shew'd a greater Prince.

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XLII.

XLIV.



- XLIV. When the news hereof came to *Italy*, it was receiv'd with joy or regret according as People were differently affected to the Person. While other Nations which were free bought their Peace with *Rome* upon such terms as they could get, the *Tarentines* were not able to take those measures they would have done, being over-ruled by *Milo* and the Garison of the *Epirots*: between whom matters improv'd from lighter Affronts to an open quarrel. The *Tarentines* thus sorely afflicted on both sides, by the *Romans* their Enemies without the Walls, and the *Epirots* within, sent Ambassadors for aid to *Carthage*; the *Carthaginians*, who already possess'd a great part of *Sicily*, and wish'd rather to make themselves Masters of the *Maritime* Coasts of *Italy*, than that they should fall into the hands of the *Romans*, readily came with a Navy equip'd under pretence of casting out *Milo*, but intending if they could take *Tarentum*, to defend it against the *Romans*. When *L. Papirius* the Consul was also arriv'd thither, *Tarentum* was block'd up on all sides: the *Romans* besieging by Land the City and Citadel, and the *Carthaginians* besieging the Citadel by Sea. In this state of Affairs, whilst the *Romans* were no less solicitous that the *Carthaginians* should not take the place, than that themselves should take it, whilst they cunningly tried all the Methods of Victory, they sent to *Milo* by private Messengers, promising, if *Tarentum* were deliver'd into their hands by his means, they would dismiss him and his Countrymen safe home. *Milo* thinking it the best course to do so at present, treats with the *Tarentines*, that they should unanimously consult concerning their common safety: and by degrees he persuades them to send him Ambassadors to *L. Papirius*, and that he would get such conditions from him as would be for the advantage of them all. When these People being tir'd with cares and dangers had willingly assented to him, he went likewise to the Consul, with whom he had laid the Plot, and return'd from him with very advantageous Conditions, and hopes of Peace upon reasonable terms. This credulity expos'd the *Tarentines* to security and confidence, laying aside all care and circumspection; and thereby administred an opportunity to *Milo*, not onely to deliver the Citadel, but the Town also to the *Romans*. The *Carthaginians* being not well pleas'd with this event, departed, pretending themselves still Friends to the *Romans*: and that they were come for no other end but to drive out *Milo*. According to some Authors, I find that the *Romans* had warn'd the *Carthaginians* not to meddle in the *Tarentine* Affair, for in so doing they would act contrary to the Articles of the League; but that the *Carthaginians* did not onely slight the admonition, but also that the Punic Auxiliaries fought in the *Tarentine* Army against the *Romans*: from which distaste the War that was waged against the *Carthaginians* in *Sicily* first broke out; though the *Carthaginians* being desirous to conceal their falshood by perjury, swore they had acted all things squarely and honestly. But as I do not deny, but such things might pass between the Generals: while the *Romans* could not endure the presence of the *Carthaginians*, and the *Carthaginians* colour'd the matter as well as they could, or that People commonly discours'd such things: so I am of Opinion that the War rose upon other reasons; both because they did not enter upon the War presently, and also because the War in *Sicily* rising afterwards chiefly broke out by reason of the *Mamertines*, while the Punic League was still valid.
- XLVII. Their Dominion being thus enlarged, the Consuls returning to *Rome* being receiv'd with a great deal of rejoycing, triumphed afterwards with Honour and Renown. In the mean while *Q. Fabius Gurges*, and the rest who had been sent to *Alexandria*, gave an Account of their Embassy in the Senate, how that they had been entertain'd with all manner of civility; costly Presents being sent to them when they came, and "richer ones when they were returning home. But that it was conceiv'd more for the honour of the Roman abstinence, to refuse the former modestly. But as for the rest which had been receiv'd, they had carried them into the Treasury of the Roman People before they had done any other business; and as for the golden Crowns sent to them at *Alexandria*, when they were invited to a Feast according to the usual custom of the Court, that they had receiv'd them for the Omens sake, and plac'd them at Night upon the King's Statues.
- The Senate being very glad for the success of the Embassy, and gravity of the Ambassadors, returning them thanks for rendring the Roman Manners venerable even to foreign Nations by their continence, order'd those Presents to be restor'd them which they had put into the Treasury; and the People saying, "That the Commonwealth would then be best manag'd, when that base course of getting Riches by the Acquests of Ministers of State during their employments was taken away, immediately decreed the same thing: and the Treasurers readily delivering up the Money as they were commanded, these Persons worthy of this fruit of their abstinence, with equal glory refus'd and receiv'd the Egyptian Wealth. *Q. Fabius* the Chief Ambassador was (I suppose) upon this account prefer'd before so many noble Persons, and chosen President of the Senate by the Censors *Curius* and *Papirius*: whilst both for the nobleness of his blood and his Father's deserts; as also for his two Consulships, and as many Triumphs he seem'd ripe for any Honour.
- XLVIII. In the same year *M. Curius* the Cenfor defray'd the charge of bringing the River *Anien* into the City, with the booty taken from the Enemy. Out of which he was so unwilling to be enrich'd himself, privately, that when he was charg'd by some Adversaries of his with having imbezzled that Money, bringing out a wooden Cruise that he us'd to Sacrifice withal, he swore that he had carried no more of the booty into his own House, but that: a Man that deserves for the greatness of his Achievements, and other famous proofs of his Vertues, to have his more remarkable Deeds and Sayings taken notice of, though we digress a little. For I think it not unfit or impertinent to the business of an Historian to relate such things, whereby men that are like to be conversant in State Affairs may be no less instructed towards the attaining of happiness by Vertue, than by Military Actions and Counsels. In the *Sabine* War, when there had been so much booty taken, that the Historiographer *Fabius* imagines that the *Romans* then first of all had the taste of Riches; *Curius* out of such a wealthy Victory assuming to himself nothing but the Credit and Satisfaction of the Performance, continu'd in his former austere way of living, being both a competent Example, and also a severe exactor of publick Abstinence.
- XLIX. For when the greatest part of the Land taken from the Enemy had been confiscated, he allotted not above fourteen Acres to every private mans share; and when the Senate would have assign'd him a greater share, he was content with the same quantity of ground as the rest had, saying, that he was an ill Citizen, who could not be satisfied with the same as others had. Afterwards in this place stood the Villa of *Curius* among the *Sabines*, in which by chance as he was boyling Rapes, the *Sannites* being newly conquer'd came to him and presented him with a great sum of Gold; unto whom he said, I had rather have these things in my earthen Vessels, and command those men who have Gold. *Caro* the elder possessing some Lands near this Villa came thither often, and contemplating upon that small Cottage and spot of ground, which that great Man had dig'd with his own hands after three Triumphs,

Triumphs, remembering also his life led with the greatest abstinence that could be, he form'd his Mind to a like generosity in imitation of that Primitive Integrity and simplicity of *Curius*. And in truth, they were the fittest Persons to lay the firm foundations of an Empire, which might bear up the superstructure, and not onely withstand foreign Assaults, but also scarcely be shaken with its own domestick Vices.

## DECADE II. BOOK XV.

### Florus his Epitome of the Fifteenth Book of Livy.

Both Peace and Liberty is granted to the vanquish'd *Tarentines*. The Campanian Legion that treacherously seiz'd *Rhegium*, is besieg'd, and upon surrender, all Beheaded. Some unruly young Noblemen happening to affront the Ambassadors which the *Apolloniats* sent to the Senate, they were all delivered into the *Apolloniats* hands to be punish'd at discretion. Peace granted to the conquer'd *Picenes*, and a Colony planted at *Ariminum* in that Country, and another at *Beneventum* in *Samnum*. Now and not before the *Romans* began to use Silver Coin for their Money. The *Umbrians* and *Salentines* subdued, and their submissions accepted. The number of *Questors* increased to Eight.

ALL these Potent Enemies being conquer'd after many Battels, and a Peace made in *Italy*, the Lords of the Senate fell now to consider how they might improve their Victories to the best advantage. They resolv'd that all those who had taken Arms against them, should forfeit part of their Territories; reserving a severe revenge for the *Tarentines*, because their Crime was greater: whom they commanded to deliver up their Arms and Shipping, and also, razed their Walls, and impos'd a Tribute upon them: but yet they had Liberty and Peace given them.

Afterwards they judg'd nothing more necessary than to punish the treachery of that Legion, which having circumvented the *Rhegians* possess'd that Town now for the space of ten years. These People foreseeing, that the *Romans* being every day more and more successful, their wickedness should not go unaveng'd, diligently applied themselves to fortifie their Town and to secure themselves against danger, well knowing that what they had got by fraud and rapine, was to be maintain'd by the same practices. Besides their inbred insolence, they trusted in their Alliance with the *Mamertines*; and their success against the *Carthaginians* and against *Pyrrhus*, whereby they had try'd the courage of their People, having soon forc'd the Enemies to quit their attempts of besieging them: So that the Rebels and desertors were grown so bold, that they took *Croton* by treachery, kill'd the Roman Garison, and destroy'd the Town. *L. Genucius* therefore who bore the Consulship with *C. Quinctius* that year, was order'd to do justice upon these matters: who having forc'd the Traitors within their Walls, besieg'd the Town. But whilst they made great resistance with their own Forces, and those of the *Mamertines*, the Consul after considerable losses was streighten'd also for Provision, until *Hiero* King of *Syracuse* supply'd him with Men and Victuals: for he being an Enemy to the *Mamertines* hated also their Allies of *Rhegium*. He was also induc'd hereunto by the consideration of the Roman greatness, whom he thought to make his Friends against future occasions, by obliging them first. Thus at last the Town being forc'd to surrender it self, the Consul dismiss'd the *Mamertines* obliging them to certain Conditions, and punish'd the Thieves and Desertors that had got to *Rhegium* as to a Sanctuary: but he carried the Legionary Soldiers to *Rome*, that the Senate might take a course with them. Hereupon a great Example of the Roman Discipline follow'd: The Senate first of all commanded that all those who had been brought by the Consul should be imprison'd, and from thence be brought to Execution. Afterwards, when a Tribune of the Commons had remonstrated against this act of the Senate, declaring, That the lives of Roman Citizens should not be taken away contrary to the Laws and Customs of their Ancestors: the clamours of the Tribunes were contemned by the resolute Senators, and the Malefactors punish'd; but to take away the invidiousness of such a sad action lest the People should regret, to see such a company of men suffer death together: they brought them out by fifty in a day, and after they had scourg'd them, strook off their Heads. The Senate order'd that their Bodies should not be buried nor any mourning made for them.

*D. Iulius* who had liv'd blind till that time that he might die with greater torment, kill'd himself in Prison. Following most Authors in the Point, I have related that the whole Legion consisting of four thousand men, was belicaded. But I hold that a more true account which is given by *Polybius*, namely, that they had taken alive no more than three hundred of that Legion, the rest chusing by manful resistance to die by the Sword; when the City was taken, as knowing that after such enormous Crimes, nothing else could be expected from a surrender of themselves, but greater tortures and a more infamous death. The Town of *Rhegium* was restor'd to the former Inhabitants, as many of them as could be found out, and they enjoy'd their Liberty and Laws as before. This act of Justice mightily encreas'd the reputation of the Roman Commonwealth, and the *Italians* and neighbouring Nations lov'd them no less for this action, than they fear'd them for their Arms. Afterwards when *Genucius* and *Cornelius* were Consuls, they had War with the *Sasines*, (a Race of *Umbrians* inhabiting the *Apennine*) but upon what cause these took Arms, and upon what confidence they durst oppose a Power so formidable, as the *Romans* was grown, I cannot imagine, what remains of Authors being wholly silent in the matter: the whole Series likewise of that War is wholly lost, no further account of these ancient actions remaining, but that *Cneius Cornelius* triumphed over the *Sasines*.

The Winter this year is reported to have been exceeding sharp, so that the Trees wither'd, the *Tyber* was frozen over with a thick Ice, and Cattel dy'd for want of fodder: nay, the weather was so extremely cold, that in the Roman Forum the Snow lay very deep for forty days together. This unusual thing, as

- A. U. 484. it happens, being esteem'd for a Portentous Accident by many, strangely affected People with fears, which were increas'd when they saw and heard of many Prodiges, *Q. Ogulnius Gallus*, and *C. Fabius Piclor* being Consuls. For at *Rome* the Temple of *Health*, and part of the room under it was beaten down with Lightning. Three Wolves coming into the Town before day brought a Carcass half eaten, and left it mangled in pieces in the *Forum*, being affrighted with the noise of people. From *Formia*, it was reported, that their Walls had been frequently destroy'd with Lightning. From the Country of *Calenum*, it was said, that the Earth suddenly gaping a violent flame issu'd forth, which continuing to burn for three days consumed five Acres of ground into ashes, so that not onely the fruits of that place, but the Trees themselves dy'd from the roots. These things caused greater fear than harm at *Rome*; for nothing extraordinary followed hereupon, except it were a War with the *Picentians*, which was concluded the next year with the addition of that Province to the Commonwealth. Mean while Silver began to be coyn'd first at *Rome*, their Riches being increas'd by the successes of their Arms, whereas till that time Brals Coyns were the onely Money us'd in common at *Rome*: but then there were Denaries and Quinaries of Silver coyn'd in the Temple of *Juno*, in the Capitol: for *Juno* was so sumam'd, because that when the *Romans* in the War against *Pyrrhus* and the *Tarentines*, consulted her touching their present exigencies for Money; she answered them, that they should not lack Money if they would follow Justice and the Ways. The Consuls *Q. Gallus*, and *C. Fabius* went to take *Lollius* the *Sammite*, who being an Hostage at *Rome* made his escape privately, and taking a certain Cattle, robbed the people from thence, and stir'd up the minds of his Countrymen which were not yet settled in a sure Peace, to a Revolt: but bringing onely an unarmed Rabble with him, he made no great resistance, except that by the *Caricinians* (a people bordering on the *Frentani*) things were put into greater trouble and danger: for whilst they were attacking a certain Fort, which was the receptacle of *Lollius*'s booty and pillage, by a various turn of Fortune their hopes were changed into fear, and their fear again into Victory. Some of the besieged induc'd upon promise of indemnity to themselves received the *Romans* in a Moon-shine Night into the Town. The Townsmen being got together at this, as soon as they came to close fight, a great deal of Snow suddenly falling down hinder'd them from seeing one another in the fight. Hereby the *Caricinians* had got so much odds against them that were Strangers in those places, that the *Roman* Ensigns were endanger'd; and now they were almost forc'd to give back, when upon a sudden it ceas'd to snow, and the Moon shone again: and thus when they were deliver'd from their blind fear, Victory was waiting to crown their Valour with success. These battles seem to have hinder'd them from subduing the *Picentians* that year: but the next year *P. Sempronius Sophus*, and *Appius Claudius* the Son of *Cecus* in the entrance upon their Consulships undertaking the War, manag'd the business with success. About the same time in the *Picentian* Country belonging to the *Galli Senones*, a Colony was plant- ed at *Ariminum*, as also at *Maleventum* in *Sammium*, the name being chang'd into *Beneventum* for the *O-* mens sake. The *Sabines*, who some years had been made Denizens of *Rome*, received now also the Power of Voting in Elections. *Claudius* likewise ingaged with the Enemies in *Umbria*, and took the Town of *Camarinum*, the Inhabitants whereof were sold for Slaves: but because the War seem'd to have been carried on by indirect means, the *Romans* prefer'd Justice before Lucre; and order'd the *Camarinians* to be sought for and ransom'd by the buyers: and that being made Denizens of *Rome*, they should have places to inhabit assign'd them in Mount *Aventine*, and their Lands restor'd.
- IX. But the Victory obtain'd over the *Picentians* was a Subject of greater Triumph, esteem'd at so high a rate as to have impress'd on the Silver Deniers then newly coyn'd to represent it, that so it might be known presently by all men, and also the memory of it transmitted to Posterity. *Q. Ceditius* the Son of *Quintus* by an Order of the Senate, procur'd the Money to be coyn'd with *Picus* the Son of *Saturn* (for he was thought to be the founder of the Race) instamp'd on one side, and a *Roman* Magistrate reaching out his hand to a Suppliant upon the other. Moreover, that the Conquest of that Nation made a considerable accession of strength to the *Romans* may be collected hence, because 360000 *Picentians* are said to have then yielded themselves to the mercy of the *Romans*.
- X. Both the Consuls deserv'd and enjoy'd a Triumph for that War, but *Sempronius* was the more Illustrious: because he had ingag'd against stronger Forces of the Enemy with greater danger and difficulty. For there happen'd a prodigious thing at the time when the Armies being drawn up in Battalia were just ready to fall on, namely a sudden Earthquake. But the Consul in a Speech proper for the occasion encourag'd the terrified minds of the Soldiery, alledging, that the Enemy was also as much disturb'd with a needless fear, and that the day should be his, who first bravely adventur'd to charge his Enemy lying yet under a consternation. Afterwards, vowing a Temple to the Goddess *Tellus* in case she should give Victory to the *Romans*: he fell upon the Enemy, who were ready to receive him; so that a bloody and terrible slaughter ensu'd: and of the Conquerours the least part are said to have escap'd. After this Battel, among other Towns of the *Picentians*, *Asculum* their Metropolis, a place strong by Nature and Art yielded it self to *Sempronius*. Afterwards, by the Example of this place, the whole *Picentian* Nation promising obedience obtain'd Peace of the *Romans*. And thus all *Italy*, as far as it is wash'd with the *Ionian* and *Sicilian* Seas being conquer'd, the *Sallentines* onely remain'd to be subdued, a People inhabiting the utmost Coasts of *Italy* where the *Ionian* and the *Adriatic* join. From the *Picentians* therefore the War proceeded as it were by some contagion to these People, which was declar'd against them. *M. Atilius Regulus*, and *Julius Libo* being then Consuls, they were charg'd of having entertain'd *Pyrrhus* coming from *Epirus* in their Towns and Ports. But the commodiousness of the Haven of *Brundisium*, which with the Wind blowing from the same Point, receives and sends forth Vessels, together with the easie passage into *Dalmatia* and *Albania* from thence, as also the convenience of having their Dominions terminated by the bounds of *Italy*, were deemed the most important reasons of the War. Both the Consuls triumph'd over these people in one day being the 20th of February. The *Sallentines* being overcome they took *Brundisium*, the most eminent Town in that quarter, and achiev'd other matters very prosperously: being assisted, as they gave out, by *Pales* the Goddess of Shepherds, said to have requested for reward of the Victory, a Chappel to be consecrated for her at *Rome*. The greater part of the *Sallentines* being subdued by these men, the Consuls of the year following compleated the Victory; their names were *Numerius Fabius C.F.M.N.* and *Decius Junius D.F.D.*: by these the *Umbrians* and *Sallentines* also were subjected to the *Roman* Yoke. Thus *Italy* being conquer'd where it is bounded by the Seas and the *Po*, the *Roman* Power immediately began to be magnify'd by the hopes of some, and fear of others in the neighbouring Islands, and the Continent lying to the *Ionian* and *Adriatic* Seas. For those who desir'd to aggrandize themselves by oppressing others, were afraid to be hinder'd in their designs by the *Romans*, whilst others on the contrary imbrac'd their aid as sent from Heaven against the outrages of their Adversaries.

The *Apollonians* first of all desired by their Ambassadors to be admitted into an Alliance with the *Romans*. The Town of *Apollonia* is distant from the Sea sixty furlongs, being built by the *Corinthians* and *Corycians*: it has a commodious Harbour, and the shortest passage from *Brundisium* into *Greece* lies that way: the *Illyrians* and *Macedonians* inhabit about it; therefore the people can hardly maintain their ground against their ambitious and potent Neighbours. The Embassie was graciously received by the Senate, not regarding so much the Wealth and Power of that People being but small, as future hopes and opportunity open'd for greater matters in reversion: whence the punishment taken upon some young Noblemen for beating the Ambassadors in a scuffle was the greater; for neither could the dignity of his Office (for he was Edile) nor the nobleness of his Extract rescue *Q. Fabius* from being deliver'd up to the *Apollonians* for that mildemeanour. *Q. Apronius* likewise an Edile, and an Accomplice in the same Crime was surrendered to the *Apollonians*; for the Senate decreed that these should be deliver'd by the Herald to the *Apollonian* Ambassadors, and that a Questor should go along with them to *Brundisium*, lest the Relations of the persons surrendered should offer any injury to the Ambassadors in their Journey.

This was a signal demonstration both of the justice of the State, and of their prudence too: for whilst by an Opinion of honesty they desir'd to attract the minds of foreign Nations to an Amity with them; it nearly concern'd them in some signal manner to revenge the Affronts offer'd to those, who first came to propose an Alliance with them; for nothing could have prov'd more prejudicial to their Interest than to let matters come to such a pass, that the *Apollonians* should have cause to repent of their action, and others for their Example. And hence in after-times it went for a constant Rule, that those who had beaten the Ambassadors of a free People, should be deliver'd into the hands of those to whom the Ambassadors belonged. The *Apollonians* however when these persons were brought to them, wisely considering that they should reap more good by their Humanity than Revenge, sent them home safe. This year both the Consuls triumph'd twice: *D. Junius* before the 27th of September, and *Numerius Fabius* before the 5th of October over the *Sarfinates* a people of *Umbria*. *Fabius* also the first of February, and *Junius* the 5th triumph'd over the *Sallentini* and some *Messapians* assitants to their Neighbours the *Sallentini*. This year was made an end of the *Italian* Wars; for the War which was w.g'd the year following, *Q. Fabius Gurges* being the third time Consul, having for his Colleague *L. Manlius Vitulus*, was not against a just Enemy, but onely a Revenge taken upon recreant Villains in behalf of Allies.

The *Volsinians* a powerful People of *Umbria* implor'd the protection of the *Romans* against their quondam Slaves: for whether it were in hopes to recruit their strength impair'd by former Wars or to indulge themselves in ease shunning the toil of War, they imprudently permitted their Slaves being made Freemen to bear Arms: and afterwards communicating Honours to them, chose some of them for Senators, and some for other Offices in the State; so that these in a short time over-topping the ancient Citizens, and wresting the Power into their own hands, most impudently exercised their liberty against those men, to whom they were indebted for it. So that now it became their common Trade, to ravish the honourable Dames and Virgins, to answer the complaints of Parents and Husbands for these injuries with mockery and reproaches instead of rediefs and correction of the Offenders; and to plunder, destroy and harass all things as they pleas'd themselves. And not to pass by a signal demonstration of that brutish impudence to which servile Spirits may arrive, when they have power on their side; they published a Law, whereby the *Libertines* were authoriz'd to ravish the Wives and Daughters of their Patrons: and that every Maid, that was to many a Freeman, should first be deserv'd by one that had been a Slave. Now the old *Volsinians* being neither able to endure these miseries, nor yet to remove them with their own strength, entering into private consult, determin'd to send Ambassadors to *Rome*: who by addresses underhand prevail'd to have the Senate assembled in a private House (for they foresaw, that the thing if it should be discover'd, would undo them) declared in a lamentable harangue the calamities of their City: whereat the Senate being moved promised to assist that distressed people in order to the recovering of their ancient rights and privileges. But whilst these matters were thought to have been transacted Incognito, they were discovered by a certain *Sammite* to those very men, against whom all the complaint was made. This Fellow being a Guest to the Matter of that House, when the Senate assembled, lay ill, and being forgotten lay'd behind in that place, whereby he over-heard, and betray'd the whole matter.

The Ambassadors therefore being returned from *Rome* were put to the torture: and the business being found out, both they and the chief Men of the City were barbarously murdered.

This gave a juster pretence for making a War: and *Q. Fabius* was sent with an Army against them, who defeated them in Battel, and slew a great number of them in the pursuit: and as for those who betook themselves into their fortresses, he resolv'd to attack them by storm; but whilst they made brisk resistance, and several Skirmishes hapned between both parties, the Consul unwarily exposing himself to the shot receiv'd a Wound, whereof he dy'd, being under the Chiurgions hands. The besieged understanding this disaster, sallied out with all their Forces, hoping that an Army cow'd by the fall of their General, might be beaten from the Town if it were suddenly assaulted, but the event of the Battel proved contrary to their expectations: for the *Roman* Soldiers bravely receiv'd them, and with great slaughter forced them to retire into the Town.

I suppose *Decius Mus* was chief Commander in this Battel: for that this man might be Lieutenant to *Fabius*, and so might manage the War after his death until one was sent to succeed him. And hence, I believe, it comes to pass, that *Decius Mus* by some negligent Historians is entitiled to the beginning and ending of this War. The Censors made that year were *Cn. Cornelius* the Son of *Lucius*, and *C. Marcus* who having been Censor once before, was call'd *Censorinus* in the time of his second Censorship. Memorable was the moderation of this *Marcus*, who receiving a Power he had not for, reprimanded the People being assembled, in a grave Harangue because they had twice committed that Office to the same Man, whereas their Ancestors had for no other reason judg'd that the time of bearing this Office ought to be limited, but because the Power was too great. Hence there arole a Law, whereby it was provided, That no man should be twice Censor: the same year the number of the Questors were increas'd, hitherto four had serv'd the turn: two in the City, and as many more joyn'd with the Consuls that went out to the War. But some years after, the Commonwealth being enlarg'd, and greater Customs and Revenues coming in, it was necessary that that number should be doubled. Afterwards *Appius Claudius* surnamed *Caudex* in his Office, and *M. Fulvius Flaccus* were made Consuls. This year was memorable for the War then first begun against the *Carthaginians* in *Sicily*; for then the quarrel first brake out between those two most potent States, which after many years and great losses on both sides, could not be ended but by

by the destruction of one of them. But we must premise some things more particularly concerning *Carthage* before we come to the handling of these things: for that in the narrations of these matters several things will be unintelligible, unless we have first an insight into the rise and growth of that City.

## DECADE II. BOOK XVI.

### Florus his Epitome of the Sixteenth Book of Livy.

The Original of the Carthaginians and the first Fortunes of their City related: Against whom, and Hiero King of the Syracusans, the Senate of Rome decreed Forces to be sent in Aid of the Mamertines [or Inhabitants of Messina] after much debate Pro and Con, upon that point. And then the Gentlemen of Rome that serv'd on Horseback first cross'd the Seas, and fought valiantly against King Hiero in several Battels, who at last suing for Peace, had it granted. The Censors held a Lustrum, and enroll'd 292224 Citizens in the Subsidy-Book. D. Junius Brutus in honour of his deceased Father, entertained the people with a Prize or Fencing-match of the Gladiators, the first of that kind that was ever shew'd in Rome. A Colony planted at Telerina, and several prosperous Actions against the Carthaginians and Volscians.

- I. **T**HAT *Carthage* was founded by *Phenicians* of *Tyre* besides the Authority and faith of ancient Story, we have the perpetual amity between those two Nations while they flourished, as also the apparent similitude of Language even now remaining to attest it. It is reported that one *Elisa* of that Nation, the same which is surnamed *Dido*, Daughter of *Agenor* Son of *Belus* fled from her Country, in hatred to *Pygmalion* her Brother-in-law for the cruel murder of her Husband *Sicheus*; and arrived at that Bay or Peninsula in *Africa*, where *Carthage* was afterwards built; whose Power at its beginning being but inconsiderable, discovered not any hopes of that grandeur, which it afterwards attained to. For *Elisa* is thought to have bought no more Land from the Inhabitants, than could be cover'd with an Ox hide: But then that she cut this Hide into small thongs, and so took in a far greater quantity of ground, than the Owners thought they had bargain'd for; so that the place serv'd for the building of a Citadel, which from thence is supposed to be called *Byrsa*. In process of time, when several people for the convenience of trading with these Foreigners built Houses close to the Citadel, so that it appeared like a Town, and that the *Africans* also desired to retain such civil and rich customers with them, they easily complied with the Ambassadors from *Utica*, who by their own Example (for *Utica* was a Colony of *Tyrrians*) exhorted them to build a City in those places. It was agreed therefore between them, that the *Africans* should give the *Phenicians* a place to dwell in: these paying a yearly tribute to the *Africans* in lieu thereof. When the work was finished, *Elisa* call'd it in her own Language, *Carthadas*, which signifies the new Town, the *Greeks* call it *Carchedon*, and the *Romans* as is usual, by altering the pronunciation, *Carthago*. This City having peaceful Neighbours, an industrious People, and what was the main thing of all, a wise Queen, arriv'd in a short time to great prowess and Riches.
- II. These things seem to have been done about seventy years before the building of *Rome*; for Authors differ in their account of an affair so ancient. But as the life of *Elisa* was remarkable for variety of Fortune, so was her death memorable too. *Jarbas* a petty Prince of some *African* Province courted her for his Wife, threatening War if he should be deny'd; But she being a Woman of rare chastity, and still retaining true to her deceased *Sicheus*, was averse from marrying him: however because she understood that a War would be destructive to the infancy of her blooming State, she took some time to consider on't, as if she were inclining towards the marriage with this *African* Prince: and then order'd a pile of Wood to be set up in the further end of the Town, pretending, that before she would enter upon the second Marriage she would perform holy Rites to the ashes of her *Sicheus*: and afterwards having offered many Sacrifices, she climbs up the Pile her self at last, and with the Sword which she had brought for that use kills her self: her affection to her Husband and People exceeding the care she had of her own life.
- III. The *Carthaginians* shew'd as much respect to her memory as they could; and in admiration of her Vertues worshipp'd her for a Goddess, as long as their Commonwealth stood: She had a Temple built her in the place where she dy'd, being call'd *Dido* (a name given to brave *Amazons* by the *Carthaginians*.) Afterwards when no single Person was held worthy of the succession to the Government, the City began to be governed by a mix'd power of the Nobility and the Populace, but yet the Royal Title continued still: but their Kings were like the *Lacedaemonians*; unless it were that the honour being ty'd to no particular House was given to any of the Nobility that was eminent above the rest for his Valour and Riches. To these administrations of War abroad did belong; whence by the *Romans* comparing their Government with their own, they were call'd *Pretors* and *Dictators*. At home these were the Presidents of their Councils, with whom they advis'd concerning State Affairs: matters of great importance were propos'd to the people; whose judgment was decisive, when the Kings and Senators differ'd. They had likewise a Power to remonstrate against the Decrees of the Kings and Senators, if they seem'd to be prejudicial to the Publick (every one having the liberty to judg of their proceedings:) which extravagant Power of the Populace when excessively heightned, as is usual, by the soothing of Flatterers in after-times did a great deal of mischief to the *Carthaginians*.
- IV. Moreover, they had in their Senate thirty elderly Men as it were the Privy Counsellours, and these had a great influence over the other Counsellours of State. They had also an Officer indued with an Authority like a Censor for the keeping of good Order and Discipline. In process of time, the Power of the

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*Carthaginians* increasing, several Commanders were chosen for the Wars: of whom *Mago* was the most valiant and successful, who when he had left two Sons qualified like himself, and that they also as it were handed down to their more numerous Progeny the same hereditary qualifications, it happened that this immoderate power of his Family seem'd fit to be restrained by some new remedies: and a hundred Officers were created, who were commission'd to pass sentence even upon the Commanders themselves; a formidable power this, whether we respect the largeness of their Commission, or the continuance of it, which was for life: whereas the Kings themselves were not created for life, nor for any longer term than a year: at home they were call'd *Suffetes* or Judges resembling the *Roman* Consuls.

But the *Centumviri* behaving themselves insolently were restrained by a Law of *Hannibal*, whereby he enacted that these Judges should be chosen yearly, and none should hold the Office for two years together. In their Religion they imitated very much the Modes of *Tyre*: to which some additions were made afterwards. *Juno* was the Deity most in vogue: *Eseulapius* had also honours paid him, to whom was built a noble Shrine in the City. *Apollo's* Temple likewise was richly adorned, being cover'd with golden Plates, having a noble Statue in it, which was carried to *Rome* after the destruction of *Carthage*, and placed by the great *Cirque*: to *Hercules* of *Tyre* they sent yearly a Ship, one of the choicest they had, with the tenths of the annual products of their Country and of their spoils taken in the Wars. From the same people likewise their Founders, they receiv'd another piece of horrid impiety, which was, yearly to sacrifice a Man to *Saturn*, call'd *Belus* by them; the remnants of which barbarity could not be quite extinguish'd and abolish'd with the ruin of their City. The utility of Commerce did for the most part moderate the other customs of that people; for being addicted very much to Trade by nature, and the institution of their Ancestors, whether willingly, or unwillingly they squar'd all their designs and measures in order to this. Hence by avoidleis mischief, the admiration of Wealth and Honour, corrupted the Assemblies of the Magistrates: weakned Vertue and Courage, being subjected to Money: inflam'd the people with covetousness, and infected them with a servile custom of cozening and lying, and forced the Commonwealth wholly to betake it self to the pursuit of such things as these. For from hence it came to pass that there was so little faith in the Punic Capitulations, and that all their strength lay in shipping. Their Infantry was the main support of their Empire, but their Cavalry was little or nothing esteem'd. In their Wars by Land they employ'd mercenary forces, whose affection to the Commonwealth was not real, and their faith was venal, their diffentions dangerous, and conspiracies destructive: by which main error in their Policies it came to pass that no Enemy ever threw the State till its final dissolution, into so much confusion as this did. Again, abundance of mischief befell this State, whilst the men of power and authority among them, by mutual dissimulation without control committed extortion and pillaged the People: so that we need not so much wonder that in a War risen between those two States the *Romans* should have the better on't: whose Senators in times of danger contributed to the necessities of the publick out of their own Purses: whereas the *Carthaginians* made a prey and spoil of the Commonwealth.

But these Grievances increased with the City: wherefore at the beginning they were very tolerable, as being but small and inconsiderable: and a long while after the Empire bore up under them by its own greatness, and by the good conduct of some of its Commanders, by whose means chiefly we find all that happiness procur'd and establish'd, which *Carthage* ever attain'd to. At first they warred with the *Africans*, who demanded a Tribute for that ground whereon their City was built, which ingagement they could not free themselves from but by repeated Wars. Hence their Empire is enlarged, and the best inhabited part of *Africa* reduc'd under the subjection of the *Carthaginians*. And as for their passing over into *Sardinia*, and thence into *Sicily*, they were invited therunto by the convenience of the Sea, and the openness of the first of these places for any assault through the rudeness of its Inhabitants in War, as also by the beauty of the latter expos'd as a prey to him that had the longest Sword, by reason of immortal quarrels and contests. The passage from *Sardinia* to *Corfica* was easie, and the conquest of a weak people cheap. But *Sicily* became the Scene of the various and sundry chances which accompany the Wars: sometimes yielding wreaths to adorn the triumphant Generals of *Carthage*, and sometimes proving a field of blood to them. *Hamilcar* the Son of *Hanno* having transported three hundred thousand men into *Sicily* was defeated by *Gelo* and slain; with which blow the *Carthaginians* being runn'd forbore the business of *Sicily*, till at the request of the *Egestanes* molested by the *Selunians*, they sent out *Hannibal* *Hamilcar's* Grandchild by his Son *Gesco*. This person having destroyed *Selinus* and *Himera* acquired great Power to the *Carthaginians* in *Sicily*. *Imileo* overcame the elder *Dionysius's* Brother and General, *Leptines*, in the *Sicilian* Strait; he took and sunk one hundred Vessels, and slew above twenty thousand. He won several Towns in *Sicily*, and took also part of *Syracuse*: but a sudden Plague forced him to return with a small company to *Carthage*, the whole Army being very near destroy'd.

But notwithstanding this, the *Carthaginians* did not abandon all hopes of possessing *Sicily*, but sent *Hanno* a few years after with another Fleet against *Dionysius*. After this *Timoleon* expell'd *Mago*, call'd in by *Iceras*, and then incamp'd in *Syracuse* with sixty thousand men. Again, *Hannibal* and *Hamilcar* bringing seventy thousand men with them were in a signal Battel defeated, and beaten out of their Camp by the same *Timoleon*; but these scarce ever appear'd a quicker or greater revolution of their fate in any War as in that against *Agathocles*; who being routed in *Sicily*, besieg'd at *Syracuse*, and apprehending no hopes of safety, of his own head transfer'd the War into *Africa*, and having overcome the *Carthaginians* in several Battels, whilst the *Africans* revolted in great numbers to him, brought them into great danger and fear, and afterwards having return'd home, expell'd them quite out of *Sicily*, till the death of the King, and troubles arising thereupon opened a door to let the *Carthaginians* into the possession of *Sicily* again: from which time, they fought with various successes against *Pyrrhus* as we have shewn already, and at last conquer'd him. Me in while, some Cities in *Spain* were made tributaries to this State: when the *Gaditanes* addressing for succour against their Neighbours, the Auxiliaries sent unto this people their Kinred (for the *Tyrrians* built *Gades* also) reduc'd some bordering Countries of *Spain* to the subjection of the *Carthaginians*.

This was near upon the matter the State of *Carthage* when they enter'd into War with *Rome*. As for *Sicily*, where it was not under the *Carthaginians* Sovereignty, the *Syracusans* and their King *Hiero* sway'd the greater part thereof, the rest the *Mamertines* possess'd by Conquest, who as long as they could serve themselves with the Alliance of the *Romans*, that seiz'd on *Rhegium*, being not content to stand upon the defensive, made incursions into the Territories of the *Carthaginians* and *Syracusans*: And in fine, forced

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- several Towns of *Sicily* by tribute to redeem themselves from being plundered and otherwise annoy'd. But *Rhegium* being expugned, and the deserters punished, the *Mamertines* bereav'd of their main strength became unable to maintain their former Post; and so being reduced almost to the last Stake, fought for *Messina* with the King of *Syracuse*. Concerning which King I shall treat somewhat more largely, because he was then an Enemy of the *Romans*, but a little after prov'd their Friend and Ally for many years together, and mightily contributed to the establishment of their Affairs: for he was a Man of prodigious success, great Valour and excellent Conduct: and in those days the power of the *Syracusans* rose and fell away with *Hiero*. This Man therefore inherited neither Honour, Riches, nor any such advantages from his Ancestors: but all his fortune, all his honour he owed to himself. He was not raised as many are from a low degree to greatness by flattering the Innocent, and destroying or defeating his Adversaries; but by a singular Moderation both in the acquisition and the exercise of Power; whilst he prudently consider'd, that no Government could be established better than that, which is so manag'd, that the Subject may rather be afraid of being depriv'd of it than the Prince. Therefore when he had reigned fifty four years, and that when two mighty People clash'd with one another, and contended with their utmost power for the Empire of the World, being attempted upon by no foreign Enemy except in his younger days, nor by any homebred Plots and Treasons, he died upwards of Ninety, having arrived at this Age with his Senes intire and sound, and his Body vigorous, a great demonstration of his temperate life: being a Man not onely belov'd by his own People, but held in great esteem among the *Romans* and *Grecians*: who also, as he was minded to resign up the Government was hinder'd by the people in general from doing it, and his Son *Gelon*, who being fifty years old deceas'd before *Hiero*, out of a moderation very rare in the World, chose rather for ever to want his Kingdom, than his Father, and honour'd him as long as he liv'd, with all dutiful respect and obedience. Now this *Hiero* was expos'd by his Father *Hierocles*, who deriv'd his pedigree from *Gelo* an ancient Tyrant of *Sicily*: because a noble Person such as he was, disdain'd to breed up a Child begot on a Maid-servant. But when he was bereft of all humane succour and relief, Bees fed him for many days with their Honey drop'd into his mouth as he lay along; By this Prodigy, as also by the answers of the Diviners who assum'd that a Royal Power was portended thereby, *Hierocles* being mov'd takes the Child again, owns him and provides for his good Education, in hopes of his future greatness. Thence 'tis said, that whilst he was learning his Lesson with his School-fellows, a Wolf came in suddenly among the Boys and snatch'd his Book out of his hand. Afterwards, when he was just entering upon the rudiments of War, an Eagle lighted upon his Buckler, and an Owl upon his Spear. This was interpreted a sign of Counsel and Strength and eminence of Place denoted by the Kingly Bird.
- XIII. But afterwards he gave more manifest and certain Signs than these, by the shape and great strength of his Body: yet he was rendred more noble and illustrious upon the account of his temperance, judgment, affableness, justice and moderation. For having often at single Combat fought both in the Field, and also upon Challenges, and always coming off victorious, he was rewarded by *Pyrrhus* with many Military Ornaments for his Valour; whose Kinswoman afterwards call'd *Nereis*, was married to *Gelo* the Son of *Hiero*. *Pyrrhus* being routed out of *Sicily*, when according to the usual distemper of those times, a Contest had risen betwixt the *Syracusans* Army, and the Townsmen, *Artemidorus* and *Hiero* were created chief Commanders by Military Votes in the Camp at *Mergana*: and by the contrivance of *Hiero* and the help of his Friends, they put Soldiers privately into the Town, and so became Masters of it: for he neither kill'd nor expell'd any one of the contrary faction, but by clemency, meekness and good counsels so quieted these commotions, that he got the good will of his Enemies as well as Friends to be made Prætor of *Syracuse*.
- XIV. But this Personage being as zealous for the Publickweal as for his own, observing an old reigning distemper in that Body Politick, whereby it came to pass that as often as the Magistrates march'd out their Forces, mutinies would usually break out in the Army, or else some Riots and Innovations at home: he began to look about him for some person to whom he might trust the government of the City, if he should be forced at any time to go abroad to the Wars; he marries therefore the Daughter of *Leptines* a principal person among the Citizens, and one that had the reputation of an honest and true-hearted Gentleman, by which means being secure at home, he contriv'd a remedy rather necessary, than any ways laudable against the insolence of the Mercenaries. For marching out his Army against the *Mamertines*, when they had met him near *Centuripa*, in arranging his Forces at the River *Cyamessus*, he play'd his game so cunningly, that leaving a space between the Citizens and Mercenaries, he commanded these to charge the Enemy in the front, as if he design'd with the City Militia to attack them on some other side as soon as they were engag'd.
- XV. Thus the Mercenaries surrounded by a greater number of the *Mamertines* were slain: and whilst the Enemies were diverted by the slaughter of them, he retreats with his Forces quietly and safely into *Syracuse*. When he had in this manner clear'd the Soldiery of seditious Spirits and Male-contents, he exercis'd the City Militia in their Arms with great diligence, and rais'd new levies of Mercenaries: and so having wrought himself into the favour and good liking of the people, and remov'd all that could stand in his way, the rest not daring to mutter against an armed and a watchful Man, he manag'd the Government as he pleas'd himself.
- Mean while the *Mamertines* encouraged by their late Victory, negligently and in a contemptuous manner spoil'd the Country of the *Syracusans*. Against these *Hiero* now secure of the fidelity of his Countrymen and Soldiers, marches out with all speed and advances with his Army even to the Gates of the Enemies City, then drain'd of men by reason of several Parties drawn out of it to pique up and down the Country; and here he pitches his Camp. The *Mamertines* alarm'd at this danger of their City, post'd with a Body of Light-Horse to its relief. Whereupon *Hiero* decamping from their Borders takes a Town called *Myle* and in it fifteen hundred men: from thence having surpris'd some Cattles in his way, he proceeds to *Ameselum* situated in the mid-way between *Agyrium* and *Centuripa*; which place likewise though strengthened with fortifications and well garrison'd, he took and raz'd, the Garrison receiving quarter, he forced to bear Arms under himself, and divided the Lands belonging to *Ameselum* between the *Centuripians* and *Agyrians*.
- XVI. And now being flush'd with these successes he makes an incursion into the Territories of the *Mamertines*, takes the City *Alelus* upon surrender, and brings over the *Abacenians* and *Tyndaritanes* voluntarily to espouse his Cause: thus the next Towns to *Messina* towards both Seas becoming subject to *Hiero* (for the

the *Tindaritanes* border on the *Tuscan* Sea, and the *Tauromenians* on the *Sicilians*, who were Confederates of the *Syracusans* at that time.) The *Mamertines* thus reduc'd to straits and difficulties, under the conduct of *Cios* their Pretor march'd against the Enemy, then incamped in the Plains of *Mylea* near the River *Longanus*. When Battel was join'd, and they fought a long while with doubtful fortune, until a fresh Squadron charging the *Mamertines* in the Flank won a signal Victory, and gave the glory of the day to *Hiero*. For *Hiero* before the fight began, had ordered two hundred *Messinian* Exiles, brave Fellows and mortal Enemies of the *Mamertines*, together with a detachment of four hundred choice men of his own to go round about a neighbouring Hill (called *Thorax*) and by a sudden attack to disorder and break the Enemies ranks: they having executed his Orders with vigour and resolution cut to pieces the whole Army of the *Mamertines*.

*Cios* in this desperate condition desiring nothing else but to die in the bed of Honour, having been wounded in several places falls into his Enemies hands, and being carried into their Camp, confirm'd the predictions of the Entrails and Diviners by a contrary event than he had looked for. For when he sacrific'd before the Battel began, the Soothsayers viewing the Entrails promis'd him, that he should that Night lodg in the Camp of his Enemies: which he interpreting as an Omen of Victory, understood too late the Cheat and Delusion of an equivocal Prediction. Being already cast down with the disaster, when he sees next day among the captive Horses that whereon his Son rode in the Battel, musing that he had been kill'd, he tore the Plasters and bands from off his Wounds, and expir'd his maim'd self before repeating treatie. The *Mamertines* hearing of this slaughter of their men were quite cast down, and were ready to meet the Conquerour with the badges of submission, and to yield themselves to him, but had not a lucky hap unexpectedly interposed to their preservation.

It happened that *Hannibal* the General of the *Carthaginians* was at the same time in the *Liparian* Isles, places adjacent to *Sicily*, who being advertis'd of *Hiero's* Victory, and seeing left upon the ruin and subversion of the *Mamertines*, the *Syracusian* Power would become troublefom and intolerable to *Carthage*, came straightway to *Hiero* under pretext of congratulating his success; and so having stop'd him from marching outright against *Messina*, enter'd himself before him into the Town, and not onely by words encouraged the *Mamertines*, who had thoughts of surrendering themselves, to maintain their liberty, but likewise brought a Garison of his own men into the place. *Hiero* finding himself out-witted by this trepanning and cunning *Carthaginian*, return'd to *Syracuse*, being too weak to undertake a Siege of so much difficulty as this was like to prove: and being received with general satisfaction he was by the whole Army declared King, which Title he afterwards retain'd by the consent both of his own people, and of Foreigners.

*Hiero* being gone, the *Mamertines*, when they had taken heart again for a little while, deliberating upon the present state of Affairs, were divided into two factions: "One party was of Opinion, that they must put themselves under the protection of the *Carthaginians*, it being thought not onely convenient for several reasons, but now their Garison was received, almost necessary for them so to do. The other reply'd, "That the *Carthaginians* were as much their Enemies as *Hiero*; and doubtless design'd not out of kindness, but desire of Empire to defend *Messina*, as having for many years aspir'd to the Dominion of *Sicily*; "deter'd from this their unreasonable resolution, neither by the losses of Armies, nor Navies, nay, not by the concern of their domestick Affairs, and the *African* Wars: If so be therefore that they should trust themselves to them, who had so strong a Fleet, and the best part of *Sicily* in their hands, they must without all dispute become perfect Slaves and Vassals. Therefore it would be absolutely against their Interest to call the *Carthaginians* to their assistance, a tyrannical treacherous People, who would impose a heavier Yoke upon their Necks, than they had yet fear'd from the *Syracusans*. As for the Punic Garison, if it were purely sent on purpose to preserve their State from falling into *Hiero's* hands: they might dismiss it, now the business was done in an amicable civil way; but if any Sham was design'd, they ought the more carefully to prevent the treachery of false Friends, and for that reason address themselves rather to the *Romans* for protection, a Nation victorious in Arms, of approved fidelity and justice, who would have neither power nor any pretensions to keep *Messina* in their own hands: who had not one span of ground in *Sicily*, no skill in Navigation nor any Genius that way. These would rest content, if so be they might but conserve their own *Italy*, by opposing *Messina* as a curb or dam against the violent ambition of *Hiero* and the *Carthaginians*. Therefore they had best resolve to try the *Romans* friendship, rather than any other peoples whatsoever: for that it would be a dishonourable action, and very ill tim'd, if they should alter their former Measures having sent Ambassadors to them, and received a promise of assistance.

For before this, the *Mamertines* beginning to look jealously upon their own Affairs after the last Battel with *Hiero* had employ'd the assistance of the *Romans*, as being of the same stock, and the Consuls having incited the peoples minds, and prepar'd them for the undertaking of the War, procur'd their Votes for it; but the Senate demur'd, and would not ratify the act of the Commons. For they who had but just now punish'd their own people for a villanous act committed upon *Rhegium*, saw, that in assisting the *Mamertines*, who by a like treachery had possess'd *Messina*, they should forfeit all the honour and reputation of their justice which was amply acquir'd by that procedure. But hearing immediately of the *Mamertines* defeat, and considering that if they were forsaken by the *Romans*, they would place their regards upon the Power of *Carthage*, they comply'd readily with those, who voted the War. For several of the Senators too were inclin'd to the thing; foreseeing that otherwise, *Messina* presently and after that the rest of *Sicily*, would fall into the hands of the *Carthaginians*: and should that happen, the *Romans* would be oblig'd to dispute their Title to *Italy* it self with them. And to render this danger unavoidable the ambition of that potent People, and the situation of the place did manifestly concur. For *Italy* in a spacious Tract of ground extending it self from the Borders of *Liguria* between two Seas is separated onely by a narrow Frith from the *Sicilian* shore, and doubtless these two Countries were formerly joyn'd: but afterwards the Sea running between parted them, whether it were that the Country lying lower on that side was overwhelm'd by the Sea, or else that some violent Earthquake, or the impetuous rushing in of the Waters broke through the *Isthmus*; from which event it may be, they call it *Rhegium*: for so the *Grecians* express those things that are broken off. Hence it is very probable, that *Sicily* was at first peopled from *Italy*: which conjecture the very name seems to confirm. For the *Opiques* are said to have built *Messina*, a Town lying opposite to the *Italian* shore: which I suppose, they call'd *Sicily*, because it was built in a Bay resembling the Figure of a Sickle; which the *Grecians* arriving thither afterwards translated *Zancle*, these two words signifying the same thing in the several Languages.

XXII. Hence the whole Island (as it usually happens) came to be so named: for some call it *Zancle*, but most *Sicily*. Now this Isle as well for greatness as fruitfulness far exceeds all those of the *Mediterranean Sea*, incredibly abounding with Oil, Wine, and Corn of the best, being well peopled, and admirably adorn'd with many and those very great Towns: but in respect of convenient Harbours and situation, there's no place in the World fitter to such as design the erection and establishment of an Empire; for joining on one side to *Italy*, it has *Africa* on the opposite: *Sardinia* also lies on another side of it, and Eastward it is separated from *Morea* and the parts of *Greece* by the *Ionian*: to all which places round the Voyage is but short: and for Ships to ride in and out at, there is no place more safe and commodious; and the truth on't is, a desire to become Masters of this Isle, which the *Romans* and *Carthaginians*, at the same time affected, gave occasion to the War; tho' other things were pretended: for the *Romans* alledged the assistance given the *Tarentines* contrary to the League, and the *Carthaginians* quarrelled at the Alliance with *Hiero* as made against them.

XXIII. But now both Nations were arrived to such prowess, that they must of necessity fall out sometimes for one thing or other. For as Trees planted at a small distance asunder for a while interfere not with one another; but being grown up intercept one anothers nourishment and juice: and when they are arrived to their full growth and proportion, then they mutually consume and starve one another root and branch. So rising Empires scarce ever hold correspondence longer than till the intervening Land of Union is worn out, and both Nations joyn'd, clash and jumble together: being neither of them capable of fixing within their former bounds, nor yet free to extend themselves to a greater bulk and dimension, till all impediments are removed.

To these reasons we may add the great influence of the Commons, and their eager desires to have a War, in both States. For in that of *Carthage* the Commonalty bore a great sway, and because upon the growth of their national Power and Riches, they were wont also to enrich themselves by several ways of gain and advantage, allured by the sweets thereof they were well enough content to have one War upon the neck of the other. Nor indeed was the State or the *Roman* Commons much different from this; who being in hopes to retrieve their private damages sustained in the former War, by the Riches of *Sicily*, in compensation of a priviledg extorted from the Senate, confirm'd such Votes as pass'd for the War, by an Order of their own; with which Power the Consul *Appius* being armed, whilst the major part of the Senate already assented, the rest complying now notwithstanding all their scruples and boggings, immediately dispatches *C. Claudius* a Tribune of Soldiers with some few Ships, and commanded him to wait an opportunity, and if any happen'd, to pass over into *Sicily*. When he was arrived at *Rhegium*, he durst not venture out with his Gallies to Sea because the passage was guarded by a very strong Fleet of the *Carthaginians*. However, he himself gets into a Fisher-boat and so pass'd over; where having conferred with the *Mamertines* concerning the present state of Affairs, but availing little by his Negotiation whilst the *Carthaginians* still oppos'd him, he return'd without any manner of success. But a while after when it was known that the *Mamertines* bandied into parties, whilst some oppos'd the calling in of the *Romans*, and most were disgusted at the *Carthaginian* Garison, having repass'd the Sea, among other things proper to the business on foot, he insist'd mainly on this point, "That he was come onely to deliver the Town; and when he had so done, he would immediately depart."

XXV. "When the *Carthaginians* reply'd thereunto, that the *Romans* need not be at any trouble to set free a place, that was already so; and that by the Arms of the *Carthaginians* provision had been made, whereby the *Mamertines* were secured from becoming Vassals to the *Syracusans*; therefore the *Romans* would do well to be gone, or else declare, if they had any other just cause to be at *Messina*. *Claudius* denies that that City could be thought free, wherein a Garison of Foreigners was resident against the Burgers wills. To which when no answer was made: the *Carthaginians* out of disdain and the *Mamertines* for fear holding their Tongues, says this politick and quick-witted Man: "'Tis manifest by this your silence, that the cause of the *Carthaginians* is unjust, and that the *Mamertines* are desirous of liberty: for were it otherwise, they would not be loth to speak concerning their own Right, and to justify their proceedings; and these without dissembling the matter, dig they consent to the *Carthaginians*, would openly and avowedly approve what they do."

XXVI. At this the *Mamertines* humming, and the major part of them applauding his Speech as true, and agreeing with their own thoughts and judgments, the *Roman* for the present thinking he had proceeded far enough in the point, having felt their pulses, and founded the tempers of their minds, return'd to *Rhegium*; and not long after having equipp'd those Gallies that were with him, attempted to pass over: but coming far short of the *Carthaginian* Commanders both for number of Ships, and skill in Navigation; and moreover, being driven back by the violence of the Tide, which was then vehemently rais'd by a sudden Tempest, he return'd from whence he set out, with the loss of some of his Gallies, and hardly saving the rest. But not daunted with this cross event, but desiring to try again his fortune at a better season, he refitted his Gallies: when in the mean while Messengers came from *Hanno* (the Governour of the Garison of *Messina*, and Commander in chief over all the Fleet in those Streights) bringing with them all the men and shipping which had been taken in the former Battel by the *Carthaginians*. This *Hanno* did, being minded to lay the fault of violating the Peace upon the *Romans*: and complaining of the attempt made by the *Romans* to force their passage over a Sea under the *Carthaginian* jurisdiction, pressed them to a stricter observation of the Peace for the future.

XXVII. But understanding that *Claudius* would admit of no Conditions, till the Garison were drawn out of *Messina*, and that he intended again to pass over, he cry'd out in a rage, "That he would not suffer the *Romans* so much as to wash their hands in that Sea: nevertheless he could not hinder it, but that *Claudius* having observed the course of the Tide, and taken an opportunity when the Wind blowing very commodiously further'd the reflux of the Water got to *Sicily*, before he could be met withal. And there having assembled as many of the *Mamertines* as were in the Port, he persuaded them to send for *Hanno*, as if they intended to advise and deliberate with him upon the present state of Affairs: for *Hanno* suspecting the mutinous Spirits of the Burgers, had with his Men possess'd himself of the Citadel, neither durst he venture his person among the *Mamertines*. But yet lest this should provoke and irritate them the more against him, he came to the conference, which being protracted in debates a long while, at last the *Romans* seized upon *Hanno*, and threw him into Prison, the *Mamertines* approving what was done. Thus being circumvented partly by treachery, and partly by terrour, seeing there were no other terms allowed him, drew the Garison out of *Messina*, delivering the Citadel into the hands of the *Mamertines*.

The

The *Carthaginians* hearing this were much enraged at it: and whereas at other times they usually punished their Commanders for their ill conduct, though never so fortunately succeeding, now accusing both the folly and cowardise of *Hanno*, they crucified the poor man: and forthwith order'd their Forces by Sea and Land to move towards *Messina*, having sent another *Hanno* the Son of *Hannibal* to command in *Sicily*: Who having rendezvouz'd his Forces at *Lilybeum* proceeded forward to *Selinus*, and encamping there, left the Infantry behind him, whilst he himself goes to *Agrigentum*, and having fortified the Citadel, persuades this People being Allies to *Carthage*, to come and enter into an Association of Arms against the *Romans*. Afterwards, when he was returned into his Camp, Ambassadors came to him from *Hiero*, who also did not well relish the arrival of these new Guests into *Sicily*, and thought it now the most convenient time with the conjunction of the Punic Forces to expel the *Romans*, and the barbarous Inhabitants of *Messina* quite out of the Island.

In order hereunto, he enters into a Conference with the *Carthaginian* General, and both of them having miscarry'd heretofore in their design upon *Messina*, easily concluded an Alliance against the *Romans*, equally mischievous to them both; by which it was agreed, that *Messina* should be besieged by their joint-forces, and that none should be permitted to live in *Sicily*, which were not Subjects either of the *Syracusans* or *Carthaginians*. Hereupon the Punic General having sent before him a Herald to command the *Romans*, "As they valued their Peace with *Carthage* to quit *Messina*, and within a set-time to depart the Island of *Sicily*; advanced with his whole Army against the *Mamertines*. The Fleet was order'd to keep Guard near *Pelorus*: the Infantry intrench'd themselves at *Etna* [the Beds] a place not far distant from *Messina*. *Hiero* likewise came according to agreement, and encamp'd on the other side of the Town near the *Chalcidic* Hill. Thus the Town was beleaguerr'd on all quarters, so that no supply of men or provision could be sent into it either by Sea or Land.

The *Carthaginians*, when their Herald at the same time return'd without tidings of Peace from *Messina*, moved partly with anger and partly with distrust, barbarously slew all such *Italians* as bore Arms amongst them. The news of these Actions being brought to *Rome*, the Consul *Appius* marching outright at the head of a stout Army, arrived at *Rhegium*, from whence having dispatch'd some persons before-hand to expostulate with *Hiero* and the *Carthaginians* about raising the Siege; he began to consider, and diligently examin by what means, now the *Carthaginians* so narrowly watch'd and block'd up the Strait, he might pass it with the least danger and inconvenience. The Consul's Ambassadors received no amicable Answer from the *Carthaginians*, and *Hiero* reprimanded them in a very smart Speech, and recounting the kindnesses he had done the *Roman* people, spoke to this effect:

"I am at a loss, O *Romans*, whether I should more bewail, your or my own condition! for I indeed have lost Friends, which prov'd worse than I had thought: but you have lost the credit of that Faith, and Fidelity, which made you so famous in the World. With the *Mamertines* you never had Friendship or Alliance, but you were Leagu'd with the *Carthaginians* long ago, and of late with me also. Now that you are minded to break these Leagues for the sake of others no ways relating to you, tell me if you can, for what injury of ours, or for what merit of the *Mamertines* ye do this? but because the *Carthaginians* are able enough to plead for themselves, I shall wholly wave their Cause, and at present onely mention such points as concern my own particular. The *Mamertines*, those honest Countrymen of yours, when (as you know) they had receiv'd pay in the service of the *Syracusans*; being dismissed to return into *Italy*, at *Messina* where they had been hospitably treated by the poor credulous *Messinians*, committed one of the most barbarous acts that ever was known since the memory of Man. For against all the Laws of hospitality they assassinated them by Night, and seiz'd on their Wives, Children, Goods, and their Town it self; which had not you as well as the rest of mankind refented as a cur'd intolerable piece of Villany, you would not certainly have punished so severely the same Crime in the persons of these, who copy'd the *Mamertines* Example in their cruelty against the *Rhegians*."

"The same indignity wherewith you were moved to punish those Villains, moves me likewise to do the same with the *Mamertines*, especially when they have since by pillaging all *Sicily* over as it were antiquated the memory of their former Crime, which is almost outdone by those of later date. For to pass by other things, the Cities of *Camarina* and *Gela* rifled by them, when these were under the *Syracusans* protection, seem to me a just ground, why I should prosecute these bold lawless Villains by a pious and religious War. But if you pretend that you must protect them, because being born in the same Country, they seem to be your Kindred; how much more equitable would it have been then to spare the *Italians* of *Rhegium*, who had been your Fellow-Citizens? In recovering which place from these Traitors hands, when I assisted you with Men and Ammunition, ought I ever to imagine, that you would hinder me, who am now besieging *Messina*, upon as good pretensions as any you had to shew? But what need I enlarge, O *Romans*! For if you have any care of your Faith and Reputation, any sense of honesty and justice; in fine, if there be any shame remaining in you, I need not doubt but you will assist rather than hinder me, whilst I now take Arms in so just a Cause; but if you slight these, the event of War indeed is doubtful; but this is most certain, that the World will plainly see, it is not any colour of Justice or Equity, nor any injuries receiv'd, which they themselves cannot pretend, nor also any pity to the *Mamertines*, but onely ambition to enlarge their Empire by the Conquest of this noble Isle, which incites the *Romans* to make this War."

When this Message had been deliver'd by the Ambassadors, *Appius* foreseeing there was no crossing the Strait without great danger, whilst a strong Fleet guarded, and observ'd the passage, contrives this cunning Stratagem. He professes, "That he was not for having any breach between *Hiero* and the *Romans*: Nay moreover, that this War was neither intended upon *Hiero*, nor could it be carried on without the consent of the People. Therefore at a day prefix'd, he commands all the Mariners to be ready and to put the Fleet in order to sail, making as if he were to return home. For he knew that several Soldiers both of the *Syracusans* and the *Carthaginians*, were then in the quality of Merchants trafficking in the Port of *Rhegium*: who, thought he, will carry this Report soon enough to those, who are chiefly design'd to be inform'd thereby. And as he had fore-cast'd, so it happen'd. For when the whole Fleet putting to Sea in a clear day, he had begun to steer his course near the *Italian* shore: the *Carthaginians* who were posted for blocking up the Frith, left it open and unguarded, every one going where he pleas'd.

The Consul, who guess'd it would be so, at Night changing his course arriv'd with his whole Fleet in *Sicily*, whilst no man observ'd, much less resisted his passage in the dark. This Enterprize was hazardous and bold: for an Army of fresh-water Soldiers to embark in a Sea terrible of it self in the day-time, without

out the fear of an Enemy, and that too in such unwieldy, awkward Vessels, and the thing was thought worthy to be transmitted to posterity by the monument of a new Name. For because the Consul in transporting the Soldiers had serv'd himself with some Vessels made of thick Planks judely clap'd together, he was named *Caudex*, according to the simplicity of that Age. For hitherto the *Romans* were such strangers to Marine Affairs, that they had not one Vessel with Decks and Hatches, nor any Bark, but they made use of Gallies of three banks of Oars and Pinnaces of fifty Oars, which they had borrowed of the *Tarentines*, *Eleates*, *Locrians* and *Neapolitans*.

XXXV. *Appius*, after he had landed near that Plain where the *Syracusans* were incamped, encouraging his men, boldly promising them a sure Victory, if they would surprize their Enemies, immediately puts forward to attack the *Syracusans* Camp; *Hiero* being rouz'd with this Alarm, marches out his men likewise, in as good order as the shortness of time would permit him to draw them up in. The fight continued very sharp for a long while, and the *Roman* Horse were beaten back, but the Legions fighting with great Valour forced *Hiero* fearfully to retire into his Camp, leaving the glory of the day to the *Romans*.

*Appius* having first order'd the Soldiers to strip the Enemy, enters *Messana*, and puts new life and vigour into the hearts of the *Mamertines*, after their late fears. But *Hiero* finding himself overcome ere he saw the Enemy (as he himself afterwards confessed) and suspecting the passage of the narrow Sea betray'd by the *Carthaginians*, was at a non-plus as to what course he had best take. He began to fear for the main Stake, and in the Still of the Night following march'd out of his Camp, and continuing his Journey retreat-ed to *Syracuse*.

XXXVI. When he was departed, *Appius* to improve the terror of his late Victory to the Conquest of the *Carthaginians*, commands his Soldiers to take some refreshment in time, and marching out at break of day, he resolv'd to attack the *Carthaginians* in their Camp. They were posted in a very advantageous place, and their Camp was strengthen'd by Nature as well as Art, for the Sea lay on one side of them, and deep Morasses on the other in the form of a Peninsula. The narrow space where the place was only accessible was walled in to hinder the assaults of the Enemy, against which the *Roman* Soldiers made an attack, but the situation of the place disadvantageous to them, and the multitude of the Defendants, render'd all ineffectual: for the *Carthaginians* fought with Darts, as is usual in Sieges, wherewith they gall'd the *Romans* so that they were forced to retire without success. But oftentimes misfortunes in Wars are but the Prologues to good success; whilst those that have suffer'd loss, endeavour by their conduct and courage to repair the same; but the Enemies bewitch'd with a false Opinion of their present happiness, are rash and precipitous, wholly neglecting to arm themselves against casualties.

XXXVII. This happen'd at that time to the *Carthaginians*, who not content to have repuls'd the Enemy from their Camp must needs pursue him, and fall out of their Lines and Works: fondly imagining that it was their Valour, and not the strength of their fortifications which had beaten the *Romans*. But when they had got out of that Streight, wherein they were secur'd, the fortune of the Battel alter'd with the place, and a great number of them was slain, the rest fled away, some into the Camp, and some (as they could shift best for themselves) into the circumjacent Towns. Nor durst they thenceforwards stir abroad out of their Post, during *Claudius*'s stay at *Messana*. The Consul likewise by reason of the difficulty of the place, and its uneasy access, concluding it unadvisable to fight again, not to lose any more time there, makes an in-road into the borders of the *Syracusans* and the Allies, leaving a Garison at *Messina*, and when he had wasted the Country without any opposition, he was so encouraged thereby as to venture with his Army forwards, and advance towards *Syracuse* it self. There they fought with variable fortune: and the Consul himself was once in great danger, and had been incamp'd by the Enemies, unless he had prevented it in time by sending to *Hiero* one of his Confidants, to treat with him. *Hiero* likewise sent one of his Friends. And so the Parley being begun and prolong'd on purpose, the Consul insensibly got out of this dangerous difficulty into a place of greater security. The *Syracusans* coming after held several Conferences with the *Romans* touching a Peace, and the thing had been concluded, if *Hiero* would have approv'd it.

XXXVIII. The best part of that year was spun out in these Treaties, and then the Consul return'd to *Messana*, and from thence, having left some Squadrons of men to defend the *Mamertines*, pass'd over with the rest to *Rhegium*: soon after he departed thence to his Triumph at *Rome*; which he celebrated with universal applause, for conquering *Hiero* and the *Carthaginians*; because that it was the first Triumph, which was obtain'd for the Conquest of transmarine Nations. This was the first time the *Romans* attempted any action by Sea, and this was the success of their Arms in *Sicily*. But yet these transactions, as also those that follow'd, have been mis-represented through the prejudice of the Historians, whilst the chief of them *Philinus* the *Agrigentine*, and *Fabius Pictor* the *Roman*, the one favouring the *Carthaginians*, the other his own Countrymen, preserv'd neither faith nor sincerity in their Histories.

XXXIX. These mens levity is justly taxed by *Polybius*. For if it be counted an execrable thing by a false evidence to trepan and circumvent a private Person, in matters of lesser moment: how much more heinous is an Historians fault, think you, thus to corrupt and falsifie the Actions of States and Princes? who ought in duty to prefer nothing, not life it self before the truth, being the more inexcusable, because he cannot have any pretence to tell a lye: who if upon any account he is barr'd from speaking truth, to the best of his knowledg, might then certainly have held his peace.

XL. But now whilst *Claudius* conquer'd *Hiero* and the *Carthaginians*, *M. Fulvius* the other Consul ended the Siege of the *Volscinians*, and by starving them reduc'd a People that would have been unconquerable by force, because of their desperation. Upon the surrender of the place, those insolent ungrateful *Libertines* were tortur'd to death: the City it self was demolish'd, and the rest of the *Volscinians*, with such Slaves as had been obedient to their Masters, went to those places of settlement which were assign'd to them. This War was likewise thought worthy of a Triumph, which the Consul celebrated as if it had been over the *Volscinians*, the first day of November. The same year *Cn. Cornelius* and *C. Marcus* the Censors perform'd the Lustration, 29224 Citizens were polled, a great number, and almost incredible to one that considers how many men were lost in the Wars, which from the first foundation of *Rome* hardly ever ceased: as also what multitudes of people were swept away by the Plague and other malignant distempers which caus'd as great mortality as the Wars. But yet by communicating the freedoms of their City to Strangers, a Policy constantly practis'd ever since the time of *Romulus* the Author thereof, the Commonwealth was render'd insuperable by any losses or calamities whatsoever. For neither could the soils and damages it receiv'd from *Pyrrhus*, nor the many Shipwracks in the first Punic War, nor could *Thrasymen* and *Canne* dash and weaken its strength; but after its losses it reviv'd and flourish'd more gloriously than before.

Whereas

Whereas in *Greece* those great Masters of Military Affairs and not inferior to the *Romans*, the *Lacedaemonians*, by reason of their prohibiting all Commerce with Strangers, could neither long maintain the Empire they had acquir'd, nor preserve their private liberty always: but when one thousand and no more *Spartans* fell in the Battel of *Leuctra*, the whole power of the City was broken by this one blow. Again, when at *Sellasia* six thousand of the *Spartans* had been kill'd, their whole liberty was lost also. But the *Argives* Inhabitants of the same *Peloponnesus* imparting the pivilidges of their community to all their Neighbours, and uniting them to their own selves erected a glorious well-form'd Republick, a Republick that would have lasted it out for many years, had not the madness of some few Hot-headed Fellows provok'd the *Romans*, who were then extending their Empire on every side, to the ruin of themselves and their Country too. Such diversities of events must needs follow from such different counsels and practices: for as it naturally follows, that a body refresh'd by wholesome nourishment to a just measure proves stronger and more long-liv'd, than the same would have been, if, content barely with its inward moisture, it had refus'd all kind of aliment from without; so those Cities have ever been more flourishing, which knew how to make anything their own which was excellent and praise-worthy, whatever Climate it was to be found in, than if they had follow'd the Manners of those people; who through an over-weening conceit of themselves, despise what is not of their own Countries growth, and thereby rob themselves of several fair supports and advantages both for the acquiring and the maintaining of their Power.

The same year first gave birth to a very barbarous Custom, afterwards immoderately practis'd; for to spill humane blood for the gratifying of any whiffing Fellow that was a looker on, arriv'd to be a publick pastime and diversion. The Authors of which inhumane butchery were *M. and D. Junius Brutus*, who to adorn and solemnize their deceased Fathers funerals with some strange and unheard of Rites and Devotions, set out a Match or Prize of Gladiators, which took nightly with the People. But the Pestilence reveng'd this injury done to Humanity, raging most violently for two years after, which upon consulting the *Sibyls* Books was found to be a judgment sent by the offended Deity to punish them. Therefore some suspicion arose that their Worship and religious ceremonies were not duly perform'd and observed, and the Pontiffs upon a stricter inquiry into the matter found several Temples and Chappels turned into private Tenelements, as also one of the Vestal Virgins (called *Caparonia*) guilty of Incest. But while her Indictment was a drawing up she prevented the Executioner by hanging her self; but he that debauched her and the servants that were privy to the fact, were punished according to Law. The Sacred Places were vindicated from all those abuses, whereby private persons had profan'd them: and restor'd to the use they were at first intended for. After this reformation of Religion in the City, the Senate began to apply themselves again to the Affairs of the Commonwealth. And because after the Conquest of *Heturia* there was no Enemy in *Italy* appearing, it was resolv'd that the new Consuls should pass over with the Legions into *Sicily*.

The Consuls were *M. Valer. Maximus*, killed during his Honour *Messalla*, and *M. Octavius Crassus*. These having luckily put over with their Forces into the Island, met afterwards a success answerable to so good a beginning; for having first taken the City of the *Adranites* after a short Siege by storm, whilst they sat down before *Centurippum* the *Alesian* Ambassadors arriv'd there, being sent to surrender their Town: From whence the Consuls taking their course into several parts of the Island, and acting with their Forces together, or separately as occasion required, spread the terror of their Arms into the most distant parts of the Land: routing the *Syracusans* and the *Carthaginians*, where-ever they met them. And so vigorous and easie was their Conquest, whilst they warmly pursu'd their good fortune, that a little while after no less than sixty seven Towns were reckon'd which had become subject to the *Romans*. Of which number were the *Tauromenitans* and *Cataneans*.

Upon which the Consuls daily encreasing their Armies by the addition of as many Auxiliary Troops as they pleas'd to demand, were encouraged to incamp before *Syracuse* it self, designing to invest that place. *Hiero* finding matters come to this pass, and on the one hand distrusting his own, and the *Carthaginian* Power, whilst on the other he took the *Romans* for the honestest Men, resolves himself also to enter into Alliance with the *Romans*, and accordingly sends Ambassadors with Instructions to conclude a Peace. The *Romans* were glad enough to dissolve the League between *Hiero* and the *Carthaginians*, chiefly because hereby their Legions would be better supplied with provisions: for no Victuals could be transported out of *Italy*, the *Carthaginians* being Masters of the Sea, and the Consul the year before had received more harm for want of provision, than from the Enemy. But now *Hiero* being on their side, the Territory of *Syracuse* so well stor'd with Provisions was likely to afford all necessaries for their Camp. Therefore they agreed upon these Articles:

“That whatsoever Places or Persons *Hiero* had taken from the *Romans*, he should restore them *gratui*, and withal pay one hundred Talents: That he should continue in an absolute possession of the City of *Syracuse* with all other places dependant thereupon, whereof *Acrae*, *Leontium*, *Megara*, *Elorus*, *Nitini*, and *Tauromenium* were the most considerable. Ambassadors afterwards coming from *Hiero*, the Articles were interchang'd, and reciprocally confirmed, and the Senate decreed that a Peace be concluded with *Hiero*, which a little after was ratified by the People upon *Cn. Atilius Calatinus*'s proposing the business to them. This League at first being made but for fifteen years lasted ever after. Whilst *Hiero* accotied the *Roman* grandeur with just and suitable respect, and they likewise requited his kindnesses with as much generosity and bounty. So that neither had any cause to repent of the Alliance contracted between them.

When the report of the Peace with *Syracuse* was nois'd abroad, *Hannibal* the *Carthaginian*, having come as far as *Asiphonia* on purpose to raise the Siege of *Syracuse*, retreated more hastily than he had set forwards.

The *Romans* now having *Hiero* for their Ally and Associate in the War, without delay, took in several Towns of the *Carthaginians*; and though from *Adrano*, a walled Town, and *Macella* after a Siege of several days they had been repuls'd; yet they reduc'd the *Segestantes*, who having kill'd the Punic Garison, revolted to them of their own accord; besides other reasons, these gave out that they favour'd the *Romans* for Kindreds sake, deriving their pedigree too from *Aeneas*, who escap'd from the flames of *Troy*, and shortly after the *Alienians* join'd themselves to the *Romans*: but as for *Hilarus*, *Tyritus* and *Afcelus*, they were forced to batter and storm them: and therefore the conquered were more severely treated. At which terror the *Tyndaritanes* seeing themselves to be next the danger, and their Succours too far off, whilst they were considering about delivering up their Town to the *Romans*, were hinder'd by the

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*Carthaginians*: for they guessing from the present juncture at what was in agitation, carried away the principal Citizens to *Lilybeum* for Hostages, together with Corn, Wine, and other Ammunition.

XLVII. At this time the severe Discipline of *Octavius Crassus* the Consul was of great importance to the Public; for he order'd those Soldiers, who upon dishonourable terms of safety, had suffer'd themselves to be treated as Slaves by *Hannibal*, to post themselves without the Trenches, thus exposing them perpetually to the Incursions of their Enemies, so that having no hopes but in their Valour they might become resolute and bold, and learn to defend themselves rather by the gallantry of their Arms, than by the strength of their Camp. These things being done and the Winter was now approaching, the Consuls leaving their places garison'd which were most advantageous, return'd to *Rome* carrying the rest of the Army into *Italy*, where a Triumph was decreed to *M. Valerius* who had been most successful in the War: which he kept before the 16th of *March*, for the Conquest of *Hiero* King of *Sicily* and the *Carthaginians*. A Dial which was torn up among the Spoils was the more taken notice of, because such a thing had never been seen at *Rome* before. *Valerius* having carried it away after the taking of *Catana*, placed it in the open Street near the *Rostra* upon a Pillar. He also posted a Table wherein the Victory over the *Syracusans* and *Carthaginians* was painted, upon one side of the *Curia Hostilia*, which none ever did before him, but many after him: It is certain that this Man was surnam'd *Messalla* from the City of *Messina*, but I wonder it should be believed upon several considerable Authors testimonies, that this name was impos'd for the taking of that place, whereas the thing it self manifestly shews, that this name was therefore impos'd, because *Messina*, which upon *Appian Claudius's* departure was by the *Carthaginians* and *Hiero* sorely distress'd, was by him deliver'd by driving the silt away, and winning the latter to his side.

XLVIII. The City of *Rome* in the mean while being afflicted with the Pestilence, it was resolv'd that a Dictator should be nam'd to fasten the Nail. *Cn. Fulvius Maximus Centumatus* was declared Dictator: he chose *Q. Marcius Philippus* for his Lieutenant. The same year a Colony was brought to *Efenia*, as the year before there had been one planted at *Firmum*, and another, as some will have it, at *Castellum*.

A. U. L. *Posthumus Megellus*, and *Q. Mamilius Vitulus* were afterwards made Consuls, and both of them have 491. *Sicily* assign'd for their Province, but they had onely two Legions allotted them: this being judg'd a sufficient Army, now the War was become less burthenfom, upon *Hiero's* coming into the League; and as for Victuals they thought it might be easier provided, the fewer men were sent over.

XLIX. The Consuls with their Forces having arriv'd in *Sicily*, and drawn together the Auxiliary Bodies of their Allies, whilst they pass'd by places of lesser moment, convert'd their main effort upon *Agrigentum* resolving to besiege it. This place had been plentifully furnished with all necessaries by the *Carthaginians*, who intended it for their Head-Quarters. For when they saw that *Hiero* had left them, and that the *Romans* apply'd themselves in good earnest to the business of *Sicily*, concluding that more diligent preparations for the War were necessary to be made on their part also, they sent at first the best part of their present Forces into *Sardinia*, to lie in wait upon the Coast of *Italy*, that by this terror they might divert the *Romans* from *Sicily*, or at least oblige them to fight there with a smaller Army than they would have done. But the *Romans* being still strong enough both to defend their own, and to bring a fresh Army into *Sicily*, disappointed in these their hopes they hir'd great numbers of Soldiers out of *Liguria* and *Gaul*, and greater yet from *Spain*: and withal put a great quantity of provisions into *Agrigentum*; designing it for the Granary and Retreating-place of their Armies, as being a Town for its convenient Site and capaciousness fitted for that purpose above any other which they held in *Sicily*.

L. This place therefore being made the Scene of the present War, the Consuls having oblig'd the *Carthaginians* to retire within their Fortifications, incamp'd at a mile distance from thence. Corn was then ripe in the Fields; and because the Siege was like to be a long one, the Soldiers out of a desire to reap and gather in the Corn rovd farther than they should, when the Enemy lay so near them. And the *Carthaginians* cunningly laying hold of this opportunity had made great slaughters of them, but that the *Roman* Soldiers by their Valour had repair'd, whatever damage they had incur'd through their negligence. For the Foragers not being able to stand the sudden flock of the Enemy, the *Carthaginians* proceeded forwards to the very Tents of the *Romans*, and dividing their Forces some endeavour'd to ruin their Palisado, whilst the others fought with their out-Guards, that were posted for defence of the Camp. Then was the time, when strictness of Military Discipline rescu'd the *Roman* Army from hazard and destruction.

LI. For it being a capital Crime among the *Romans* for any man to desert his Station, the Guards entertaining no hopes of safety by flight, though they were for number much inferior to the Enemy, received them with great Valour, many of their own men being slain, and more of the Enemies, until the rest of the Army was drawn in Battalia to relieve them in this stress and difficulty. Hereupon the Enemy was routed on that side, and those who had almost taken their Trenches were circumvented, and the *Romans* chased the rest to the Walls of the Town.

This accident made the *Romans* for the future more cautious in the matter of foraging, and the Enemies more timorous to sally out. Their Recounters afterwards abating as to their vigour, whilst the *Carthaginians* made but seldom any excursion, and that onely for a brush, they thought it expedient to divide their Forces, and to attack the Town on two Quarters, on the one side of *Esculapius's* Temple, and the way that leads to *Heraclea*. Their Camp was intrench'd and fortified round towards the City to prevent Sallies, and on the other side for defence against Aggressors, and to stop up all Avenues whereby any provision might be convey'd into the Town. The space in the middle between the two Camps was fortified and guarded with several Courts of Guard.

LI. In all which Affairs they were much assisted and further'd by those *Sicilians*, who had lately sworn fealty to them: whereof there were now one hundred thousand on the *Roman* side. Provisions also were convey'd by the same persons to *Erbesus*, from which place (for it stood but a little way off) the *Romans* themselves afterwards fetch'd it into their Camp: insomuch that they had plenty thereof.

In this condition the Siege lasted almost five Months, whilst neither side having got any great advantage towards a Victory, (nothing but Skirmishes having pass'd between them) at length the Punic Affairs began to decline, for because a vast multitude, no less than fifty thousand men cooped up so long in one Town had consumed almost all their Provisions, and that no Recruits could be hoped for, the *Romans* diligently blocking and watching all the Avenues, the minds of the besieged what by their present evils, and what by the expectation of approaching miseries were mightily dismay'd.

*Han-*

*Hannibal* therefore the Son of *Gisco* (who was the *Carthaginians* chief Commander at *Agrigentum*) by frequent Messages craving help against their present scarcity and dangers, *Hanno* the Elder with some Soldiers afterwards levied, and Elephants, is sent over into *Sicily* to the number of fifty thousand Foot, six thousand Horse and sixty Elephants, who being arrived at *Lilybeum* with these Forces he march'd thence towards *Heraclea*, and immediately some came and offer'd to surrender *Erbesus* into his hands; and by their means having made himself Master of *Erbesus*, from whence till then Provisions us'd to be fetch'd to serve the *Roman* Camp, he seem'd to have achiev'd an Exploit of no small moment, whilst thus by debarring the *Romans* from all supplies, he incommoded them no less, than they did the *Agrigentines*. And now they had oftentimes consulted about raising the Siege, and once were in a manner resolv'd to quit the design as unfeasible, had not *Hiero* tying every way, by stealth convey'd some Corn and other necessaries into the *Roman* Camp, and thereby administred a little relief to their present wants, and necessities.

*Hanno* observing that the *Romans* were much afflicted with Famine, and other maladies that attended it; whilst on the contrary his Army was strong and healthy, resolv'd to approach nearer to them, and to try the fortune of a Battel, if he should have an opportunity for the same. Taking therefore along with him fifty Elephants and the rest of the Army he marches out of *Heraclea*, and sends the *Numidian* Horse to Scout before the *Romans* Camp, thereby to decoy their Horse, and drill them on into an Ambush laid for them. When the *Numidians*, as they were order'd, contemptuously rode up to the Consul's Camp; the *Romans* sallied forth, and routed them, at the first making resistance, and afterwards pursu'd them upon high speed, as they were flying back disorderly that way by which they knew *Hanno* was coming. The further therefore they continued this pursuit, their retreat to their own Camp was made the more difficult, and many of them were slain, when they were met with by fresh Forces, and that those, who fled before, wheel'd about to inclose them.

This Event rais'd in *Hanno* great hopes of an intire Victory, and thereupon he posted his Army upon an Eminence, called *Torus*, at a Mile and a halfs distance from the *Roman* Camp. It might have been expected, that two such great Armies so near to one another should have join'd Battel sooner, which was defer'd the longer, because both sides were afraid to venture all upon the fortune of one Battel. Therefore whilst *Hanno* seem'd more desirous to fight, the *Romans* stir'd not out of their strong Holds, because the Enemy was numerous, and elevated with success, and therefore an over-match to a people cow'd and terrified with the loss of their Cavalry. But when they found that because of their timidity the Spirits of their Allies began to flag, and the Enemy to take heart upon it, and withal that they were like to wage a sorer War with their hungry stomachs than with the Enemy, they resolv'd to fight. *Hanno* upon this began likewise to draw back and flinch, and to fear every thing.

Two Months were spent in this manner, whilst besides some Skirmishes which pass'd daily, no action of greater moment was performed. At last upon the frequent importunities of *Hannibal*, who sent Messengers daily, and also gave signs often by fire, how that the besieged could no longer subsist for want of Victuals, and that many ran over to the Enemy being forced by the scarcity, he resolv'd to put off the Battel no longer: *Hannibal* also being order'd to sally out with his men at the same time; which when the Consuls understood, they kept quiet within their Camp. *Hanno* upon this began more boldly to brave them with his Army in Battalia, and when none durst oppose him, to advance to the *Romans* Lines and Trenches desying them to fight him, and upbraiding them with cowardice for not venturing. They being contented to have repuls'd the Enemy by light Skirmishes from their Palisadoes, neither oppos'd them with their Army in order of Battel; nor went in pursuit of them when they retir'd. Thus having done for several days, and the *Carthaginians* being now grown confident that the *Romans* durst venture no further, *L. Posthumus* the Consul wisely turn'd the Enemies contempt to his own advantage; for having very silently put his men in array, and keeping them within the Trenches, he sent out some small detachments to drive away the *Carthaginians* who attack'd them as they were wont: and by light Skirmishes and Combars kept them in play from break of day till six a Clock. Then at last when the Enemies retreated, he pour'd the Legions out of his Camp upon them.

*Hanno*, though he saw he must fight contrary to his judgment, boldly engag'd the Enemy, so that the Battel continued doubtful till the Evening; but the *Romans* having refresh'd themselves well with meat, and being prepar'd for the work could better endure thirst, heat and labour; whereas the *Carthaginians* by standing, and hunger being tir'd before the Battel began, made the fainter resistance, their strength still decaying, the longer the Battel continued, till at last the Mercenaries, who made the Vanguard, could no longer sustain the Shock: nor did they onely quit their ground, but retiring fearfully among the Elephants and the other ranks behind them disorder'd the whole Army, and forced them to fly before the Enemy, who bore up stily upon them. Matters likewise fell out luckily, on the other side of the Camp at the same time, and *Hannibal* after a Sally made more to his own than his Enemies damage, was beaten back into the Town. The *Carthaginians* Camp was taken, three Elephants wounded, thirty kill'd, and eleven taken by the *Romans*. The men far'd much alike: Of so great an Army but very few elcaped with the General to *Heraclea*.

The besieged after this blow not seeing any prospect of Relief, but being hopeless of safety, were affected with great consternation; when *Hannibal* (making the best of a bad Market) having observed that the *Romans* partly through the fatigues of labour, and partly through excess of joy were grown more lazy and remiss in keeping Guards, got out of the Town with the Mercenaries: and having thrown some hurdles filled with straw, and prepar'd beforehand into the Ditch, pass'd over, and got pretty far on his Journey: till the *Romans* at break of day understanding what was done, overtook part of the Rear of his Army, and cut them off, but *Hannibal* with the rest saved themselves. The *Agrigentines* seeing themselves forsaken by the *Carthaginians*, cut off many of those who remained in the Town, partly for anger, and partly to ingratiate themselves with the Conquerour: and yet for all this the Town was plunder'd, and above twenty five thousand Freeman sold for Slaves. After this manner was *Agrigentum* taken after seven Months Siege, to the great glory and advantage of the *Romans*, but yet with great effusion of blood; for above thirty thousand of the Consular Armies and the Auxiliaries by fundry fates perished during that Siege: for which reason as also because no great action could be undertaken for the Winters near approaching, they return'd to *Messina*.

LIX. The next year after *L. Valerius Flaccus*, and *T. Otacilius Crassus*, being Consuls, went Commanders into *Sicily*. The former Generals in hopes of a Triumph returning to *Rome*. The *Carthaginians* by sending out a Fleet in shew as it were to cruise upon the Coast of *Italy*, thought to divert the new Consuls from going in hand with the *Sicilian Expedition*; but they placing several Companies of Soldiers along the Coast to hinder the Enemies descent, put over notwithstanding into the Island.

LX. Then there were many Towns of *Sicily* which surrendered, being terrified by the late Example of the destruction of *Agrigentum*; nor did the *Carthaginians* withstand them, being besides their late defeat, perplex'd also upon the account of the seditious humours of their mercenary Soldiers. The *Gauls* especially mutinying for some months Arrears due unto them. To be reveng'd of whom *Hanno* contriv'd this cunning Plot; pacifying them with fair words he bad them be quiet a little while, and tells them withal, that he had in his Eye a certain rich City, of whose Conquest he was every day surer: and out of the booty thereof, he passes his word that the *Gauls* should be abundantly satisfied for the delay of their payment. Being thus amus'd, and even ready to conn him thanks, at a convenient time he practises with a Steward of his, in whom he reposed great confidence, that he should go in the form of a Renegade to Consul *Otacilius*, as if he had falsify'd and imbezled his Accounts, and inform him that the Night following four thousand *Gauls* were to take possession of *Entella*, which was to be betray'd unto them, and might be circumvented by Ambush. The Consul looking on it as a thing worth the taking notice of, though he could not trust the defectors word, yet detaches out a party of choice Men for the business. The *Gauls* likewise deceiv'd by *Hanno* came on: whom the *Romans* attack'd, and there arose a sharp Combat, wherein all the *Gauls* being slain, whilst they were resolv'd to sell their lives as dear as they could, brought double joy to *Hanno*, who cunningly chafed the insolence of his Mercenaries, and that with no small damage to the Enemy.

LXI. About this time the Praetor *Minucius* prefer'd a Bill to the Senate about bringing the Water of the River *Anienis* into the City, the charge of which Work the Censor *M. Curius* had undertaken to defray before out of the booty taken from the Enemy; but there arose several hindrances, which made the business to be defer'd for nine years after, when the matter was revived again, and *Curius*, and *Fulvius Flaccus* were made Surveyors of the Work: but *Curius* dying within five days after left the glory of finishing it solely to *Fulvius*.

About the same time *Hamilear* came from *Carthage* to *Sicily* to succeed *Hanno*: for when *Hanno* after his defeat at *Agrigentum* return'd home, he fell into great disgrace among the *Carthaginians*, who after they had set six thousand Crowns fine upon his head, took away his Commission of General. That this *Hamilear* was the Father of *Hannibal*, who commanded in the following Punic War, has been deliver'd falsely by some, who were mistaken through the likeness of their names. For *Hamilear* the Father of *Hannibal* in the latter end of that War came in his younger days Generalissimo into *Sicily*. But such was the Renown of the Man, that the acts of another *Hamilear* an obscure Person were ascribed to *Barca Hamilear* the famouslest of any that was ever known by that Name.

This *Hamilear*, the Successor of *Hanno*, seeing the *Romans* far Superiour to him in Foot durst not attempt any of the mid-land Towns, nor descend from the Mountains into the Champaign Country, but being strong in Shipping, whereby he became absolute Master of the Sea, with that part of his Forces he was very active, and having sent another *Hamilear* to wait the Coast of *Italy*, himself cruising about *Sicily* easily recover'd most of the Maritime places, which had submitted to the *Romans*. So that whilst the *Romans* easily conquer'd and defended those places, which lay farther up in the Country, and the *Carthaginians* those on the Sea-coasts, their hopes and fears were counterpoised; nor could it easily be judg'd, which side should get the better on't in the War.

## DECADE II. BOOK XVII.

### Florus his Epitome of the Seventeenth Book of Livy.

Cn. Cornelius the Consul circumvented by the punick Fleet, and wheedled out under colour of a Parley, is treacherously taken Prisoner. C. Duilius the Consul had an Engagement with the said Fleet and beat them, being the first Roman that ever Triumph'd for a Victory at Sea. For which reason he had the Honour as long as he liv'd, when he went from Supper, to have Musick and a lighted Flambeau carried before him. L. Cornelius the Consul overthrows the Sardinians and Corsicans, and Hanno the Carthaginian General. The Consul Attilius Calatinus, having rashly drawn his Army into a very disadvantageous place where they were surrounded by the Carthaginians, is brought off by the Courage and diligence of M. Calphurnius one of his Colonels, who with a Regiment of three hundred Foot desperately sallied out and diverted the Enemy. Whilst the Army made their escape, Annibal a Carthaginian Admiral having lost the greatest part of his Fleet in an Engagement, is by his own men crucified.

II. NOW the fourth year of the *Carthaginian War* was ended, nor had the *Romans* any cause either to repent at either their courage or fortune. For in all the Battels they fought, either with the *Carthaginians* or *Syracusans*, they came off victorious; they had taken some rich places by Storm; others surrendered themselves unto them upon Articles: but when the War was waged in the Island, and that neither provisions of Victuals, nor recruits of Men could be conveyed thither to serve the turn, and also that the *Carthaginian Navies* by their sudden and free descents, nor only infested the *Sicilian Towns* next the Sea, being themselves out of all harms-way, but also by wasting the Coast of *Italy* endamag'd the *Roman Territories*, and lessen'd their reputation in the World; whilst in the interim *Africa* was free from hauns and

and exempt from all the calamities and pressures of War. The Nobility therefore and Commons of *Rome*, having duly deliberated upon the matter, made an Ordinance for building a Navy, that so they might be in a posture not enely to fight with the *Carthaginians* by Land, as they began, but likewise try their fortune by Sea.

This was the first time the *Romans* set their minds in good earnest to the business of Shipping: which as they boldly undertook, so they no less prosperously accomplished. So that it might be justly said, That the *Romans* might challenge the Empire of the World as their due: who when they were to fight with the most experienc'd Seamen wanted neither Courage to essay, Prudence to manage, nor Resolution to go through with the Work. For although till then the *Romans* were such strangers to the Maritime Affairs, that they had not one Man among them who had ever seen a Sea-fight, no Ships of War, nor any skilful Shipwrights; yet resolutely applying themselves to the point they soon put out to Sea, fought and overcame those who for many Ages had been counted the most experienc'd Seamen.

The Persons constituted Supervisors for the building of the Ships were *Luc. Cornelius*, *Scipio Asina*, and *C. Duilius* who had newly entred upon their Consulships. They had one Galley of five banks of Oars, which when *Claudius* was upon his passage cross the Streight, out of an eager desire to fight had drawn too near shore, and ran aground in the shallow Water. So that the Soldiers that were upon the Land took it. The Consul order'd that the whole Armada should be built after the form of that Vessel, and they ply'd the work so closely that within sixty days after the felling of the Timber a Navy of one hundred and sixty Vessels lay at Anchor: nor did the Consuls set forwards this Expedition with less cunning, than industry. For judging it unadvisable to hazard a Battel with unskilful Rowers, and likewise being unwilling to have the time of action taken up in exercising them; they found out a device, which at first sight may seem ridiculous, but in the event it proved very commendable. For while the Vessels were building, the Rowers were taught to handle the Oar sitting upon the dry Land, being seated in the same ranks as if they were aboard the Gallies, with the Boatswain sitting in the middle they were commanded as he gave the word, either to pluck at the Oars or to rest, as they do at Sea. By which prelufory exercise they arrived to so much skill, that afterwards, the Gallies being launch'd, when they had given some Specimens of their Art in the Work it self the Consuls now confided in them, and ventur'd their own and the lives of their men in their hands.

Afterwards, when the lots for the Provinces had been drawn, the command of the Land-forces fell to *Duilius*'s share, and that of the Fleet to *Cn. Cornelius*, who taking with him seventeen Gallies went to *Messana* to provide necessaries against the arrival of the Fleet, which he commanded to follow as fast as it could: but before the Fleet could enter the Streight he fell into the Enemies hands. This was effected partly through the policy of one *Boodes* Lieutenant to *Hannibal* the *Carthaginian* General, and partly through the Consuls credulity, who believing some *Lipareans* suborn'd by the Enemy rashly conceived hopes of taking *Lipara* by treachery. There being hemm'd in by the Punic Fleet he resolv'd to fight his way through them: had not *Boodes* by another trick enticed him and the Officers to come aboard his Ship, pretending to treat about Conditions of Peace with the *Carthaginians*. As soon as they were come, they were put in Chains, which so terrified the rest that they yielded themselves to the Enemy without striking a stroke, and *Boodes* having taken all the Ships sent the Captives to *Carthage*.

The *Carthaginian* General afterwards committed such another mistake, which was therefore the more infamous, because the Consuls oversight by so late an Example might have taught him more wit. He had been inform'd that the *Roman Fleet* sailing along the Coast of *Italy* was on its way towards the Streights, and that now it could not be far off. Willing therefore to view the Fleet at a near distance, and to inform himself of the number of the Ships and the *Romans* skill and dexterity in this new Trade, he put forwards with fifty Gallies: and thinking himself secure of future events, his Navy riding in a confused manner, as is usual, when there is no danger within ken, he fell in suddenly with the *Roman Fleet*, sailing in good order at the point of a Promontory: so that he was routed before he had prepared himself to fight; and having lost the best part of the Fleet he had much ado to escape, having been reduc'd to the utmost danger. The Fleet that had got the Victory, having heard of *Cornelius*'s misfortune, sent Messengers to *Duilius* to inform him of their arrival, and withal made themselves ready for the Battel; for they had intelligence that the rest of the *Carthaginian Fleet* was riding near them. There whilst they seriously considered the inconveniences of their own Ships, which being ill contriv'd and built after a bungling manner could not compare with the *Carthaginian Gallies* for swiftness, one of them devised a certain Engine to hold fast Ships, called afterwards a Crow.

The form of it was thus; There was a round strait piece of Wood four fathom long, and nine inches thick with a Pulley at the end of it, fastned to the Prow of the Vessel, to which was fitted another Engine Scala made of several cros boards, strongly nailed together. In this Engine there was left an oblong hole, through which it was to be clap'd upon the Beam and so fastned to it, for the space of sixteen foot the length of the Beam: but the rest of the Engine that was not joyn'd to the Beam, being about eight foot hung as it were by certain joints, so that it could be easily lifted up and let down upon occasion: At the end of this Engine there was fasten'd a very strong sharp piece of Iron, with a ring at the head of it; from which a Rope was tied that reached through the Pulley, and so to the Deck. Now when they pulled the Rope to them, the Engine was raised, when they let it go, it fell down, fastening with its sharp claws, and grappling fast whatever it laid hold of.

Mean while *Duilius* leaving his Land-forces with the Tribunes arriv'd with the Fleet: and understanding that the Country round about *Myle* had been wasted by the Enemy he made to shore with the whole Fleet. The *Carthaginians* were glad of this, promising themselves sure Victory against Mid-landers, and no Seamen. But they became Examples to instruct Men, that no Enemy ought so much to be despis'd as to render any one less cautious and wary in dealing with them.

*Hannibal* Captain General of the Gallies, who led his Forces from *Agrigentum*, was aboard a seven Oar'd Galley of King *Pyrrhus*; the rest of the Fleet followed her: not in Squadrons and order of Battel, but every one made up towards the Enemy with eager haste, through contempt of them. When they were got nearer, and saw the Prows of the Ships armed with those terrible Engines, they stood still for a while wondering at the novelty of the sight. But at length, whilst the forwardest of those senseless fellows per'd and scoff'd that ill-favour'd device, the foremost Vessels advanc'd very furiously. When the Crow being suddenly let down, where they lighted upon any Ship, pierc'd the boards through, so that the Ship was not able to move, but stood still. The *Roman Soldiers*, if it so happen'd that the Vessels

fels were grapp'd on the sides, pushed forward and from every quarter boarded the Enemy: but when the Prows were onely seiz'd upon, by the Beam and the Bridg adjoining two Soldiers pass'd over, and that the more easily, because the ledges of the Engine standing knee-high afforded safer going and safer footing. For the foremost holding their Targets before them defended their Faces from the Enemies Darts; those that followed behind on either hand held their Targets even to the ledges of the Engine: Thus their sides being defended, they attacked the Enemy hand to hand; so that there was no tilting of Peaks one against the other, but they fought as it were a pitch'd Battel, and each man flood his ground. And hence it was that the Romans being the stronger men, easily obtained the Victory over light-armed Soldiers, who trusted to the swiftness of their Ships, more than to their Arms.

IX. There were about thirty Gallies of the Carthaginians taken, among which the Admiral with seven banks of Oars was one. But Hannibal having leap'd out of the Gallie which was just then taken into the Long-boat, escap'd falling into the Enemies hands, and having dispatch'd an express post-hast to Carthage, that might outgo the very fame of this defeat, cunningly ward'd off the punishment that hung over his head for his ill-success. For the Messenger entering into the Council-Chamber, as if all was well, consulted the Senate, whether they thought fit they should encounter the Roman Fleet. To which when all answer'd, that they must do so, and that too out of hand, says he, he has done so already and has come off by the worst. Thus whil't they durst not accuse an action, which before it was done, every man seem'd to approve, the General was clear'd from all capital punishment, losing onely his Commission of Captain of the Gallies.

X. But after the Generals defeat the rest of the Carthaginian Fleet (for the greatest part by far remain'd) were at a stand as to what they should do. They could not in honour quit the Battel, having receiv'd no loss, and not one man urging and pressing upon them. Again to attempt the Roman Gallies seem'd hazardous for fear of their Crows. At length coming up in a half-Moon, and trying all their tricks, when they saw the beaks of the Gallies with those terrible Engines on every side planted against them, they fell off, and bad adieu to all hopes of Victory. Of the Carthaginian Fleet fourteen Vessels are said to have been sunk in that engagement, and thirty one taken with seven thousand men, after that three thousand had dy'd in the Battel.

Thus fought Duilius the Consul, near the Isles of Lipara, against the Carthaginians, from whence the Romans reap'd some advantage, but more glory and renown. The Consul with the Land-forces march'd to Segesta, which he deliver'd, after it had been reduc'd by the Carthaginians to the utmost danger. Then he took Macilla by storm, Hamilcar not daring to oppose him; and having encourag'd and assur'd the Confederate Towns of Sicily, in the end of Summer return'd to Rome.

XI. At whose departure the Punic Affairs began to revive again. For first the Romans having lost a great many men were forc'd to raise the Siege of Messana after seven Months. Afterwards upon a feud arising between them and the Auxiliaries, when the Confederate Forces had encamped apart from the Legions between Paropus and Thermae, Hamilcar resolving to make his advantage of their humourous temper, in a sudden Assault slew about four thousand of them, and the grofs of the Roman Army was like to have been involv'd in the same ruin. Then it was that Hannibal won several Towns partly by force, and partly by treachery; which news though they were sorry to hear at Rome, yet these losses were esteem'd but inconsiderable if compar'd with their Victory at Sea. For whereas the Romans had hitherto onely signaliz'd themselves by their invincible courage in Land fights, they were very glad (and not without cause) that they had purchas'd so much glory and reputation in Maritime Affairs also. From whence they began to conceive great hopes of the success of the War: and judg'd the Author of so great an exploit worthy of unusual Honour.

XII. Duilius therefore first celebrated a Naval Triumph over the Sicilians and the Carthaginian Fleet the 24th day of February, and the State allow'd further, since not content with that Honour, he had himself assum'd another without any President for the same, that when he return'd from Supper, he should have Musick and Flambeaus to attend him home. There was also by an Order of the Senate, a Triumphal Arch of white Parian Marble adorn'd with beaks of Ships set up in the Forum, which is to be seen to this day, with an Inscription shewing the number of the Vessels sunk, and taken, and also what Money was taken: but time has defac'd several words. Nevertheless it is apparent enough, that there were thirty seven thousand Sesterces of Gold taken, of Silver coyn'd above one hundred thousand, of Brass two Millions and seven hundred thousand pounds.

XIII. This Solemnity ended, C. Duilius call'd an Assembly of the People, where L. Cornelius Scipio, C. Aquilius Florus are made Consuls; the Senate appointed the Provinces for the Consuls Sicily and the Navy. The Person that was to command at Sea, was permitted to put over into Sardinia, if he thought it advantageous for the Public; and when the Lot fell upon C. Cornelius he went out with the Fleet equipped in all points. This was the first Voyage the Romans ever made into Sardinia and Corsica.

These Isles are so nearly situated, that a man would think them both to be but one: but yet the nature of the Climate and Soil, and consequently the tempers of the people do very much differ. The Ancients call'd Sardinia, Ichnusa, for its resemblance to the print of a mans foot, as also Sandaliaria. Afterwards they say, that one Sardus the Son of Hercules the Lybien gave the Island, which he much frequented, the present name. The Poets also deliver, how that the Grecians with one Ariflaus, as likewise the Tyrians after the Trojan Wars came to those places. The Country for fruitfulness and bigness is not much inferior to the largest and fruitfulest of those Isles that lie in that Sea: being excellent for breeding Cattel, very fruitful in Corn, and rich in Mines, especially Silver; but yet it has no such good Air, and in the account of Strangers it loses much of the glory of its fertility by reason of the unhealthiness thereof: which in Summer is very unwholsom, especially in the rankett places.

XIV. Besides, it produces an herb like Mint, which is a strong Poison: and being eaten casts men into fits, and by a violent convulsion of the Nerves, causes such a distortion of the Mouth and Lips, as is seen in Laughter. The juice proves deadly, unless after vomiting some Milk and Metheglin be presently drank; for so the present force of the Poison is stop'd, and afterwards such Remedies cure the other ill effects of it, as are prescribed in Convulsion: there is also a little Creature there call'd Solpuga, which kills those who sit upon it ere they are aware: it is a kind of Emet, and does the mischief the more dangerously, because being such a very small thing, it cannot be seen: and those who are ignorant of the nature of it, are not afraid thereof when they see it. The Sardi are a medley of Barbarians, who if they are left to themselves, chuse rather to live by Robbery, than Husbandry. Their Arms are a Target and a short Sword.

For

For Armour they wear quilts made of the skins of those Rams which that Country breeds, being hairy like Goats, and not bearing Wool as others do. The Metropolis of the Country is Caralis, lying towards Africa, and peopled from thence; having an excellent Harbour.

XV. Corsica is neither for bigness nor Riches comparable to Sardinia, yet among those Islands, it is suppos'd to obtain the third place for magnitude. The Inhabitants say, that it had its name from a certain Woman named Corfa, from whose Herd a Bull pass'd over out of Liguria into this Isle: by the Greeks it is called Cyrnus. It is mountainous, rugged, and in many places unpassable: and consequently breeds a People void of all civility, and almost as savage as Brutes. When they are taken Prisoners they never become tractable, but either through impatience of labour and restraint make away with themselves, or else through their dulness and stubbornness become troublefom to their Masters. There is good store of Honey in the Island, but it is harsh of taste, and such as is made of Box-tree blossoms, which is counted very wholsom Honey, and it is thought that men in Corsica live long, because they generally use it. They have but few Towns, and those but ill stock'd with people, they reckon about thirty of them: the chiefest whereof are Aleria a Colony of Phoenicians, and Nicca of the Etrurians. The Air is here likewise foggy and unwholsom, and the Coast Harboursless.

XVI. With these Nations the Carthaginians warred a long while, and made themselves Masters of both the Islands, excepting such places as they could not come at: but because it was easier to conquer than civilize a headstrong barbarous People; among other devices they us'd to keep them under, they destroy'd all the Corn in the Country, whereby the Inhabitants might be forc'd to furnish themselves with provisions out of Africa, and made it death to any of them to sow any Corn again: till by long custom they were civiliz'd, and submitted themselves to the Yoke more patiently.

XVII. L. Cornelius then made an Expedition to these Islands: and first he took Aleria a Town in Corsica: and afterwards easily and without any danger over-ran all the rest. From thence as he was going for Sardinia, the Carthaginian Fleet met him, which the Consul attack'd and routed before they could come to close fighting. In the next place he march'd against Olbia; but finding the Carthaginian Fleet lying in the Port, and not judging himself strong enough in Foot to besiege a place so well fortified and garrison'd, he quitted that design for the present: and return'd homewards to take in more men.

XVIII. At the same time the Slaves design'd to make an Insurrection, which was fortunately quash'd in the first breaking out: and thereby freed the Commonwealth from that great trouble and disturbance which it was like to have created. There had been great numbers of Seamen press'd from the Countries lately conquer'd for the service of the Fleet, most of them Samnites. Now these being unwilling to go to Sea complain'd in private of their condition, and became so transported with rage, that they resolv'd to rise, and burn the City. There were three thousand Slaves who joyn'd in this Plot, the Conspiracy daily gathering more strength, when Erius Potilius a Captain of the Auxiliaries cunningly defeated and ruin'd all the Design: For making as if he were one of the same Party, he exactly learn'd all their Intrigues: found out the quality, number and names of all the Conspirators: as also the times and places, when any thing was to be attempted. And now he was ready to make a discovery of the whole to the Senate, but he could not have an opportunity to go to the Senate-house: for the Samnites follow'd him always, so that he could not perform his design: till by a cunning wheedle he perswaded them, that when the Senate were sitting they should go in crowds to the Forum, and there cry out, that they had been cheated in the measuring of their Corn: telling them, that an opportunity would arise from thence for them, either to execute their designs, or at least to discover what courage and resolution the Senate had against such sudden Insurrections; and that he might make the thing go down the better: he went with them, and not onely made a Party in this Riot, but was the Ring-leader of it. Whereupon being call'd into the Senate, he discover'd the reasons of this device, and the danger of the Plot.

XIX. The Senate dissembling their knowledge of the thing sent some persons, who by fair words might persuade that Rabble to go home: telling them, the Senate would take care that the injury should be redress'd, and every one have justice done them. Thus the Conspirators thinking their Plot undiscover'd went away: but next Night every one put those of their Slaves in bonds, which by the discovery of Potilius they had understood to be partakers of this Villany: most also of the Samnites were taken in their Lodgings. It is not certainly known, whether C. Florus was hindred by this occasion, or else by some other business, or Disease from going sooner into Sicily, where Hannibal after the last Victory had mightily retriev'd the Carthaginian Affairs. For having taken Cannarina and Enna by treachery, he fortified Drepanum where there was a noble Port, and made it a Town, planting the Erycinians there, whose City, lest it might advantage the Enemy he had demolish'd, excepting the Temple of Venus. Afterwards, he took several other places by force or treachery, and seem'd like to carry all Sicily before him, had not Florus oppos'd him, who for that reason durst not leave the Island that Winter.

XX. The other Consul found it easier to encounter with the Sardinians and Carthaginians at Olbia. To which place when he was return'd again with greater Forces, he found Hanno there, whom upon Hannibals removal the Carthaginians had made Admiral at Sea. After a very sharp Battel, Hanno fighting bravely, when he saw his men beaten, rush'd among the thickest of the Enemies, and was slain, and thereupon the Town was surrendred. The Consul adorn'd the Fame of his Victory by a noble example of Humanity towards the Enemy. For he took care that Hanno's Body should be carried to be buried out of his own Pavilion; and honour'd him with a very noble Funeral, all hatred ceasing after death, whilst he rightly judg'd that Valour was to be honoured even in an Enemy.

XXI. Afterwards, improving the terror of his late Victory he took many other places in Sardinia, making use of Stratagems as well as downright fighting. For he was wont by Night to put some Soldiers ashore, being detach'd out of his Army, not far from those Towns he design'd to assault, who having posted themselves in some advantageous places, they waited there, till the Consul coming up to the Towns gave the alarm to the people, and pretending to fly, drew them far from their Walls. Then these advancing on high speed enter'd the Towns, having no Soldiers within to defend them. By this Stratagem he took several places: and carried on his Victories so successfully that the Carthaginian Army could not stand against him either in Corsica or Sardinia. For which reason it was not doubted, but when he return'd to Rome he should have a Triumph decreed to him. He triumph'd over the Carthaginians, Sardinia and Corsica before the 5th of the Ides of March, having carried away great spoils, and many thousand Prisoners out of those Islands.



XXII. In Sicily C. Florus besieged Mystratus, a strong place, and several times in vain attempted. Nor could it be taken then, till the new Consul A. Atilius Colatinus came thither, when the Province of Sicily had fallen to his share, and the Navy to his Colleague C. Sulpitius Paterculus. These two, with all their Forces in Battalia went to Panormus, where the Carthaginians had their Winter-quarters, before which place they offered them Battel; but no person opposing them, they went to Hippant: which they assaulted and took. In their Journey from thence Atilius advanced to Mystratus, which after a stout resistance made, the Defendants at last abandon'd, being tired by the cries and lamentations of the Women and Children. So that when the Carthaginian Garison departed away by Night, the Townsmen at break of day opened their Gates: but the Romans not forgetting the hardships they had suffer'd in the Siege, slew all they met without any distinction of Age or Sex: until Atilius caus'd it to be proclaim'd, that the booty and men should be theirs that took them.

XXIII. Then their Cruelty gave way to their Avarice: and the rest of the Mystratensians being saved were sold for Slaves: the Town was plundered and demolish'd. The Army from thence being led against Camarina, ran a great hazard for want of sending out Spies to view the Country. For the Carthaginian General having first possess'd himself of the Hills, had surrounded the Roman Army that were heedlessly got into a narrow Valley. And now when they expected nought but death, and such a slaughter as that of Caudium, Calpurnius Flamma a Colonel in the same Army, by his Valour, and good conduct saved the Army in this extremity of danger. He following the Example of P. Decius, who himself had been Colonel in Samnium, went with three hundred men to possess himself of a certain eminence: having no prospect of escaping, but only inflam'd both he and his men with a noble thirst after Honour, and a desire to save the Army. 'Tis reported, that when he had his men thither he should thus bespeak them: "Fellow-Soldiers, Let us die, and by our death rescue from danger, the Legions which are surrounded by the Enemy."

And so it happen'd; the Enemy charg'd them, and they receiv'd their Cannon bravely, and kept them in play till the Consul got out of these Streights. The Carthaginians having slain those, who had oppos'd themselves against their Arms, departed, no longer placing any hopes in their Stratagem, which was now discover'd.

XXIV. And here the good fortune of Calpurnius was almost a Miracle, who being found with breath yet in his body among great heaps of the Enemies Carcasses, and those of his own men, was taken up, and by good tendance recover'd again, having receiv'd among his numerous Wounds none that was mortal; so that he afterwards liv'd to do considerable service to the Commonwealth: and was a great terror to the Enemies. This man, if he had shewn such a proof of his Valour among Grecians, no Monuments or Rewards could have been thought sufficient for him. But, being a Roman, for so great an Act had only a Chaplet of Grafts: and the memory of the fact is so negligently deliver'd, that there is scarce any certainty what the Hero's name was. Most call him Calpurnius Flamma, but Cato lays his name was Ceditius, and Quadrigrarius calls him Laberius. However, the Consul having escap'd out of these Streights, whilst his Labour rais'd shame in him, and his danger procur'd watchfulness, attempting again with more Forces, and greater care to besiege the Town, but finding he could not succeed without Engines, he borrow'd some of Hiero, with which he batter'd the Wall: and the Camarinians being thus reduc'd were most of them sold to slavery by the Consul. Then they went to Enna: which place they also took by treachery, and the Garison Soldiers were partly slain by the Romans who were receiv'd into the Town, whilst others of them escaping by flight betook themselves to such places as belong'd to their own Party. Suttana was possess'd not by fraud, but Valour: for the Defendants were beaten by main might and strength, and the Town taken by Storm.

XXV. And now the lesser Towns of Sicily without any more ado sent Ambassadors to the Consul to surrender themselves to him: Who after he had put Garisons in convenient places march'd into the Country of Agrigentum, where he took the Castle of Camicum by treachery, which so amaz'd them at Erleffus, that they fled away abandoning the Town. Thus also was Erleffus recover'd by the Romans. The Consul elevated with his good fortune, and also because he thought several of the Lipareans to be well affected towards him, march'd towards their City. But there his affairs did not succeed so well as before; for Hamilcar having cunningly found out the Roman Generals design, entred privately into Lipara, and diligently waited his time to fight; which the Romans were ignorant of, and therefore whilst they approached the Walls too boldly and rashly, the Carthaginians suddenly sallied out and routed them. There were many killed in that encounter, and several wounded.

XXVI. In the mean while Sulpitius the Consul fought prosperously several Battels against the Carthaginians: and he became so encourag'd hereby, that he ventur'd to sail towards Affrica. The Carthaginians resolving not to endure that, made Hannibal again Chief Commander at Sea, who lived all along at Carthage ever since his defeat in Sicily. And having joyn'd several eminent Sea Commanders with him, order'd him to keep off the Enemies Fleet from the Affrican shores. Accordingly he put out to Sea well equip'd for a fight: but a storm hindred them from engaging: which lying very fore on both parties forced them against their wills to take shelter in places more calm; but yet both the Generals recover'd the Ports of Sardinia. There whilst their Fleet lay at Anchor, Sulpitius, to draw the Carthaginians out into the open Sea, tuborns some people to go as desertors, and persuade Hannibal that the Romans were about to sail again for Affrica. He being deceiv'd with this trick, came out in all halt with the Fleet, and fell in with the Consul, who waited for him in a convenient place unawares: where many of the Punic Vessels were sunk before they could know where they were; whilst the favour of the Night, and a storm opportunely arising had cover'd the Ambush laid by the Consul.

XXVII. At length, when they understood their condition, the rest of the Gallies made back to the Haven, or else drove to shore, where most of them were taken empty, the Rowers flying away. Hannibal despairing of being able to defend the Haven, had betaken himself into a Town called Sulcos: where a Mutiny arising he was apprehended by the Carthaginians, who had fled thither from the same Battel, and hang'd; they alledging, that his folly and rashness was the cause of their overthrow. But this Victory a while after caus'd some loss to the Romans. For, when now without any fear of the Punic Fleet, they were waiting the Country very securely and without fear; they were routed by a sudden Incurfion of the Sardinians and Carthaginians under the Conduct of Hanno.

C. Duilius

C. Duilius bore the Censorship this year, and built the Temple of Janus at the Herb-Market. About this time there were two Triumphs: the first that of C. Aquilius Florus, as Consul over the Carthaginians the 4th of October. The second Caius Sulpitius the Consul over the Carthaginians and Sardinians the fifth of the same Month.

Afterwards, when C. Atilius Regulus, Cn. Cornelius Blasio were again Consuls, the Senate order'd that some Ceremonies used for the expiating of Prodigies should be perform'd, because that in Monte Albano, and many other places, and even in the City itself, it had rain'd Stones as thick as Hail. It was order'd that the Latine Holy-days should be renew'd, and a Dictator chosen for that end. Q. Ogulneius Gallus was the Dictator, and M. Latorius Plancianus his Deputy. C. Atilius, who commanded the Fleet, arriving at Tyndaris in Sicily, destroy'd the Punic Navy sailing by in a disorderly manner, and resolv'd to attack it; and accordingly having order'd the rest of the Fleet to follow him, he with ten Gallies, which could be first fitted, advances against the Carthaginians who were got pretty far before by the help of their Oars and Sails which they ply'd with all their might and main.

Hamilcar was then in that Fleet, a great Commander: who seeing but few Ships near him, and others scarce yet got out of the Haven, and that the greatest part yet lay at Anchor, tack'd about, and with his whole Fleet encompass'd C. Atilius, and his Ships. Nine Gallies were sunk presently, being over-pour'd by the numbers of the Enemy, after they had fought it stoutly. But the Admiral, by the help of her Oars, and the Rowers being encourag'd by the presence of the Consul, forc'd its way through, and sav'd her self. For now there were other Gallies of the Romans come up, which chang'd the fortune of the Battel; and then there were eight Gallies of the Carthaginians sunk, ten with their Rowers taken: the rest steer'd their course towards the Liparean Isles. These were their Actions at Sea. Their Land-forces acted more slowly, having attack'd Lipara in vain; but they wreck'd their fury upon such places as were open, laying them waste; and the same Calamity reach'd the Island of Malta not far distant. For these Achievements C. Atilius the Consul had a Naval Triumph for his Victory over the Carthaginians. The same year Atilius triumph'd over the Carthaginians in Sicily the 19th of January. Thus prosperously did the Roman Affairs succeed, so that they now being superiour at Sea as well as at Land, began to consult not only about Sicily and the adjacent Isles, the Conquest of which they made sure of, but also of invading Affrica, and carrying the terror of the War to the very Gates of Carthage.

## DECADE II. BOOK XVIII.

### Florus his Epitome of the Eighteenth Book of Livy.

Atilius Regulus being Consul, overthrows the Carthaginians in a Sea-fight, invades Affrick, and there kills a Serpent of a prodigious bigness, not without a great slaughter of his Soldiers. He having fought several Battels with the Carthaginians with advantage, and the Senate by reason of his success, continuing him in his Command, he himself by his Letters complains thereof and desires a Successor, affixing (amongst other things) this reason for it, because the Farm his Family liv'd upon, lay unill'd, being deserted by his Wife's and Husbandmen. After this, Fortune being willing to shew an Eminent Example in this Gentleman of a glorious Adversity as well as a great Prosperity, he is overthrown, and taken Prisoner by one Zantippus a Lacedemonian, whom the Carthaginians had entertain'd for their General. The Roman Navies suffer'd grievous Shipwrecks which eclips'd the Glory of all their former successes either at Sea or Land. Tib. Caruncanus Created High Priest, the first Commoner that ever enjoy'd that dignity. P. Sempronius Sophus, and Manius Valerius Maximus the Censors calling over the Senate turn'd out thirteen Members for misdemeanours. And held a survey of the whole City, and registred to the number of 297797 Heads. Regulus is sent by the Carthaginians to the Senate to treat for a Peace, or if that could not be obtain'd for exchange of Prisoners. Upon his Parole to return again, if the same were not granted; But he himself perswaded the Senate to deny both; and to discharge his Promise, goes back, where he is put to death by the Carthaginians with most exquisite Tortures.

THE Consuls next were L. Manilius surnamed Longus, and Q. Ceditius, who dying in his Office was succeeded by M. Atilius Regulus second time Consul. Affrica having hitherto been exempt from all acts of Hostility, first felt the War this year, the Romans entering the Country after a signal Victory gain'd by them over the Carthaginian Fleet. All which Affairs, as they happen'd, as also Regulus his adverse and prosperous fortune, and undeserv'd death, we shall describe in this Book. The year before C. Atilius being Consul, the Carthaginians, notwithstanding in a Sea-fight they first retreated with the loss of many of their Ships, yet look'd upon themselves not inferior to their Enemies because they had sunk some of their Gallies also: whilst the Romans reckon'd themselves to have gain'd a signal Victory.

Hence the two Nations with equal Courage and Emulation apply'd themselves to Maritime Affairs. And in pursuance hereof, the Consuls being order'd to transfer the War into Affrica arrived at Messina with three hundred and thirty sail of Ships under their Command, and from thence leaving Sicily on the right hand pass'd by Pachynus to take in some Foot-Companies then quarter'd about the Hill Ecnomus; and Hamilcar the Carthaginian General, and Hanno the Admiral with three hundred and sixty sail put over from Carthage to Lilybæum, and from thence taking their course to Heraclea Minoa, posted themselves in that Port, watching the Enemies motions, and intending to stop their passage to Affrica. The Consuls inform'd hereof, prepar'd themselves diligently to encounter either danger, so that whether they should come to a trial of skill by Sea, or make any descent into the Country, they might not be at a loss when the matter

matter came to the puff. Having therefore mann'd their Ships with the best and most courageous Soldiers, they divided their whole Fleet into four Squadrons: the first Squadron being compos'd of the first Legion, the second and third of the two other Legions, and the fourth of the *Triarii*.

III. The Forces were order'd in this manner: Every Ship carried three hundred Seamen, and one hundred and twenty Soldiers, so that the whole Fleet made about one hundred and forty thousand men; which number was somewhat exceeded by the *Carthaginians*, having aboard their Navy one hundred and fifty thousand men: but for all that, the Consuls look'd on the *Carthaginian* Soldiery no ways comparable to their own: but seeing they were to fight upon the main Sea, where the swiftest Saylor, and the most skilful Seamen have the advantage; their chiefest care was to range their Fleet in such an order as might best incounter this danger. At last they rang'd their Fleet in this manner: the two Gallies wherein the Consuls were, they plac'd in the front: to both which they joyn'd the first and second Squadron in two Lines one directly opposite to the other; the Ships standing with their Prows outward: the two Admirals rode almost side by side: but those Ships next to them stood at a greater distance afunder, which still increased with the number of the Ships. Thus when the Gallies in the front stood nearest one another, and those behind farthest afunder, the order of these two Squadrons resembled the figure of a Wedg; but when the third Squadron drawn in one Line fill'd the interval between the two former, the figure of their Battalia was made Triangular. The Ships belonging to the third Squadron tow'd along their Boats and smaller Vessels. Last of all, the *Triarii* being drawn in a Half-Moon extended out their Wings so as to inclose the rest before them. Thus the Fleet being open before, and close in the Rear seem'd like a Ships Stem being pos'd in an excellent order to defend it self, and attack the Enemy.

IV. When the *Carthaginians* Generals heard the *Roman* Fleet was coming, and consider'd that their Town was weak and not tenable, the People cow'd, and fearful, and their Neighbours wavering, and dispos'd to Innovations, they determin'd to encounter the Enemy, being resolv'd to run any hazard rather than let them have a free passage to *Africa*. And when they had in few words encouraged their men, bidding them remember they were to fight not onely for themselves, but for their Wives and Children, and therefore ought to do it with the greatest Valour possible, they went on board and launch'd from shore having great hopes in their Seamen, and Soldiers.

V. By this time the *Romans* came on, and not far from *Heraclea* they engag'd with equal Forces. The *Carthaginians* had agreed among themselves, that *Hanno* (the same that had been beaten before *Agrigentum*) should command the right Wing, and *Hamilcar* all the rest of the Fleet: and having observ'd the *Romans* order of Battel, they also divided their Fleet into four parts, the left Wing being drawn in a Half-moon, was order'd to lie near the shore, but the rest of the Fleet stood in three Lines facing the Enemy. Of these *Hanno* drew out the right Wing, which consist'd of the swiftest Gallies, as far as he could into the main Sea, that he might encompass the Enemy, if the fight should begin any where else.

VI. The Consuls charg'd without delay, the Body of the Punic Fleet with their two Squadrons. Now *Hamilcar*, to disorder the *Romans* Battalia, had order'd his men, when they had joyn'd Battel immediately to retreat; which they did, and the *Romans* eagerly pursu'd them: but they received no damage by reason of the swiftness of their Ships; whilst the *Roman* Fleet as *Hamilcar* foresaw, was put in disarray, the *Triarii* and the third Squadron as yet not moving. Which he no sooner saw, but he gave the signal for his men to tack about, and receive the *Romans* pursuing them: and upon this arose a doubtful Battel, the *Carthaginians* having the odds for swiftness of Ships and skill of Mariners, but the *Romans* for strength of men. Therefore so long as the fight was between the Ships rather than the Soldiers, the *Carthaginians* prevail'd: but when once they came to grapple Ship to Ship, then the *Romans* got the Victory; whilst their Soldiers go good at handling their Arms, and now in the sight of their Consuls bravely expos'd their lives, endeavouring to signalize their Valour in the Action.

VII. While things went thus on that side, *Hanno*, with the right Wing, which had not mov'd yet, bearing upon the *Triarii*, attack'd them from the Sea, and distress'd them very sorely. At the same time the *Carthaginians* left Wing changing their former posture, and reducing themselves to a straight Line charg'd the *Romans* third Squadron, which tow'd their Boats, with their Beaks running full tilt upon the Enemy. The *Romans* then disengaging themselves from those Boats they towed, prepar'd for fight: and here also arose a sharp Conflict. Thus in three several places there were as many Naval fights as it were, at a pretty good distance one from the other. Having fought a long time upon equal terms, and with doubtful fortune, at length it happen'd, as it generally does, where men are equally engag'd at once in several places, that that side which first defeats a party of the Enemies forces overcomes all the rest: for, *Hamilcar* being no longer able to withstand the shock, drew off, and the rest of the Punic Fleet was immediately routed.

VIII. Now whilst *L. Manlius* the Consul was busie in securing the Ships taken from the Enemy, and towing them along, *M. Regulus* seeing his men engag'd in another place hasten'd to their aid with as many Ships of the second Squadron, as had escap'd without damage from the former service. Soon did the *Triarii* apprehend their succour, and taking heart again after they had desponded upon prospect of their danger, began valiantly to encounter with the Enemy. *Hanno*, finding these make a stout resistance, and himself press'd upon behind, hois'd sail, and sav'd himself by flight. In the mean time, *L. Manlius* seeing the *Romans* third Squadron driven towards shore by the *Carthaginians* left Wing directed his course thither, when *M. Regulus* also came in, who had now secur'd the *Triarii* and the Long-boats. Thus was the Scene soon shew'd, and they were encompass'd themselves who had just before environ'd the *Romans*: whom they had once at their mercy pent up and inclosed, and might have destroy'd them to rights; but for fear of the grappling-hooks not venturing too near, they gave the Consuls time enough, inasmuch that they rescu'd their own men, and also took fifty Ships of the Enemies with all the men, inclosing them suddenly as in a toyl: the rest being but few escap'd, stealing away near the shore.

IX. This Battel for variety of Accidents, and the sharpness of the Conflict, as also for the number of Ships lost may scarce be parallel'd. The *Carthaginians* had sixty three Ships taken, and above thirty sunk: the Victors had twenty four sunk, but none taken by the Enemy. After this Victory being returned to *Messina*, they spent some time there in refreshing the Soldiers, re-fitting their Gallies, and victualling their Fleet. During which time *Hamilcar*, who would have hinder'd the *Romans* from going to *Africa*, and being not able to do it by force of Arms, betook himself to this Intrigue; he sends *Hanno* to the Consuls to desire a Peace, thinking to gain time, till the Forces, he expect'd from *Carthage*, were sent him.

When

X. When *Hanno* was come to the Consuls, and heard some people crying out, that it was fit he should be treated after the same rate as *Cornelius Asina* the Consul had been by the *Carthaginians* five years before; If you do so, says *Hanno*, defending himself by a sly Complement, then you will not be honest men than the *Africans*. And the Consuls presently understanding what was said, commanded those to be silent, who had discour'd of making *Hanno* Prisoner: whom they accoll'd in a Language suitable to the *Roman* gravity: telling him, You are secur'd, *Hanno*, of any fear of this sort by the honour of the *Roman* Name. But the treaty of Peace had no effect, the *Carthaginians* not acting in earnest, and the Consuls being more desirous of Conquest than Peace, therefore they resolv'd no longer to put off the *African* Expedition. Nor did the *Carthaginians* oppose them, though they had once resolv'd among themselves to stop them in their Voyage. But *Hanno* hastening before to fortifie *Carthage*, *Hamilcar* durst not stir, but kept at *Heraclea*: whilst the *Roman* Fleet were neither incommoded by the Enemy nor the weather in their Voyage.

XI. There were those that fear'd this long Expedition, and trembled at the very name of *Africa*: and *Mammius* a Colonel was one of those who refus'd to obey the Orders of the Consul: but *Regulus* being highly inrag'd against the man, threatn'd to take off his head if he would not submit. Thus at length the Consul was obey'd, a nearer and greater terrour expelling all fears of the Journey. There is a Promontory call'd *Hermeum*, which from the Bay of *Carthage* runs out far into the *Sicilian* Sea: The foremost of the *Roman* Gallies arriv'd upon that Coast, and there staying a while till the whole Fleet had come up, the Consuls passing by the *African* shore came to the Town. Here the Legions first landed, and the Ships being hal'd ashore, some works were made to defend them: the City was invest'd, because it would not surrender at first, and being either deliver'd up or quitted by the affrighted Inhabitants (for both is reported) fell into the hands of the *Romans*.

XII. And now though the *Carthaginians* labour'd under great distresses, yet they were very glad, that things had fallen out better to them than they expect'd. For they fear'd, hearing the success of their men at Sea, that the *Romans* would have march'd out-right to the Walls of *Carthage*: upon which taking heart again they applied themselves to raise Forces, and to defend the City and the Territories belonging to it. The Consuls in the mean while (having dispatch'd a Message to *Rome*, both to inform the Senate of what was already done, and also to consult them upon the present juncture of Affairs) fortifie *Clupea*, intending it for their Head-quarters: and having plac'd a Garrison in it for the defence of the Town and the Country, march'd on with the rest of their forces, wasting that fertile and well-cultivated Country, which had not seen an Enemy since the time of *Agathocles*: they destroy'd likewise many stately Palaces, and carried away abundance of plunder, besides above twenty thousand men: none daring to oppose them. They likewise took several Towns by storm and surrender: wherein they found some defectors, and set at liberty great numbers of *Roman* Citizens taken in the last Wars: among whom I take *Cn. Cornelius* to have been, who was again made Consul two years after.

XIII. In the mean while, those that had been sent by the Consuls to *Rome* returned with the Senates Commands; whereby, "One of the Consuls was order'd to stay in *Africa* with such a part of their Forces as they should judge necessary to keep there without prejudice to the Commonwealth: and the other to bring the rest of the Fleet and Forces to *Rome*." So now Winter approaching *M. Regulus* remained behind with near fifteen thousand Foot, five hundred Horse, and forty Gallies, the rest of the Fleet under the conduct of *L. Manlius* who safely pass'd the Coasts of *Sicily*, returned to *Rome* laden with abundance of spoils and Slaves. We find there were twenty thousand Slaves brought to *Rome* by *Manlius*: and that a Naval Triumph was decreed to him. After this *Ser. Fulvius Patinus Nobilior*, and *M. Aemilius Paulus* were made Consuls: to these *Sicily* and the Fleet were assign'd in charge. They were unwilling to call *Regulus* home in the midst of his Victories and successes in *Africa*: and therefore he was commanded to manage the War in *Africa* with the Character of Proconsul.

XIV. This Decree of the Senate none dislik'd so much as that very Person, in honour of whom it was made; who therefore complain'd in a Letter to the Senate, among others giving this reason for his desiring one to be sent in his room, that by the death of his Steward (who was intrusted with the tilling of a little Field of his of seven acres in *Pupinia*) a hir'd servant of his had taken this opportunity to run away, carrying with him his Household-stuff; wherefore his presence was requisite, lest his Farm being neglected his Wife and Children should be starv'd; upon which the Senate decreed, that *M. Regulus* his Land should be till'd at the Public charge, the Goods he had lost, restor'd him, and maintenance given to his Wife and Children. These were the manners of those golden days: But as oft as I read or write of such things, I cannot but reflect with myself, how much more lasting is the reward that accrues to men by Valour and Virtue, than by Riches; for the glory of *M. Regulus* survives so many Ages after him, while the vastest Wealth perishes with, and often before its Owners.

XV. The *Carthaginians* mean while having constituted two Generals, *Asdrubal* the Son of *Hanno*, and *Bostar*, call'd for a third (*Hamilcar*) out of *Sicily*, who came speedily from *Heraclea* to *Carthage* with five thousand Foot, and five hundred Horse. These having held consultation together, determin'd, that their Army should be kept no longer within Walls, as they had done till then, and that the *Romans* were not to be suffer'd to act as they did at pleasure. Then fir'd with eager resolutions to fight, they led out their Army: while *Regulus* over-running all the Country around, came at last to the River *Bagrada*: and when he was incamp'd there, a sudden disaster befell his Army, which was attended with some damage, and greater terrour. For a Serpent of prodigious Size set upon the Soldiers going for Water: and the men being astonish'd and in vain resisting; the Serpent swallow'd up some of them in her jaws and bruised others, twisting her self round about and lashing them with her Tail: some also were destroyed by the venomous scent of this Monsters breath: nay, *Regulus* was so pester'd by it, that he was forced with all his Army to come and fight for the possession of the River.

XVI. But seeing that he lost many men, and yet could neither wound nor conquer the Serpent, being arm'd with such thick scales as defended her from the Darts they threw at her; he order'd Engines to be plant'd and thus with battering Rams they were forced to storm the Enemy like to some Castle. After some shot made in vain a huge stone broke her Chine, and so cool'd the impetuoufness and fierceness of this formidable Monster; and at last with much ado the Serpent was kill'd; which had occasion'd so great terrour to the Legions and Cohorts, that *Regulus* protest'd, he had rather storm *Carthage* than have the same to do again with such another Monster. But the *Romans* could incamp no longer there for the noisomness of this Serpents Carcass, which corrupted the water with gore, and infected the Country round with the scent. And here *Humane* pride may blush at its own folly whilst it fancies nothing able to withstand its power.

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This is certain, that one Serpent alive engag'd the whole Roman Army under the conduct of *M. Regulus*, victorious by Sea and Land, and being kill'd oblig'd them to remove their Quarters. Wherefore the Proconsul was not ashamed to send the spoils of this Enemy to Rome, and to confess the greatness of his fear and joy for the Victory by that trophy and publick Monument. For he caused the Serpents skin to be carried to Rome, said to be one hundred and twenty foot long; and that it was hung up in a certain Temple, where it continued till the times of the Numantine War.

XVII. The Consul decamping from *Bagrada*, led his Army towards *Adis*, having expugned and destroyed all the Towns and Castles that lay in his way. But this *Adis*, the taking of which prov'd a difficult Enterprize, he formally besieg'd, raising Batteries and planting his Engines against the place. When the Carthaginian Generals speeded away to raise the Siege, they sat down upon a Hill over-looking the Roman Camp, but woody and rugged. *M. Regulus* having consider'd the Site of the ground, and the nature of the Enemies forces, not comparable to his own in Foot, but better appointed for Horse and Elephants, which in an open field would prove formidable, but now were rendred unserviceable in so disadvantageous a place, he wisely taking advantage of the Enemies oversight, resolv'd to attack them before they could amend their Error.

XVIII. Wherefore having encouraged his men, and taking all requisite care for his design, before day-break he sets out of his Camp, and leads his Army up the Hill where the Carthaginians were lodg'd. This boldness of the Romans at first astonish'd the Carthaginians; but afterwards the confusion wax'd greater, when the Elephants and the Horse the main strength of their Army, not onely prov'd unserviceable, but also disorder'd and hinder'd them. The time also encreas'd their consternation, because the Romans had assaulted them unawares, whilst most of them lay asleep; so that several were kill'd in their beds, others cut off by Ambushes laid for them in by-ways and Roads, whilst they stragled for fear not knowing whither to go. But yet the Carthaginian Mercenaries, the Spaniards and Gauls hastily casting themselves into a Battalia, and fighting desperately without the Camp, rendred the Battel for some time very doubtful: the first Legion flying, and the whole Army would have been defeated, had not the Cohorts encompass'd the Enemy, as they were commanded on the other side, and assaulted them in the nick of time in the Rear, when they pressed upon the Romans retreating: who then rallied again, and with fresh courage charg'd the Aggressors.

XIX. Thus the Enemy being assaulted on both sides, were defeated after they had for a while made a very stout resistance. Which the Carthaginians seeing, immediately pour'd out of their Camp, and fled as fast as they could; and as for the Horse and the Elephants when they got to plain ground, their retreat was safe and easie to them, but the Victors having pursu'd the Foot further, return'd to plunder the Camp. In this Battel there were seventeen thousand of the Carthaginians slain, five thousand taken, and twenty two Elephants. The success of this Battel drew not onely the Country thereabouts, but people more remote to espouse the Roman Interest, and within fifty days they won about eighty Towns, whereby the Carthaginians already reduc'd to great straits, were in a manner dejected at the news of *Tunis* being taken, a place so strong, and but twelve miles distant from Carthage, whereby the Enemy might see whatever palls'd there, the prospect from thence lying open to the Town and neighbouring Sea.

XX. Nor were they onely alarm'd with fear of the Romans, but the Numidians also upon an old quarrel taking this opportunity rose in Arms against them, and by warring and burning the Carthaginian Territories left greater desolation and terror behind them than the Romans did. And now the Country people flocking into the Town, caused not onely a great consternation but a famine too, such a multitude of men necessarily consuming a great deal of provision: whilst some miserable Caytiffs conceal'd their Stores, designing their own gain in these hard times, and hoping to raise the prices of their Commodities, as they grew scarce. Hence it was that the Ambassadors sent by *M. Regulus* were very welcome, who desiring to have the Honour of having ended the War, and fearing lest another sent in his room should deprive him of it, advis'd the Carthaginians to conclude a Peace. But he, as it were sure of Victory, offer'd it upon intolerable Conditions, so that this Negotiation had not its intended effect.

XXI. The Conditions he propos'd to the Carthaginians, were, "That they should quit all *Sicily* and *Sardinia*; that they should restore all the Roman Prisoners gratis, and ransom their own, paying all the charges of the War, and a yearly Tribute besides. To which were added other things no less grievous: "That they should hold the same for their Enemies and Friends as the Romans did: That they should have but one Ship of the long form of building; and as oft as they were requir'd they should set out fifty Galleys completely equipped for the service of the Romans. The Ambassadors being amaz'd at these Demands, and desiring some milder terms from him; says he, "This is your case, you must either overcome, or submit to the Conquerours.

This Message so incens'd the Carthaginians, that though they labour'd under great pressures and necessities, yet they determin'd to endure the greatest extremity, rather than admit Conditions, which had so direct a tendency to inflame them and their People. In this juncture of Affairs, the Ships sent into Greece to raise Soldiers, returned with considerable numbers of hired Soldiers: and among the rest came *Xanthippus*, a Spartan born, who to his Country Discipline, wherein he had been excellently trained up from a Child, had join'd a suitable experience in Military Affairs.

XXII. He being told how things had gone till then, and informing himself as to the strength of the Punic forces both Horse and Foot, openly declared, that the Carthaginians had not been conquer'd by the Romans, but by themselves, through their Leaders ill conduct, who knew not how to manage their Forces. These words being soon nois'd about, *Xanthippus* was sent for by the Magistrates, who gave them such clear reasons for his Opinion, that nothing could be plainer. He shew'd them all along what oversights they had committed in their Marches, Encampments and Fights, being us'd to such places as were disadvantageous: and promised them not onely security, but Victory if they should hearken to his Counsel.

XXIII. His Opinion was approved both by the Chief Governours of the State, and also by the Generals themselves, who out of a laudable condescension preferring the Public Interest before their own Reputations, agreed and consented to have the command of the Army committed to this Foreigner. *Xanthippus* having received this Power, led the Soldiers forth daily into the Field, and exercis'd them in their Arms, teaching them to keep their Ranks, and readily do whatever their Captains should command. The Soldiers comparing this Discipline with the former became more confident of better success for the future: and the whole State, which had been chill'd with fear began now to be inspirited with fresh vigour and warmth.

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The Officers also of the Army seeing this general briskness of their People, taking good heart, themselves likewise resolv'd to march against the Enemy; and having encouraged their men as the time requir'd, went out against the Romans with about twelve thousand Foot, four thousand Horse, and no less than one hundred Elephants: but what most concern'd the Romans was, to see the Carthaginians contrary to their usual manner, avoiding the hilly rugged Country, and keeping to the Plains. But by perpetual success the Romans were so elevated, that they despis'd an Army so often beaten by them, now under a pitiful Greek Commander. Nay, *Regulus* himself was not free from the same vanity, being carried away with the flattering smiles of Fortune; and therefore reflecting, that he had defeated the Carthaginians both by Sea and Land, taken almost two hundred of their Towns, and two hundred thousand men; and withal conceiving that he was able to force Carthage it self labouring under such distresses to surrender; he refus'd to grant Peace upon any tolerable Conditions, and wrote to Rome, that he had block'd up Carthage. Thus men of great Spirits often miscarry for want of moderation in Prosperity, than contancy in Adversity.

XXIV. Whilst the Carthaginians were incamp'd in a plain and level ground, *M. Regulus*, whose main strength consisted in Foot, and therefore should have kept the Hills, ventur'd down into the Plain, thinking every place indifferent for valiant Men to fight in; and for the greater show of his confidence, pass'd a River which ran between him and the Enemy, and advanced within a mile of them. *Xanthippus* seeing *Regulus* his ill Conduct declar'd, that now the time was come wherein he should make good his word to the Carthaginians: for having got the Romans tir'd by their journey in such a place as he desir'd, he assur'd himself of Victory. The time of the day seem'd likewise most opportune for Battel: for now it drew towards Evening, so that the Carthaginians acquainted with all the Passes of the Country, might easily escape by Night, if they should be beaten, and nothing could hinder them to prosecute their Victory, if they should prevail. When the Carthaginians therefore consulted what they should do, he conjur'd them by all that was good and great not to slip so brave an opportunity: and perswaded them to joyn Battel, which they easily agreed to, the Souldiers calling him by Name, and with extraordinary alacrity desiring Battel.

XXV. The Command of all therefore being left to this Spartan General; he led out his Army, and rang'd them in this manner: The Carthaginian Phalanx consisting of the main strength of their Foot, was placed upon the Reserve: before which at a convenient distance the Elephants were rang'd in one Line equal to the breadth of the Phalanx. On both the Wings the Light-armed men and the Horse were posted, and behind them on the right Wing, the Mercenary Men of Arms. His Army being drawn in this order, he commanded the Light-Horse as soon as they had charg'd to fall back to their own Men, who were to open their Ranks to receive them: and the Enemy being engag'd with stronger forces, to issue out again from both the Wings, and suddenly flank the Romans fighting with the Phalanx. *Regulus* on the contrary having rang'd his men in order of Battel, when he saw the Elephants standing in the Carthaginians Van, immediately took this course: the Light-armed he places in the front, the Legions in close Ranks on the Reserve, and the Wings consisted of the Horse; whereby the Army was firm for depth, but took up a much narrower compass than before: so that when danger was fear'd both from the Elephants and the Horse, this order serv'd well enough to hinder the Elephants from breaking in, but in an open Field so much room was left to the Enemies Horse, that they might surround an Army, shrunk into such a small compass.

XXVI. The Onset was made by the Elephants, *Xanthippus* having caus'd them to advance upon the Romans, and immediately the Romans clashing their Arms, and shouting mingled with the Enemy: The Horse also of both sides joyn'd Battel upon the Wing, and the Romans here over-power'd by greater numbers of the Enemies, when they were no longer able to sustain the shock, fled out-right: while the Foot towards the left Wing, either to avoid the Elephants, or in hopes of an easier Conquest over the Mercenaries, charged, routed, and pursued these to their Camp; but the rest had a harder task of it with the Elephants: who with an intolerable force broke the Ranks, trampled the Soldiers, and destroyed whole Squadrons together.

XXVII. However, the depth of the Army sustain'd the shock for a while, one Rank still supporting another, till the Army in every part began to be distressed at once: those in the Rear being encompass'd by the Enemies Horse, and those in the Front of the Army as many as had broke through the Elephants, were either kill'd by the Phalanx being fresh men and posted to receive them, or else by the Light-horse, who assaulted them on every side. Nor were there fewer kill'd in the flight; for the Elephants and Numidian Horse being sent after them, slew them here and there as they stragled through that open Champion Country. *M. Regulus* with five hundred was taken alive by the Enemy. Of all the Army not above two thousand men, who had defeated the Mercenaries, escap'd alive making their retreat hastily to *Clupea*. Of the Punic Army not many fell, besides the eight hundred Mercenaries, that had fought with the Enemies left Wing.

XXVIII. After so great an Achievement, when the Army return'd to Carthage carrying the spoils of the slain, and triumphing for having taken *Regulus* Prisoner, the Citizens in great numbers pour'd out to meet them: others standing either in the Streets or Balconies, with incredible pleasure enjoyed that sight which they durst not wish for some time before, their minds being scarce able to bear the joy and transports, or to believe the truth of this Victory; for those who but just now being brought to the brink of despair, fear'd to lose their Town, Temples and Country, could scarce believe so sudden a revolution of Affairs, though they saw it; but the eyes and minds of all were most intent upon the Generals themselves: whilst looking upon *Xanthippus* one while, and *Regulus* another, by their estimate of this they valued and extolled the greatness of their own General. "For, what a mighty Man must he be accounted, who has outed such a great and fortunate Warriour, so cruel an Enemy, and the terror of Carthage, of such a flourishing Army, a glorious Name, and in fine of Liberty it self, and that so easily and speedily too.

XXIX. They also admir'd *Xanthippus* the more for his shape and features, seeing so much Valour lay conceal'd under so mean a Stature, and an ordinary Aspect. From hence however *Xanthippus* got great honour, and no less envy. In declining of which he us'd as great prudence, as in managing the War. For although Carthage owed him an eternal Reward for his services done her, yet he chose to quit all doubtful and slippery hopes, and return home, before the peoples minds or his fortune was alter'd. For men are generally of such a temper, as openly to profess a love to their Country, but privately they mind their own Interest: Therefore as long as they can get Riches and Honours, whilst the State flourishes, they pretend the highest affection for it: but when they are in danger, lest others for their great services and Courage should share



share in the fame, they had rather the Commonwealth should want men to promote its Interest, than that there should be any to obstruct their own.

XXX. While they are in hopes to equal others, they envy more secretly and less; but being far distant, when they see themselves depressed, and those Places and Offices, which they thirsted in the hands of the others, what they despair'd by Virtue to achieve, by Calumny, and criminations they are resolv'd to obtain. Hence it comes to pass, that the most virtuous has always the most Enemies to lie in wait for him. Against these designs a man indeed in his own Country is protected by his Friends and Relations: but a Stranger destitute of this support provokes and invites the malice of this bale sort of men, being more expos'd to injuries; for lying open to their wicked designs, he may be ruin'd with little labour, and injur'd without any danger.

And that *Xanthippus* foresaw this, the sequel manifestly shews; for when he was sailing homeward, "The Carthaginians, as 'tis said, sent men after him to drown him, whilst after they had receiv'd a favour they "disgusted and hated the Author of it, hoping by his death to raze out the very memory of their Cities "having been deliver'd by the valour of a Stranger. Different from these are the reports of others touching *Xanthippus* his fate: but yet these are such as plainly shew the Punic treachery. "For when he went "away they gave him an old leaky Vessel, which seem'd strong, being newly careen'd; but that this "wary circumpect Man discover'd the Trick, and privately embarking in another Vessel escap'd the danger. An Act of no less treachery, but much more cruel is said to have been done by them about the same time; for the Mercenaries tumultuously demanding their pay for the great service done by them, they put them on Shipboard, promising that in another place they should receive what they desir'd; but being abandon'd and expos'd in a desert Island by the Masters of the Ships commanded privately to do so, they di'd a miserable death, whilst depriv'd of all humane sustenance, left without Ships and Provisions, they could neither get away for the Sea, nor remain there for hunger.

XXXI. In other Authors I find this Act refer'd to those times wherein the *Syracusans* had War with the *Carthaginians*: and that that Island was afterwards called *Ostodes* or the place of Bones. It lies in the main Sea Westward from *Lipara*; which actions how, or whensoever committed are no ways agreeable to the *Carthaginians* practice at other times. Nor is it to be admir'd, if those men should treat their Enemies unmercifully, who are so affected towards their Friends and Assistants. Though indeed it is reported, that they us'd the other Captives well enough, because they knew the *Romans* had taken several of their men, and desir'd to receive them upon exchange.

XXXII. But they could neither moderate nor conceal their spite against *M. Regulus*, but tormented him as much as they could. For they gave him Diet, that neither pleas'd his Palate, nor strengthened his Body, but only by a slender refection kept him alive to prolong his miseries: but their daily affronts put upon him were more insupportable: for they us'd to frighten him almost out of his wits with an Elephant suddenly brought in to surprize him with his horrid noise and unusual shape; and at last being almost starv'd, he was thrown into the common Jail.

XXXIII. When this news came to *Rome*, the City was affected with great sorrow and fear too. For now it was expected that the *Carthaginians* irritated by the greatness of their Calamities, and confidence of Victory, should desire to quit scores with their Enemies, and make *Rome* feel those evils *Carthage* had endured. Wherefore the Senate commanded the Consuls to take all possible care of the defence of *Italy*; and that going themselves with as great a Fleet as they could make to *Sicily*, and from thence if they saw good to *Affrica*, they should divert the Enemy from making any attempt upon *Italy*. The *Carthaginians* were more desirous to recover their Towns from the *Romans*, as also to punish the *African* Revolters, and force by Arms those to obedience who persisted in Rebellion; *Clupea* however was stoutly defended by the *Romans*; In *Numidia* and other places, the War was great, but the Victory easie. Mean while when they had heard of a Fleet setting out from *Italy*, raising the Siege of *Utica* they began to repair their old, and to build new Gallies, and diligently prepared all things to hinder the *Romans* from entering upon *Affrica*.

XXXIV. But the Consuls us'd such strange diligence at this time, that at the beginning of the Summer they rigged out a Fleet of three hundred Sail completely equipped. With which going into *Sicily*, they found all things safe there; and leaving Garisons in the most necessary places, they made towards *Affrica* with the rest of their Forces.

XXXV. But driven by storm to *Cossura* (an Island situate between *Affrica* and *Sicily*, near the Promontory of *Lilybaeum*) having wasted the Country, and taken a Town of the same name, there they put a Garison therein. From thence they went on to the *Hermean* Promontory situate in the midway between *Carthage* and *Clupea*, and making one point of the Bay of *Carthage*. Here the *Carthaginians* Fleet met them, where they both fought a very sharp Battel, but at last the *Romans* from *Clupea* came to assist their own men, and turn'd the Scale, both sides being equal before. In this Battel the *Carthaginians* had one hundred and four Ships sunk, thirty taken, and about fifteen thousand men kill'd: the *Romans* lost eleven hundred men and nine Ships. The Navy from thence went to *Utica*, and the Soldiers disembarking encamp'd before the Town: The *Carthaginians* came thither also with their Forces led by the two *Hanno's*: and here they fought a pitch'd Battel, in which the *Carthaginians* were beaten, having lost about nine thousand men: amongst whom some noble Persons were taken, and kept by the Consuls, who thought by them to redeem *Regulus*, and those who had undergone the same fate with him.

XXXVI. After this they consulted upon the present state of Affairs, and were in great hopes their *African* Conquests might still be kept; but yet the Country around being wasted, for fear of a Famine they resolv'd to carry away the *Roman* Garison from *Clupea*, and return to *Sicily*. They brought away great spoils and booty, which being laid up in the Town of *Clupea* during *Regulus* his prosperous successes, were much increased by their fresh Victories.

XXXVII. The Fleet arrived in *Sicily* in very good condition, and the Consuls had been too fortunate, if they had known to use their felicity moderately. But in their return for *Italy*, they thought to reduce some of the Maritime Towns of *Sicily*: (though the Pilots in vain dissuaded the attempt, being between the rising of *Orion* and the Dog-star, when there is always stormy weather at Sea,) they pass'd by the Coast of *Affrica* which was dangerous and Harboureless, and suffer'd so great a wreck, that there is no Example in this kind of any other so remarkable. In short, of three hundred sixty four scarce eighty could be saved, and those, all their lading being lost. They lost likewise a great number of Long-boats, and other Vessels of several sorts: inasmuch as that from the Coast of *Camarina*, where the storm first fell upon them, all the shore

as far as *Pachennus* was filled with Carcasses of Men and Beasts, and broken planks of Ships. But King *Hiero* gave them considerable reliefs in this their distress, who receiv'd them courteously, supplying them with Cloaths, Meat, and tackling for their Ships, and convoy'd them safe to *Messina*.

The *Carthaginians* taking advantage of this Calamity, retook both the Isle and Town of *Cossura*: and immediately crossing into *Sicily* destroyed *Agrirentum*, having not been reliev'd when it was besieg'd by *Carthalo*. Many men were kill'd and taken here: the rest, who made their escape through the middle of the Country into the *Syracusan* Territories, seated themselves in a Village near the Temple of *Jupiter Olympius*; and the *Carthaginians* had made themselves masters almost of the whole Island, had not the *Romans* diligence in rigging out another Fleet, kept the Confederates from falling away in this ticklish time. For the Consuls were so active in the business, that with an incredible speed they had one hundred and twenty new Ships built in three months space: and *Cn. Cornelius Asina*, and *A. Atilius Calatinus* again Consuls, having mann'd the Fleet with several stout men out of the new Levies, were commanded to sail as soon as they could.

This *Cn. Cornelius* was a great Example of Fortunes inconstancy, which may encourage men to bear Adversity: for he who seven years before being taken by the treachery of the *Carthaginians*, had endur'd slavery, bonds and imprisonment, now resum'd not only those other ornaments of his Dignity, but even the Consulship it self, and his Fates forc'd from him; for the gaining of which he now rejoyc'd as much as he had griev'd for their loss. The Consuls having pass'd over to *Messina*, and taking such Ships as they found there (being the relics of the former Wreck) arriv'd at the mouth of the River *Himera* with two hundred and fifty sail of Ships, and took the Town of *Cephalodum*, situate upon the same Coast at twelve miles distance from thence, by treachery. From *Drepanum*, (for they had bent their course thither) they departed disappointed in their designs, perceiving themselves not able to take the place in a little time, and that *Carthalo*, whilst they were about to besiege it, was coming to its relief.

But not discourag'd with this disappointment, they afterwards perform'd a more important Exploit with better success. For directing their course to *Palermo* the chief Town in the *Carthaginian* Territory, and possessing themselves of the Harbour they made a descent almost to the very Walls, and besieg'd the *Panormitanes* who refused to surrender. The nature of the Country thereabouts, which affords plenty of Timber, further'd their Enterprize, so that having soon perfected their Works, and whilst they vigorously push'd on the Siege, they battered down a Tower lying to the Sea with their Engines: and the Soldiers entering in at the breach storm'd the outward Town called the *New*, putting many of the Enemies to the Sword: Nor did the old Town hold out long: for when the multitude running thither for shelter, had brought more terror than provision into the place; the Inhabitants dejected with the sight of their danger, and fearing a Famine, sent Ambassadors to the Consuls offering an absolute surrender, with exception onely of liberty for their Persons. But this the Consuls (well knowing the extremities they were brought to) denied to accept of, unless they would at some stated Rate ransom themselves: Hereupon two *Mina's* were set upon every head, and fourteen thousand of them were redeem'd; the rest of the multitude being almost thirteen thousand were sold with the booty.

This was a remarkable Conquest, and of great importance and advantage; for several Towns in that Coast, and some also more distant driving out the *Carthaginian* Garisons, embraced the *Roman* Alliance. The *Jetunians* first led the way, and the *Soluntinians*, *Petrinians*, *Tyndaritanes* and others presently followed them. This done, the Consuls having left a Garison at *Palermo* return'd to *Messina*, and from thence to *Rome*: but the *Carthaginians* having lain in wait for them took some Ships of burden with all the Money that they carried away. After this two Triumphs were seen together at *Rome*: the Consuls the year before being continued in their Authority, held two Naval Triumphs over the *Cossurians* and the *Carthaginians*. *Ser. Sulpitius* triumphed first the sixteenth of February, and *M. Aemilius* the next day.

This year (being computed the five hundredth since the building of *Rome*) the *African* Expedition happen'd; but it prov'd of no effect, *Cn. Servilius Cæpio*, and *M. Sempronius Blasus* being Consuls put over into *Sicily*, and failing in their attempt upon *Lilybaeum* directed their course towards *Affrica*, being furnished with two hundred and sixty sail of Ships; and whilst they cruis'd upon the *African* Coasts, and made descents into several places of the Country, they took many Towns, and abundance of prey and booty, but nought of greater moment could be performed, the *Carthaginians* meeting them everywhere being now more encourag'd, because they had recover'd all that *Regulus* had taken from them: and no other business hinder'd them, the Revolters being suppress'd and punished.

For *Hamilcar* having over-run all *Numidia* and *Mauritania*, reduc'd those Countries, and imposing a Fine of one thousand Talents, and twenty thousand heads of Oxen upon the People, punished the Ring-leaders, suppos'd to have kept correspondence with the *Romans*: whereof three thousand were hung on Gibbets. But in the mean while the *Romans* were not so much incommoded by their Enemies, as by storms and misfortunes at Sea; for the Fleet being driven to *Meninx*, an Island of the *Leosphagi*, bordering upon the lesser *Syria*, all the Ships being dry struck upon the Sand, at an ebb, till the Tide returning brought them off, after they had unladed and were reduc'd to extrem danger: and when they had escap'd this disaster with some loss, fearing such unfortunate places, they presently set sail like men flying before their Enemies: but did not foresee that they were running themselves into as great hazard as that which they avoided: however they had a prosperous Voyage of it as far as *Panormus*; but when they were making towards *Italy*, and doubling the Cape *Palinurus*, that runs from the *Lucanian* Mountains out into the Main; a violent storm overtook them, wherein one hundred and sixty men of War with several Ships of burden sunk. These continual disasters happening to their Fleet put the City in great fear and consternation; and whilst the Waves and Winds seem'd to deny them the Sovereignty of the Sea, the Senate decreed, that for the future there should not be kept on foot above sixty sail of Ships to be employ'd for the defence of *Italy*, and transporting Ammunition and Provision to the Armies in *Sicily*. But *C. Sempronius* the other Consul, (notwithstanding this fatal Wreck) bore a Triumph over the *Carthaginians* the first of April; and *Cn. Cornelius* the Proconsul ten days after did the same. This year there were Censors at *Rome*; but *L. Posthumius* (who was also Prætor at the same time) dying in his Office, *Cn. Junius Pera* his Colleague resign'd the Censorship.

The Summer following *C. Servilius Cotta*, and *P. Servilius Gensinus* put over into *Sicily*, where among other places they took *Himera* (so called from the River on which it lies) deserted by the Inhabitants, whom the *Carthaginians* had carried off by Night; but yet they were well enough satisfied with the taking

king of so important a place, because hereby the disgrace had been repair'd which the Romans had sustain'd before that Town a little before, whilst through the greediness of some few of the Soldiers, to ingrofs all the spoils to themselves, *Himera* was lost, just as it was ready to fall into their hands; for a certain Prisoner taken by the Romans, (who had been an Officer in the Town) undertook to betray the Town for his liberty; and being dismiss'd at the time appointed, opened one of the Gates to the detachment, sent to seize the place. The chief of these being got in, and desiring to ingrofs all the booty to themselves, commanded the Gates to be shut after them, and none else to be admitted to come in besides. When this was done, the *Thermitanes* hearing the stir and noise, took the alarm thereupon: and whilst the Soldiers were over-powr'd by their Enemies, and incapable to receive any relief from their own men without, they rashly squander'd away their lives, and died like fools, being every man put to the Sword. *Therme* of the *Himerians* being thus reduc'd, *C. Aurelius* the Consul determining to besiege *Lipara*, (which had been several times in vain attempted by the other Generals) detach'd a party of the stoutest Soldiers that were in the Roman Army in *Sicily*, and carried them over into *Lipara* in Vessels borrow'd from *Hiero*. But being to return to *Messina*, that he might advise with the Diviners and *Augures* touching the event of the Siege, he left the chief Command of the Leaguer to *P. Aurelius Pecuniola* his Kinsman (or as others say to *Q. Cassius* a Tribune) charging him carefully to defend the Works, but not to engage in Battel. But this Man thinking it might make for his honour, if *Lipara* should be taken in the Consul's absence, contrary to the Orders given him, went and attacked the Town, but miscarried in his rash attempt; for he could not carry the place. And besides, he had much ado to defend the Camp; for the Enemies fallying out upon him in his retreat, cut off abundance of his men, and withal burnt down the Rampier. But at *C. Aurelius* his return the case was alter'd, for he took the Town, and put great numbers of the Inhabitants to the Sword. Afterwards he proceeded to punish the Tribune, who for his disobedience was turned out of his place, and by the Consuls commands having run the Gantlope was degraded to a private Foot-Soldier. This is a very remarkable severity of Discipline, whereof *C. Aurelius* shew'd some other Examples in that same Consulship. *Lipara* being taken, the posterity of *Timasitheus* (once Governour of that Isle) were exempted from all Taxes and Impositions, which this most grateful People did, to perpetuate the memory of an ancient kindness shew'd them by him. For when they had presented a golden Bowl to *Apollo* of *Delphos*, and the *Liparean* Pirates had taken it away, *Timasitheus* caus'd both the Present, and the Ambassadors that carried it, to be safely convoy'd in their journey to *Greece*, and back again to *Rome*.

In the next place the Romans attempted to besiege *Erffa* a strong Castle, with forty thousand Foot, and one thousand Horse, but could neither take it, nor durst they fight a pitch'd Battel with the *Carthaginians*. For after *M. Regulus*'s defeat, the Roman Legions were so afraid of the Elephants, that ever after they declined the hazard of a Battel: and though both in the Country of *Lilybeum* and *Selinus* too they often advanc'd within sixty paces of the Enemy, and fac'd them in order of Battel: yet they did not come on with that briskness they us'd to do; but fearing to come down into the Plains, kept the high grounds, which were hard of access. From whence the *Carthaginians* were more and more encourag'd, whilst they now began to put some confidence in their Land-forces, and reckon'd their Enemies had lost more by Ship-wrecks than themselves had by Battels: And understanding without the Senates Decree for laying aside their Fleet, they hop'd to recover *Sicily* again, if fresh recruits of Soldiers were sent them. But they wanted Money: for this long expensive War had drain'd all their Treasuries, and consum'd all they could raise by Taxes. Therefore they sent Ambassadors to King *Prothomy*, then their Confederate, to borrow two thousand Talents of him: but the King being unwilling to disquiet the Romans (that were his Allies also) proffer'd to mediate a Peace, and accommodate the differences between both: but deny'd the Money, telling them, "That he would assist his Friends against a common Enemy, but not against other Friends."

XLVIII. About the same time *Tib. Coruncanus* was first made Chief Pontif out of the Commons. There were Censors also this year: because that Office could not be executed the former year; one of the Censors dying, and the other resigning. *M. Valerius Maximus Messalla*, and *P. Sempronius Sophus* perform'd the thirty seventh Lustration, wherein 297797 men were polled. The Censors were very secure in their Office: for they depos'd thirteen Senators, and four hundred young Gentlemen were degraded, their Horses being taken away from them. This happen'd through *C. Aurelius* the Consul his command; who alledg'd before the Censors, that in *Sicily* being order'd to dismount and work in the Trenches, they had refus'd to comply: when necessity requir'd them to do so. The Consul not thinking this a plenary revenge for their contempt of Discipline, obtain'd also of the Senate that their Arrears should not be paid them. And (I suppose) as times went then: he bore a Triumph as well for the strictness of Discipline maintain'd by him, as for his Achievements in the Wars. This Triumph over the *Carthaginians* and *Sicilians*, hapned on the 7th of April. But after all these mighty preparations of both sides (whilst the Romans and *Carthaginians* were afraid of one another) the Summer of the next year pass'd without any action that is memorable.

XLIX. *L. Cassilius Metellus*, and *C. Furius Pacilus* the Consuls, having transported the Legions into *Sicily*, did neither molest the Enemy, nor were molested by them; though *Asdrubal* the new *Carthaginian* General was arriv'd thither from *Carthage* with two hundred Gallies, one hundred and forty Elephants, and twenty thousand Foot and Horse. In this juncture the Senate held several Consults together, and resolv'd to set out a new Fleet: for by drawing out the War at length they saw they should exhaust their Treasury; and besides, their Legions were mightily dispirited after the defeat of *Regulus*; and though the business should succeed prosperously by Land, yet they plainly discern'd, that as long as the *Carthaginians* were Masters of the Sea, they could not be kept out of *Sicily*; therefore they came again to their former resolutions, and placing their hopes in Shipping repair'd their old Gallies, and built new ones. Mean while *Metellus* being left at *Palermo*, when *C. Furius* being return'd from *Sicily* had call'd the Assembly for Election of Consuls, *C. Atilius Regulus*, and *L. Manlius Vulso* were both of them made Consuls a second time: and the Senate charg'd and commanded them to rig out a Fleet, and to raise men for the service of it. *L. Metellus* his Commission was prorog'd to him, and he was order'd in the quality of Proconsul to command in chief the Forces in *Sicily*. Now when *Asdrubal* saw that one of the Consuls was absent with half the Army, and bethought himself that the Romans had declin'd Battel, though the Armies had fac'd one another in the Field; whilst he could no longer endure to be reproach'd as a Coward by his own men, he set out from *Lilybeum* with all his Forces, and having had a hard Journey of it through the borders of the *Selunians*, arriv'd to the Country of *Palermo*, and there encamp'd. The Proconsul was by chance then at *Palermo*, to

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cover the Allies, and Confederates in Harvest-time, that they might reap and lay in their Corn. He being inform'd that there were some of the Enemies Spies lurking at *Palermo*, commanded all the people of the Town to go out into the Field: and there had them take hold of one another by the hands; and by asking such (as he suspected for Strangers) what they were, and what business they had there? he discovered the Spies: And when he understood by them what the Enemy design'd, perceiving the *Carthaginians* proceeded very rashly in this Enterprize, he pretended fear, and kept himself within the Walls of the Town, the more to tempt the Enemies to a vain confidence. *Asdrubal* being therefore more elevated, march'd forwards, and as he went ravag'd and burnt the Country of *Panormus*, destroying the fruits and products of the Earth, and laying all waste to the very Walls of the Town. But the Proconsul was not mov'd either with the loss or the disgrace: who made account, that if he should forbear but a little while, he might quit scores with the Enemies: but he chiefly expected that they should pass the River *Oretus*, which runs upon the South-side of the Town; for if this were done, he promis'd himself an easie Victory over them. Now to compass this, he desir'd to have both the courage, and number of his men despi'd by the Enemy, and proceeded very timorously in all things, placing but few men to guard the Walls: This design succeeded as the Proconsul would have it; whilst the *Carthaginian* General by his rashness, and fortune too by a sudden accident further'd it. For *Asdrubal* pass'd the River *Oretus* with all his Foot, Horse and Elephants, and his Army encamp'd by the Walls of the Town, with that contempt of the Enemy (whom they look'd upon as already beaten) that they pitch'd their Tents without any Intrenchments about them, thinking Palisadoes and Breast-works unnecessary things. When the Suters and Merchants brought thither a great quantity of Provisions, and much Wine, the *Carthaginian* Mercenaries drinking immoderately, fill'd all places with loud noise such as follows Drunkennels. Then the Consul thought it seasonable to draw the Enemy to fight, by sending out some parties of Light-Horse; and the business succeeded so luckily, that whilst one party following another issued forth: at last *Asdrubal*'s whole Army came out of the Camp. Then *L. Cassilius* the Proconsul, places part of the Light-arm'd men before the Town-Ditch; commanding them to throw their Darts very thick among the Elephants, if they should come nearer to them: and if they were press'd themselves, that they should retreat into the Ditch, and again fall out from thence. He commanded likewise the Tradesmen and Rabble of the Town to fetch abundance of all sorts of Missiles, and to throw them over the Walls, lest the Light-arm'd should want any: He placed the Archers upon the Walls whilst he himself, with the Men of Arms of the Cohorts stood in Battalia within the Gate, which look'd to the Enemies Right-wing. Mean time, those that were engag'd, one while being press'd by the great numbers of the Enemies retreated in good order, and anon supported with fresh succours of their own men detach'd by the Consul to their relief flood the shock: whilst the Masters of the Elephants inflam'd with emulation, and willing to gain the glory of the day entirely to themselves (without *Asdrubal*'s sharing in it) charg'd the Enemies briskly, overthrowing all that stood in their way: and when the Romans retreated to the Town, following the pursuit rashly, they went on to the very Town-Ditch: But here whilst Arrows were showr'd as thick as Hail from the Walls; and the fresh men posted before the Ditch ply'd them continually with their Launces: the Elephants engag'd with the Wounds they receiv'd, fell back upon their own men, breaking the Ranks, and disordering the whole Army. The Consul, when he saw what was done (crying out that the time of his Victory long look'd for was come at last) sallied at the Gate: and here an Army of men drawn up in good order, easily routed those, who were cow'd and out of order. A great number of men fell both in the Battel, and in the flight too. A certain accident belike (which should have reliev'd the distressed) contributing to their ruin: for at the same time the Punic Fleet appeared, to which as their onely Sanctuary, when the multitude confusedly ran for fear, many of them were trodden down by the Elephants: others killed by the Pursuers; and a great number as they swam, or else tumbling down as they went a Ship-board in a hurry, perished in the Sea. And the Romans among their many great successes, never gain'd either before or since so signal a Victory: which inspir'd them with fresh Courage, and struck such a terror in the Enemy that made them quit not onely all hopes, but even the thoughts of Land-fighting during that War. Twenty thousand *Carthaginians* are said to have been slain in that action; twenty six Elephants were taken there, and all the rest afterwards. For the Proconsul considering that the Elephants being fierce and untractable could not easily be brought to hand, unless it were by men acquainted with their nature, promis'd by Proclamation to set such Prisoners at liberty, as would help to catch them. And these having first caught the tamest and gentlest of them, by their means easily brought the rest to hand: *L. Metellus* sent them all to *Rome*, having us'd a new Invention in transporting them by Sea. For having no Ships fit for that use, of several Hogheads joyn'd together (a piece of Timber being laid betwixt every two Hogheads to keep them tight) he made a float, which after it was board'd and cover'd with Earth, and the sides made up look'd like a Stable, so that the Elephants mistrusting nothing entred into it, and not being sensible they went by Water (a thing they cannot endure) were landed at *Rhegium*.

*Asdrubal* after this defeat escap'd to *Lilybeum*, but being condemn'd at *Carthage*, he was taken and put to death as soon as he return'd. The *Carthaginians* mean while seeing their Forces routed, their Elephants taken, all *Sicily* except *Lilybeum* and *Drepanum* lost, and the Romans again puissant both by Sea and Land being provided with a new Fleet, resolv'd to make Peace; which now they would be glad with all their hearts to have concluded upon any reasonable terms. And bethinking themselves of *M. Regulus*, and the Conditions of Peace propos'd by him, they looked upon him as the fittest Instrument to obtain a Peace for them, or what next to that would prove their greatest comfort, an exchange of Prisoners; and they doubted not but that he would use his utmost endeavour and application in the business, if it were onely to serve his own turn. For what Man could be thought so hard-hearted, as not to desire a release from the miseries of a Prison, to see his Children, and enjoy his Country, liberty and honour.

*M. Regulus* had a Wife and Children at *Rome*: his Kinsmen and Relations were either Senators or else in Offices, and his Brother a Consul. He himself was belov'd by the Senate and people of *Rome* for his prosperous Exploits, and pitied for his Calamity. For which reasons therefore they could pitch upon no man, that would be more diligent in managing the business for them, or more likely to prevail in it. *Regulus* undertook the thing, not out of any hopes or design of advantage to himself (as it afterwards appear'd) but onely to persuade the Senate more effectually by his presence to maintain their own Interests.

And now being joyn'd with the *Carthaginian* Ambassadors: when he came to the City he would not enter into it, though he was desir'd to do so, alledging, that the Senate according to Ancient Custom ought to give Audience out of the Town to Ambassadors sent from an Enemy. When the Senate was assembled,

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assembled, He said before the *Carthaginian* Ambassadors, that being by the Law of Arms made a Captive of the *Carthaginians*, he came to present them with a memorial from his Masters, in order to have a Peace concluded upon such terms as both Nations should think fit, or if that were not granted to have an Exchange of Prisoners. When the Ambassadors withdrew he follow'd them: and though the Senate mightily importun'd him, yet he would not be present at their Debates, before the *Carthaginians* had consented to it; then he sat down silent, till he was ask'd his Opinion, which he deliver'd in words to this effect:

- LIX. "My Lords, I am yet a *Roman*, and through my body (as Fate would have it) is in the power of the Enemy: my mind being none of Fortunes Slaves remains what it was before; wherefore in compliance with this, which I properly call my own, rather than with that which is another mans, I advise you neither to exchange Prisoners, nor to make Peace. Whilst the War is afoot, 'tis wholly against your Interest to restore the Prisoners: for they require several Captains for me and many young men for an old one: among whom there are some (I know) that you do not despise. But to end the War unless upon very good Conditions, is both unbecoming men of your Wildom, and also prejudicial to the Public. I am very sensible of the many difficulties you meet with in waging this War; for great Enterprises cannot be achieved without much labour, and expences. But if you compare the *Carthaginians* condition, and your own together, you will find all the advantage on your side; we lost once ('tis true) a great Battel; but we have often routed them since, and our Victory at *Palermo* has dejected their Spirits more than their success against me had elated them. They have lost all *Sicily* except one or two places, and in the other Islands they have had but ill success. You have a Fleet now which the *Carthaginians* dare not encounter though they were always superiour by Sea: Nor have the losses sustain'd by storms so much impair'd your strength, as encreas'd your caution. As for Money perhaps both sides want it equally: but your *Italians* will be more obedient to you, than the *Africans* to the *Carthaginians*, whom they never lov'd, and of late have hated mortally. For those who without any injury or provocation revolted to me; after their Country is wasted by their former Masters, their Cattel driven away, Money extorted from them, and their Princes slain; what do you think do they expect, but that a new Army come into *Africa* from hence? Beside that 'tis easie for you to levy Soldiers, having such plenty of men fit for War of the same Language, Manners, Religion, Kindred, and Country to one another. I look on this to be a matter of that grand importance, that for this reason you are able to dispute the Victory with the *Carthaginians*, though you come short of them in all other respects. For what will a mercenary Army signify against such Forces as these? and though they should be of any use, yet the *Carthaginians* by their cruelty have render'd it as hard a task for themselves to raise foreign Soldiers, as to maintain those they raise. *Xanthippus*, to whom *Carthage* perhaps owes all, she had to lose since, being ingratfully and perfidiously treated stands for an Example to others to deter them from rashly entering into the Service of a People, that requites the greatest kindnesses with the greatest injuries. Besides the common rout of *Barbarians*, that stupid and mercenary Race will be afraid to serve a People eminent and notorious for their cruelty to their own Countrymen: of whom so many have died either by the Hangman or their Fellow-Soldiers hands. Others being expos'd in desert Islands, instead of having their Arrears paid them, met with strange and dismal deaths and punishments, such as not to be us'd by men. My Lords, You see here the reasons by which I am induc'd to persuade you neither to grant the *Carthaginians* Peace, nor an exchange of Prisoners.

- LXI. The Senate liked the advice well enough, if they could but have follow'd it, without prejudice to the Adviser; but the more he neglected his own Interest to promote the Public, the more they pitied him: and it was manifest that the Senate was resolv'd, by any means to have a Person of so generous a Soul restor'd to his Country. And now 'twas the talk of the Town, that since *Regulus* was come to his own again, he might rightfully remain, or be forced to abide there, and the chief Pontif affirm'd, That if he would stay at *Rome*, he might do so, and not be forewarn. To which he with such a Spirit and Aspect, as the Senate were amazed at, spoke to this effect.

"How long, O *Romans*, do you demur upon the point? follow my Advice and forego your care of my safety. 'Tis vain for you to endeavour after that which will prove neither pleasant to you, nor profitable to the State, nor honourable to my self. Perhaps whilst the thing is new, you would be well pleased to converse with me: but as soon as the impetus of that short-liv'd pleasure had spent it self, you would more abhor me for returning upon such dishonest terms, than you long'd for me in my absence. I am resolv'd not to stay in a place, where after my *African* slavery, I am not capable to live suitable to the port of a Citizen of *Rome*: and if I was ever so desirous to remain here, yet the Oath (I took) and reverence of the Gods prohibits me: For the Deity, by whom I swore to return to *Carthage*, if I am forewarn, will punish not onely my self, but the Senate, and people of *Rome* for the perjury. For certainly, if there be a God, he must needs be affronted by perjuries and profaneness. But if any one imagines that I may be absolv'd from the Oath: that such absolutions are recorded in our Augural Books and Rituals: That Ceremonies and Sacrifices may atone for false-swearing and perjury; I would have him remember that the Majesty of the Deity is not to be appeased with any inventions of men, when affronted by perjury: nor is it rational to conceive, that Spots contracted by sins may be washed away by the blood of Sheep and Oxen.

- LXIII. "As for me, I know the *Carthaginians* are preparing exquisite tortures for me, but I think perjury a more terrible thing than all that. For this would really hurt me, whereas their tortures and cruelties can only reach the body of *M. Regulus*, not his mind. Never think him calamitous, who has learn'd to bear his Calamity. As for bondage, disgrace, pain, poverty and want, I (who never thought them evils) have ceas'd to think them troublesome, after so long endurance. For by bearing them I have learn'd that they were supportable: but if my Calamities be encreas'd to such a degree that a man cannot bear them, Death will quickly put an end to all my troubles. I see therefore that that man is proof against all terrors, who fears not death, whose stroke 'tis in every man's power to prevent; and I would have done so, were it not the part of a man rather to conquer, than fly sorrow and grief; but I have spoken these few words without any order, to let you understand that nothing shall make me swerve from this Principle; and that ye might not pity my condition as that of an unhappy and miserable person: whereas 'tis easie and natural for me to persist in my resolutions; for I must take care to return to *Carthage*, and the Gods will take care of what I shall suffer there.

They

They say likewise, that the more effectually to persuade the Senate to let him go, he told them, "The *Carthaginians* had given him Poison, before he was dismiss'd from *Carthage*, which by degrees preying upon his Vitals, would kill him when he was restor'd to his Country, after the Exchange was made. Certainly this mans steddeness and constancy in Vertue is not parallel'd: who rather than swerve from his honest Principle, courted Affronts, Tortures, Death, and whatever the World does abhor, and that more eagerly than others decline them: which may serve for a good Example to instruct us, that those men can onely face Death in any shape, and will stick to their Principles to the last, who are sensible of the Souls immortality; and that they are not born merely for the present life. For *M. Regulus* would not have suffered such hard measure, unless he had been persuaded that vertuous Actions should be rewarded after this life, and those which are vitious punish'd. When the Senate had pass'd a Decree according to *M. Regulus* his Opinion, and all might see plainly, that the *Carthaginians* would be aveng'd upon him who had persuaded the Senate to reject their Proposals: some were so concern'd at it, that they gave Orders for detaining *M. Regulus* against his will. Moreover, his Wife *Marcia*, and his Children filling all places with mourning and lamentation, the Consuls said, That they would neither deliver up *Regulus* if he were willing to stay, nor hinder him from going.

But he refusing to speak with his Wife, and shunning the embraces and kisses of his little Children, return'd to *Carthage* and ended his days in great torments: For, having cut off his Eye-lids they kept him for some time in a very dark Dungeon; and afterwards when the Sun shone hottest, he was suddenly brought out, and forced to look upon the light. At last, he was put in a Chest of Wood, stuck full of Nails with the points inward, which was turned towards the Sun; and so narrow, that he was always forced to stand upright: and thus whilst his wearied body, where-ever he turned it, was pierced with Nails, he dy'd by the extremity of the Torture. This was the end of *M. Atilius Regulus*, which was more glorious than his life, though led with so much honour. He was a Person of incorrupt Integrity, an undaunted courage, and good Conduct: in whom the present or succeeding Ages could find no fault, except it were that he bore his prosperous fortune too weakly, and by refusing the *Carthaginians* Overtures, entail'd that lasting War to the great prejudice of both Nations. However, *M. Regulus* atton'd for that fault by his other Vertues, and principally by his admirable constancy in death; being more happy by thus supporting his Calamity, than if he could have avoided this blow of Fate.

When the Senate were informed of *Regulus* his death and the *Carthaginians* barbarous usage of him, they deliver'd up the Prisoners of the greatest note and quality to *Marcia* and her Children; whom they shut up in an Armoury stuck round with Iron Spikes, designing to torment them in the same manner as they had done *M. Regulus*, and for five days together they gave them no Meat: in which time *Bostar* the *Carthaginian* died with pain and hunger, but *Hamilcar* being a stronger Man was inclos'd with the body of *Bostar* five days more, and liv'd, having so much Meat allow'd him as would serve to prolong his life in misery. At last, the Magistrates being inform'd of what had pass'd, they gave strict command that they should forbear to exercise any more cruelties towards them, and that *Bostar*'s ashes being sent home, the rest of the Prisoners should be used more moderately. Which shews the difference between these two Nations as to their tempers: whilst the one being no ways injur'd, destroy'd that Vertue by the most barbarous means, which it ought to have ador'd: and the other set bounds even to a just revenge, being not sway'd by the violence of their passions, but influenc'd with Principles of Humanity and Clemency that bright Ornament of all flourishing States and Empires.



## DECADE II. BOOK XIX.

## Florus his Epitome of the Nineteenth Book of Livy.

Cæcilius Metellus having performed excellent Service against the Carthaginians, had a most glorious Triumph, wherein he led Captive in Chains Thirteen of the Enemies Commanders in Chief, and one hundred and twenty Elephants. Claudius Pukher the Consul, who would needs hazard a Battel in spite of the ill-Auspices: and when 'twas told him, the Sacred Pullets would not Eat, commanded them to be flung into the Sea, to see if they would drink, is worsted in a Sea-fight by the Carthaginians, and being call'd home by the Senate, and order'd to Create a Dictator, nominated Claudius Glicias, a fellow of no Quality or Reputation, who though he were forced to resign the Office, would yet ever after come to the Theatre in his Mantle of State. Attilius Calatinus was the first Dictator that led an Army out of Italy. Prisoners are exchanged with the Carthaginians. Colonies sent abroad to Fregena, and to Brundisium amongst the Salernitines. A Survey taken by the Censors 351222 Citizens numbered; Claudia (the Sister of that Claudius, who fighting in contempt of the Auspices lost the Fleet) being crowned by a throng of people as she was going from a Play, in her passion happen'd to say, Would God my Brother were alive again, and had the Charge of another Armado, he'd quickly make you thinner: For which she was Indicted and Fin'd. Then began two Prætors to be Created at once: A. Posthumius the Consul, when he would have gone out to manage the Wars, is forbidden by Cæcilius Metellus the Arch-Priest, because he was at the same time the Flamen (or Priest) of Mars) and therefore ought not to be absent from the City, lest the Sacred Rights should be neglected. After several Commanders had done brave Service against the Carthaginians, the Consul C. Lucatius, Crown'd the Work with a signal Victory over them at Sea, near the Islands call'd Agates. Whereupon the Enemy begging for Peace, the same was granted. The Temple of Vesta being on Fire, Cæcilius the Arch-Priest with great hazard preserved the Sacred Reliques out of the Flames, two new Tribes added, Velina and Quirina. The Faliscans rebelling, were in six days time reduced to Obedience.

I. **W**HEN the Carthaginian Ambassadors were departed from the City, the Consuls being commanded by the Senate to transport the Army into Sicily, willingly obey'd, being inflamed with anger against their Enemies for M. Regulus his business, and with emulation and confidence for the Victory of Manlius the Proconsul. Nor did they measure the greatness of this Achievement by the damages of the Carthaginians, because having lost their Men, and so many Elephants, they must needs be weaker towards a further prosecution of the War; but they valu'd their success no less for their having overcome the Elephants, whereby the Roman Soldiers recover'd themselves from their former fear: and they were in good hopes the War might be ended, if they were not wanting to themselves: Therefore both the Consuls having got two hundred Sail of Ships under their Command with four Legions arrived at Palermo: and taking with them all the rest of their Men and Ships, besides what seem'd necessary for the defence of that place, they came to Lilybeum with two hundred and forty men of War, and several Ships more of all sorts: and there in a Council of War resolv'd to besiege the place.

II. This is that noble Siege of Lilybeum, which continued for full ten years from the fourteenth year of this War, and ended not in the taking of the place, or a surrendry of the besieg'd, but determin'd with the general success and event of the War. For both the Romans and Carthaginians well knowing how advantageous that place would be to both of them, either for the defence of Africa, or the Dominion of Sicily, it was besieged and defended with the utmost strength of both Nations. L. Metellus his Triumph afterwards gave the Romans some diversion amidst their trouble and concern for M. Regulus: whilst they did not only entertain themselves with the sight and thoughts of their successes, but also with the sweetness of revenge against this inhuman Nation. The Proconsul triumph'd over the Carthaginians the seventh of September; Thirteen Captains of the Enemies were led before his Chariot, and about one hundred and twenty Elephants: some say more. These afterwards were brought to the Cirque, when they exhibited Shows to the People, and there they had employ'd men on purpose to drive them along the Cirque with Spears in their hands, to the end that the People might learn to contemn those Beasts, which they had so extremely feared. Verrius Flaccus says, they were killed with Darts: because they thought it not convenient to make use of them; and to furnish and supply foreign Princes with such an accession of strength, would be no ways advantageous for the Commonwealth.

III. The same year Victuals were very cheap at Rome, a Bushel of Wheat was sold for a farthing, and you might buy a gallon of Wine, thirty pounds of Raisins, ten pound of Oil, and twelve pound of Flesh at the same Price; because there was greater plenty of these Commodities, than there was of Money, which began to be scarce, the War having been so expensive to the Public. Whilst Affairs went thus at Rome, the Consuls with main force push'd on the Siege of Lilybeum in Sicily; and the besieged with no less vigour withstood their assaults. Their first attack was made upon a Tower, which stands out farther than any other part of the Town towards the Lybian Sea, and this being ruin'd, they made their approaches, and carried on their Trenches to the next Tower, and battered down six Towers after one another. Then they began in order to storm the rest, to fill and level the Ditch for planting their Engines and raising of Batteries, and though the work was difficult and immense: for the Ditch was sixty Cubits broad and forty in depth, yet it was undertaken and carried on with vigour.

IV. The Carthaginians to hinder their approaches, cutting another Ditch more within removed away the Earth, which the Romans threw up: but whilst by the multitude of these that carried in materials the Mount was still raised higher, and the Ditch was levell'd, quitting that design, they built another Wall within.

within. The Governour Himilco having his Eye in every place, and being indefatigable in the business, who besides the Townsmen had ten thousand hired Soldiers under his Command; and by his Sagacity, vigilance and constancy, baffled and disappointed all the open assaults, and closer Stratagems of the Enemies. He kept his own men always in action, and ply'd the Enemies with continual Alarms: He countermin'd their Mines, made retrenchments to hinder their approaches, and placed Guards to defend every breach: In this time they often sallied out, and sometimes did it with such vigour and fierceness, that in those tumultuary Skirmishes as many men were slain as in a pitch'd Battel. In the mean time whilst the Romans thought to undermine the Walls, Himilco commanded Counter-mines to be made, where he saw the Romans threw out the Earth, and when these Mines were finished, presently he sent Soldiers aimed into them, who assaulting the Roman Pioneers being at work and without Arms, slew many of them: and others, whilst they ran to relieve their own men, were burnt with Faggots thrown into the Ditch, and afterwards set on fire.

Notwithstanding all this, the besieged began to be affected with fear and consternation, which some Commanders of the hired Soldiers taking advantage of, and pretending that their stipend was not duly paid them, resolv'd together to betray the Town to the Romans: not doubting but that every Officer might easily persuade his Soldiers to approve what was done. Therefore by Night having stoln privately out of the Town to the Roman Camp, they discover'd the condition of the besieged, and what they design'd to do. There was one Alexon among the Mercenaries at Lilybeum, a Grecian born, a good Soldier and very faithful and Loyal. He having observed the Traitors designs, immediately discover'd the matter to Himilco. Himilco not delaying in such a ticklish time, assembles all the Captains of the hired Soldiers in Lilybeum: tells them what was designed, and who were engaged in it: and reviles them sharply: besides, he exhorts those that were present, not to be partakers in the rashness and treachery of others: he promises to such as would continue faithful all favour with the Carthaginians, great Rewards, and sure pay: whereas those who would commit that infamous piece of Treason, must live hated by Gods and Men. Withal, he divides as much Money among them as he could get together in that hurry: and promises that the Common-Soldiers should be paid as soon as could be.

A Speech made in season is very forcible and persuasive, especially if by the sincerity of our performances we make our words good. For all of them agreed with him, and readily proffer'd their service to keep the Soldiers in due obedience. Himilco, having encouraged and commended them, bids every one immediately to repair to his Soldiers; and to use his best endeavour that they continue them dutiful and obedient: he sends Annibal (the Son of that Hannibal who died in Sardinia) and Alexon the Grecian: first to the Gauls, who knew and respected him: and the other to the rest of the Mercenaries of several Countries, who universally lov'd and esteem'd him. When these two had pass'd their words that what Himilco had promis'd should be duly perform'd, they manag'd the business so successfully, that when the Traitors came back a little afterwards, they were not only abhor'd by all; but also revil'd, and driven away by force. And when these return'd to the Consuls though the design did not hit, yet they had some Rewards, and Lands bestowed on them in Sicily. Thus the Carthaginians almost reduced to the utmost danger by this sudden mischief and contrivance, were at that time preserv'd by Alexon's loyalty and fidelity: who having before deliver'd the Agrigentines, (against whom the Syracusan Mercenaries would have been playing the same Game) justly deserves to have his name recorded in Story.

The besieged afterwards were encouraged with recruits of fresh Men: for the Carthaginians though wholly ignorant of what pass'd at Lilybeum, judg'd rightly, that that place must be reliev'd speedily. Therefore they commanded Adherbal their Admiral to fit out a certain number of Ships, and to put Men, Money and Ammunition into Lilybeum. Hannibal, Hamilcar's Son being sent by him, sayling with a fair Wind from the Ægusian Isles (as they are called) steered his course directly for the Port of Lilybeum, having his Soldiers in a readiness for Battel in the Ships, and intending to force his way through the Enemies if they should oppose him.

Now the Romans at the beginning of the Siege had endeavour'd to stop up the mouth of the Haven, by sinking about fifteen Vessels to the bottom of the Sea, which they had filled with stones for that purpose. Therefore partly through the suddenness and surprize of the thing, and partly for fear of being driven by the Winds into the Port, and dangerous places, they did not go out to meet the Enemies. But Hannibal safely arrived in the Port; and having landed about ten thousand Soldiers, was received with great joy and acclamations by the Lilybeans. When the Romans saw they could not hinder the Enemy from coming into the Town, they consulted together, how they might for the future best defend their Works, which they knew Himilco recruited with such numbers of fresh men would not fail to attack. Nor were they mistaken in their conjecture; for the Carthaginians intending to try the mettle of these fresh Recruits, and the courage of his old Soldiers rais'd and elevated by the arrival of their succours, assembles the whole Army [both the Recruits and the old Regiments] and with hopes of Victory and great Rewards persuades them to sally out, and having dispos'd them in such order (as seem'd most convenient) by day-break attacks the Romans intrenchments and approaches in several places. But the Romans were well provided to receive them, having plac'd strong Guards where they fear'd any danger: so that the Carthaginians were presently encountred very briskly, and many were killed on both sides, whilst in the action such numbers of men were engag'd, and that with so much vigour and resolution; for no less than twenty thousand men came out of the Town, and the besiegers made yet a greater number: for the Consuls having rais'd some Auxiliary Troops among their Confederates in Sicily, had got an Army of one hundred thousand men compleat: of whom there remained at the Siege sixty thousand, the rest being sent away to bring in Provisions, and upon other necessary occasions. But though the Battel was very fierce in every quarter, yet the brunt of it fell, where the Engines stood, whilst the one to defend, and the others to destroy them freely expos'd their lives; being as prodigal of their own blood as they were of their Enemies. There you might see the Bodies of the slain pil'd on heaps in that Quarter, and Post, which they had undertaken to defend from the first: the noise of the Battel, and the terrible rattling of Arms was encreased by another tumult, whilst a great company of men arm'd with fire-brands and Torches in their hands rush'd on (maugre all dangers and opposition) through the thickest of the Enemies to burn their Works: and the Romans were well-nigh forc'd to retreat, and to leave the Engines to the Enemies, who press'd so rudely upon them. But Himilco seeing several of his men fall, whilst the Romans maintain'd their ground still without shrinking, founded a Retreat, and first quitted the Battel. Neither did the Romans pursue them, being contented to have saved their Engines, which once they had given for lost.

- X. The next Night *Hannibal* unknown to the Enemies, who after the toils and fatigues of the Battel could not watch him, going away, went to *Drepanum* to *Adherbal*, having carried away with him the Cavalry, which in such a place could not be serviceable to the besieged, but elsewhere might do good service; and so they did. For, making excursions out of *Drepanum*, they render'd it very dangerous to travel the Country, and there was no fetching any provision to serve the Camp for them: for they snapp'd several of the Foragers, who stragled far into the Country, and distressed the *Roman* Allies all manner of ways, inasmuch that the Consuls were at a loss what to do. *Adherbal* also gave them continual alarms by Sea, for all of a sudden he us'd to ravage sometimes the Coasts of *Sicily*, and sometimes those of *Italy*, doing all the mischief he could possibly, to the *Romans*. Hence it came to pass, that a great scarcity of Provision arising in the Camp (for they had no Victuals left but flesh) a great many dy'd with Famine, and several of the sickness then reigning in the Camp.
- XI. Some thousands having been lost after this manner, it was resolv'd that one of the Consuls should depart to *Rome* to the *Comitia*, and carry away all his Legions with him: whereby those remaining behind at the Siege might be more easily furnished with provisions. And now the *Romans* again attempted to block up the Port, having with greater industry made a Mole of Earth, and Stones, and strengthening this Mole with beams laid across one another, which were join'd with Cramping-Irons to keep the whole more firm together; but the work was very difficult and unsuccessful, because of the great depth of the Sea in that place, whereby it came to pass, that whatever was thrown into it, was dashed in pieces in the descent: and by the first violent Gust of Wind and raging billows that happned, the Mole was quite ruined. Nevertheless, the very noise of the design for some time shut up the Port, which vexed the *Carthaginians* mightily: for now they had no way left them, whereby they might come to understand the state of the besieged, and there was none that durst undertake to go into the Town.
- XII. At last, one *Hannibal* (surnamed *Rhodijs*) a Gentleman of considerable Quality undertook to go and view the state of the Town, and to bring a faithful account of all particulars concerning it: at first the *Carthaginians* look'd on the thing as a Complement, and so thank'd him, but did not believe him; For they knew that besides the Mole built to stop the mouth of the Port, the *Roman* Fleet likewise rode there at Anchor to watch and guard it. But *Hannibal* having equipped a Ship of his own, touch'd at one of the Islands, which lie opposite to *Lilybeum*: and afterwards from thence sailing with a fair Wind about the fourth hour of the day enter'd the Port, whilst the *Roman* Soldiers looked on, and stood amaz'd at the boldness of the Man. The Consul however making account to intercept him in his return, order'd ten Ships chosen out of the whole Fleet to be equipped in the Night, and posted on both sides of the Port as near as might be to the mouth of it. *Hannibal* trusting to the swiftness of his Galley, set out in open day: and the *Romans*, who had watch'd narrowly for him, when they saw him, bore up in all haste towards him, but his Galley was so good a Sailer, that he was able not onely to escape from them, but even to brave them, sometimes sailing up to their Ships, and sometimes moving round about them: as if he defy'd an Enemy to Battel.
- XIII. By often repeating this piece of bravery he did the *Carthaginians* great service: for the besieged having an opportunity hereby to hear from their Friends the *Carthaginians*, and to communicate their necessities to them, were considerably encourag'd, whilst the *Romans* were vexed to the heart to see the daring Spirit and boldness of the Man. Now that which helped *Hannibal* very much in this undertaking, was his knowledge of the place gather'd from particular observations he had taken of the safest way for Ships to steer their course through those Washes of *Lilybeum*: For as soon as he could descry the Town from the Channel, he turn'd his Ship so that the Stern looked towards *Italy*, and from the Prow the Tower of *Lilybeum*, which stands over the Sea might be seen, whilst those other Towers lying towards *Africa* were hid from view, and this they look upon as the securest Road for such as enter that Port under full Sail. And now several others incited by the Courage and good success of *Hannibal Rhodius*, went into the Town: till the *Romans* happen'd to take a four-Oar'd Galley of extraordinary swiftness. For though in other places the Winds and storm had ruin'd the Mole, yet it stood, where the Water was shallow: and the Galley happening to strike against that part of the Mole, stuck fast there, and was taken by the *Romans* with all the men and rigging, being both incomparably good, which prov'd *Hannibal's* ruin. For having entred the Town by Night, when he loosed from Port in open Day, and saw this Galley meeting him at every turn and motion with a swiftness equal to his own, he thought at first to escape, but failing of that, endeavour'd to resist, when being soon overpower'd he was taken: And the *Romans* having got this Ship afloat, and narrowly watching the mouth of the Haven, they easily hinder'd any more Ships from coming to *Lilybeum*.
- XV. The Besiegers hereupon push'd on the Siege more vigorously, and assailing the fortifications next the Sea, drew all the Garison from other quarters of the Town to defend the Posts attack'd: and by this means the rest of the Army, which on the other side waited for this opportunity, were enabled to make themselves Masters of the outward Wall, which was left unguarded: though they could not hold it; for *Hannibal* coming thither in time with a strong detachment, beat out the *Romans* again, killing several men upon the place. The besieged afterwards had such good fortune, that they were in hopes of an intire Victory. There hapned at that time a violent Gust of Wind, which as if it had been on purpose, spent its fury against the *Romans* Engines, inasmuch that it shook their Batteries, and ruin'd the Works they had rais'd against the Town. The besieged soon perceiv'd the matter, and now imagining with themselves, that the Gods had put this opportunity into their hands to execute their often baffled design of burning the *Roman* Engines, they fallied out in three Bodies, and threw Fire-balls and other combustible materials upon them, the Timber whereof the Engines were made being very apt to take fire, having been fell'd long before, and dry'd in the Sun. The *Romans* came together from all quarters to oppose the Enemy, but they fought upon great disadvantage; for the *Carthaginians* by the light of the flames (the Engines now being set on fire) and the violence of the storm, were enabled to cast their Darts with greater strength, and surer aim. Whilst the *Romans* were hereby incommoded as much as by the Arms of the Enemies: For the Wind bearing violently against them, blew the smok, ashes and flames in their Faces, and drove the Enemies shot with redoubled force upon them; they in the mean while shooting faintly and at random, being not able to take aim in the dark; and the violence of the Wind brake the force of their Shot.

Thus

- XVI. Thus it came to pass, that all the *Roman* Engines used both for Battery, and Mines were burnt to Ashes. And hereupon they would have risen from before *Lilybeum* (as despairing of ever forcing the place) had not *Hiero* by sending to the Camp great Recruits of Provision, prevailed with them to continue the Siege. After this forbearing all attacks upon the place, they fortified their Camp, and resolv'd to leave the success to time.
- The Besieged likewise having repaired the ruins and breaches of their Walls, became more resolute to hold out for the future. But at *Rome* this news was very unwelcome: however, they were resolv'd to be avenged on their Enemies for the damages susteined at their hands: and one of the Senators, who had spoken some words concerning Peace, is said to have been kill'd in the Senate-house: so steddily and firmly were their minds bent to the War. Great preparations were hereupon made, and ten thousand Seamen raised, and sent over into *Sicily*, where a great number of Saylor had been lost.
- The Consuls this year were *P. Clodius Pulcher*, and *L. Junius Pullus*; though that this same *Clodius* was the Grand-child of *Cecus* is falsely reported by some Authors. When *Clodius* was arrived in *Sicily* and took the command of the Army before *Lilybeum*, he assembled the Soldiers, and exclaimed mightily against the Consuls the year before, saying, That more like Besieged than Besiegers, they had through Cowardize and Sloth squander'd their time at *Lilybeum*, doing nothing, to the great damage and dishonour of the *Roman* Name. For he was a hot-headed Man, fierce of temper and very haughty: one that vaunted mightily for his high Birth and Parentage, and behav'd himself both in his words and actions like a Man that was transported beyond his Senses; he never shew'd mercy to any Offender, never forgave any fault, but punished the least with immoderate severity, whilst he himself was guilty of most shameful Overights and Errors, and those too in the management of the most important Affairs. For that very Method of the former Consuls, at which he was so much offended just now, we find imitated afterwards by himself. For he also made a kind of Mole to stop up the Entries of the Port: nay, what was yet a more insupportable piece of madness: he with a furious suddenness attack'd *Drepanum*, and lost a brave Navy by his own precipitousness as much as by the valour and good Conduct of *Adherbal*. He had persuaded himself, and others, that the Enemy ignorant of the reinforcement lately sent to the *Roman* Fleet might be surpriz'd at *Drepanum*. Forasmuch as they would never believe, that the *Romans* would have either Courage or Power to give them Battel by Sea.
- In pursuance hereof he selected two hundred and twenty of the best Ships, and manned them with the stoutest he could chuse among the Legionary Soldiers, who very ambitiously strove to get themselves lifted for this service, thinking they went to take some certain booty, which was not far distant (*Drepanum* being situate but fifteen miles from *Lilybeum*) and silently in the Night weigh'd Anchor, and had a lucky Voyage of it in the dark, being undiscovered by the Enemy. But at the break of day, when the foremost Ships were descry'd from *Drepanum*: *Adherbal* was much surpriz'd at this appearance, and doubted not but the Enemy was coming on. Now he had two things propos'd to his choice, either instantly to fight the Enemy, or else to venture a Siege by permitting them to Land. The last of which he dislike'd both as a kind of treachery, and also as a thing dangerous in its consequence. Therefore he assembled all the Seamen upon the shore, and called all the Mercenary Soldiers together: and in few words, but those pat to the business, told them, "How great their advantage would be to fight it out like men of Courage, and if they refus'd to do so, what dangers they must expect from a Siege."
- They entertain'd his words with great acclamations, and *Adherbal* order'd them immediately to embark, and keeping the Admiral Galley (aboard of which himself was) in their sight to row up after her. As soon as he had given these Orders he weigh'd Anchor first himself, sailing just under the Rocks that hang over the Port, whilst the *Roman* Gallies at the same time enter'd into it from the other side. *Clodius* finding he was not to deal with a coward Enemy (as he fancy'd) that would refuse Battel; but one resolv'd to defend himself, and stand the shock, was much surpriz'd at it, and hastily countermanded all his Ships, intending to embattel them in the open Sea; but his Fleet observ'd no kind of order, but sail'd on very confusedly. So that some of his Ships had enter'd the Haven, others were making up towards it, and some got into the mouth of it. Hence it was, that whilst they all strove to retire, the Ships in this hurry ran one against another, whereby their Oars were broken off, and great confusion arose among them: till having got clear of the Haven as well as they could, they immediately drew up in Battel-array close to the shore; for the time would not permit them to chuse a better place.
- The Consul himself who at first had brought up the Rear, now tack'd about, and sailing about before all the rest settled himself upon the left Wing of his Fleet. But *Adherbal* in the mean while having pass'd by the Enemies left Wing with five Men of War (for no more came up just with him) began to confront the *Romans*, having the open Sea behind him: and at the same time the rest of his Fleet coming up as fast as they could, join'd these at a just distance according as he had commanded; then ranging all his Ships, he advanced against the Enemy in good order. And now the Flags being hung out from both the Admirals, they fell on very furiously, both engaging upon equal hopes, but the *Carthaginians* having the better fortune; for tho the *Romans* exceeded them in number of Ships, yet in all other points they had the advantage. For they had the best Ships, and the skilfullest Seamen: and moreover, they had taken the most commodious place to fight in, so that if they happen'd to be press'd, they should not be streightned for Searoom to retreat into, whilst by the swiftness of their Gallies they might easily elude the Enemy though got never so near them, and encompass him if he should chase them further. The *Romans* on the contrary being coop'd together close to the shore, had neither room to use their full strength when they charg'd, nor stop safely when they had a mind to it: but as often as they retir'd from the Enemy pressing upon them, they were in danger either of running themselves upon the Shelves, or splitting against the shore.
- Thus whilst they could neither break through the Enemies Fleet, nor charge them behind by reason of the slowness of their Ships and unskilfulness of their Seamen, nor were able by reason of the straitness of the place they were coop'd into, to employ the Soldiers on the Poop for the assistance of those of their men who were distress'd by the Enemy: the *Carthaginians* having them at their mercy rak'd them sorely. Moreover, the Soldiers besides their present difficulties were dejected upon a religious account, and thought the Gods fought against them for the Consuls rashness in engaging the Enemy at a time when the *Auguries* portended nothing but ill success: which he not onely disobey'd, but spoke contemptuously of them. For, he commanded the Birds because they would not feed to be thrown into the Sea that they might drink, since they would not eat. Now this made the Soldiers more timorous to engage, whilst they imagin'd that Heaven oppos'd their Cause. But the Author of this fatal blow had wit and courage enough to save himself,

self, when all had been lost; for when he saw his Ships all around sunk and taken by the Enemies, he got away with Thirty Ships, that stood next him, making his escape betwixt the Carthaginian Fleet and the shore. And for the better security of his retreat to *Lilybaeum*, lest the Garrison should annoy him from the Town, he caus'd the Ships to be adorn'd in a triumphant manner, to amuse the Carthaginians, who hereupon imagin'd that the Consul had won the Victory, and that the rest of the Fleet was following after; so that he return'd safely to *Lilybaeum*, and struck a great terror in the People of the Town.

XXII. The Enemy took Ninety three Ships abandon'd by the Consul, together with all the Soldiers and Seamen, except these who by running themselves ashore got to land, and so escaped; and many Ships (doubtless) were sunk in the Engagement; for *Clodius* had brought about two hundred with him from *Lilybaeum*: And the Carthaginians got this great Victory at a very cheap rate; for 'tis reported that they lost not so much as one Man or Ship, and had but very few wounded, whereas the Romans had eight thousand Men killed, and twenty thousand taken Prisoners: And about this time the Carthaginians took several Vessels laden with Corn from *Palermo*, and carried them to *Drepanum*; and withal bringing out of the Country about *Drepanum* some Provisions into *Lilybaeum*, suppli'd the Besieged with large recruits, and good store of all necessaries.

XXIII. Nor did the Romans ill Fortune at this time stop here, but further distress'd 'em, so as not only to deprive them of all power by Sea at the present, but likewise to put 'em out of all hopes of ever obtaining any. For the other Consul *L. Junius* with several Ships laden with Provisions for the Army in *Sicily*, and sixty Men of War. Setting out from *Italy*, upon his arrival at *Messana*, met there abundance of other Ships, which were got together to the Port having come from the Army, and from other parts of *Sicily*: The Consul, when he had join'd these, having got now two hundred and twenty long Ships, and near eight hundred Ships of burthen sail'd for *Syracuse*, and being arrived there, deliver'd part of the Fleet to the *Quaestors* to be conducted to *Lilybaeum*, whilst he himself stay'd at *Syracuse* waiting the arrival of those Ships, that could not come up with the rest of the Fleet from *Messana*, as also to take in some provisions, which the Confederates fetch'd from the mid-land Countries. Mean while *Adherbal* having sent both the Ships and Prisoners (he had taken) to *Carthage*; whilst success and honour push'd him on to action, join'd *Carthalo's* Fleet consisting of seventy Men of War, and as many Ships of burthen, with thirty others, and gave him orders to go and bring away, or else destroy the Roman Navy that rode at Anchor before *Lilybaeum*.

XXIV. *Carthalo* by day-break entering the Port in a terrible manner, took some of the Ships, and fir'd others; and in the mean time the Garrison rally'd out by *Himilco's* command, which occasion'd a great Contention through the Roman Camp. *Carthalo* at last having destroy'd some few and brought away Five Ships, steer'd his course for *Heraclea*. Whilst he lay in wait thereabouts, intending to hinder the Romans in their Journey to *Lilybaeum*, he had intelligence of a considerable Fleet, that was not far off. Now *Carthalo*, several other Commanders joining with him, had got about a hundred and twenty very good Ships, trusting therefore in his present strength and former Victory, he immediately weighs Anchor, and goes to meet the Enemy. The two Fleets came in sight of one another near *Gelo*, but the Roman *Quaestors* declining an engagement upon such disadvantages, stood off for *Phimias* a confederate Town of theirs.

XXV. Now there was no Port in that place, but certain Rocks running out into the Sea, had made it a pretty good Harbour, and here the Romans having landed, prepar'd themselves to receive the Enemy upon the shore; having brought down their Engines from the Town and planted them along the shore for defence of their Ships. The Carthaginians at first thought to besiege the Enemy, making account that they would be frightened into the Town, and leave the Ships for a Prey: But finding that the Romans did not stir away, and that the place they fought in was very disadvantageous, they gave over; and having carried away some few Ships laden with Provisions, went off to the mouth of the *Halycus*, a River not far distant from thence, intending from thence to observe the Enemies motions at their leisure, whilst their wounded Men were under cure. Other Authors relying upon the Authority of *Philinus* (as I suppose) report that the Romans had receiv'd some considerable Loss in this place; and that the *Quaestors* were so much terrifi'd at the first sight of the Enemy, that they left the Ships of Burthen and all others besides the Men of War behind, and made all the Sail they could to recover *Phimias*. Moreover they tell us of Sixty Men of War, and Fifty Ships of Burthen of the Romans that were sunk in this Battle, and Thirteen more so torn and shatter'd, that they could never be refitted again.

XXVI. Some time after this, whilst the Carthaginians lay at Anchor at the mouth of the *Halycus*, the Consul having dispatch'd his business at *Syracuse*, as he was sailing towards *Lilybaeum* by the Promontory of *Pachinus*, was discover'd by the Carthaginian Spies. *Carthalo* advertis'd hereof, in all haste goes to meet the Consul, who was then ignorant of the late action at *Phimias*, whereby he might fight him far enough from the *Quaestors* Fleet, so as to hinder him from having any aid from them. When the Consul saw the Punic Fleet at some distance off, whilst he durst not fight, nor could escape from the Enemy advancing towards him, he runs his Fleet into a rough harbourless place, the fear of losing the whole Fleet overcoming the apprehensions of the present danger. *Carthalo* not daring to follow him, posted himself near a certain Promontory so conveniently situated, that from thence he might at once observe the two Roman Fleets.

XXVII. Not long after the winds blowing roughly at Sea, the Carthaginian Pilots being good Sea-men, acquainted him of the storm that was coming on, and so perswaded *Carthalo* to quit that Station, and let sail for *Pachinus*, by which means the Punic Fleet easily escaped the fury of the storm: but both the Roman Fleets were destroyed all to rights by it, inasmuch as that there was not one plank of the Wreck left fit for any use; except two Vessels wherein the Consul afterwards brought all the Soldiers and Mariners preserved from this wreck to *Lilybaeum*. By this disaster all the Vessels laden with Provision, and above a hundred Ships of War were cast away: but yet part of the Army was saved, several having swim out, or else being cast out upon the neighbouring Coasts.

XXVIII. The Senate having recalled *P. Clodius* the Consul from *Sicily*, because of his former miscarriage, began now to despair of any success by Sea, when they heard of *Junius* his disastrous Fortune. However they went on briskly in their preparations for the Land: And for the Siege of *Lilybaeum*, they resolv'd to continue it; and therefore several Persons were appointed to carry over Provision for the Army there, according as they should want it; for considering, that as the Carthaginians had the advantage by Sea, so they had it by Land; they still entertain'd good hopes of the final success of the War; for now the Romans had *Sicily* all at their Devotions, either by Conquest, or else by Confederacy: But they neither liked the

the present Consuls, nor thought the business would ever prosper in the hands of such Magistrates, the Office having been prophan'd through their contempt of the *Auspices*, and of Religion (of which those two Consuls were both guilty) for *L. Junius* as well as *Clodius* had proceeded in his Voyage contrary to all the admonitions of the *Augures*. Therefore recourse was had to an expedient new, and extraordinary; for it was ordered that a Dictator should be nominated to command the Forces in *Sicily*, whereas no Dictator till then had ever been General of an Army out of *Italy*.

*P. Clodius* shew'd himself strangely insolent at this time; for when he was commanded by the Senate to appoint a Dictator, he (as if by being the occasion of so great a slaughter, he had not offended enough against his Country, unless he expos'd also the honour of Magistracy to contempt) nominated *M. Claudius Glycias* a Serjeant or Secretary of his, to be Dictator.

At this Affront all the People being highly incens'd against him, he was forced to resign, and summon'd to his trial before the People. The Authors seen by *Cicero*, report that he was condemn'd; but others say, when Sentence was ready to pass upon him, that he was deliver'd from it by chance, a violent sudden shower of Rain dissolving the Assembly: so that as if the Gods had stop'd all manner of proceedings against him, they did not think fit to bring him to his trial again. But as for *Glycias*, People being ashamed to see the greatest Honour in the hands of a mean inferior Fellow, he was forced to resign, and afterwards he saw the Plays in his Robes. *Aulus Atilius Calatinus* was made Dictator in his room, and he appointed *Cecilius Metellus* to be his General of the Horse, who had triumph'd over the Carthaginians. These men indeed went into *Sicily*, but did nothing memorable there.

Mean while *L. Junius*, desiring to repair the disgraces at Sea by some signal Achievement, whilst he watched all opportunities; at last found a way to possess himself of *Eryx*, by corrupting some of the Town, who betrayed the place into his hands. *Eryx* is a Mountain the highest in *Sicily* next *Aetna*, situate in that part of the Island, which looks towards *Italy*, in the mid-way betwixt *Drepanum* and *Panormus*: but towards *Drepanum* 'tis more steep and rough. On the top it has a Plain, where stands the Temple of *Venus*, (called from this place *Erycina*) the richest and most magnificent of any in *Sicily*. Below, about the midst of the Mountain, there stands a Town of the same name, of very difficult access; for a Man must wind about the Mountain by long narrow Paths to get into it. *Junius* having observ'd the nature of the place, plac'd Garisons both upon the top of the Mountain and also in those Streights which look towards *Drepanum*, being secur'd in his Post, from whence he might easily beat out the Enemy, if he should attack him. He likewise walled *Egithallus* and strengthened the place with a Garrison of eight hundred men. But *Carthalo* having landed his men by Night forced the Castle, and the Garrison-Soldiers were partly kill'd or taken, and some of them fled to *Eryx*.

Authors are very uncertain as to the rest of the Actions of *Junius*. For some report that he was taken at *Egithallus* by *Carthalo*. Others, that to prevent being impeach'd for the loss of the Fleet, he killed himself. And the Account of the Secular Games is as uncertain; it being controverted whether they were then the third time celebrated or fourteen years after, *P. Cornelius Lentulus*, and *C. Licinius Varrus* being Consuls. Yet I think it more probable that the Games fell out this year, Peoples fears after such disasters, together with the hopes of better times, inciting them to the celebration of the same, and a punctual observation of their religious Rites. This year was very fruitful, and twelve pounds of Oil were sold for so many farthings. In the mean while, either the time of this Dictatorial Authority being expir'd, or else *Calatinus* resigning his Office, *C. Aurelius Cotta*, and *P. Servilius Geminus* entered on their second Consulships.

These managed the War in *Sicily* successfully enough, but yet without any Victory or advantage gotten, which is worth speaking of. They repuls'd indeed the Carthaginians of *Drepanum* and *Lilybaeum*, so that they did not so frequently or so far make their Excursions: and also recovered those Garisons which they had in places remoter from the Sea. When *Carthalo* had often miscarried in his Efforts against these, he resolv'd to go and waste the Coasts of *Italy*: that by this Alarm at home he might give a diversion to the Consuls good fortune in *Sicily*: and if they should not be forced to repass the Sea to relieve their people in distress, then he might take this advantage to ravage the Country, and take their Towns; but fortune cross'd him in this his attempt also. For the Praetor with the Militia being sent to cover the Confederate Countries, and check the incursions of the Enemies, oblig'd *Carthalo* to return into *Sicily*, laying aside any expectation of the success of his designs. Upon his return the Mercenaries mutinying for want of their pay, he expos'd some of them in desert Islands, and sent many to *Carthage* to be punish'd, which the rest of their Comrades took so heinously, and were so irrag'd at, that all of them seem'd ready to revolt, whence (it was fear'd) an occasion of a new War might arise. But *Hamilcar* coming in the very nick of time to succeed *Carthalo*, set upon these Mutineers by Night, and some he kill'd, and drown'd others: and as for the rest who begg'd his pardon, he admitted them to favour.

This is that *Hamilcar* known by the surname of *Barcas*, than whom *Carthage* never bred a greater or a better Commander: a Person that had wanted a Parallel, unless he had found one in the Great *Hannibal* his Son. From this time forwards the War began to go harder on the Romans side. For immediately after he had quell'd the mutiny of the Mercenaries: *Hamilcar* set out with a Fleet of Ships to wait *Italy*, and far and near ravag'd the Country of the *Locrians* and *Brutians*. At this time the Romans having been much obliged to *Hiero* the *Syracusan* for his constant love and affection towards them, remitted him the Annual Tribute, which he was engag'd to pay by the Articles of the former League, and established a perpetual Alliance and good Correspondence with him.

Mean while *Hamilcar* returning from *Italy*, made a descent into the Country of *Panormus*, and pitch'd his Camp between *Panormus* and *Eryx* at a place very strong by nature, called *Eperste*, a Mountain on every side steep and craggy, which is of a considerable height, and over-looks the Country all about: it is not of a small compass at the top, but contains one hundred furlongs in circuit: all which space of ground is good either for pasture or tillage, as being conveniently expos'd to the Sea-breezes, which preserves it free from all venomous Creatures. It has also a certain Eminence, which might serve for a Fort, and has a good prospect into the Plains below. Hard by it is a Port very commodious for those that go to *Italy* from *Drepanum* or *Lilybaeum*: being well furnished with fresh Water. There are only three ways by which that Mountain is accessible, two from the Land, and one from the Sea: but all are alike difficult and uneasy. Now that *Hamilcar* encamp'd here, it shew'd the daring spirit and resolution of the Man, thus to put himself in the midst of his Enemies, whilst he had no Confederate Town near; but trusting merely in the natural strength of the place, and his own Courage and experience in War, he gave the Romans



Centinel Alarms, and annoyed them very much from hence : and withal very much establish'd the *Carthaginian* Affairs which began now to prosper at home also. For *Hanno* the other *Carthaginian* General, who was *Hamilear's* Rival in the pursuit of Honour and Renown, both to advance his fame, as also to maintain the Soldiers at the Enemies charge without making them burdenson to the Public, carried the War into that part of *Lybia* which is about *Hecatompylos* : and having taken that Town brought three thousand Hostages to *Carthage*.

XXXVI. But their successes were not free from some alloy of cross fortune. For *L. Cæcilius Metellus*, and *Num. Fabius Buteo* being Consuls: a Fleet set out at the charge of some private Persons, landed and walled *Africa*. For though the Senate determin'd again to forbear fighting any more by Sea, yet when the Citizens desired it, they gave them leave to make this Voyage upon condition, that they should restore all the Ships they borrowed from the State : reserving the booty for themselves. Thus a considerable Fleet being got together brought much terror and detriment to the *African* Coasts : and besides that, they assaulted *Hippo Regius* no contemptible place, and there destroy'd the Navy of the *Hipponensians*, and many of their Houses, but being about to return they found the mouth of the Haven shut up with Chains : and here they were forced to use their Wits to escape this danger ; for the Galleys being rowed swiftly, when the Fore-decks almost touch'd the Chain, all the people retir'd to the Hind-decks : by which means the Fore-decks being lightened of their burden easily passed over the Chains : this done, they all went into the Fore-decks, which sinking down with the weight, raised the hind-parts of the Galleys, and made them slide also over the Chains, that they all escap'd the danger, and got clear out of this strait. After this deliverance from so much peril and fear, it was not long ere they fought the Punic Fleet at *Panormus* with good success.

XXXVII. The Roman Consuls acting separately with their Forces this Campaign, *L. Metellus* besieged *Lilybæum*, and *Num. Fabius Drepanum*. There lies near *Drepanum* Southward an Island, or rather a Rock, named by the *Greeks* the *Pelian Isle*, and by us *Columbaria*. The Consul by night made himself Master of this, having put all the Punic Garrison in the place to the Sword : but *Hamilear* who was come in all haste to defend *Drepanum*, at break of Day went out to recover this place, which the Consul seeing, and not being able to assist his men in the Island, resolv'd to attack *Drepanum* with his utmost power ; whereupon *Hamilear* drawing back, the Consul kept the Island, and afterwards made use of that place to annoy and gall the besieged. For by a Mole he join'd it to the main Land ; and because the Walls were weaker on that side, he made his first attack upon the Town from thence, having raised several batteries. *Polybius* was of Opinion, that the Battels betwixt *Hamilear* and the present and succeeding Consuls for their number, cannot, and for the likeness of accidents and occurrences ought not to be describ'd : whilst for almost three years together, *Hamilear* encamped at *Epirota*, fought very near every day with the Roman Generals, especially after they had lain before *Panormus*, and left scarce five furlongs distance betwixt them and the Enemy ; it being impossible there should be any cessation of Arms, or respite from action, where two Armies were encamped so near one another : though all this while they never came to a general Battel, in order to a final determination of the War : for several things hinder'd them from this, and especially because both having equal forces, and both equally secured within their strong Holds, even those who were worsted in the Encounter, might soon find a shelter and a Sanctuary in their Camp. Thus it came to pass, that though some were always killed whilst they fought, yet as soon as they turn'd their backs, they retreated safely within their fortifications.

XXXIX. But the same year that *Drepanum* was besieged, the Punic Fleet infested not onely the *Sicilian*, but also the *Italian* Coasts, and *Hamilear* ravaging all he could set his foot upon, over-ran the Maritime Coast of *Italy* as far as *Cume*. By these Inroads, as also by the Battels in *Sicily* when many of the *Romans* had been taken Prisoners by the Enemy, the Generals enter'd into Articles with the *Carthaginians* about exchange of Prisoners : wherein it was agreed betwixt them, That that side which should receive most Prisoners, should pay two pounds and a half of Silver for every head : and the *Carthaginians* receiving more than they had restor'd, paid the Money according to the Articles. We find two Colonies to have been sent out in *Italy* this year, to *Æsulum* and *Asinum*. The Lustration likewise (being the forty second) was made at *Rome* this year by the Censors *A. Atilius Calatinus*, and *A. Manlius Atticus*. The number of all the People now poll'd came but to 257222. Whereas in the former Lustrum, there had been poll'd very near 300000 Men. So great a multitude of Mortals had the Wrecks and Wars destroyed at that time : but yet for all this, the Army in *Sicily* was then reforc'd with a considerable supply of men, which was brought thither by the two Consuls *M. Octavius Crassus*, and *M. Fabius Licinus*.

XL. These had a very difficult Province to manage and a troublesome Campaign to pass, for there was work enough cut out for them : but not being able to force *Hamilear* from his strong Holds, they performed no action that is memorable, which was also the Cause of some of the succeeding Consuls by reason of the same disadvantage : Besides that, being young Generals chosen against an old well practis'd Commander, they were forced to spend in preparation, and acquainting themselves with the Site of places, the minds of the Soldiery, and state of the War, more time than remained for action. And for this reason it seems that year, when the time of Elections was at hand, they were inclin'd rather to chuse a Dictator, than that either of the Consuls should be called out of *Sicily*. *Titus Coruncanus* was chosen Dictator, in whose name the Assemblies for Election of Magistrates were held : he named *M. Fulvius Flaccus* General of the Horse.

XLI. Mean while the two Tribunes of the Commons *Sempronius* and *Fundanius*, summon'd *Claudia Appius* Cæcus his Daughter to appear before the People at such a day, because that returning from the Plays, when she was press'd by a throng of People and her Chariot stop'd in the crowd, she had used this direful imprecation : "Oh that my Brother were alive again, that he might lead forth another Fleet ! There was scarce any great or noble Family in all *Rome*, but either by Blood or Marriage was akin to the House of the *Claudii*. Therefore she wanted not her Compurgators to defend her, who pleading the greatness of her Family, the good Services of her Father *Appius*, and frailty of her Sex, alledg'd, "That it was unusual to impeach any Woman before the Commons ; and that the Cause was too slender and light, to make a new Custom commence from *Clodia*, which neither in thought or deed was guilty of any Treason against the Roman People, and had onely spoken some rash words which she might have spar'd.

XLII. Against which the two Tribunes thus argued : "What impious and cursed words *Claudia* has spoken, you know already, O *Romans* ! for what needs there any Evidence, when we have her own confession for the thing ? neither can she deny the matter, if she would ; for she spoke these words in the face of the Sun, having no respect for a multitude of good Citizens upon whom she used this Imprecation. Why

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"therefore should we doubt of the punishment, since we are certain of the Crime ? Have the Laws made too little provision in the matter ? or shall we too strictly insilling upon the letter of the Law, suffer ourselves to be impos'd upon by false interpretations thereof ? They plead that it is an unusual thing to prosecute a Woman before this Tribunal. Suppose it is so : 'tis an unusual thing likewise for any Woman to offend in this nature : nor had we ever an instance of any Woman that committed so great a Villany till now, and I could wish now there were no need of making a President ; for we had rather the World were once grown so innocent, that the Sword of Justice might be asleep in the scabbard, than be forc'd, as now, to draw it out against Criminals with a necessary and expedient vigour, though it may make us seem harsh and severe.

"A strict execution of Laws is necessary for every State, that would support itself : and those Laws ought not surely to be infring'd and violated by any, much less by such Persons as would pass for the *Atlas*es and Pillars of the State ; who being well read and learned in the Laws must of necessity be sensible, that though there is no express mention made of Women in several Laws, yet in the words, if any one, or the like, a Man with half an Eye may see that Sex is imply'd as well as the Male. Is it any thing strange therefore, if we suppose laws made against Treason to reach both Sexes, when even this *Claudia* is an Example which may convince us, that Women as well as Men may become Traitors. But some are for extenuating and palliating the matter. They would have us look on that as a Peccadillo, which went no farther than words, and not express'd by any overt Act. We must prove (forsooth) that she us'd all her endeavour to compass and bring about a hellish design, kept correspondence with the *Carthaginians* concerning it, aimed the Rabble, seiz'd the Capitol, and actually involv'd us all in that Mine of Calamity, which by her Curses she imprecated upon us. But Actions are not more punishable by the Laws, than the intentions and designs of Men. Indeed, let a Madman or a Child do any mischief and there is no Action against him ; but that is not the case here. 'Tis certain, that a Mans mind may be understood as well by his words as deeds. She who wishes such things as these, what would she do, if it lay in her power to bring about what she wishes ? But if we despise not others judgments in the matter, (as I am sure we ought not to do :) We may find, that in other Countries an impious Wish has been esteem'd a heinous Crime, and punish'd accordingly. At *Athens*, a place eminent above any other in *Greece* for good Government ; a Man has been condemned to die for wishing himself a good Trade, which he could not have, except in times of great mortality, he being one that sold all necessities for the burials of the dead ; and yet those words might have been capable of a fairer construction : whereas this Woman has positively wish'd for the utter destruction of the whole Commonwealth.

"(Says she) That my Brother were alive again ! A villanous wish though she made it purely for her Brother's sake. For why should she desire him alive again, by whole means so many thousands of honest Citizens lost their lives ? Who affronted the Commonwealth no less by his insolence, than he had endamag'd it by his rashness ? Who being condemn'd in the judgments of all men even before his Trial, escap'd not the infamy of the Sentence, but the punishment by mere chance ; And would you, if you had any brains, wish such a man alive again ! whereas she ought to have prayed, that his memory had died with him, his actions and his ashes had been buried in one common Tomb. As other Ladies justly glory in the renowned Actions of their Brethren : so thou (*Claudia*) shouldst be ashamed of such a Brother if thou hadst any shame ? However let's pardon the Lady, for thus foolishly wishing her Brother alive, supposing she meant well : Nay acquit her too, if the reason of her Vow appear not as abominable as it was insolent. For why would you have your Brother alive again ! that you might comfort your self with the sight of so near a Relation ? No, not at all. What then ? why, that he might command another Fleet. And was't for this, thou wicked Creature, that (as much as in thee lay) thou desiredst to raise the dead, to invert Natures course, and break open the Prisons of the Grave, that thou mightst find him again, by whom we might be all of us ruin'd.

"This is she, Countrymen, in whose favour those men intercede, who whilst they shew themselves kind Relations, little think they forfeit hereby the reputation of honest Citizens, and yet there's not one here intercedes for her but might prevail to have as much pity shewn her (as he pleas'd) had she pitied any of you. But since she has wish'd the confusion of us all, who would be such a tame Fool, as to think a person of so barbarous and inhumane a Spirit worthy any mercy ? Of late when the Censors number'd the People, what groans were heard, what a damp seiz'd upon the City ? For also during those years several actions of ours succeeded fortunately, yet to all good men the Commonwealth seem'd in a dangerous condition, whilst the people number in the Censors Books fell so short of what it was before ; but she's not at all concern'd for the loss of those that perished : She's griev'd onely, because any survive ; She complains the streets of *Rome* are too much throng'd with People, and wishes for that very Man to live again, by whose means the accounts of the last Poll were so much abated.

"But granting all this, that the Lady is unworthy of mercy, Yet, say they, if she has offended, she deserves to be pardon'd for her Ancestors sake. What, shall we set up this for a Law in our Commonwealth, that if any Person has done any Service to his Country, his Posterity may injure the same, and not be called to account for it ? Our Forefathers surely were not of that mind, who put *Manlius* to death, when not his Father, or any of his old Ancestors, but he himself had preserv'd the Capitol, the last refuge of the *Roman* People : He ought not to seek a greater Reward for his Service to his Country, than the satisfaction of his Conscience for the discharge of his duty : And if *Ap. Claudius* has done his Country any Service, he has been fully rewarded for it : He got Wealth and Honour by it, wherein he flourish'd to his dying day ; though perhaps it would have been better not to mention *Appius* and the former *Claudii*, than to remind you again of the injuries and Affronts put upon you by that Family, never inclin'd to popularity. For what other *Appius* would they have you remember but him, who also spitefully oppos'd your Interests, who chose rather to perish with his Army than be beholden to his Colleague the *Plebeian* Consul for his preservation, who continued also in his Censorship beyond the time prefix'd by the Law.

"And now let them, if they have a mind to it twit us with the Merits and good Services of the *Claudian* Family, and proceed as high as the times of the *Decemvirate* : or even to the first beginning of that Race ; and by all their enquiry they will be enabled to shew how the Woman takes after her Ancestors pride and obduracy, rather than prove that she ought to be spar'd for their sakes. What reason then can they or any man else produce, why this Woman should not be punished ? Alas, are they afraid for her, lest they should lose so vertuous a thing ; which if you fear in the least, O *Romans*, make

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"much of this *Claudia*, and keep her, so that when other Matrons in times of public dangers go to pray to the Temples, she may hinder their Prayers by her Curses: when they pray for the safety of our Armies, this may with their confusion: when they solicit the Gods, that few may be killed, she may reproach them, if any return safe. Be kind to that Woman, who, whilst other Matrons excite their Children by their Ancestors Examples to Virtue and Loyalty, teaches hers by the Example of *P. Claudius* to fight rashly, fly cowardly, to destroy the Citizens, and trample upon the Commonwealth. Let her instill into our Noblemens Children these Principles, that they may learn them in their Infancy and imitate them in their riper years. Let those who are in time to be intrusted with the command of your Forces by Sea and Land, be thus trained up, thus principled.

XLVIII. When this Harangue had ended, the People being assembled to give their Votes, gave Sentence against *Claudia*; whereupon she was fined twenty five thousand pound Brals Money. With which and other Fines *Ti. Sempronius* the Edile built, and consecrated the Temple of *Liberty* upon Mount *Aventine*. Afterwards *A. U. 508. M. Fabius Buteo*, and *C. Atilius Bulbus* were made Consuls. Some Citizens were then brought to *Fregelle* a Maritime Town of *Hebruria* nine miles from *Asium*, where a Colony had been planted two years before. This year was fought a great Battel by Sea between the *Romans* and *Carthaginians* at *Agimurus*, which proved successful to neither side, the *Carthaginians* losing a great number both of Men and Ships; and the Conquerors losing all the Spoils taken from the Enemy, by the violence of Storms and Wrecks.

XLIX. In *Sicily* Affairs were carried on with the same Conduct and success, as had been done the year before: the War proving difficult to the Consuls, not only by reason of the incommodioufness of the place they were incamped in, but also because of *Hamilcar's* subtilty: who as he was bold in action, and would venture farther than any man in the Combat, so he was good at Intrigue, and thoroughly versed in all Stratagems, by which means he sultein'd the *Roman* Power at that time, so, as not only to defend the places he had taken, and harals the *Roman* Allies both in *Sicily* and on the Coast of *Italy*, but also having his Eye elsewhere propp'd up the then tottering *Punic* Commonwealth, being an active Man, and one that was very resolute, and quick in making the best advantage of any thing that occur'd, as he shew'd at this time. For having a great mind to relieve the *Lilybeans*, who were chiefly distressed from the Land, he commanded part of the Fleet to put it self in such a posture as if it were going for *Lilybeum*, at sight of which when the *Romans* had issued out, he with such Ships, as he had hid in a place out of sight for that purpose, got into the Port, and by his presence and supplies of Provisions mightily encouraged the besieged.

L. Whilst the time was thus spent in *Sicily*, *A. Manlius Torquatus Atticus*, and *C. Sempronius Blasus* being again Consuls, took the command of the Forces. Now the state of the War was not alter'd to the better, but proved rather worse at that time. The *Romans*, as we said before, had placed one Garison above the Town of *Eryx* upon the top of the Hill, and another below at the foot of it. So that besides the strength and situation of the place, it was so well guarded, that all People were confident there could happen no danger to the Town; but *Hamilcar*, whose boldness broke through all opposition that hinder'd him in any Enterprize, performed this great Action in a trice. For, having arrived in the Night with his Forces, and advancing silently about thirty furlongs up the Hill (himself marching at the head of the Army) he suddenly surpriz'd the place: and having put the greater part of those he found within the Town to the sword, he sent the rest away to *Drepanum*.

LI. From that time the face of things appeared strange, and the War was prosecuted very sharply on both sides: for, *Hamilcar* lying betwixt two several Carilons of the Enemies, was himself besieged by the lower at the same time that he was besieging the other above him: And now both *Romans* and *Carthaginians* having endured incredible pains and labours, no day passing without fighting, performed many noble Achievements during the two years next ensuing, being never tir'd or parted by either Victory or slaughter, but always equal, till a Battel by Sea decided the Controversie betwixt them. A Colony was brought the same year to *Brundisium* in the Country of the *Salentines*, twenty years after that Country had been brought into subjection to the *Romans*. At the same time *Ti. Coruncanius*, who first of the Commons had been made chief Pontif, died very old, and *L. Caelius Metellus* succeeded him.

LII. Mean while, *C. Fundanius Fundulus*, and *C. Sulpicius Gallus* were made Consuls at *Rome*. Then also the War went on with *Hamilcar* in the same manner, and with the same success as before, except that a Mercenary Band of *Gauls*, and certain others who bore Arms in the Service of the *Carthaginians*, by reason that they were not paid, and for other injuries, endeavoured to betray the Town of *Eryx* to the *Romans* (for they were there quarter'd,) and after their design was discover'd, ran over to the Consuls: and were the first Foreigners that the *Romans* employed in their Service. Their Forces being thus increased: yet for all this they could not put an end to the War by Land-fights, especially because *Hamilcar* made such a vigorous opposition, who could neither be trepann'd by Stratagem, nor tam'd by Forces. Therefore they resum'd their resolutions of sitting out their Fleet, and putting to Sea again; for the *Carthaginians* could not be kept out of *Sicily*, whilst they commanded the Sea. Besides that the considerable successes obtain'd by some Privatiers formerly gave them pretty good encouragement to betake themselves to Sea Affairs. But they wanted Money, their Treasury having been for a long while much drain'd, and not able to support the expences of so tedious a War.

LIII. Then it was, that the good and noble Spirits of the *Roman* People administred seasonable aid and support to the Commonwealth labouring under these Pressures and difficulties; for such was the Generosity of the Senators, that in this time of publick danger they were asham'd stingily to save their money, but rais'd a Fond that surmounted the Charges they would be at in building a Navy. For the wealthier Citizens singly, and two or three of the others, according to their Estates, did undertake to set out each one five-oar'd Gally compleatly rigg'd and equipp'd, upon condition to have their Money restor'd them, when better times should come: By this means two hundred five-oar'd Gallies were equipp'd, all which were built after the model of *Hannibal Rhodius* his Gally; and People were in great expectation, that this Fleet must necessarily determine the War.

LIV. Whilst matters go on in this manner *C. Lutatius Catulus*, and *A. Posthumius Albinus* were made Consuls. *A. Posthumius* was Flamen of *Mars*; and when he was minded to go to his Province, *L. Caelius Metellus* the Chief Pontif confin'd him at home, telling him that it was not lawful for a Priest to forego the Duties of his Function; which act of his serv'd as a President for after-times. The Senate at the same time shew'd another instance of their Zeal for the maintenance of their own Religion, by prohibiting *C. Lu-*

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tatius the Consul from consulting the *Præstine* Oracle, and making use of foreign Auspices and Divinations in the administration of the Common-wealth: Then they apply'd themselves to the business of the War; and because that both the Consuls could not go (one of them being a Priest, and therefore confined at home) and that one would not be able to undergo so great a charge, they concluded to send one of the Prætors, two having been made first that year, with *C. Lutatius*. That Province fell to *Q. Valerius Falco's* lot. These getting together all the Ships belonging to the State, and those of private Men, the whole number amounting to three hundred, they set out for *Sicily* in the close of Winter, the season of action then approaching; and as soon as they were arrived, the Ports of *Lilybeum* and *Drepanum* lay open to them; for the Enemy not mistrusting in the least that a Fleet should come from *Italy*, had returned with all their Navy into *Africa*.

The Consul who was of himself a brisk active Man, being encouraged with this good fortune at the beginning, besieg'd *Drepanum*, and at the same time disciplin'd the Soldiers every day to fit them for the Engagement by Sea which was likely to follow; and this he did with such success, that those Soldiers he had brought from home unexpert in Sea-service, were now become excellent Seamen: Mean time whilst *Drepanum* is besieged both by Sea and Land, and reduc'd almost to extremity, part of the Wall being battered down, the Consul engaging in the heat of the action, received a dangerous wound in his Thigh, and the Soldiers being dismayed at his misfortune ran all about him, and left the assault when the Town was almost taken.

The Consul was not yet perfectly recover'd of his Wound, when it was told him, that a great Fleet of the Enemy approach'd. There were four hundred Ships in all laden with Provisions for the Army, and a great deal of Arms and Money; there was also aboard of them a considerable number of Soldiers, *Hanno* a Noble Man of *Carthage* having the chief command of the whole Fleet. This Man was resolv'd by all means to get to *Eryx*, where he might unload his Vessels, and take in some of *Hamilcar's* best Soldiers to man the Fleet, and then engage with the *Romans*. But this design of his though laid with so much advice and wisdom, was nevertheless ruined by the wary and vigilant *C. Lutatius* the Consul. For considering, that to fight presently with the *Punic* Fleet now moving heavily beneath the weight and burthen of its own luggage, would be the only means to get the day, he manned his Fleet with the best of his Soldiers; and letting out about the middle of *March* for the *Egatian* Isles opposite to *Lilybeum*, from thence discover'd their Fleet coming from *Hieromefus*; and having encourag'd the Seamen and Soldiers, he ordered them all to put themselves in a readiness to fight on the morrow.

But next morning in consultation they were very much at a loss, whether they should fight or not; because the Enemy had got the wind of them: and when the reasons on both sides were weigh'd and debated, at last they came to a resolution to fight both against the wind, and *Hanno* alone, rather than suffer him to unload his Vessels, and to bring the flower of their Land-forces with *Hamilcar* himself, the most terrible man of those times, into the Engagement: Therefore upon sight of the Enemies Fleet then directing their course for *Eryx*, in all haste he weigh'd Anchor; and the more to encourage his Men, tho he could not use his Foot, he caus'd himself to be carri'd into the Admiral Galley. The *Carthaginians* seeing their passage shut up, put themselves into order of Battel, intending to force their way through the Enemies. And the signal being given on both sides, the Battel began very furiously, *Q. Valerius* performing all the Duties of General, by reason of *C. Lutatius* his indisposition, which hindered him from commanding in his turn.

The fight did not last long, before 'twas plain which side would have the Victory; for the *Roman* Gallies being light, assaulted the Enemies that were slow, as they pleas'd themselves: Besides the *Romans* had now the advantage of them in all other respects. For they had amended upon better experience, whatever before had been inconvenient to them; their Gallies were built after the best form; whatever might hinder them in fight, was carefully removed; their Seamen were strong and expert in their business; and they had the flower of their Legions aboard their Fleet, all which must needs render them victorious. Contrariwise the *Carthaginians* Gallies were heavy; their Seamen but newly raised and unexperienc'd: For they never dream'd that the *Romans* durst attempt any thing again by Sea. So that as it must needs happen, the Victory in an Engagement, where there was so much odds, was soon determin'd. The *Carthaginians* lost a hundred and twenty Ships, whereof seventy with the men (amounting to near ten thousand) were taken, and the rest escap'd by flight to *Hieromefus*, the wind changing very conveniently for them in the very time of the engagement.

This is that noble Victory obtain'd over the *Carthaginians*, near the *Egatian* Isles, according to the account given by *Polybius*: For other Authors speak of seventy three Ships taken, a hundred twenty five sunk, thirty two thousand Men taken, and thirteen thousand kill'd. The booty was very great, not only in Provisions and Arms, but in Gold and Silver. The *Romans* lost only twelve Ships. It is reported that a light in the form of a Torch, was seen in the Heavens, from the beginning of the Engagement, which with its point threaten'd the *Punic* Fleet, a Prodigy shewing the event that succeeded. *Hanno* with all the Gallies remaining after the Battel, besides those that had escap'd to *Lilybeum*, returned to *Carthage*, where he paid for his misfortune with the loss of his Head. *C. Lutatius* the Consul having gone to the Army at *Lilybeum*, stay'd there till his wound was thoroughly cur'd, and in the mean while spent his time in reviewing the Ships and Men taken Prisoners, and in giving the necessary orders for the disposing of them: From thence they went to *Eryx*, and defeated *Hamilcar*, having kill'd two thousand *Carthaginians*.

The *Carthaginians* being inform'd of their great overthrow, wanted not courage for all this to renew the War, but money and Forces; for they could neither furnish the Army at *Eryx* with necessary Provisions, the *Romans* being Masters of the Sea; nor in case they should lose this Army, had they any other, either General or Army, wherein they durst confide. Forced then by these difficulties to despair, they sent to *Hamilcar*, empowering him to do whatever he judg'd most advantageous for the publick; and here he performed the part of an honest faithful person to his Country, as he had shewn himself before an excellent and a brave Commander in its service. For having considered all circumstances, when he saw that after all that he had done, there was no means left to preserve his People but a Peace; he sent Ambassadors to the Consul to treat concerning it; and the Consul was well enough pleas'd with the mention of a Peace; his annual Authority being almost at an end, he could not look for any greater glory, than that of ending the War: But to leave this as a legacy for his Successor, when he might appropriate it to himself, seem'd very indifereet and unadvisable; besides, he was mov'd by the known streights and necessities of the *Roman* People, and after such tedious continual labours, he judg'd the Common-wealth ought for some time to be

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refresh'd with Peace; and accordingly when the business had bin debated betwixt both parties, at last the Peace was concluded upon these Articles.

LXI.

- "That the Carthaginians should wholly quit Sicily.
- "That they should not make any War upon Hiero the Syracusan, or any of their Confederates.
- "That they should restore all the Prisoners gratis, as also the Defectors.
- "That they should pay twenty two hundred Eubæan Talents of Silver in twenty years in equal payments.
- "That the Confederates of both should be secured from either, by virtue of this Peace.
- "That neither should have any power to act, or build any Forts within the Precincts and Dominions of the other, or raise any Soldiers in the others Dominions.
- "That neither should admit the Allies of the other into his Alliance and Confederacy.

All which Articles had this proviso in the close: "That they were no further ratified than the Roman People should allow them. But that those who were incamp'd at Eryx, should deliver up their Arms: This point could not be gained, tho the Consul press'd it: For Hamilcar protested he would sooner see himself and his Country ruin'd, than submit to so great a disgrace; but yet he condescended to that Condition of paying eighteen denarii a man, for liberty to march out of Eryx.

LXII.

Then Ambassadors were sent to the Consul and the Carthaginians at Rome, to inform the Senate and People of the conditions the Peace was concluded upon: The People lik'd not the Peace, but sent ten Deputies to examine and consider the business, and when they return'd, they rais'd their Demands higher.

"That they should pay down presently a thousand Talents, and twenty two hundred more within ten years next ensuing.

"That they should not only depart from Sicily, but also from all the other Islands lying betwixt that and Italy.

"That the Carthaginians should not come in any Man of War into Italy, or any of the Islands belonging to the Roman Jurisdiction; nor raise any hier'd Soldiers from thence.

The Carthaginians, to obtain Peace submitted to all these propositions. Hamilcar presently resign'd up his Command before the Articles were solemnly ratified and sworn to; pass'd over to Lilybæum, and from thence to Carthage; a person, who both by his conduct and Valour had out-done all the Commanders that had had any hand in that War.

LXIII.

Thus ended that first Carthaginian War, which lasted twenty four years, being drawn in length by reason of many turns and revolutions, to the great damage of both the Parties, but especially of the Conquerour: For 'tis reported by such as took an account of the particular losses; that the Romans lost seven hundred five oar'd Gallies; whereas the Carthaginians had not lost above five hundred. An evident instance this of the Roman Fortitude, which could not be shaken by any ill success in Battel, nor by the most disastrous Casualties; but under all the toils of War, and with the disadvantage of a poor Treasury, not only encountered the utmost power of its Enemies, and the boistrous shocks of Fortune with an equal constancy, but at last rendred it self Vict'or over both. After this C. Lutatius Catulus, whole year was now expired, was continued in his place some time longer, that he might settle the Affairs of Sicily. One of the new Consuls also was sent thither, namely Q. Lutatius Cerco, Catulus his Brother the Colleague of A. Manlius. These two regulated the Province, and order'd things so well, as to take away all occasion of future Broils and Commotions, which might any way disturb the peace and tranquillity of that Government; and indeed they had but just cause to be jealous of those People, in whom some relics of restles and unquiet humours, after so great and universal a fermentation still remaining might break out again, and work up their turbulent Spirits to Rebellion; and therefore they took away all Arms from the Siculi, who had espous'd Hamilcar's interest, and from the Galls who had revolted from him. The Galls were ship'd away, and banish'd the Roman Territories, as well for other Villanies they had committed, as for their robbing and spoiling the Temple of Venus, when they were quarter'd upon Mount Eryx. The Town of Sicily had Taxes and Contributions assel'd upon them, according to a proportion; and the Island was made a Province, whither a Prætor was sent yearly from Rome.

LXIV.

Mean time the Carthaginian Ambassadors came to Rome, desiring that they might redeem their Men that were taken Prisoners; and they were all restor'd gratis, as many of them as were in publick custody; but those who were in the hands of private men, the Senate ordered to be ransom'd at a certain price: the greatest part of which money for their ransom, was afterwards paid out of the publick Treasury by an Order of the Senate. But sad calamities in the City, very much lessened the joy of the Roman People at that time: For now the River Tybur first overflowing its banks, filled all the lower parts of the City with the inundation, whole streets of Houses were over-thrown by the violence of the stream; and those which were not born away by the rapid torrent, fell down upon the waters returning into its channel; for the inundation lasting several days, had eaten through and decayed the Foundations.

LXV.

This calamity of Water was succeeded by a dreadful Conflagration which begun casually in the night, and having burnt down several parts of the City, destroyed a multitude of Men and Houses: Nor was its fury satisfied with consuming private habitations, but it likewise burnt down all the publick buildings round the Forum. Vesta's Temple at last was all on fire. Then L. Cæcilius the Chief Pontif behav'd himself suitably to his place; for seeing the Holy things in danger by the fire, he cast himself into the midst of the flames, exposing his own Life for the preservation of the Holy things, then deserted by the Vestal Nuns, and rescu'd by him: But this brave Person after his eyes had been quite burnt out, and one of his Arms half burnt, receiv'd besides the satisfaction of his mind for having done so nobly, a suitable reward from his Country, namely, that whenever he went to the Senate-house, he should ride thither in a Chariot; an Honour never granted to any man in Rome before, since its first foundation.

LXVI.

In the mean time Q. Lutatius the Consul with his Brother Catulus, and Q. Valerius the Pro-Prætor having settled Affairs in Sicily, and brought away the Army from thence was returned home. C. Lutatius Catulus, and Q. Valerius celebrated the Naval Triumphs assigned to them, the first on the second of October, and the latter on the fifth of the same Month. There hapned a very remarkable contrast betwixt the Generals, touching Valerius his Triumph: for when a Triumph had been unanimously voted to C. Lutatius, Valerius pleading, that he had signaliz'd himself as much as the other in that business, desir'd, that as he had bore his part of care and danger in the Action, he might also equally share in that Honour which was the reward of it. To which Catulus objected, That he who was commission'd with an inferior Authority,

thority, was not in the conferring of Honours to have equal considerations with a Superiour. At last the Controversie growing high betwixt them, Q. Valerius engag'd Catulus to lay in a Pledg for the trial of the business: whether or no he had contributed by his Conduct to the defeat of the Punic Fleet: whereupon Catulus engag'd him also to do the same. Atilius Calatinus was chosen Arbitrator in the business; who asking Valerius, "Whether, if any difference or debate had happen'd in a Council of War, whose Authority would have been decisive in the point, the Prætors or Consuls? As likewise, if they had had several Auspices, which should have been follow'd? And Valerius answering, That in both Cases the Consul had greater Power than the Prætor, Atilius Calatinus without hearing, what Catulus could say, determin'd the Cause in favour of him; because the Controversie seem'd to be concerning the Pre-eminence of Authority. But though Valerius was work'd in this reference, yet for the great proofs of his Valour shewn in that War he obtained a right to Triumph.

The Censors that year (Aurelius Cotta, and M. Fabius Buteo) performed the Lustration, and two hundred and sixty thousand men were polled: two Wards more, the Velina and Quirina being taken in, the number of the Wards was made up thirty five, which number was never after exceeded. And now all that part of Sicily that had been subject to the Carthaginians being subdued, and the Peace concluded, Affairs not onely ran in a smooth course, but the Public security seem'd established upon the firmest foundations. When all of a sudden, a War breaks out, whence no such thing could have been expected, which for some days kept all Italy in suspense with the terror of such an intestine commotion, and it was a matter of no less surprize to see how speedily it was ended. The Falisci (upon what grounds is not known) being incited to Rebel, provok'd the Roman Arms: But the Consuls sent out against them with the Legions reduc'd all this People, and ended the War in six days: yet in the first Engagement (for they speak of two) the Consuls came off with doubtful fortune; being routed by the Enemies Horse, though they had in the Battel defeated their Foot; but the last Battel was fought with such success, that they obtain'd the Victory, and oblig'd the Falisci to desire Peace after they had lost fifteen thousand men. When they surrender'd themselves to be in all points at the discretion of the Conquerours, their Arms, Houses, Household-goods, and half their Lands were confiscated; and their City, the strength whereof had encouraged them to Rebel, was removed from a high craggy Rock into a plain place. The Romans would have treated the Falisci upon their surrender more severely, meditating a sharp revenge against a People that had so often rebelled; but they became more moderate when Papirius (who had drawn the Articles of this Capitulation with his own hand by the Consuls appointment) told them, the Falisci had not put themselves under the Power, but protection of the Romans, which words were received with that Sacred Reverence that they resolv'd to lay no harder conditions upon them. On occasion of this War the year ended with the Triumphs of the Consuls. Lutatius triumph'd the first of March, and Manlius the fourth of the same Month.

LXVII.

## DECADE II. BOOK XX.

### Florus his Epitome of the Twentieth Book of Livy.

A Colony planted at Spoletum. A War first made upon the Ligurians [now the Genoeles] The Sardinians and Corsicans who had revolted, are subdued. Tutia a Vestal Nun condemn'd for Incest. War proclaimed with the Illyrians for killing an Ambassador, who being overcome, yield up themselves to the Roman Government. The number of Prætors encreas'd to four: The Gauls that dwelt beyond the Alps making an Incurfion into Italy, are cut to pieces; In which War the Romans are said to have had of their own Forces and their Allies three hundred thousand fighting Men. Then first of all the Roman Ensigns pass'd the River Po, where the Insubrian Gauls [or Lombards] after several defeats, submitted themselves. M. Claudius Marcellus the Consul, having with his own hand slain Viridomarus their General, and so obtain'd the Royal Spoils, being the third Man that had that Honour ever since Romulus's days. After this the Illyrians were subdued, and the Illyrians that had fallen into Rebellion, reduced. Upon a survey of the Roman Citizens there were found in all 270213. The Libertini [or Slaves Enfranchis'd] were cast into four Tribes by themselves, called Esquilina, Palatina, Suburrana, and Collina, whereas before they were intermingled with the rest. C. Flaminius the Censor, repaired the Highway called Flaminia, and built the great Circus or Theatre call'd also after his Name. Colonies are carried into the Territories lately taken from the Gauls, and planted at Placentia, and Cremona.

ITALY being again at Peace, the publick Luxury encreas'd together with their Empire and their Security. For, whereas till then Farce or Drolls had made the chief Entertainments of the Roman Stage; Livius Andronicus after the Grecian Mode, presented the people with Comedies and Tragedies, which were first acted C. Claudius Centho, and M. Sempronius Tuditanus being Consuls, at the public Sports. The same year likewise began another sort of Games, or Shows. For on the fourth of the Calends of May, the Floralia were instituted according to the Method prescribed in the Books of the Sibyls, to avert the blasting of Fruits, and all other products of the Earth which blossom at that time of the year. L. and M. Pollicius Malleolus two Brothers, both of them Ediles in the same year exhibited these Shows or Games, defraying the expences thereof out of Fines, which had been laid on those Grasiers that had fed their Cattel upon the Commons grounds. These two Brothers during their Magistracy, were remarkable also upon another account: because they caus'd the Hill afterwards call'd Publicius, to be levell'd and pav'd for the more commodious passage of Waggons that way into Mount Aventine; whereas before it was onely a hard unpassable Rock: as also because he built the Temple of Flora, near the great Cirque.

These



- II. These were the transactions at home. All things were very quiet abroad, only there were some suspicions of a War design'd by the *Gauls* and *Ligurians*: that these therefore were the Consuls Provinces, and consequently that the War with the *Gauls* began then; we have rather a conjecture than any certain account, there being no ancient Authors now left who can furnish us with an exact relation of those things; and as for the next year also, that there was no Peace we may venture to say, because *Janus* his Temple was not shut, but we are not able to discover in what places, or with what success such War was carried on; nor have we any more account of *C. Mamilius Turinus* and *Q. Valerius Falto's* Consulship, but that *Ennius* was born that year, that ingenious *Roman* Poet.
- III. The year following when *Tr. Sempronius Gracchus* and *P. Valerius Falto* were Consuls, both the Wars with the *Galls* broke out, and also the *Romans* at the same time first made invasion with an Army upon the *Ligurians*, a new Enemy. This Province fell to *Tr. Sempronius* his share. *P. Valerius* having set upon the *Galls* at first came off unfortunately, having lost thirty five hundred men; but in a second Battel he gave them a signal overthrow, wherein fourteen thousand *Galls* were slain, and two thousand taken: But the Consul was not allow'd to triumph, because of his losses in the former Battel, especially since that even the success obtain'd then, was rather to be attributed to the *Roman* fortune, than any good conduct of the Consuls: For when he had received intelligence that some succours were coming to him after the first Battel, he declar'd that rather than conquer by the assistance of another, he would perish with his whole Army: And in this freak he expos'd both himself and the Army under his command to great hazard. But *Tib. Gracchus* manag'd the War against the *Ligurians* with better conduct and success; for having routed the Enemy in Battel, he with his victorious Army walled a great part of *Liguria*: From *Liguria* he cross'd over into *Sardinia* and *Corfica*, and having brought from thence abundance of Prisoners, he gave occasion to that Proverb, where we say *The Sardinians are set to sale*, in a great glut of some mean paltry Commodities.
- IV. But to say the truth, the *Romans* in those days had a good opportunity, but no just pretension to possess *Sardinia* and *Corfica*. The *Carthaginians* after the Peace of *Sicily* being engag'd in a long War with their Mercenaries were reduc'd to extremity of danger, whence some others of their hired Soldiers who were in the Garrisons in *Sardinia*, taking heart, slew *Boftar* the *Punic* General, with all his men: They hang'd *Hanno* also another Commander sent from *Carthage* to quell and suppress them, having drawn his Army over to joyn with them in their Rebellion; and now having all over the Island put to the sword such as were of the *Punic* race, they make themselves masters of all the Forts in the Country, until at length upon a quarrel betwixt them and the *Sardi*, who at length expell'd them out of *Sardinia*, they betook themselves into *Italy*, where at last they effected what they could not do a little before whilst they were in *Sardinia*: For they had in vain invited the *Romans* before to seize into their hands that Island; but when they came to talk the matter personally, either by their importunity, or else by shewing more plainly the opportunities the *Romans* had of advancing themselves hereby, they prevail'd with the People to undertake this Voyage into *Sardinia*, for it is no common virtue to abstain from invading a Neighbour's Territories, when we may easily possess our selves of them: Nor can this inclination be long dissembled by the covetous and the ambitious.
- V. But it seems not improper in this place to enquire more particularly into the original of these things; for the *Romans* ever since the beginning of that War had zealously asserted the *Carthaginian* interest, to get themselves the credit and reputation of being obliging and good natur'd to their friends; and therefore they sent no aids to the Rebels, which the *Carthaginians* had desired them not to do; nor harboured the men of *Utica*, or any others that revolted from them: Their Merchants they order'd to carry Provisions to the *Carthaginians* out of *Italy* and *Sicily*; but forbade them to have any commerce with the Rebels: They further gave leave to the *Carthaginians* to raise Soldiers in *Italy* for that War: Moreover they sent Ambassadors to accommodate and compose their differences, tho it took no effect. But a little before this, they were like to differ themselves with the *Carthaginians* about some *Italians*, who carrying Provisions to sell to the Enemy, were taken and imprisoned by the *Carthaginians*.
- VI. They had now got about five hundred of this sort of People in custody, and it was reported that they had kill'd several more, and thrown them into the Sea, the better to keep their cruelty undiscover'd; which things the *Romans* took so heinously, that immediately they threaten'd them with War. But the *Carthaginians* having sent Ambassadors to restore as many as were kept Prisoners at *Carthage*, to pacify the *Roman* People, that the rest of the *Carthaginians* that were taken Prisoners in the *Sicilian* War, were restor'd without ransom. But Ambition at last got the ascendant over them, and out of policy they thought it high time to pull down a People, with whom they remembered they had fought for twenty four years with very doubtful fortune, and also foresaw that they must do so again, unless they took care in time to prevent it. Wherefore seeing the *Carthaginians* were loth to part with *Sardinia*, and having rid their hands of the Mercenaries, were now designing to prosecute the Rebels farther; the *Romans* took hold of this opportunity, and resolv'd to enter upon a War with them, "unless they laid down their Arms, which in truth they had taken against the *Romans*, tho they pretended it was done against the Rebels. So that at last the *Carthaginians* who were loth to engage in a War of this nature at such a time, not only quitted *Sardinia* to the *Romans*, but compounded with them to pay twelve hundred Talents over and above the former sum; a thing which ever after so disgust'd and provoked them, that *Hannibal's* War seems to have been undertaken purely in revenge for these hard measures, and the deep resentment which *Hannibal* the chief Author of the second *Punic* War ever had against the *Romans*, took its rise from no other source but this. But however these things happened afterwards.
- VII. But the new Consuls *L. Cornelius Lentulus Caudinus*, and *Q. Fulvius Flaccus* had then the *Gauls* inhabiting on this side the *Po* given them for their Province. That a Colony was this year brought to *Valentia*, tho some report it, yet the thing is uncertain, unless it be another *Valentia* besides *Vibo*, where a Colony was planted fifty years after in the Consulship of *L. Quintus Flaminius*, and *Cn. Domitius Ahenobarbus*, which we may believe upon better authority. Now the Consuls in the Territory of the *Gauls*, whilst they kept their Forces together, had a very prosperous expedition of it: But when out of the desire to pillage and waste more of the Country, they divided their Armies; the Enemy attack'd *Q. Fulvius* his Camp by night, and almost took it. But the *Gauls* having gone off without any success in this attempt, return'd a little while after with greater terror and more numerous Forces to the War. For the several Princes of the *Boii* having under-hand concert'd their measures together, called a numerous multitude of the *Gauls* inhabiting beyond the *Alps*, to joyn with them in an Alliance against the *Romans*.

Mean

Mean while *L. Lentulus* the Consul, who was march'd off to the borders of *Liguria*, overcame the *Ligurians* in a set Battel, for which a Triumph was decreed to him; which he performed upon the Intercalar Ides. There are Authors who tell us, that those Consuls first advanc'd the *Roman* Banners beyond the *Po*, and that in several Battels twenty four thousand *Ligurians*, and *Insulbrian* *Gauls* had been kill'd, and five thousand taken Prisoners. But to me it seems more probable that the *Romans* first pass'd the *Po* in that general Rising of the *Gauls*, which followed but a little after, and that the *Insulbrians* were invaded first in their own Country.

About the same time Ambassadors were sent to *Ptolemy* King of *Egypt* to proffer him Aid in his Wars against *Antiochus* and the *Syrians*. The King returned them thanks, but as for their assistance he said he did not want it, because they had already agreed upon Articles of Peace. Not long after much to the satisfaction of the People, *Hiero* King of *Syracuse* arriv'd at *Rome*, and was received with all the respect that was due to an Ally; one that had shewn himself their hearty Friend, and shar'd with them in their great Victory. He came to *Rome* to see certain Games, that were design'd to be celebrated the year following. For the third Secular Games according to some Authors were celebrated during the Consulships of *P. Cornelius Lentulus Caudinus*, and *C. Licinius Varus*; as we have hinted before. *M. Aemilius*, and *Livius Salinator* were appointed as Stewards to prepare all things for the setting out of these Games.

In the mean time the Princes of the *Boii*, being back'd and strengthen'd with numerous Troops of Auxiliaries of the *Transalpine* *Gauls*, sent to the Consuls to demand, "That the Town and Territory of *Ariminum* should be restor'd to them: for to these places they pretended an indisputable Right and Title, "which if not comply'd with, they threaten'd the *Romans* with a bloody and most destructive War: The Consuls had not as yet got their Forces together; so that fearing to expose a handful of Men to so much hazard, and yet unable to grant the *Gauls* their demands, they made Answer, That if they had any business, they should send their Ambassadors to the Senate.

The *Gauls* lik'd this Proposition well enough, and a cessation of Arms was concluded betwixt both till the Ambassadors were return'd. When the Ambassadors came to *Rome*, the Senate gave them an Answer contrary to their expectations: and withal made great preparations to oppose this inundation which afterwards came to nothing: Fortune alone baffling them without the effusion of any *Roman* blood. For whilst the Ambassadors were going homewards, the *Boii* and the *Transalpine* *Gauls* quarrell'd among themselves, upon this account: The *Transalpine* Army unknown to the *Boii* march'd to *Ariminum*, which it was suspected they did with a design to possess themselves of that place: and hereupon they fell out, and having kill'd *Ates* and *Galatus* their Kings, laying treachery to their charge, they endeavour'd by force of Arms to expel these Aliens out of their Country. Hereupon they fought very desperately; and when they had weaken'd and broken one another sufficiently, the *Transalpine* *Gauls* return'd home; and the *Romans* grant'd Peace to the *Boii*, having first taken some part of their Country from them.

This War being so soon ended, the Consuls departed into *Liguria*, where *P. Lentulus* defeated all the Enemies Forces that met him; and marching with his Army through their Country took some Cattles by storm, and others upon surrender. And now *C. Licinius* designing to cross over into *Corfica*, and being not provided with Ships enough to carry over the whole Army at once, sent *M. Claudius Glycias* with part of the Forces before, who seeing the *Corfi* terrified at his arrival, and forgetting his Character and place, and the duty he owed to his Consul, makes a Composition with the *Corfi* in his own name upon certain Articles, intending to ingross to himself all the honour of having reduc'd the Island; but *Varus* arriving with the rest of the Army, though the *Corfi* appeal'd to their Peace made with *Claudius*, never ceas'd his Attacks upon them, till he had quite subdu'd them. The Senate to free their people from the reproach of having falsify'd their faith, sentenc'd the Author of that dishonourable Peace to be deliver'd up to the *Corfi*; and when he was not receiv'd by them, they order'd that he should be executed in Prison.

*L. Cornelius Lentulus Caudinus*, and *Q. Lutatius Cerco* were Censors that year, but they did not perform the Lustration, because *Q. Cerco* died in his Office. Though *M. Claudius* had been offer'd to be deliver'd to the *Corfi*, and had been afterwards punish'd, yet these *Barbarians* could not be satisfied that the *Romans* had any just cause afterwards to invade them: Wherefore this People, who were still uneasy and discontented for these injuries, were ready enough to rise again in Arms; when they saw their Neighbours the *Sardi* leading them the way. For some secret Promises of the *Carthaginians* had wheedled the *Sardi* to raise a Rebellion, those *Barbarians* being prone enough to do so, who neither hated their old Masters, nor lov'd their new ones over-much.

When this news came to *Rome*, it fill'd all people with fear and indignation, not for the loss of *Sardinia*, which they valued not so much, but because a War with *Carthage* was like to break out again. But because they thought it would prove the easier, the sooner it was begun, whilst the *Carthaginians* as yet had not recovered fully their former strength since the late Wars, they determin'd to fall to the business roundly, and immediately to declare War with *Carthage*: But the *Carthaginians*, who at this juncture were willing to submit to any terms rather than quarrel with the *Romans*, were so terrified at this news, that they dispatch'd several Ambassadors to *Rome* to treat for a continuation of the Peace; but these not prevailing in the business, they sent ten of their principal Men to beg in terms of the greatest submission, that they might enjoy the Peace which was before concluded. But nothing would prevail with this angry and jealous People, till one *Hanno* the youngest of the Ambassadors, a person of an undaunted Spirit and a bold Addressor, spake thus: "Ye *Romans*, if you are resolv'd not to grant us that Peace, which we did not buy at your hands for one or two years, but for ever: restore us again *Sardinia* and *Sicily* the price thereof: for in private Contracts, when a bargain is broken, no honest Man will require his Commodities again, without restoring the Money paid for the same. At which the *Romans* for shame, left they might seem to make War upon unjust grounds, dismissed the Ambassadors with a better Answer. So that now *C. Atilius Bulbus* one of the Consuls, who bore this Office a second time, continued in *Italy*: but *Tr. Manlius Torquatus*, to whose lot *Sardinia* fell, went to his Province; where having at several times defeated the Enemy, he reduced the whole Island, and subdu'd the *Sardi*: for which Victories he triumph'd before the sixth or the Ides of *March*.

These things done, and no Enemy appearing, the *Romans* had repose from Arms, which occasioned the shutting of *Janus* his Temple an unusual Spectacle to the warlike City; for this sign of Peace had not been seen since *Numa's* days, very near four hundred and forty years before. For which reason, I think the *Romans* very unhappy, because that after such toils and labours, they could never reap the fruits of them: for whereas wife Men wage War only for the sake of Peace; this City after so many Wars ended successfully,

fully could not often obtain Peace, and could never keep it long. And now within a few months after they were alarm'd again, and forc'd to part with that Peace, the benefits whereof they had but just tasted for both the newly conquer'd *Sardi* began to shake off the yoke, and some like designs of the *Corfi* were discover'd, and at the same time in *Italy* it self the *Ligurians* made an insurrection.

XV. Hereupon *L. Posthumus Albinus* and *Sp. Carvilius Maximus* the Consuls were commanded to raise Forces, which being divided into three parts to hinder the Enemy from joining, and assisting one another, *L. Posthumus* marched against the *Ligurians*, *Sp. Carvilius* against the *Corfi*, and *P. Cornelius* went to *Sardinia*; the unwholom air of which Isle caus'd a Plague in the Army, whereof a great number of men, and the *Prætor* himself died, which made the *Sardi* very high and stout, till *Sp. Carvilius* the Consul entering the Island, gave them a signal overthrow, and so cool'd their courage; for which action a Triumph was decreed to him, which was celebrated on the first of *April*. Against the *Ligurians* also the Consul with his Consular Army had good success: While at *Rome* *Tutia* the vestal Virgin being condemn'd for Incest, which was the more scandalous because she had done it with a Slave, kill'd her self.

XVI. *C. Atilius Bulbus*, and *A. Posthumus Albinus* being afterwards Censors, perform'd the Fortieth Lustration. That there were fewer men poll'd this time than before (tho I find no certain number deliver'd) may hence be gather'd, because the Censors the better to stock the Town with People, took an Oath of every man, that he would marry to get Children. This year *Cn. Nevius* of *Capua*, who had been a Soldier in the first *Punic* War, acted Plays first upon the Stage; mean time the *Ligurians* and *Sardi* again in rebellion, were assign'd Provinces to the new Consuls. The *Ligurian* War fell to *Q. Fabius Maximus Verrucosus*, and the *Sardinian* to *M. Pomponius Matro*: Upon some jealousies, that these Tumults and Rebellions were fomented by the *Carthaginians*, who might privately wheedle the gross understandings of these barbarous People to revolt; Ambassadors were dispatch'd to *Carthage*, with strict Orders from the Senate, that they should demand the Tribute of the *Carthaginians*, and also command them not to meddle with any of the Islands belonging to the *Roman* Jurisdiction, adding threats of War, if they would not comply.

XVII. The *Carthaginians* had now taken heart again after their late Calamity, especially by the diligence and conduct of *Hannibal*, who not only reduc'd all those People of *Africa*, that had revolted, but also enlarg'd the bounds of the *Carthaginian* Territories, by his great conquests in *Spain*; therefore they carried it high with the Ambassadors, and answer'd them in very huffing language: For when the Ambassadors as they were commanded, had propos'd to them War or Peace, chuse which they would; they cried out they would chuse neither, but that the Ambassadors should leave them which they pleas'd, and they would willingly accept of it; from whence the piques and animosities betwixt the two Nations were more enflamed, but neither as yet being willing to begin the War, a kind of friendship was in shew maintain'd betwixt them, not that they lov'd one another heartily, but however they abstain'd from open Hostilities. Both the Consuls afterwards upon their return to *Rome*, when they had given an account of their Exploits, obtain'd a Triumph: *Q. Fabius* had kill'd many of the *Ligurians* in battel, and forc'd the rest to keep within the *Alpine* Countries, and also secur'd the neighbouring Coasts of *Italy* from their incursions; so that he triumph'd before the first of *February* over the *Ligurians*. *M. Pomponius* afterwards held a Triumph for conquering the *Sardi*, upon the Ides of *March*.

XVIII. Notwithstanding all this, the *Sardi* would not give over, but rather irritated than broken by their disasters; they rais'd a new Rebellion with greater vigour than before. Therefore both the Consuls *M. Aemilius Lepidus*, and *M. Publicius Malleolus* being sent into *Sardinia*, got a great deal of booty out of that Island: which afterwards when they had pass'd over to *Corfica*, was all taken away from them by the *Corfi*. There arose at home likewise great broils and disturbances at that time, whilst *C. Flaminius* Tribune of the Commons, endeavour'd to pass an *Agrarian* Law. "That the *Picene* and *Gallie* Country once belonging to the *Galli Senones* might be divided betwixt the People. The Senate oppos'd this design, using both persuasions and menaces to the Tribune thereupon; and at last order'd the Consuls to levy Forces for the defence of the Commonwealth. But *C. Flaminius* persist'd still in his resolutions, being neither to be wrought upon by force nor intricacies, tho his Father too had advis'd him to yeild to the Senate, and not be accounted the Author of a Sedition.

XIX. But he continuing still the same, call'd an Assembly of the People, before whom he began to read this Law; upon which his Father *Flaminius* in great rage came to the *Rostra*, and pull'd down his Son with his own hands, and then was shewn a notable instance of obedience and veneration, which men in those days acknowledg'd as due to that Authority Fathers had over their Children: For he, who had condemn'd the displeasure and severe menaces of the Senate, suffer'd himself to be pull'd down from the *Rostra* by the hand of one old man, and that too when he was in the heat of the action, the *Roman* People looking on, to whom nothing could be more grateful, than the enacting of this Law. Nor ought the modesty of the Assembly to be pass'd by without notice, who tho they saw all their hopes dash'd and disappointed by the Tribunes departure, yet never so much as mutter'd to shew their dislike of the thing. The Law was thus stay'd off for a while, rather than quite avoided; whilst *C. Carvilius* another Tribune back'd his Colleague, which was the beginning of corrupting the Commons, and of the *Gallie* War, which arose eight years after the division of those Lands.

XX. Then *M. Pomponius Matro* and *C. Papirius Mæso* being Consuls, went into their several Provinces; the one to *Sardinia*, and the other to *Corfica*, in both which places the Enemy was retir'd into the Mountains and Woods, defending themselves more by the natural strength of those places, than by Arms. *M. Pomponius* therefore seeing it was a harder task to find, than to conquer the barbarous People, caus'd some Hounds to be brought from *Italy*, to hunt them like wild Beasts out of their covets and lurking holes. *C. Papirius* having driven the *Corfi* from the Plains, pursu'd them to the Mountains, where they were in great labour and danger, and many of the Soldiers perish'd either with thirst, or by the incursion of the Enemies; till having found some water and refresh'd the Army, they forc'd the *Corfi* now dreading a Battel, to surrender themselves. Whilst the Consuls are engag'd in these affairs, the Dictator created for that end, call'd the Assemblies, *C. Duilius* was the Man, and he chose *C. Aurelius* for his Lieutenant: The Censors that year were *Tit. Manlius Torquatus*, and *Q. Fulvius Flaccus*; but these being not return'd according to Law, resign'd. Authors do fix upon this year the beginning of a new sort of Practice, worth our while to mention. The *Romans* had as yet no Divorces us'd among them since the first foundation of that State. *Sp. Carvilius Roga* was the first who divorc'd himself from his Wife, because she bare him no Children, having been sworn by the Censors that he would marry a Wife to get Children by her. The People were mightily disgusted, not only because the thing was new, but very heinous, judging it cruelty and injustice, for men

upon

upon any account whatever to be divorc'd from their Wives, which were to enjoy an inseparable Union and Society with their Husbands during their lives: and therefore *SP. Carvilius* was hated for the thing, though he much against his will, to comply with some Friends of his had divorc'd himself from a Wife, with which he agreed well enough, and whom he loved intirely. After which time there happened more Quillets in the Laws touching Espousals, and more wrangling and Suits in the Courts of Judicature; so many new Cautions being found out concerning Marriage, which Niceties were wholly useless, before there were any Divorces.

The same year also another Custom obtain'd, relating to the Honours the Generals received. *C. Papirius* at the end of his Consulship triumphed over the *Corfi* upon Mount *Albano* the fifth of *March*. The reason of which was this: he had quite subdued *Corfica*, and therefore challeng'd a Triumph, but could not obtain it from the Senate: his Example was afterwards taken up by several others: so that as often as a Triumph was denied them, they triumphed upon Mount *Albano*. The same Person afterwards saw the Shows with a Crown of Myrtle on his Head, having chosen that Tree to make his Chaplet of, because he had conquer'd the *Corfi* in a Field where Myrtles grew. *Sardinia* and *Corfica* being now quieted, the *Ligurians* remained still to conquer, against whom the Consuls *M. Aemilius Barbula*, and *M. Junius Pera* Arms, enter'd their Country; and having received intelligence by the way that the *Gauls* design'd to take fear'd at *Rome*, left a People delighting in War, and Cholerick, should make some new Effort against the *Romans*. Wherefore a Proclamation was issued out by the State, forbidding all persons to lend any Money to the *Gauls*: because both the *Boii* and the other *Gauls* got a great deal of Money, as by several other ways, especially by selling of Slaves: and it was suspected, that they would employ it in the War against the *Romans*. They being enrag'd hereat, and the more embolden'd upon hearing that the Consuls were at present engag'd in the *Ligurian* War, held Consultations under-hand how to attack the City, whilst the *Roman* Armies were kept abroad in this long Expedition. But being terrified at the Consuls arrival, they received the *Romans* in an amicable manner, pretending the greatest submission to them, because they were not yet in a capacity to oppose them. The Consuls also being well enough contented to have smother'd the War, pretended they were come that way only that they might the more commodiously march their Forces through the *Gallie* Countries into *Liguria*.

The Censors the former year being illegally return'd had resign'd their Office: Upon which *Q. Fabius Maximus Verrucosus*, and *M. Sempronius Tritidatus* this year perform'd the Lustration, being the one and fortieth. Affairs passing thus in *Italy*, and in the City, a War brake out with the *Illyrians*, upon this occasion. The *Illyrians* a fierce sort of People, greedy of prey, were much addicted to Piracy; and they had taken several *Italian* Merchants sailing from the Port of *Brundisium*, some of whom they had killed: Complaints thereupon were made to the Senate, which among other businels at first were not much heeded: but at last, when these Pirates became bolder by their impunity, and that complaints were often made of them, it was resolv'd that Ambassadors should be dispatch'd to demand satisfaction of them, as also to intercede in behalf of the *Issians*, who had lately sworn fealty, and done Homage to the *Romans*. Now these were a People inhabiting an Isle in the *Ionian* Sea, whom the *Illyrians* molested and hated for revolting.

*C. and L. Coruncanius* were sent upon this Embassy. Whilst these two were upon their Journey, *Agron* Son of *Pleuratus* King of those *Illyrians* who were called *Ardyei*, to whom they were sent, was taken ill, and died: having left a Son yet a Minor (whose name was *Pinnes*;) and *Tenta* his Mother-in-law assisted by her Council, managed the Government. This being a haughty passionate Woman, elated with prosperity, after she had heard the *Roman* Ambassadors in a slighting manner, told them: "That she would take care, that the *Romans* should not receive any public damage from the *Illyrians*; but to forb'd her private Subjects from taking what Prizes they could by Sea, was a thing unusual with the Kings of *Illyria*. At which words the younger *Coruncanius* was much urg'd, and using an unseasonable rather than an unjust liberty of Speech, said, "Ay, but *Tenta* you must know, it is usual with the *Romans* publicly to revenge injuries done privately, and to help the distressed, and we will endeavour by the blessing of God to compell you forthwith to alter and amend these Methods of your Government. Which words so enrag'd the Woman, that though she dissembled the matter for the present, yet when the Ambassadors were gone, she sent some *Ruffians* after them, by whom the younger *Coruncanius* and some others of his Retinue were killed: the rest being clapp'd in Prison, and the Captains of the Ships burnt. The *Issian* Ambassadors also, by name *Caleporus*, was kill'd by the same Assassins.

This news no sooner came to *Rome*, but *T. Coruncanius* and *P. Junius* had Statues three foot high erected in memory of them: and War was declared against *Tenta* and the *Illyrians*. *Tenta* being no ways capable of the Regency, had neither by reason, or experience learn'd to correct the Vices and Levities incident to her Sex, but upon the approach of danger, appears as cowardous and sneaking, as she had before shewed her self rash and precipitous. Therefore hearing the *Romans* prepared to make War against her, she sent to acquaint them, that she was willing to restore all the Men that were alive: but for the rest, who had been murder'd without her consent, she could not answer for them. This Embassy, though it made but a small Attonement for so great an offence, yet because it gave some hopes of composing this quarrel without a War, the *Romans* desired no further satisfaction in the business, but that the *Ruffians*, who had murder'd the Ambassadors, should be delivered to them to be punished. The Woman thinking the storm blown over, which had so affrighted her, through levity of mind became again bold and insolent, and declared that she would not deliver up one man; and accordingly to make good these arrogant Expressions by her Actions, presently sent an Army to besiege *Issa*.

The *Romans* now resolv'ing not to dally any longer, dispatch'd the two Consuls, *Lucius Posthumus Albinus*, and *Cn. Fulvius Centumalus* with Forces by Land and Sea against the *Illyrians*. *Cn. Fulvius* commanded the Fleet consisting of two hundred Gallies, and *L. Posthumus* the Legions. Then again, *Tenta* being affraid sent *Demetrius Pharius* to desire Peace of the Consuls: who consented to a cessation of Arms, upon condition, that the *Illyrians* should quit *Coreyra*, of which they had lately possess'd themselves; of which when the *Romans* went to take possession, *Tenta* fancying her self again out of the reach of danger, falls afresh to her former practices, and sends her Forces to besiege *Dyrachium* and *Apollonia*. Others relate, "That *Coreyra* was not surrendered with *Tenta's* consent, but purely by *Demetrius* his means, who knowing, that *Tenta* was minded to charge him with Treason, thought to ingratiate with the *Romans*, and so shelter himself against her malice, by betraying that Garrison which she commanded. This Garrison

of the *Illyrians* being surrendered, the *Coreyreans* all with general consent put themselves under the *Roman* protection, judging there was no other means left to secure them against the injuries of the *Illyrians*, but making this potent and renowned people the Guardians of their State.

XXVIII. From *Coreyra* the Consul took his course with the Fleet to *Apollonia*: and *L. Posthumus* came thither also, having with the Land-forces passed over from *Brundisium*. He had with him about 20000 Foot and 2000 Horse. The *Apollonians* willingly received the *Romans*, and put themselves under their protection. This place being delivered, they presently went to *Dyrrachium* which the *Romans* immediately became Masters of; the *Illyrians* who had laid Siege to the place, running away when they heard the Army was coming. With the same victorious success the *Ardeians* were also brought in subjection to the *Romans*; and Ambassadors of several Nations came from the farthest parts of *Illyria* promising to submit themselves to them, if they would receive them into their protection; among which were the *Parthini*, and *Atintanes*. *Demetrius Pharius* had a great hand in all these matters, who being carried about with the Consul, by magnifying the *Roman* Courage and Faith, and exposing the temerity and inconstancy of *Tenta* brought several People to embrace the *Roman* Interest, partly by his counsel and persuasion, and partly by his Authority.

XXIX. This done, they proceeded to *Issa*: and in their Voyage making descents upon the Coasts took several Towns very easily; but *Nutria* was bravely defended by the *Illyrians*, and the Victory was here dearly bought, several Colonels and the Treasurer of the Army being lost in the Action. Which losses were however ballanc'd by the *Romans*, taking twenty Vessels of the Enemies, as they were coming laden with Money and booty from *Peloponnesus*. As soon as they were arrived before *Issa*: the *Barbarians*, as it happen'd at *Dyrrachium*, rais'd the Siege, and fled into several parts of the County, all of them besides the *Pharians*, who for *Demetrius* his sake, a Native of that County, and once Governour thereof under *Agrom*, were permitted to enjoy their Estates and Liberties under the *Roman* protection. *Tenta* hearing these things was strangely confounded in her thoughts, whilst hopes and fear alternately seiz'd her mind; for as the loss of so many Towns, the wasting of the Maritime Countries, and the defeat of her Forces in every place struck a great terror into her; so likewise she took heart again, reflecting on the Valour of the *Nutrians*, and the season of the year drawing to Winter, when those Seas would be rough, upon which therefore she thought the *Romans* would be forced to make homewards the sooner. Therefore with a small Retinue, she retir'd to *Rhizon* a Town lying upon a River of the same name: intending there to wait whatever success should befall her.

XXX. The Methods taken by the Consuls served to nurse in her these vain conceits: for they having committed the best part of the Countries they had conquer'd to the care of *Demetrius*, carried away both the Fleet and the Army to *Dyrrachium*. But when she heard that *L. Posthumus* was left with forty Ships behind, and had levied Forces out of the neighbouring Cities for the defence of the *Ardeis*, and other *Illyrians* Friends to the *Romans*: then *Tenta* despairing of success, began seriously to think of concluding a Peace upon any conditions: and accordingly at the beginning of the Spring, she sent her Ambassadors to *Rome* to excuse the matter, as if all that passed had been done by *Agrom's* Command, the reputation of whose Actions she was compelled to maintain. The *Romans* hereupon made a Peace, not with *Tenta*, who had no right to it, and who had deserv'd so ill at their hands, but with *Pimneus Agrom's* Son, and that upon these Conditions, "That he should pay the Tribute impos'd upon him, quit all *Illyria* except some few places: and not sail beyond *Lissus* with above two Vessels and those without Arms. By this Treaty *Coreyra*, *Pharus*, *Issa*, *Dyrrachium* and the *Atintanes* became subject to the *Romans*: the rest which had been under *Agrom's* Command, was left to *Pimneus*. *Tenta* either for fear, or shame, or else because the *Romans* commanded her, quitted the administration of the Government; which *Demetrius Pharius* undertook as Protector to the King.

XXXI. Thus at last the differences with the *Illyrians* determin'd: and the bounds of the *Roman* Empire were extended to the frontiers of *Greece*. Mean while the Commonwealth was threaten'd with some danger on the other side: the *Gauls* preparing for War, and the *Carthaginians* being arriv'd to considerable Power in *Spain*, whose growth and advancement, in all mens opinion might prove of dangerous consequence to the *Romans*. *Hafdrubal* the Son-in-law, and Successor of *Hamilcar*, having revenged his Father's death, brought several Nations under subjection to the *Carthaginians*, partly by his Arms, and partly by his Policy and Eloquence, having also built another *Carthage* in *Spain*, (which was called the new *Carthage*) in a Bay of the Sea near a large commodious Haven.

XXXII. But the danger from the *Gauls* being nearer home, hinder'd the *Romans* from making War with the *Carthaginians*. All they could do at present was to stop the course of their fortune by tying them up to Articles, which might set bounds to their growing Empire. Ambassadors therefore were sent to *Carthage* as also to *Hafdrubal* to enter into Articles with them, whereby they were engaged not to pass the *Riber Iberus*: and not to invade the *Saguntines*, but leave them to the enjoyment of their Laws and Liberties. These things were done that year, wherein *Sp. Carvilius Maximus*, and *Q. Fabius Maximus Verrucosus* were both of them again Consuls. About the same time *L. Posthumus* the Proconsul, who had winter'd in *Illyria*, sent Ambassadors from *Coreyra* to the *Aetolians* and *Acheans*, to present them with a Memorial of all the transactions in *Illyria*, as namely for what reasons that War had been first undertaken, how carried on, and upon what conditions it was at last concluded; the Ambassadors were received with abundance of Civilities and Respects: because those Nations, and the rest of the *Grecians* also, perfectly hated the very name of the *Illyrians*, for those continual Robberies they had made under *Agrom* and *Tenta*. When this was reported at *Rome*, the Senate approv'd what the Proconsul had done, as just and laudable, and thereupon decreed a second Embassy, which should go to the *Corinthians* and *Athenians* in the name of the State, to notify to them the *Roman* Peoples affection and kindness to the *Grecians*, and their moderation towards all Men: which got the *Romans* a great deal of love in those parts; and the *Corinthians* pass'd a Decree immediately in honour of them, whereby they were made free of the *Isthmian* Games, one of the four Solemn Exercises of *Greece*.

XXXIII. Besides, the *Romans* benefits to *Apollonia*, and other *Greek* Towns, they looked on themselves principally oblig'd to the *Romans* for their kindness in restoring liberty to the *Coreyreans* a Colony of the *Corinthians*. The *Athenians* also having embraced the *Roman* Alliance, decreed, that they should be made free of *Athens*, and of the most Sacred Mysteries of *Ceres*. *Fulvius* the Proconsul in the mean while held a Naval Triumph over the *Illyrians*: and having led those of the principal note among the *Illyrians* in the Solemnity, he headed them. This was the first Triumph over the *Illyrians*.

The

The next year *P. Valerius Flaccus*, and *M. Atilius Regulus* being Consuls, the number of the *Prætors* was doubled, and four were made, that they might have two to send into the Provinces of *Sicily* and *Sardinia*; of these *M. Valerius* had *Sardinia* and its Appendage *Corfica* allotted to his share, and *C. Flaminius* had *Sicily*. At that time People were in great fear of a War with the *Galls*, which the *Boii* and *Insubres* not only between themselves, but together with other *Transalpine* Nations, were said to have in agitation; for which purpose they had levied great Forces consisting of the *Gefata* a *Gallie* People, so called from a particular sort of Arms peculiar to them.

Therefore now besides the usual Expedients, they had recourse to other means for preventing this danger, which with severe Judges nothing could excuse, but the great affection men have for their Country, upon whose account they might be allow'd to act something otherwise unwarrantable. For besides other dangers threatening the State by divine Prodigies, and an Invasion from the Enemy, it was also found in the *Sibylline* Prophecies, that the *Gauls* and *Greeks* were to possess themselves of the City: Now to fulfil this Prediction and avert its dire effects, this slight and Artifice was then practis'd. *M. Valerius Messalla*, and *L. Apustius Tullus* being Consuls, by an order of the Pontiffs two *Gauls*, a Man and a Woman, and as many *Greeks* were buried alive in the midst of the Beast-market: that so holding part of the Town, they might seem to have complicated that Prophecie.

But this year, among other matters of lesser moment was spent in preparations for the *Gallie* War now drawing on, incredible numbers of Soldiers were rais'd for this War, all *Italy* joyning with the *Romans*. *Q. Fabius* the Historian, who liv'd about this time, says of the *Romans*, that they had eight hundred thousand Men compleat in this War, the *Romans* and *Campansians* making two hundred forty eight thousand Foot, and twenty six thousand six hundred Horse; the rest of this numerous Army was compos'd of the other *Italians*. The *Veneri* and *Cenomani* also aided the *Romans* with twenty thousand men, who were order'd to make incursions upon their Neighbours the *Boii*, that so they might be oblig'd to act defensively in their own Country, and not be in a capacity to join the Enemies: since all the endeavours the *Roman* Ambassadors us'd to reclaim them from their attempts, prov'd ineffectual; the *Veneri* and *Cenomani* being persuaded to enter into an Alliance with the *Romans*, the *Boii* and *Insubrians* persisted in their hostile designs. But yet their Forces were lessen'd, because their Kings durst not bring all the People, but were oblig'd to leave a considerable number for the defence of their Country. With the rest of their Forces being fifty thousand Foot and twenty thousand Horse, they attempted to pass through *Hetruria*.

In the mean while *L. Aemilius Papus*, and *C. Atilius* being Consuls obtained *Sardinia*, *Ariminum*, and its neighbouring Country *Gaul* for their Provinces: for the *Sardi* dissatisfied with the daily fight of a *Roman* Pretor and his Mace, rebelled again: but *C. Atilius* quell'd them very easily. *L. Aemilius* had a harder task of it with the *Gauls* now marching towards *Rome*, having forced their passage through *Hetruria*. The Governour of that Province seeing he could not stop their passage, made after and overtook them about *Clusium*, where towards Sun-setting he pitch'd his Camp near the Enemies. The *Gauls* to entice the *Romans* to a Battel, having laid the Plot before-hand, in the Night march'd with all their Foot to a Town called *Fesula*: having left their Horse behind them, who were order'd at break of Day to shew themselves only to the Enemy; and when they had so done, immediately to retreat to the Foot, who by that time were to post themselves in a place fit to receive the Horse, and whence they might surprize the Enemies.

The *Romans* deceiv'd by this Stratagem, went in close pursuit of the Horse, as if they really fled before them: and continued following them to *Fesula* where a Body of fresh Men lay posted in Battalia to receive them, when they were tir'd with the pursuit, and now reduc'd to such a non-plus, as it happens in such accidents, that they knew not what course to take. All that remain'd in their power to do, was to sell their lives as dear as they could, and either by their Swords to win the glory of the Day, or else to die in the bed of Honour. But the *Gauls* besides other things, over-match'd them in point of number: so that with their vast Forces they easily overcame them, having killed above six thousand upon the Spot; the rest fled: the *Gauls* attempted to take a certain Hill fortified with Rocks, which the greatest part fled to from the Battel; but finding themselves tir'd with marching all the Night, and fighting that day they went away to take some refreshment, leaving a Body of Horse to beset that Hill, which they made no question but would be taken the next day either by force, or surrender. In this nick of time *Aimilius* the Consul arriv'd there by good fortune, which the *Romans* might wish, but could not have hop'd for. For at the same time the *Gauls* marching forwards, the Consul went to *Ariminum* to cover and defend the Countries bordering on the *Adriatic* Sea: but when he received intelligence that the *Gauls* were coming towards *Rome*, making long marches from *Ariminum*, by lucky hit he arriv'd in that place: and encamped at a little distance from the Enemies.

The besieg'd on the Hill by the fire seen on that side, guessing rightly that the *Roman* Army was come, sent out some Men without Arms, the better to pass the Enemies Sentinels undiscover'd, by whom the Consul understanding the state of Affairs, in the greatest haste the time would allow, went before with the Cavalry to the Hill, having order'd the Colonels to follow after with the Legions. And by this time the same fires had given the *Gauls* notice of the *Romans* arrival; whereupon they were forced to consult together about their present condition. And here King *Aneroestus* advis'd not to encounter the Enemy with an Army, landed with such rich Spoils, but depart home, where having laid down their booty, they might return disencumber'd by the business, in case they had a mind to try their fortune again in War. This advice being approv'd by all, they departed before Night; pursuing their Journey through *Hetruria* along the Sea-side. *M. Aimilius* having rescued those who had fled to the Hill, and being inform'd of the *Gauls* departure, was unwilling to fight a set Battel, but yet resolv'd to follow them, intending to lay hold on whatever advantage time would put into his hands.

In this nick of time Fortune on the sudden varies strangely the state of things: The other Consul *C. Atilius* was arriv'd out of *Sardinia* with his Legions at *Pisa*, where having put ashore, he went with the Army toward *Rome* by Land, taking his course through the same Coast of *Hetruria*, in which the *Gauls* were marching. About *Telamon* a Port of *Hetruria*, the Foremost-hope of both Armies first met one another; and when the Consul by some Prisoners brought to him was inform'd of the *Gauls* march, and his Colleagues design, who pursued them at the heels, being surpriz'd at the thing, and hoping the *Gauls* might be coop'd up betwixt the two Consular Armies, he commanded the Captains to draw the whole Army in a square figure of Battalia, as far as the situation of the ground would permit to do it: whilst in the mean time having observed a certain Eminence which over-look'd the way the *Gauls* were to come, went before



fore with the Cavalry to possess himself of the Post, making all the haste he could to engage the Enemy, assuring himself, that if he should be pressed hard, his Colleague would come up to relieve him; and if the Enterprize should succeed, then the glory and credit of the Action should be all his own.

XL. When the Gauls saw the Enemies upon the Hill, they supposing them to be some parties of Horse sent about in the Night by *Aimilius*, detach'd a Body of Horse also, having join'd some Dragoons with them to clear the way. Afterwards by some Prisoners being advertis'd of the other Consuls arrival, they were immediately forced to draw their Foot in Battalia, so as to face the Enemies both ways, in the Front and Rear, having their backs turned to one another. For they saw *Atilius* advancing towards them before, and knew *Aimilius* was following them behind: against whom they posted some Mercenaries of the *Transalpine Gauls* (called *Gafatae*, as is said before, from the Arms they wore) in the Van-guard; and at their backs the *Infubres* were placed to support them. But the *Taurisci* and *Boii* were drawn up against *Atilius's* his Army. Then they fortified the two Wings with Waggon and Car: and sent away the Booty to a Hill hard by with a good Guard to attend it. By this time *C. Atilius* had begun the fight upon the Hill: from whence *Aimilius* guess'd his Colleague was come, of whose Journey he had no intelligence before, except that he was arrived at *Pise*. Therefore suddenly resolving what course to take, he commanded his Cavalry likewise to advance speedily to the Hill, where the fight was.

XLI. Here the Horse engaged very furiously, and *C. Atilius* the Consul was kill'd, and his Head carried to the Kings of the Gauls. But the Romans standing firmly together maintain'd their ground to the last, and charging the Enemy with their utmost vigour, forced them to fly. The Battel betwixt the Horsemen of each side thus pass'd over; the Foot engag'd. And here the fight both for numbers and force of Men, and also for their order of the Battel was terrible to behold: whilst numerous multitudes of Gauls intercepted betwixt the two Roman Armies fought with both at once: so that it could hardly be judg'd, whether that form of Battel was more advantageous to them, because fighting with the Enemies forces separated from one another, they were secur'd at their backs, and also incited to Valour by not having any hopes of a Retreat: or else that it was more hurtful to them, whilst they were thus pent up betwixt the two Confular Armies. But as the prodigious Stature and dreadful aspects of the Gauls, terrified the Romans, so at the same time they were encourag'd to fight not onely for Honour and Renown, but also for those rich Spoils, the golden Bracelets, and glittering Habillments, wherein the Gauls Van-guard appear'd richly equip'd.

XLII. Having join'd Battel, the Light-Horse first attack'd the Enemy, and that with so much fury, that they cut off great numbers of them, especially where the *Gafatae* fought, who in a bravado, to shew their Courage stripp'd themselves, and stood naked in the front of the Army. But the long and narrow Target (which the Gauls use) not covering the whole Body, they were expos'd as Marks to the Enemies shot, which were directed so sure as never to miss them: And thus they fell to no purpose, being neither able to wound their Enemies at a distance, nor to come to Hand-strokes whilst the Light-Horse fought aloof off, and would not close in with them. In this desperate condition part of them rushed furiously in upon the Enemies, and before they could come to grapple with them hand to hand, were shot by the Roman Javelins: others making their retreat by little and little, broke the Ranks, and disorder'd the Army. Thus the *Gafatae* were discomfited by the Light-Horse, and in the mean time the Men of Arms attacking the *Infubrians*, and *Boii*, and *Taurisci* on every side, slew abundance of them.

XLIII. But yet for all this they stood resolutely to it, being in all respects equal to the Romans, except their having such bad sort of Arms, upon which account they had much the worst on't: being so ill appointed, that they could neither defend themselves, nor offend the Enemy; For the *Gallic* Sword is onely fit for cutting, and has ne'r a point to make a pass or thrust withal: besides it bends almost to the Hilt with the first stroke, and does no kind of Execution afterwards till 'tis straitned again by pressing upon it with their Feet. The Victory, for which the Romans already stood so fair, was soon determin'd at the return of the Cavalry from the pursuit of the *Gaulish* Horse; for they pour'd down from the Hill, and attacked the Enemies Flank so furiously that they could not longer maintain their Posts against so rude a shock, which was so much the more impetuous and irresistible, because they came upon them from the higher grounds, bearing down all in their way. This is the account given by *Polybius* of the Battel in *Hetruria*; from whom others differ upon very improbable grounds: for who would imagine the business done otherwise? As that a Storm in the Night forc'd the Gauls to fly as if they fear'd the Anger of the Gods? That *C. Atilius* receiv'd his death while he attacked them in the Rear? and that when both Armies thereupon had for some time contain'd themselves within their own bounds, *L. Aimilius* set upon the *Gallic* Army and then totally routed them? Nor do those People deserve more credit, who change the place where the Battel was fought, from the Sea-side to the Country of *Aretium*.

XLIV. 'Tis agreed on all hands, that forty thousand Gauls fell at that time, and about ten thousand were taken with *Concolitanus* one of their Kings: the other King *Anerocstus*, who was much esteem'd both for his Valour and Power, got away with a small Retinue, and in his flight cut his own and his Friends throats. Great was the Booty that was taken, which the Consul caus'd to be restor'd to them, from whom it had been taken away at first, the Owners knowing every one their own goods. From thence marching with his own and *Atilius* his Army by the borders of *Liguria* into the Country of the *Boii*, that he might reward the Soldiers for their late Service, he gave them the plunder of all the Country; and within few days after carried the Army to the City, having loaded them with Booty and Spoils: and at his return the public joy was the greater, because that War had struck such a terror into the People, as none before it ever did.

XLV. Therefore there was scarce ever a Triumph so generally applauded with the acclamations of the People as this of *Aimilius*: being of it self glorious and magnificent enough, and that both in respect of those renowned Exploits performed by the Consul, and also of the quantity and value of the Spoils born in it; among which were several Standards of the Enemies: many golden Chains and Bracelets the Ornaments of their brave Men. But *Briomarus*, and other Princes of the Gauls drew the Eyes of the People most upon them, whom *L. Aimilius* by way of mockery led into the Capitol with their Swords girt about them, as if now they were about to keep their Oath, wherein they had sworn never to take off their Belts, till they had entered the Capitol. This Triumph of *L. Aimilius* the Consul over the Gauls was holden the fifth of March. The same year I find that the one and fortieth Lustration was performed by the Censors, *Q. Claudius Centho*, and *M. Junius Pera*. Now the fear of the *Gaulish* War was laid aside, but the Romans had not as yet taken their fill of Revenge: and therefore the Gauls were assign'd the Province to the two Consuls of the year following.

Tit.

*Tit. Manlius Torquatus*, and *Q. Fulvius Flaccus* were again both of them Consuls. To them the Army, and all other necessities belonging to War, were readily and cheerfully appointed. For the Romans were in good hopes after so great a Victory, if they ply'd the business vigorously, that the Gauls might be driven from all that tract of Land which borders upon the *Po*. The Consuls marching out with their Forces forc'd the *Boii* upon their first appearance to surrender immediately: But the Expedition afterwards slacken'd because of the Peltence, and continual rain. Some Authors write, that these Consuls having pass'd the *Po*, fought and overcame the *Infubres* in a pitch'd Battel, killing twenty three thousand, and taking five thousand of them. But we are more inclin'd to rely in these things upon *Polybius* his Authority. In the mean while because the Consuls hinder'd either by the way, or else by bad Weather could not arrive out of those remote Countries in time to the Assemblies of Election, *L. Cecilius Metellus* was made Dictator, who appointed *Fabius Buteo* to be his Lieutenant. The Assemblies being call'd, *C. Flaminius* and *P. Furius Philus* were made Consuls. These, as I suppose, were the first Romans who with an Army pass'd the *Po*, where the River *Padusa* runs into it, having made an irruption into the Country of the *Infubrians*. This boldness of the Romans cost them a great deal of labour, and much blood. For in passing the River, and whilst they were encamping themselves, they lost a great many men by a fierce Attack, which the Enemies made upon them.

The fears and jealousies caus'd by this news were much increas'd by Prodigies. For it was reported, that in the Country of *Picenum* a River ran with blood, and in *Hetruria* the Heavens seem'd all on fire, at *Ariminum* three Moons appear'd at once, besides a Vultur had sat for several days together in the Forum at Rome. But as for the great Earthquake in *Caria*, and the *Rhodian* *Colossi* happening to fall about the same time, these things were not thought to concern the Romans. The *Augurs* being consult'd about the other Prodigies, answer'd, That the Consuls seem'd to have been unduly chosen; and the Senate sent Letters after them to recall them home. The Consuls in the mean time having made a Truce, drew off from *Infubria*: and having got the Auxiliaries together in the borders of the *Cenomani*, began again to ravage the Plains at the foot of the *Alps*: and the *Infubrians* enrag'd at this, took the golden Shields out of the Temple of *Minerva*, which were call'd Unmoveable, because it was not lawful to stir them but in times of extreme necessity; and came with an Army of fifty thousand to encounter the Romans.

The Consuls received the Senates Letters about this time; but *C. Flaminius*, whether guessing what was in them, or else inform'd thereof by his Friends, perswaded his Colleague, not to open the Letters before they had fought the Enemies. Being thus resolv'd upon an Engagement, they consult'd together what they should do with the Auxiliary Troops of the Gauls, considering that the making light of their Service would prompt them to mischievous designs, as on the contrary the employing such men might furnish them with an opportunity to accomplish the same. For they were very jealous of this Peoples levity and infidelity, especially now in a War undertaken against their Neighbours and Kindred. At length they came to this resolution in the point: They sent the Gauls over the River, and afterwards broke down the Bridges; so that the Romans now could receive no harm by them, and having no room left to run away, they were oblig'd wholly to trust to their own Valour. After a sharp Engagement the Romans at last got the Victory, the honour of which action belongs to the Tribunes, not the Consul. For *C. Flaminius* had drawn his Army to near the bank of the River, that there was no room left for the Soldiers to retreat: which doubtless would have prov'd the destruction of the whole Army, had the Enemies press'd on, and oblig'd them to give never so little ground. The Gauls main Effort consist'd in their first charge, which was very brisk, but this flash being sustain'd, afterwards there was nothing formidable in them. This the Tribunes by experience of former fights knew well enough: and therefore they arm'd those Soldiers in the first line with Spears and Partizans, to put by the Enemies blows withal, after which they might throw them away, and draw out their Swords, when the Battel began.

The Gauls Swords were bent and blunted immediately by those Spears: which whilst they endeavour'd to straiten again, the Romans closing up to them with their Swords drawn, quite took away all the use of their Axes from them. For their Swords being us'd onely for cutting and slashing, require some room to wield them, otherwise they'd do no Execution; but the Romans though never so close to the Enemies, could pass at their Breasts or other parts of their Bodies as they pleas'd. Nine thousand Gauls are said to have been kill'd, and about double that number taken. After this Victory the Enemies Country was ravag'd far and near, and great Booty carried away. The Consuls after this Exploit read the Senates Letter, which when *P. Philus* was about to obey, *C. Flaminius* looking on this as a Sham contrived by the Senate out of spite and envy, averr'd that there was no fault in their *Auspices*, no ill Omens at their Choice: whereof their Victory was an evident demonstration; and therefore that he would not depart till the War was either ended, or the time of his Office expir'd. Besides, he said, He would take care the Roman People should be no longer sham'd and abus'd with the ridiculous observance of *Auguries*, and such kind of pretences.

But *P. Furius* persisting in his Opinion, *Flaminius* his Army searing left after he was gone, they could not be secure enough in a hostile Country, by great importunities prevail'd at last with him to stay some days longer, but yet he would act nothing afterwards: Whilst in the mean time *C. Flaminius* took some Castles, and a Town of some note in that Country, and endeavour'd by bestowing the Booty on the Soldiers to gain their affections, now that he was like to have some Contest with the Senate. For People were so angry with the Consuls at this time, that none went out to meet them, as the Custom was: and a Triumph was denied not onely to *C. Flaminius*, but likewise to *P. Philus* for his sake. At last, *Flaminius* his great Interest and favour with the Commons prevail'd, so that he enter'd the City in a triumphant manner the ninth of March. Many rich Spoils were carried in this Triumph, and great store of Arms: as also several golden Chains, of which *C. Flaminius* erected a Trophy to *Jupiter* in the Capitol, having inverted the Gauls Vow, who had promis'd their *Mars* a Chain out of the Roman Spoils. The other Consul triumphed over the Gauls and *Ligurians* the 12th of March.

By this means the Senates displeasure was rather enflam'd, than asswag'd, inasmuch that the Consuls were immediately after their Triumph constrain'd to resign their Office. And through a like severity about the same time two very noble Persons were deprived of the honour of the Priesthood: *M. Cornelius Cethegus*, for not laying the Entrails upon the Altar according to Order, and *Q. Sulpicius*, because that his Miter had fallen off from his Head whilst he was sacrificing. The Consuls having resign'd their Office, the Assemblies for Election of Consuls were call'd by a Dictator; wherein *M. Claudius Marcellus* was chosen Consul, who after he had been vested in his Office, took *Cn. Cornelius Scipio Calvus* to be his Colleague.

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LI.

league. These two refused to grant any conditions of Peace to the *Insubrians*, who desir'd it: *M. Marcellus* out of Ambition and desire of Conquest, stiffly opposing all Proposals that tended that way. Nay, the *Gauls* themselves seem'd rather to carry on designs of War, than Peace: for they had newly got thirty thousand *Gesates* into their Service, which were join'd by a far greater Body of the *Insubrian Gauls*.

- LII. The War being thus begun, the Consuls in the Spring took the Field; and in the first place invested *Acerræ*, a Town situate betwixt the *Alps* and the *Po*. *Britomarus*, seeing it would prove a difficult task to raise this Siege, taking with him ten thousand *Gesates*, resolv'd to ravage the Country near the *Po*. Whereupon the Consuls divided their Forces, so that *Cn. Cornelius* with the rest of the Army maintained the Siege, and *M. Marcellus* march'd out with two thirds of the Cavalry, and a detachment of Light-Arms to cover the *Roman* Allies. For this Service he took out but six hundred Men, but those were the lightest and nimblest in all the Army: with these and the Cavalry he march'd Day and Night without intermission towards the Enemy, and coming up with them about *Clasidium*, before he could refresh his own men, he was forced to engage against his will through the fierceness of the *Gauls*, who being superiour in number, and arrogating to themselves the prehemience above all other People in Horsemanship, immediately march'd out as it were to destroy the Consul's Army, which according to their intelligence had in it but few Foot. *M. Marcellus* advanc'd to meet the Enemy, having drawn out his men in length as far as he could, lest he should be surrounded by the numerous multitudes of the *Gauls*: And now the two Armies were ready to engage, being but a small distance asunder, when on a sudden as *Marcellus* was going to charge, his Horse affrighted by the noise and yelling of the *Gauls*, started back. Whereupon the Consul fearing, lest this Accident should be taken for an ill Omen, and thereby discourage his Soldiers, wheel'd about his Horse, and worshipp'd the Sun: as if that had been the reason why he turn'd back, it being an ancient Custom for such as pray to the Gods to turn themselves round.

- LIII. 'Tis reported, that before the first Onset, he had Vow'd to dedicate the best of the Enemies Arms to *Jupiter Feretrius*; and that afterwards when he saw *Britomarus* at the head of his Troops, his Arms glittering with Gold and Silver; he concluded those must be the Arms, which he had vow'd. And now the King himself having seen the *Roman* General, advanc'd a good way before the rest of his men, challenging him to fight both by his words, and brandishing of his Arms: Whereupon *M. Marcellus* came on, wounded the King through his Armour with his Lance, and afterwards having dismounted him, laid him dead with several Wounds. Then alighting from his Horse, and holding *Britomarus* his Arms in his Hands, he lifted up his Eyes towards Heaven, saying, "Thou *Jupiter Feretrius*, who art privy to all the noble Exploits of Valiant Commanders in Battels: Lo, I in thy presence, the third *Roman* that ever did so, being a General, having slain a General, present, consecrate now these magnificent Spoils to thee; "Do thou grant us equal success during the rest of the War.

- LIV. *Marcellus* after this returning to the fight, they began to engage furiously, the *Romans* fighting very courageously, whom their Consuls Valour and success had fill'd with desire of Action as well as hopes of Victory. And hereupon the *Gauls* were routed Horse and Foot: and a handful of Men overcame a very numerous Army, which seldom happens. The Consul then having first pick'd up the Spoils of the Camps returned to his Colleague, who having possess'd himself of *Acerræ*, where he found a great quantity of Provisions, with much ado defended himself against the Enemy about *Milan* a Capital Town of the *Insubrian Gauls*. But by *Marcellus* his arrival the Scene was much alter'd. For both the *Gesates* went home when they heard their King was slain; and also the *Milaneses* being abandon'd by them, could not defend their City. So that great numbers of the *Insubrians* being killed, and *Milan* and *Como* taken, the other Towns afterwards, and the whole Nation of the *Insubrians* surrendred themselves, having obtain'd conditions of Peace that were reasonable enough, part onely of their Lands being confiscated.

- LV. *M. Marcellus* having performed his charge, held a very splendid and magnificent Triumph over the *Insubrian Gauls* and *Germans* the first of *March*. This is the first mention of *Germans* in *Roman* Story, these being some Mercenary Soldiers rais'd in Countries beyond the *Rhine*, who came into *Italy* under the conduct of *Viridomarus*. Some of whom and also of the *Gauls* being taken Prisoners (Men of huge size and Stature) went before the Victors Chariot among the most precious Spoils. The Consul himself followed after, who made a gallant Show carrying the Arms he had devoted in his hands to *Jupiter Feretrius*, on whom the Army richly clad and equipped attended, and as they went celebrated the Consuls Praises with Songs and Acclamations. When the Cavalcade had come in this order to *Jupiter's* Temple, *M. Marcellus* alighting from his Chariot hung up in that Temple the Magnificent Spoils, being the third Man after *Romulus* and *An. Cornelius Cossus*, and the last too that ever did so. The *Roman* People view'd these Arms with greater pleasure, because the Enemies were said to have Vow'd the *Romans* Arms to *Vulcan*: and the joy for this Victory was so great, that the Senate and People of *Rome* out of the Spoils made a Present to *Apollo's* Shrine at *Delphos*, of a golden Bowl, and bestow'd on their Confederates and Friends round about some of the Arms taken from the *Gauls*. To *Hiero* King of *Syracuse*, besides some of the Spoils they sent the piece of that Corn, which he had furnished the *Romans* with during the *Gallie* War.

- LVI. The *Istrians* were the next Enemies they had, who annoying the Seas by Piracy took several Vessels belonging to the *Romans*, that were laden with Corn; against whom the two Consuls *P. Cornelius* and *M. Minucius Rufus* being sent, subdued some by force, and oblig'd others to surrender themselves. But yet I do not find that these triumph'd: because (I suppose) their Victory had cost a great deal of *Roman* blood.

- A.U. 533. This year there arose in *Spain* a Star of malevolent influence upon several Kingdoms and People: *Hannibal*, *Hafdrubal's* Successor; of whose life and Exploits many things are to be deliver'd in the course of this History by a greater hand. Mean while *L. Veturius*, and *C. Lutatius* march'd out with their Forces to the *Alps*: and rather using Treaties and Negotiations, than Arms with those People, they brought over several of them to embrace the *Roman* Alliance.

- A War brake out again with the *Illyrians* at this time by reason of *Demetrius Pharius* his Tyranny: who pretending his Alliance with *Rome*, molested the neighbouring Nations, as he pleas'd himself: and therefore Complaints were made against him from several parts.

- LVII. He trusting in the Power, in which upon his revolt from *Tenta* he was sett'd by the *Romans*, and his being Protector to *Pimæus* during his Minority, whose Mother *Tritenta* he had married, he carried himself with as great State as a King; and because troublesome and insupportable as well to his Countrymen, as Neighbours. And even those People of *Illyria*, that were the *Roman* Confederates and Allies, he

he endeavour'd to subdue: and having put to Sea with a Fleet of fifty Pinnaces well manned, he sail'd beyond *Leijon* contrary to the Treaty made with the *Romans*, and walled the *Cyclades* [small Islands in the *Archipelago*] and forced some of the People to pay him Tribute. And now he had got on his side as many of the *Istrians*, as were disaffected to the *Romans* since the late War, and forced the *Arintines* to join with him. Neither did he regard the *Romans* at all; for he thought now they were engag'd in the *Gallie* War, and likewise were under apprehensions of another with *Carthage*, they would have neither Power nor leisure to revenge their Confederates quarrel, or to afford them protection. Beside, he doubted not but he should be assist'd with what Force he pleas'd by *Philip* King of *Macedon*, because in his War with *Cleomenes* he had lent him Aid, being himself General of the *Illyrian* Auxiliaries.

A War therefore is declar'd against him, and preparations were made accordingly. Mean time *L. Aemilius*, and *C. Flaminius* the Censors performed the Lustration; wherein 270213 men were polled. At that time a multitude of freed men, which liv'd dispers'd amongst all the Tribes, gave great disturbances to the City; so that the Censors in imitation of *Q. Fabius Maximus* reduced them into four Tribes, the *Esquilina*, *Palatina*, *Suburana* and *Collina*. *C. Flaminius* in the same Censorship, paved the High-way, as far as *Ariminum*, and built a Cirque; both which Works were call'd by the name of their Author, the *Flaminiæ* Cirque, and the *Flaminiæ* Way. The same Censors propos'd to the Commons the *Metilian* Law concerning Fullers, not supposing the Care of those meaner things to be below the regards of their great Office.

At this time the Rebellion in *Illyria* oblig'd the Senate to send *M. Livius Salinator*, and *L. Aemilius Paulus* the Consuls to that Province. *Demetrius* on the other side was preparing very briskly for War, having put a Garrison into *Dimalus*, and provided all other things that were necessary for holding out a long Siege. In some places he caus'd the principal men to be kill'd, whose loyalty he suspected, and deliver'd the government of their respective Towns to such as were his own Creatures and Adherents; and out of his whole Kingdom he selected a Body of six thousand men, which he kept with him for the defence of *Pharus*. Whilst these things pass'd on thus, *L. Paulus* the Consul march'd out in the beginning of Spring came to *Illyria*: and understanding that the Enemies reli'd very much upon the Works and defences of *Dimalus*, thought by them an impregnable Fort, he judg'd, that if he could take this place, he might put the Enemy into a great consternation: Whereupon he sat down before it, and his men made such brisk attacks upon the place, that it was taken by storm within seven days after it had been first invest'd. Nor was the Consul mistaken in his opinion; for the report hereof being immediately spread through the neighbouring Cities, Ambassadors came from all places round yielding themselves up to the *Romans*.

The Consul having accepted their submissions and taken them under his protection, went to the Isle of *Pharus*, where *Demetrius* his Palace stood, which when he found to be well furnished with Provision, strongly guarded with Soldiers and also fortified with Works, and besides with the Presence of the Tyrant, fearing the tedious toyl of the Siege, contriv'd this cunning Intrigue to hasten the Victory. Having carried over his Army by Night, he posted the best part of them in a certain Wood, where they stood undiscover'd by the Enemies, whilst he himself went in open light with twenty Ships to a Port next the Town, where he drew out the *Pharians*, amongst whom *Demetrius* himself came to hinder the Enemies from landing. When the Battel was joyn'd, several Parties coming in one after another to relieve their men; at last the Town was left without any guard to all. And in the meantime the *Romans*, who had landed in the Night, passing by certain by-ways possess'd themselves of a Hill betwixt the Town and Port, lying at an equal distance from either, whereby the way was block'd up, so that those who had got out of the City could not return in thither again.

*Demetrius* seeing what was done, took the best course that could be, considering his circumstances. For leaving the present engagement and countermanding his Men; He told them, "You see how much the Enemy dreads your Valour; for, betaking themselves to such Stratagems as these, they confess, they distrust their Arms against you. Having got in in the Night they stole into this Country, whereof, if I am not much mistaken in you, they shall enjoy no more but what will serve for their Graves, having paid for it with their lives. Now you my *Pharians*, and all others of the *Illyrian* Race be mindful this day of your Countries and your own Honour: and let the *Romans* know, that it was not the effect of your Cowardize, that ever they triumph'd over the *Illyrians*; it was neither *Fulvius* nor *Publius* by their Arms or Conduct, but *Tenta* by her rathness and folly that then destroy'd the *Illyrians* and not to mention other things, you may remember, that if *Tenta* had chose rather to make me her Friend, than her Enemy, the *Romans* then would not have had such an easie Victory of it. But because I depend very much upon your Valour, and the season requires Action more than Words, I'll be short with you, You have Arms, and Courage to use them; you see what danger you are in, and there is no way to avoid it, but by Valour. Let us therefore march on against the Enemies, who are just now got out of their lurking-holes, leaving these who are landing; for if we shall rout them, these will return to their Ships in greater haste, than they left them.

Having thus encouraged his Men, he march'd in order of Battel to attack those who were posted on the Hill, who received them very warmly, and stood their ground till the men that were landed came up, and assailing the Enemy behind, rout'd them with great slaughter. Some few fled back into the Town, the rest got off by certain by-ways. *Demetrius*, who in some private places had some Vessels lying ready if any danger should happen, embark'd in one of them, and fled to *Philip* King of *Macedon*; where being admitted to be one of that King's Favourites, by flattery and tyrannical Counsels he debauch'd the mind of that young Prince, inclin'd before to Vertue and moderation; and prov'd the Author of the *Roman* War, and of several other mischiefs.

After this Battel *Pharus* was taken by the *Romans*, which was plunder'd and destroyed by the Generals Order. The Consul afterwards having settled the Affairs of *Illyria*, returned to *Rome* to sue for a Triumph, the Summer being now far spent.

In the relation of this War also, I have chosen to follow *Polybius*; though I know that in other Historians the glory of that Victory is equally given to both Consuls, who having sent for *Demetrius* to come to them, because he obeyed not, first attack'd him in the Isle of *Iffa*, and overcame him by the aforementioned Stratagem; and afterwards having taken *Pharus* by treachery, drove out *Demetrius* from thence.

However,

However, the Senate pardon'd the *Illyrians* for King *Pinnes* his sake, whom they knew innocent in respect both of his mind and his age ; and renewed the League with him, only adding some clauses to the former Articles. In the mean while *L. Aemilius* celebrated a most splendid Triumph over these Nations : and some Authors say, that *M. Livius* triumphed after this War ; but yet most speak nothing of him, I suppose, because *L. Paulus* his Actions were more glorious so as to eclipse the Fame and Honour of his Colleague. But the trial and Sentence of the same *M. Livius* afterwards was a thing most remarkable. For both he and *L. Paulus* being maliciously impeached, as if they had not equally divided the Booty among the Soldiers, and converted a great part of it to their own use, underwent their Trial : *L. Paulus Ambustus* hardly escap'd, and all the Tribes except *Mucia* condemned *M. Livius* : which disgrace he took so heinously, that afterwards he quitted the Town, and retir'd from all Company till the occasions of the State call'd him back again to manage publick Affairs.

LXIV. But these things happened during the Consulships of *P. Cornelius Scipio*, and *Tib. Sempronius Longus*. The same year, whilst *M. Livius*, and *L. Paulus* were yet Consuls, one *Archagathus* the Son of *Lyfanius* came from *Peloponnesus* to *Rome*, who professing Physick was made free of the City, and a House was bought for him at the public charge in the *Aelian Street* : a thing not worth the relating, except because this was the first time that ever any practis'd Physick in *Rome*, temperance and unknight Remedies having hitherto served for the preservation of Peoples health. The same year Colonies were brought to *Placentia* and *Cremona* in the *Gallic* Country, which was the principal cause, that incens'd the *Boii* and *Insubres*, so that they began to cast their Eyes upon *Hannibal*, who was then with all his Forces besieging *Seguntus*, by the ruin of which place he made his way to come and fight with the *Romans*.

But these great Commotions, which brought on such a terrible War, must be trac'd from their first source and Original.



# The HISTORY

OF

# TITUS LIVIUS,

A P A D V A N.

From the Foundation of *Rome*, to his time.

## DECADE III. BOOK I.

### E P I T O M E.

**T**He Occurrences of the second Punick War in Italy are related. 5, &c. Annibal, the Carthaginians General, contrary to the League, passes over the River Iberus, and after eight Months severe Siege, takes Saguntum, a City Allied with the Romans. 18. Whereupon Ambassadors are sent to Carthage to complain of this Infractiō of the Peace, but they refusing to give satisfaction, War is declared against them. 24, &c. Annibal having got over the Pyrenæan Mountains, and defeated the Volscians who would have hindered his Passage, marches on through part of France to the Alps, and with great labor and difficulty having also pass'd those Mountains, and beat back the Gallick Inhabitants there, who oppos'd him, descends into Italy, and overthrows the Roman Cavalry near the River Ticinus. 46. In which Conflict P. Cornelius Scipio being wounded, was rescued, and his Life saved by his own Son, the same who afterwards was surnamed Africanus. 56, &c. Annibal having again routed the Roman Army upon the River Trebia, advances over the Appenine Hills, where his Soldiers were much distressed by the foul Weather and violent Tempests. 60, &c. Cn. Cornelius Scipio prospers in his Wars against the Carthaginians in Spain, and takes their General Mago Prisoner.

**J**USTLY may I Preface to this Part of my Work, what most Historians are wont to profess in the beginning of the whole of Theirs, *That I am about to write the Story of one of the most memorable Wars that ever happened in any Age of the World:* I mean, *That which the Carthaginians, under the Conduct of their General Annibal, waged with the People of Rome.* For never did more wealthy and potent Nations engage against each other in Arms; nor were they themselves at any time so strong and formidable as at this Juncture: And as they were not ignorant of each others Courage and Military skill, but had sufficiently experienced the same in the former War between them; so also, they were so equally match'd, and the fortune of the Field so variable, that for a long time that side seem'd nearest to Ruine, who at last obtained the Victory. Besides, their spights and animosities against each other, were in a manner greater than their Forces; the Romans taking it in scorn and indignation, that *Those* whom once already they had vanquish'd, should of their own accords now begin a War with their Conquerors; and the Carthaginians no less enraged, because the Romans manag'd their Success with so much insolence and covetousness, as rendred, they thought, their ulage altogether insupportable. 'Tis also reported, That when *Amilcar* after finishing his War in *Africk*, was upon his Expedition into *Spain*, as he was Sacrificing for good Success, *Annibal* his Son not then above nine Years of Age, came coaxing of him (as Children use to do) to take him along with him; whereupon the Father brought him up to the Altar, and with his hand laid thereupon, caus'd him to swear, *That he would ever be a mortal Enemy to the People of Rome, and fight with them as soon as he was able.* This *Amilcar* being a Person of great Spirit, was, no doubt, exasperated as well at the loss of *Sicily* and *Sardinia*; of which the former, he thought was too hastily surrendred by those that without cause despair'd of Defending it; and the latter, during the Broils in *Africk* fraudulently seized by the Romans; as also for the Tribute which (beyond what was capitulated) they had arbitrarily impos'd upon his Country.

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II. Disquieted with these thoughts, he manag'd Affairs so both in the *African* Commotions (which ensued for the next five Years after the Peace concluded with *Rome*) and after that in his *Spanish* Wars (where for nine Years together he diligently, and with mighty success, encreased the *Punic* Dominions and Grandeur) that all the World might see he design'd still a greater War than what he had in hand; and if he had lived, there is no question but he had brought those *Carthaginian* Arms upon *Italy*, wherewith it was afterwards Invaded under the Conduct of his Son; but his seasonable Death, and *Annibals* Non-age, deferr'd the Storm a little longer. In the mean time, between the Father and the Son, *Asdrubal* was Commander for almost the space of eight Years. This *Asdrubal* had been *Amilcars* Favorite; at the first (they say) for his Youth and handsome Face, but afterwards, for those signal marks of Gallantry and Prudence which he manifested upon all occasions, preferring to be his Son-in-Law; and in respect of that Alliance by the Interest of the *Barchine* \* Faction (which carried a mighty sway both in the Army, and with the Commons) he was now advanc'd to the Sovereign Conduct of the War, though much against the Will of the principal Noblemen. He manag'd Affairs more by Policy and Intrigue, than Force and Violence; and by treating, entertaining and caressing the Neighboring Princes and Grandees, won the Affections and good Will of several Nations, and by that means encreased the *Carthaginians* Dominions and Power, rather than by force of Arms. But for all this Peace with Foreign States, he was never the more secure of his own Life at home; for a certain barbarous Fellow, whose Master he had put to death, watching an opportunity, lop'd off his Head, and being apprehended by some that were by, kept his Countenance, and look'd as unconcern'd as if he had escap'd; nay, when he was all mangled and torn with Tortures, he seem'd to smile, so far did the joy of his mind and sweetness of revenge, over-balance the pains of his Body, and render them as it were insensible. With this *Asdrubal*, because he had such a singular dexterity at insinuating into Foreign Nations, and uniting them to his Interests, the *Romans* had renewed the League upon these two Conditions, That the River *Iberus* should limit the utmost extent of their Dominions on either side; and that the *Saguntines*, who were situate between the Territories of both Nations, should enjoy their Ancient Liberties.

\* Some say this was the common Name of the Commons-Party at Carthage, in opposition to the Nobility, whereof *Amilcar* had made himself Head; others, that *Amilcars* Father was named *Barcha*, and that this was only the Faction of that particular Family.

III. There being now a new Commander to succeed in the room of *Asdrubal*, there was no doubt to be made, but the favor of the Moblie would join with the Prerogative choice of the Soldiery, who presently carry'd young *Hannibal* to the Head-Quarters, and with a vast Shout and unanimous consent, saluted him as their General: For (you must note) whilst he was yet very young, *Asdrubal* had sent for him to the Army, and the matter was debated in the Senate at *Carthage*, where they of the *Barchine* Faction urg'd how fit it was, That *Annibal* should be train'd up in the Camp, and enur'd to Affairs of War, that he might be qualified to succeed his Father in serving the Publick. But *Hanno*, the Head of the contrary Faction, stood up and told them, That both what *Asdrubal* desired was very just and reasonable, and that yet he was of Opinion, it ought not to be granted. They all began to stare at him for this odd saying, and knew not what to make on't, till thus he continued his Speech: That flower and beauty of Youth which *Asdrubal* himself part'd with, and prostituted long since to *Annibals* Father, to use or abuse at his pleasure; the same he thinks he may with good right challenge and expect from the Son: But it little becomes the Dignity of our State, to have our Youth, under pretence of following the Camp and Military Institution, debauch'd and made Catamites to the Lusts of our Generals: Are we afraid that *Amilcars* Son should not soon enough be Ambitious? or too late grasp after his Fathers immoderate Commands and Power, which (in a Free-State) wanted but little of absolute Royalty? Or are we in doubt that we should not time enough be Slaves to his own Child, whose very Son-in-law usurps the Conduct of our Armies as due to him by right of Inheritance? For my own part 'tis my judgment, That this lofty-spirited Youth should rather be kept at home in strict obedience of Law, and taught under Civil Magistrates to live in equal condition with the rest of his Fellow-Subjects, for fear, lest one time or other, this Spark blaze too high, and put us all into a Combustion.

IV. A few, and those in a manner all of the best Quality and soundest Judgment, approved *Hanno's* advice; but (as it commonly happens where Votes are numbred, not weigh'd) the greater part over-rul'd the Better. *Annibal* being sent into *Spain*, at his very first coming, attracted the eyes and affections of the whole Army: The Soldiers fancied that their old General *Amilcar* was reviv'd, and come again amongst them; They thought they beheld the same vigor in his looks, the same vivacity in his eyes, the very same Martial features and generous lineaments in his whole countenance; but after a little time, so much he had insinuated himself into their good Opinion, that the memory of his Father was the least part of his Recommendation: Never was there a temper so well fitted by Nature to discharge two the most contrary Duties; viz. both to Command and Obey, so that you could not easily determine, whether he was more belov'd of the General for one, or of the Army for the other; for neither would *Asdrubal*, when there was any hazardous Service in hand, chuse to prefer any before him to manage it; nor did the Soldiers put greater confidence in any other Leader, or would ever more daringly adventure themselves than under

under his Conduct. He had an admirable Courage to grapple with any Dangers, and no less Prudence in the midst of hazards to extricate himself by good Counsel: No Fatigues could weary out his Body, nor damp the resolution of his Mind; he could equally endure extraordinary Heat and excessive Cold: For his Diet, he measured both his meat and drink by his Appetite, and Natures necessities, not the pleasure of his Palate: For sleeping or for waking day or night, was all one to him, for only then when his Affairs left him at leisure would he take his repose, wherein he was nothing curious of a soft Bed, or to have no noise about him, for often has he been seen taking a sound nap amongst the Sentinels and *Corps-du-Guards* upon the bare Ground, with nothing but a Soldiers course Jacket thrown over him: His Apparel no braver than the rest of his Companions, but much delighted to be seen in excellent Armor, and to have the best Horses could be got. Whether amongst Horse or Foot, he would still be a great way formost; the first always in a Charge, and the last in a Retreat. But these so great and Manly Virtues, were counterpois'd by as mighty Vices; His Cruelty was inhumane, and though the Treachery of his Nation be famous even to a Proverb, yet he exceeded the rest of his Country-men for Falshood; he had no Truth, no Honesty, no fear of the Gods, no regard to his Promises or Oaths, no Conscience, no Religion. Thus dispos'd by Nature both as to Virtues and Vices, he serv'd full three Years under *Asdrubal*, during which time he omitted nothing that was fit either to be known or done by a Person like to prove another day one of the greatest Commanders in the World.

V. From the first day he was declared *Generalissimo*, as if *Italy* had been his Province, and he had receiv'd a Commission to war with the *Romans*, hating delays, left some Misfortune should take him off, as it had done his Father first, and *Asdrubal* afterwards, he resolv'd to attack the *Saguntines*. But knowing that thereby he should undoubtedly provoke the *Romans* to take Arms in their Defence, as being their Allies, he thought fit first to lead his Army into the Borders of the *Olcades* (a People beyond the River *Iberus*, rather taking part with the *Carthaginians* than being under their Jurisdiction) that he might not seem principally to aim at the *Saguntines*, but to have been drawn upon them by the course of his Successes, and after he had subdued all the bordering Nations, necessitated (as it were) to join them to the rest of his Conquests. Here he first won by force *Carteia*, a rich City, and the Metropolis of that Province, and plundered it, which so terrified the smaller Towns, that they submitted and became his Tributaries; whence he march'd back his Victorious Army, loaded with Plunder to *New Carthage* [now *Cartagena*] to take up their Winter-Quarters. Where having engaged the affections as well of his own Country-men, as of his Allies, partly by distributing the Pillage very liberally amongst them, and especially by paying the Soldiers punctually all their old Arrears, early in the Spring he took his March against the *Vaccei* [a People of Old *Castile*.] He also storm'd *Hermancia* and *Arbacala*, two Cities of the *Carteians*, the latter of which made a stout Defence by the multitude and valour of the Townsmen; and those that escap'd from the former, joining themselves with the banish'd remnant of the *Olcades* (a Nation vanquish'd last Summer) rais'd also the *Carpetani* [Inhabitants of *Toledo*] and fell upon *Annibals* Army, in their return from the *Vacceians*, not far from the River *Tagus*; *Annibal* knowing his Men to be so charg'd with Spoil and Pillage, declin'd to come to a pitch'd Battel, but encamp'd on the Bank of the River, and as soon as the Enemy were in their first sleep, and all hush'd, gets his Army over to the other side, where he again encamp'd at a convenient distance, leaving them room enough to pass by him, but determining to attack them in their passage; in order whereunto he commands his Cavalry to Charge them as soon as they should take the Water, and before his Foot upon the Bank he post'd forty Elephants: The *Carpetani* with their Associates, the *Olcades* and *Vacceians* were an Hundred thousand strong, an Army invincible if they had fought upon equal ground, but being naturally fierce, and confident in their numbers, and withal believing that the Enemy was retreated for fear, they concluded the only obstacle of their Victory was the Rivers being between them, and therefore setting up a shout, all in an huddle without direction of any Leader, ran into the River here and there, every Man at the place that was next him. From the other Bank *Annibals* Body of Horse advanced into the Water to oppose them, where in the middle of the Channel they fought, but upon very unequal terms; for the Enemies Infantry having no firm footing, and afraid lest the River should not be fordable, were easily to be toppled down even by unarmed Cavalry if they did but spur on their Horses amongst them, whereas the Horse having their Bodies and Arms at liberty, might in the midst of the Stream ride securely, and either Charge them with Handy-stroaks, or kill them at a distance with their Darts and Lances; abundance of the formost were drowned, and not a few by the violence of the Current driven to Land just in the mouth of the Enemy, where they were trod to pieces by the Elephants; the hindmost with more safety got back to their own Bank, but being scatter'd before they could rally together, and recover themselves out of that Consternation, *Annibal* with his Army in good order entered the River, beat them from the Bank and made them run for't, and having harra's'd all those Countreies in short time brought the *Carpetans* also to an entire submission.

VI. Now were the *Carthaginians* Masters of all beyond the River *Iberus*, except the *Saguntines*, with whom they had yet no War; but to administer occasion for it, a quarrel is fomented between them and some of their Neighbors, especially the *Turdetani*, and he pretended to favor the latter, who indeed was the only Instrument that under-hand set them all at variance; which at last the *Saguntines* perceiving, and that he intended not so much to act as a Mediator for an amicable compofure of their differences, as to seek colourable pretences to destroy them with open force; they difpatch'd away Ambassadors for Rome, to crave affiftance againft that violence which was certainly coming upon them. The Consuls of Rome at that time were *P. Cornelius Scipio*, and *T. Sempronius Longus*, who having introduced the Ambassadors into the Senate, and propos'd the matter, It was resolv'd, That Ambassadors should be sent into Spain to inspect the state and condition of their Allies, who should, if they found cause, solemnly require Annibal to forbear all acts of Hostility against the *Saguntines*, who were Friends and Confederates with the People of Rome; and from thence to sail over into Africk to Carthage, and there give in a Memorial of the Complaints of their Allies: But before these Ambassadors could set forwards, certain Intelligence arriv'd, That *Saguntum* was already (much sooner than any body expected it) actually Besieged. Then the whole matter is again taken into confideration by the Senate; some advis'd forthwith to difpatch the Consuls into the Provinces of Spain and Africk, with Commission to make War both by Land and Sea; others thought it better to bend all their Forces wholly against Annibal in Spain. Nor wanted there some Opinions, That a matter of such vast Importance was not rashly to be undertaken, and that therefore they should stay for the return of the Ambassadors before they proceeded to a final Resolution. Which last advice seeming most safe, was embraced, and the Ambassadors so much the sooner hastned away, viz. *P. Valerius Flaccus*, and *Q. Rebins Pamphilus*, first to Annibal before *Saguntum*, and thence to Carthage (if he would not desist) to demand him the said Annibal to be deliver'd up into the Romans hands to be punish'd for violating the League.

VII. Whilst the Romans amus'd themselves with these Consultations, *Saguntum* is assaulted with the greatest violence imaginable: This City was abundantly the richest of any beyond the *Iberus*, situate well nigh a mile from the Sea: The Inhabitants are said to be Originally descended from the Isle of *Zant*, but mix'd with some People that came from *Ardea*, a Town of the *Rutilians*; in few Years time it became a place very rich, strong and considerable, as well in respect of the Revenues and product of their Lands, and their great Traffick by Sea, as for the multitude of Inhabitants, and that strict and sacred Discipline whereby they would remain firm to their Allies, though it were to their own destruction. Annibal, after he had Invaded their Territories with a formidable Army, and harra's'd all the adjacent Country, Invested the City, but chiefly made his assaults three ways; there was one corner of the Wall shooting out into a more open Valley, than any other part all thereabouts, against which he resolv'd to erect his Works call'd *Vineæ*, [certain Galleries or Blinds made of Timber and Hurdles] under covert of which his Men might make their approaches, and bring up their Battering-Rams to play against the Wall: But as the ground at a distance seem'd very even and fit for such purposes, so in the Procefs of their Work it did not at all answer expectation, for it was commanded by a vast Tower, and the Wall it self (as being at a place most expos'd to danger) was there built more high and strong than any where else, besides the choicest and ablest Men were Post'd there to make the most vigorous Defence where there was like to be the most violent Attack: These first, with their Darts and Lances thrown at a distance, beat off the Enemy, so that the Pioneers could not with any safety follow their Work; afterwards, they not only pepper'd them from the Tower and the Walls, but grew so hardy as to Sally out upon them, and not only beat up their Guards, but many times would enter their Trenches and Works; and yet in all these daring Skirmishes lost not more Men than they cut to pieces of the *Carthaginians*; nay Annibal himself, unadvisedly approaching too near the Wall, happening to be wounded in the Thigh with a light Javelyn, so that for the present he fell down; his Men were thereat so daunted and in such disorder, that they had like quite to have deserted all their aforefaid Engines and Fortifications.

VIII. Then for some days, till the Generals hurt was cured, the Siege indeed was continued, but no great Assaults made; however, though they had a Cessation from actual Conflicts, yet on both sides they were as busie as ever in preparing new Devices and Engines wherewith to mischief one another; whereupon a little while after the Service grew hotter than before, and in several places at once, even in some where you would think it impossible; these Galleries were carry'd on, and the Battering-Rams brought up to the very Wall. Annibal had plenty of Men to spare, for 'tis said, he had not less than an Hundred and fifty thousand Men in Arms; but the Townsmen, what with framing and managing Engines to annoy the Enemy, and what with defending themselves in so many places, had all their hands full, and more than they could well perform: For now were the Walls continually battered by the Rams, and in many parts thereof shattered, but at one place above the rest a breach was made so wide, that the City lay open and naked to the Enemy; and

and presently after three Towers, and all the Wall betwixt them, fell down with an horrible crash, infomuch that the *Carthaginians* then verily perswaded themselves the Town was their own: At this Breach, as if the Wall had protect'd both Parties before, they met in heaps, and fought with equal fierceness, as if the one side had been as eager to come out as the other to get in. This Engagement was not like those tumultuary Sallies and Skirmishes which are wont to happen at the assaults of Cities, wherein one party has the better of the other; but seem'd to be a formal Battel, or pitch'd Field, in the open space between the breaches of the Wall and the Houses of the City, which stood at a little distance within: On the one side they were transported with hope, on the other with despair; the *Punicks* looking upon the City as taken, if they did but strive a little more, and the *Saguntines* resolv'ing now to fortifie and defend their native City with their Bodies, since it now was destitute of Walls; nor would any one retreat a step for fear an Enemy should advance in his place, and so get ground: The closer the Fight was, the more were kill'd and wounded, for there was not a Dart flung, not a blow struck almost, but it must do some Execution either on their Bodies, or at least on their Armor; but especially the *Saguntines* us'd a Weapon call'd *Falerica*, which they lanced in manner of a Dart, having a long shaft and round, except at the end where it was headed with Iron, bound about with Tow smeared with Pitch; the Iron head was three foot long, that it might pierce through both the Armor and the Body; but if it happened only to stick in the Target without reaching the Body, yet it was very terrible, because being flung after the middle was set on fire, by its motion through the Air, it burn'd more violently, and so forced those on whom it lighted to fling away their Armor, and remain naked to receive the blows that afterwards were made at them.

IX. When thus for a long time the Battel had continued doubtful, the *Saguntines* taking heart because they had been able to defend themselves so long, even beyond their own hopes and expectation, and the *Carthaginians* looking upon themselves as little better than vanquish'd because they had not complicated the Victory; the Townsmen all at once on a sudden set up a shout, beat back the Enemy to the ruins of the Wall, and there being encumbred in their Retreat, thrust them clean out, and at last put them to a disorderly flight, and chased them as far as their Camp. In the mean time news came, that Ambassadors were arriv'd from Rome, but Annibal sent some to meet them at the Sea-side, giving them to understand, That he thought it would not be safe for them to venture their Persons amongst the Arms of so many barbarous Nations; and that for his own part, amongst those dangerous and troublesome Affairs he was engag'd in, he had no leisure to give Audience unto, or treat with Ambassadors: But well he knew, That upon refusing to admit them, they would forthwith away to Carthage, therefore he had sent Letters and Agents before to the chief Persons of the *Barchine* Faction, to prepare the minds of that Party, that nothing should be granted in favor of the Romans, or to his own prejudice.

X. So their Ambassy thither was altogether as vain and without effect, as to him, save only that they were there entertain'd and had Audience. Hanno alone, though the whole Body of the Senate was against him, pleaded the Cause of the breach of League, and was heard with great silence and attention in respect of his Authority, rather than for any consent they yielded to his Opinion: I have often (said he) in the name and for the sake of the Gods, who are the Witnesses unto, and Judges of solemn Treaties and Leagues, admonish'd and forewarn'd you, That you should not send any of Amilcars race unto the Camp; That neither the Ghost nor Progeny of that Man would ever be at quiet, nor any Peace with the Romans be inviolably observed, whilst there remains one alive of the *Barchine* Name and Family: But sent you have, notwithstanding all my Cautions, and conferr'd the chief Command of your Armies upon a Youth enflam'd with the ambition of being an Absolute Monarch over you, and who perceives nothing can be more conducive to such his Designs, than the raising one War after another whereby he may always live in Arms, and surrounded with Legions: By this indiscreet Action, you have as it were administred fuel to the Flame, and fed that Fire which already scorches and in time will consume you. At this instant your Armies besiege *Saguntum*, contrary to your League and Solemn Capitulations: What can you thence expect, but that ere long the Roman Legions should encompass our Carthage, under the conduct of those very Gods who in the former War took Vengeance upon us for the like perfidiousness? What? Are you yet to learn what kind of Enemy it is you hereby provoke? Or have you forgot your selves, or the Fortune of both Nations? Your good Lord General, forsooth, would not admit into the Camp the Ambassadors of our Allies, coming also on the behalf of those who were likewise in Alliance with us, and thereby have violated the Law of Nations. These Ambassadors of our Friends, having received a greater affront than ever is wont to be offered to the Publick Messenger of Enemies, address themselves now to you, to demand satisfaction for the Injuries sustained, desiring you to keep that League to which you are sworn; That you would not make your Generals fault your own, by justifying or suffering it to pass with impunity; Without engaging you in the Quarrel, they only require him to be deliver'd up to Justice who is the Offender, and insolently guilty of all these Infractions of the common Peace; The more gently they deal, and the longer it is ere they begin, the more obstinately



obstinately will they, I fear, continue their just Resentments and Severities if once you shall necessitate them to it. Reflect upon proceedings past, set before your Eyes the Overthrows you sustain'd at Eryx and the Ægatian Isle, and all the Calamities which ye suffered for Four and twenty years (space as well by Land as Sea; nor was a Beardless Boy then your General, but his Father, Amilcar himself, a second Mars, as those of that Gang were wont to magnify him; but the mischief on't was, we could not then (as we were obliged by Treaty) hold our hands off from Tarentum in Italy, just for all the World as we must now be meddling with Saguntum; therefore the Gods as well as Men took the matter in hand, and in the end vanquish'd us, though with fair words and specious pretences we made it seem doubtful which Nation was the Aggressor; the Issue of the War determin'd it, and as a just Judge, where the Right was, bestow'd the Victory. Carthage it is, against which Annibal at this instant is raising his Mantlets, and his Galleries, and all his Warlike Engines; 'Tis her Walls he batters so fiercely with the Ram; These very Ruines of Saguntum (I wish I may prove a false Prophet) will fall on our heads; The War begun with the Saguntines, must be fought with the Romans: What then, says some body, shall we deliver up so brave a Man as Annibal to them? I know my words will be of small weight or authority in that matter, because of the old Feuds between his Father and my self; yet I must avow, That as I rejoiced when Amilcar dyed, for this very reason, Because if he had lived, we had before this time been involv'd in Wars with the Romans; so looking upon this Youth, an Imp of his, as the very Fury and Fire-brand of such a War, I cannot but hate and detest him; and (rather than that should happen) do not only think him fit to be surrendred to them to expiate the breach of the League, but if no body demanded him, to be Transported as far as there is Sea or Land, and to be eternally Banish'd to some place so remote, as his name might never hereafter reach our Ears, nor his turbulent Genius have any influence to disturb the Repose of our State. 'Tis therefore my judgment, That we presently send away Ambassadors to Rome to give the Senate satisfaction, and others to Annibal, commanding him forthwith to withdraw the Army from Saguntum, and to deliver up the said Annibal himself to the Romans, according to the League; and that a third Ambassy be dispatch'd to the Saguntines, to make them reparation for the Injuries they have sustained.

XI. When Hanno had concluded his Speech, there was none thought it necessary to answer him, and bandy the matter with words, so intirely prepossessed was almost the whole Senate in Annibals favor, only they told Hanno, That he had made a virulent Harangue, and talk'd more like an Enemy, than Flaccus Valerius himself the Roman Ambassador. To whom afterwards this Answer was return'd, That it was not Annibal, but the Saguntines themselves that begun the War; and that the People of Rome would deal unjustly, If they should prefer the new Amity of the Saguntines, before that of the Carthaginians who were their most antient Allies.

Whilst the Romans thus spend time in Ambassies, Annibal finding his Soldiers weary'd with continual Skirmishes and toil in the Works, gave them a few days refreshment, setting Guards to defend his Galleries and Engines of Battery, and in the mean time endeavors to raise the Spirits of his Men, sometimes provoking them against the Enemy, and sometimes encouraging them with hopes of Booty. But when one day he told them, They should have the whole Pillage of the City, they were so enflam'd and eager, that if he had presently led them on, no force seem'd able to resist them. The Saguntines as they were quiet this while from fighting, being neither assaulted by the Enemy, nor yet making any Sallies; so they ceased not night or day from Fortifying themselves, and making a new Retrenchment behind the Breach. But after this short Calm, the Storm was more furious than ever, nor could they tell (so various were the Attacks, Shouts and Alarms on every side) where they should first apply themselves to make Defence: Annibal himself was present in Person to hearten on his Soldiers that were driving up a Tower upon Rowlers, so high, that it over-look'd all the Fortifications of the City; which approaching near the Walls, well furnish'd in every Story with Catapulta and Balistæ [two sorts of Engines, the first of which shot whole shoals of great Arrows, Darts, and the like Weapons, the other discharg'd showers of great and small Stones] they therewith beat off the Defendants; and Annibal taking that opportunity, sent about Five hundred African Pioneers to undermine the Wall near the bottom; nor was it hard to be done, being built after the old fashion with Loam instead of Chalk, so that it quickly came all tumbling down much further than they had weakn'd it, and through those large Breaches whole Troops of armed Men entered at once into the Town, and withal possess'd themselves of a little Hillock, and got thither all their Engines, and raised a Wall about it, so that they might have within the City it self a Bastilion of their own, that like a Castle might command all parts; on the other hand, the Saguntines ran up a Counter-mure to secure that part of the City that was not yet taken: Thus both sides fortifie and fight with the utmost diligence and courage; yet though they dispute the ground by Inches, the City daily grows less and less, they still defending stoutly so much as was left, until at last scarcity of all Necessaries by reason of the long Siege, encreasing, and their expectations of relief as fast diminishing, the Romans, their only hope, being so far off, and round about them nothing but Enemies,

mies, they seem'd almost ready to despair; yet then for a while their Spirits were bouy'd up by some disturbances amongst the Oretanes and Carpetanes, which oblig'd Annibal himself to repair thither: For those People discontented at too rigorous Levies of Soldiers that had been made amongst them, had seized some of the Muster-Masters, and threatned to revolt, but by Annibals sudden arrival in those Parts, were quell'd, and glad to lay down their Arms.

The Siege of Saguntum in the mean time was nothing slackned, for Maharbal the Son of Himilco, whom Annibal had left Commander in Chief, so bestirred himself, That neither his own Soldiers, nor the Towns-men, found any miss of the General. This Maharbal had made some fortunate Attacks, and with three Rams shattered several parts of the Wall, and shewed Annibal at his return every place full of fresh Ruins; whereupon, the Body of the Army is presently brought up to storm the Castle or main Citadel it self, where a most desperate and bloody Fight was maintain'd, with great multitudes slaughtered on each side, but in conclusion one part of the said Fortrefs taken. Things being in this extremity, there were some small hopes of Peace by the mediation of two Persons, Alcon a Saguntine, and Alorcus a Spaniard; Alcon supposing he could prevail somewhat by way of Entreaty, unknown to the Saguntines, got by night to Annibal; but after he saw all his Lamentations would do no good, and that nothing but severe Conditions were propounded as from an incensed Conqueror, instead of an Envoy, he resolv'd to turn a Fugitive, and so continued with the Enemy, alledging, That whoever should offer to move his Country-men to a Peace on such terms, they would certainly kill him. Which terms were these, That they should make restitution and satisfaction to the Turditanes for all losses and damages, surrender up whatever Gold or Silver they had, and departing out of the City but with one suit of Apparel apiece, dwell at such place as the Carthaginians should appoint. Alcon affirming, That the Saguntines would never accept of those Conditions: Alorcus replied, Where all things fail, the stoutest Courages will fail and be glad to submit to Fortune; withal, offering himself to carry those Articles, and use his endeavors to compass a Peace. He was at that time a Soldier in Annibal's Army, but publickly profess'd a kindness for the Saguntines with whom he had formerly sojourn'd, and been kindly entertained: Who having openly surrendred his Arms to the outmost Sentinels, pass'd over their Works, and was carry'd (as he desired) to the Prætor of the Saguntines, where presently there flock'd together a multitude of People; but the rabble being dismiss'd, and the Senate assembled, Alorcus made a Speech to them to this effect.

"If Alcon your Fellow-Citizen, as he came to Annibal to desire Peace, would have brought you back those only Conditions on which you may have Peace, from Annibal, I needed not have given my self or you this trouble, who am come neither as an Agent from Annibal, nor yet as a Fugitive; but seeing the said Alcon remains with the Enemy, either through your fault or his own; his own, if he pretended causless fear; but yours, if indeed those go in danger of their Lives at your hands that tell you the truth, I have thought fit for that old kind Entertainment I had amongst you, to come unto you, That you might not be ignorant, that there are still some Conditions both of Life and Peace to be had. And that I have no design in this Address to advance any other Persons interest, but do it purely for your Good; this one consideration may, I think, sufficiently assure you, viz. That all the while you were able to defend your selves, or had any probable hopes of being relieved by the Romans, I never mentioned a syllable to you about Peace: But since you now justly despair of any timely aid from the Romans, and that neither your Arms nor your Walls are longer able to defend you, I bring you Overtures of a Peace more necessary, I confess, than equal; and which there are good hopes to effect, if what Annibal offers as a Conqueror, you will be content to accept as persons Conquered, and not so much regard what you part with as lost (since all will be the Conquerors) as to look upon what is left, as freely given you. Your City, a great part of which he has ruin'd, and in a manner taken it all, he is resolv'd to dispossess you of, but will allow you your Territories, and assign you a place whereon you may build a new Town to dwell in. He requires all your Gold and Silver, publick and private, but leaves your Persons, your Wives and Children, free and untouch'd, if you please to march out with each a single suit of Apparel. Remember, 'tis an Enemy and a Conqueror that Commands all this, and though it may seem harsh and grievous, yet your present deplorable Fortune perswades you to accept thereof; nor do I despair but if you resign all to his good pleasure, he may perhaps remit some part thereof: However, I think you were abundantly better yield to all these his Demands, than to suffer your Bodies to be slaughtered or enslaved, your Wives and Children to be ravish'd before your faces, and carry'd away Captive, to undergo the barbarous Outrages of insolent Conquerors, and other usual Extremities of War.

The People thronging round to hear what news this Alorcus brought, had by degrees mix'd themselves with the Council, and all of a sudden the chief of them, before any answer was return'd, withdrew themselves, and brought out all the Gold and Silver they had, as well publick as private, into the Market-place, and when they had cast it into a great Fire

XII.

XIII.

XIV.

Fire hastily made there for that purpose, most of them threw themselves headlong after it into the midst of the Flames, and so perished with their Treasure rather than they would part with it: This set all the City in an uproar and consternation, which was encreased by a lamentable shriek much about the same time heard from the Castle; for a certain Tower that had been long batter'd, fell down, and at the breach a Regiment of Carthaginians rush'd in, and gave their General notice, *That the Town was in disorder, and abandoned of its ordinary Guards and Defence: Annibal* knowing there was no delay to be used, when so favorable an opportunity presented it self, instantly storm'd the City in every part with all his Forces, and in a moment made himself Master of it, giving out Orders, *That all persons above fourteen Years of age should be put to the Sword;* which Command, though cruel, was yet almost necessary as appeared in the event; for who would spare, or indeed could give Quarter, to such as either shutting themselves up with their Wives and Children, voluntarily burnt their Houses over their own Heads, or else in their Armor would never give over fighting till they dyed?

XV. Thus was the Town won, with great store of Pillage in it, though a great deal was destroyed on purpose by the Owners; and that such was the rage of the Conquerors, as scarce made any distinction of Age in the general Execution, for all that the Soldiers were to have the benefit of the Prisoners; yet 'tis certain, there was made a considerable sum of Money of the Goods they sold, and abundance of rich Household-Furniture and costly Apparel sent to Carthage. Some write, that this City Saguntum was taken the eighth month after the Siege began, that thence Annibal retreated to take up his Winter Quarters, at New Carthage, and that in the fifth month after he set forth from Carthage, he entered Italy; which if true, then it cannot be, That P. Cornelius, and T. Sempronius, were the Consuls to whom the Saguntine Ambassadors address'd themselves when they were first in danger of a Siege, and who also, whilst they were in their Office, fought with Annibal, one of them at the River Ticinus, and a little afterwards both of them together at Trebia. But either all these things must have been dispatch'd in less time, or Saguntum was not first besieged at the beginning of the year wherein they two were Consuls, but rather taken then; for the Battel at Trebia could not be so long after, as to fall in the year wherein Cn. Servilius and C. Flaminius were Consuls; for Flaminius entered his Consulship at Ariminum, being created by T. Sempronius the Consul, who after the Fight at Trebia came to Rome on purpose to hold the Elections, and then return'd to the Army at their Winter Quarters.

XVI. About one and the same time, both the Ambassadors came back from Carthage to Rome, bringing word, there was nothing but War to be expected, and tidings arriv'd of Saguntum being destroy'd; whereby the Senators felt various Passions all at once struggling in their Breasts, grief and pity for their Allies thus unworthily Massacred, shame because they had not sent them aid in time, rage and indignation against the Carthaginians, and such an extream fear for their own State, as if the Enemy had been at their very Gates; so that in these agitations of their Souls, they rather encreased each others trembling, than setled themselves into any orderly Council. "They knew well, both that they never had to deal with a fiercer and more Warlike Enemy, and that the State of Rome was never more resty, feeble, and undisposed to War: That the Sardinians and Corsicans, the Istrians and Sclavonians, had but challeng'd and made bravadoes, rather than exercised in good earnest the Roman Arms; and with the Gauls they had had tumultuary Skirmishes, but scarce any serious Fights. But the Carthaginian was an old try'd Enemy, a People that for the space of Three and twenty years in continual most sharp and difficult Services amongst the several Nations of Spain, had always come off Victorious, being train'd up to all the toils and arts of War, first by Amilcar, and then by Asdrubal, and now under Annibal a most valiant and able General; under whose Conduct they pass the River Iberus, flush'd with a late Victory, and the spoils of a most opulent City, drawing after him a Train of so many Nations of the Spaniards, whom he has already hardened and inur'd to Wars, and will no doubt raise the several numerous Tribes of the Gauls, a People at all times ready enough to take Arms and do mischief, so that henceforth they were to wage War with all the World, in Italy, and under the very Walls of Rome.

XVII. The Provinces were already nominated to the Consuls, but now they were ordered to divide them by Lot; Spain fell to Cornelius; to Sempronius, Africk and Sicily: The standing Forces for that Year were decreed to be six Legions of Romans, and as many of the Allies as the Consuls should think fit, with as good a Fleet as could be equipped. So they were muster'd Four and twenty thousand Roman Foot, and Eighteen thousand Horse; of Allies Four and forty thousand Foot, and Four thousand Horse, and Two hundred and twenty Gallies with five course of Oars on a side, and twenty Barks fitted out. The preparations made, a Bill was preferred to the People, *Whether they would Will and Command War to be declared against the People of Carthage?* which being pass'd in the affirmative, publick Supplications were observed throughout the City, wherein the People beseech'd the Gods, *That the War might succeed well and happily which the People of Rome had Decreed.*

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The Forces were divided between the Consuls, as followeth; Sempronius had the Conduct of two Legions, each consisting of Four thousand Foot and Three hundred Horse; and of Sixteen thousand Foot and One thousand eight hundred Horse, of the Confederate Forces; and for Sea-service, One hundred and sixty long Ships, and twelve Barks: With which strength for Sea and Land, he was sent into Sicily, from thence to Invade Africk, if the other Consul should be able to keep Annibal out of Italy. To Cornelius were assign'd the fewer Forces, because L. Manlius the Prator was sent into Lombardy with a considerable Army; especially as to Ships, Cornelius had but a few, viz. only Sixty Gallies of five Benches of Oars on a side, because it was suppos'd the Enemy would not come by Sea, nor any occasion happen in those parts for much Service on the Water. He had also with him two Legions of Roman Foot, with their just Complement of Horse, and of the Allies Fourteen thousand Foot, and Twelve hundred Horse. In Lombardy, and the Coasts of the River Po (call'd of old Cisalpin a Gallia) there were two Roman Legions, and Fourteen thousand of the Associate-Infantry; a Thousand of their Horse, and Six hundred of the Romans, which that Year were all brought into Service against the Carthaginians.

Things being thus in readiness, that it might appear they proceeded with all the Formalities of Justice and the Law of Nations, before they would actually begin the War, they again sent Ambassadors into Africk, employing therein Q. Fabius, M. Livius, L. Aemilius, C. Licinius, and Q. Baebius, Persons venerable both for their Age and Quality, whose Errand was, *To demand of the Carthaginians, Whether or no it were by Publick Council and Order that Annibal assaulted Saguntum?* And if (as 'twas believed they would) they should avow the Action and justify it, then to give them defiance, and declare open War against the People of Carthage. The Romans being arrived and admitted to Audience, after Q. Fabius had made the aforesaid Demand according to their Instructions, one of the chief only of the Carthaginians made him this answer: "As your former Ambassy, O Romans, was vain & groundless, when you would needs have had Annibal delivered up to you for Besieging Saguntum of his own head, so this, though it seem in Words more mild and plausible, is, in truth, more rude and affronting: Then was only Annibal charged and demanded; now we are urged to own that as a Fault which is none, and then, as if we had confess'd a Crime, you shall require Satisfaction: But I must tell you, That you mistake the Question, which is not, nor ought to be, Whether Saguntum was attack'd by private or publick Advice? but, *Whether justly or unjustly?* For whether it were done by our Commission, or of his own head, is a matter that belongs to our cognizance, who only have the right of chastizing our own Citizens for transgressing our Orders: All that we have to debate with you, is, Whether it were not lawful for us to Invest that Town notwithstanding the League? And since it pleases you, That we should distinguish between what Commanders do by Orders from the State, and what they attempt of themselves; we must remember you, That there was a League between us and you, concluded by your Consul Lucatius, wherein there is a Clause comprizing the Allies of both Parties, but not a word concerning the Saguntines, with whom you had then no Alliance. But afterwards, in the Treaty with Asdrubal, the Saguntines were indeed excepted, against which I shall alledge nothing but what you your selves have taught me; for you denyed your selves to be any way obliged by that League that was made on your behalf by the said Consul Lucatius, because it was not done either by the Authority of the Senate, nor Command of the People; and therefore you would have another League drawn up anew, and entered into by publick Assent: If therefore your Leagues are not binding to you, unless concluded with your Approbation and Command, then neither can this Treaty of Asdrubal's oblige us, which he entered into not only without warrant from us, but even without our privity or knowledge. Forbear therefore these Discourses of Saguntum and Iberus, and speak plain, what you have so long designed in your minds, That you are resolved upon any pretences to quarrel with us. Then Q. Fabius the Roman folding up the skirt of his Gown: Here, quoth he, *within this Lappet we offer you Peace and War, take which you will:* At which word they all cryed out no less stoutly, *Even which you will your self;* and when he letting loose his Robe, had told them, *Then there I denounce War against you:* They all reply'd, *We cheerfully accept thereof, and doubt not but to manage it with as much Courage, as now we entertain the Tidings of it.*

This direct Demand and down-right denunciation of War, the Romans thought more for their Honor, than to stand arguing longer about the Right and Justice on't from the Terms of the League, as well before, as especially now since Saguntum was destroyed. Though yet had it been a matter to be determined by Reasoning, 'twas plain on their side; for the League with Asdrubal was not in the same Tenor, nor to be compared with that concluded by Lucatius, since that of Lucatius had an expresse Clause, that it should hold good and firm, *If the People of Rome should approve it,* but in Asdrubal's there was no such Exception; and besides, as by tacite consent for so many years during his Life it was approved of, so neither after his Death had they desired to have it altered. Yet still, put case they should stand wholly to the first Treaty, the Saguntines were therein sufficiently com-

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prehended

XIX.

prehended under those general Words, *The Allies of both Parties excepted*: For neither was it said, *The Allies that then were*, nor, *that none afterwards should be received into Alliance*. Since therefore they might by the Treaty assume new Associates, who can imagine it just or reasonable either, That none should be received into Amity for any merits whatsoever; or that being once received, they should not be Defended? Provided, *That no Allies of the Carthaginians should be solicited to break with them; or having of their own accord revolted from them, should be entertain'd into Friendship by the Romans*. The Roman Ambassadors (according to their Instructions) went from Carthage into Spain, to visit the several Cities there, to endeavor to draw them to their Confederacy, or alienate them from the Carthaginians. They addressed themselves first to the *Bergusians*, by whom being courteously received, as weary of the *Punick* Government, they excited several petty Nations beyond *Iberus*, to a desire of Innovations. Then they came to the *Volsicians*, whose shrewd Answer (reported through all Spain) wholly averted the rest of the People from joining with the Romans: For thus the eldest of their Council accosted them: *With what face can, you Romans, desire we should prefer your Amity before that of the Carthaginians? Since, when the Saguntines had so done, they were by you their Allies more cruelly betrayed, than by their Enemies the Carthaginians destroy'd? For my part, I conceive you must go and seek you Confederates where the Calamities of Saguntum were never heard of: To the People of Spain, the yet smouldering Ruines of that miserable City are, as a doleful Example, so an illustrious Warning, That none ever hereafter repose confidence on Roman Faith, or trust to their Protection*. Immediately they were commanded to depart the *Volsician* Territories; nor did they afterwards meet with any kinder Language in any Diet or Council in all Spain; so that having in vain traversed that Country, they went their ways into France.

XX.

There they thought it a new and terrible sight, to see them all repair to Council in their Armor (for such was the mode of the Country:) But when, extolling the Valor and Glory of the People of Rome, and the Grandeur of their Empire, the Ambassadors desired, *They would not allow the Carthaginians (who were about to Invade Italy) a passage through their Dominions; such a laughter and shout was set up, as could scarce be appeased by the Magistrates and Graver sort, so silly and impudent a request it seem'd to them, to think that the French would be such Coxcombs, as rather than suffer the War to pass into Italy, to turn it upon themselves, and expose their own Country to be harass'd and ruined for the sake of Strangers*. But at length the noise being qualified, this Answer was returned to the Ambassadors: *That neither the Romans had deserved so well, nor the Carthaginians so ill at their hands, that they should embroil themselves or take Arms for the one, or against the other: But rather on the contrary they had receiv'd Intelligence, That the People of their Nation were by the Romans driven out of their antient Possessions in Italy, forced to pay Tribute, and treated with all sorts of Outrages and Indignities*. The same, or such like Answers, they met with in the rest of the French Assemblies; nor received any kind Entertainment or friendly Language till they came to *Marseilles*, from whom, being their Old Allies, and who had narrowly pry'd into all Intrigues, they understood, *That Annibal had already prepossessed the French; but withal, That they were not like long to continue in good Terms with him (they were a People of such a fierce and untractable temper) unless continually beset their Grandees with Gold, of which that Nation is most greedy and covetous*. Having thus pass'd through, and amongst the several People of Spain and France, the Ambassadors return home to Rome, quickly after the Consuls were gone into their respective Provinces, and found the Eyes of the whole City altogether intent upon the fortune of the War; it being credibly related, That the Carthaginians had already pass'd the River *Iberus*.

• XXI.

*Annibal*, after the taking of *Saguntum*, being retired to *New Carthage* for Winter-Quarters, and advertised of all that pass'd both at Rome and Carthage, and that he was look'd upon not only as the General, but the Promoter too, and sole cause of the War; so soon as he had divided and sold the rest of the Pillage that remained, thought good now no longer to conceal his Intentions, but assembled the Soldiers of the Spanish Nations, and thus discoursed them: "I believe even you your selves, Fellow Soldiers! cannot but see, that having now reduc'd all the States of Spain to Obedience and Peace, we must either lay down our Arms, and disband our selves, or transfer the War into other Lands; for so shall these Nations flourish, not only with the advantages of Peace, but reap the fruits of War and Victory, if we shall bravely endeavor to acquire both Riches and Glory from others. Since therefore our Campaign is like shortly to lie at a further distance, and it is uncertain when you may again have an opportunity to visit your own homes, and what there is dear to every one; therefore to such of you as desire to go see your Families and Friends, I am willing to give free Pass-ports; but withal, strictly charge you, to be back again here at the Rendezvous, early in the Spring, That then, the Gods being our Assistants, we may go in hand with a War that cannot fail to yield us a plentiful Harvest of Wealth and Glory. There was not one, in a manner, to whom this free leave of visiting their Native Homes, was not very welcome, because they had already a longing to see their Relations, which was encreased by the thoughts of being removed

moved to a greater distance from them. This rest all Winter, between the Labors past and those they were to undergo, refresh'd as well their Minds as their Bodies, and prepared them to endure all fatigues as briskly as ever.

In the very beginning of the Spring, according to the aforesaid Edict, they came again to a Rendezvous, and *Annibal* having taken a Muster of all the Auxiliaries sent from the several Nations; Marching to *Cadix*, there paid his old Vows to *Hercules*, and obliged himself in new ones, *If the rest of his Undertakings should succeed prosperously*. And now dividing his Cares, as well for a defensive as offensive War, left whilst he with a tedious March by Land through Spain and France, went to Invade Italy, *Africk* should lie naked and exposed to the Romans, who easily from *Sicily* might cross the Seas, and make a descent upon the main Continent; he thought fit therefore to secure home, by sending thither a grand Detachment, and in lieu thereof desired Recruits from *Africk*, especially of Archers and Javelineers lightly Armed, That as interchangable Pledges of Fidelity, the *Africans* might serve in Spain, and the *Spaniards* in *Africk*; both like to prove the better Soldiers, by being far from their own Countries. He sent into *Africk* One thousand three hundred eighty five Foot, armed with short Targets, and Eight hundred and seventy Slingers of the *Balearean* Isles, and of Horse mix'd of several Nations, One thousand and two hundred. All which he ordered partly for a Garison for Carthage, and the rest to be distributed through *Africk* as occasion should require; Likewise he deputed Commissioners into the several Cities to press Soldiers, of whom Four thousand select Youths of the best Quality were carry'd to Carthage, both to strengthen the Garison, and remain as Hostages.

XXII.

Nor was Spain in the mean time to be neglected, especially because he was not ignorant that the Roman Ambassadors had gone their Circuit amongst them to tamper with the Chief Persons, and solicit them to a Revolt; he therefore committed the charge of that Province to his Brother *Asdrubal*, a Person diligent and stout, and furnish'd him with considerable Forces, for the most part transported out of *Africk*, viz. Eleven thousand eight hundred and fifty African Foot, Three hundred Ligurians, Five hundred *Balearians* (or Slingers, from the Isles *Majorca* and *Minorca*;) To which Infantry was added the following Horse, viz. Three hundred *Lybiphaenicians* (a mongrel People, partly sprung from the Carthaginians (who were of *Phenician* Extract) add partly from the old Inhabitants of *Libia* or *Africk*) and of *Numidians* and *Moors* dwelling on the Sea-coast, One thousand eight hundred, with a few small Troops amounting to about Two hundred, from the *Illyriates* in Spain; and that nothing for Land-Service might be wanting, he also accommodated him with Fourteen Elephants: Furthermore considering, that 'twas probable the Romans would again chuse to make use of that sort of War, viz. Marine, whereby in the former Contest they chiefly got the Victory; he ordered him a Fleet to guard the Coasts, consisting of Fifty Gallies of five banks of Oars apiece, two of four, and five of three rows of Oars; but only the five last, and Thirty two of the first sort, were Man'd and fitted out.

From *Cadix* the Army returned to their old Winter-Quarters at *New Carthage*, and from thence along by the City *Etruvissa*, to *Iberus* and the Sea-coast. There, 'tis reported, *Annibal* saw in a Dream, a young Man, for shape and beauty Divine rather than Humane, who said he was sent by Jupiter to be his Guide into Italy, and therefore bid him follow him, without ever looking behind him, or turning his eyes to one side or t'other; Which accordingly he did for a while, never looking either back or besides him, but at last, that Curiosity natural to Man, wondering much and inquisitive to know what it might be behind him, which he was so strictly forbidden to behold, prevailed with him so far, that he could not forbear turning his eyes that way, where he saw a Serpent of a wonderful size, all the way as it went, bearing down vast Woods and Groves before it, and immediatly followed a great storm with dreadful Thunder-claps; and when he ask'd the meaning of this confusion and prodigious sight, he was told, *'Twas the desolation of Italy; That therefore he should go on in his Expedition and inquire no further, but suffer the Destinies to remain unveloped in their Natural obscurity*.

XXIII.

Overjoy'd with this Vision, he Ford's his Army over the River *Iberus*, divided into three Bodies, consisting in all of Ninety thousand Foot and Twelve thousand Horse, sending some before, who with Presents might conciliate the favor of the *Gauls* (amongst whom he was to pass) and also to discover the Passages of the Alps. Then he over-run the *Illyriates*, *Bergusians*, and *Ausetanians*, and the Province of *Lacetania* [now the Bishoprick of *Barcellona*] which lies at the foot of the *Pyrenean Mountains*: Over all which Tract he made *Hanno* Governor, that he might have at his Devotion those Passes and Streights which join France to Spain, allowing him Ten thousand Foot and a thousand Horse to keep them in subjection. Whilst now the Army was begun to be drawn into the *Pyrenean* Thickets and Hills, and the report ran more certainly current amongst the Barbarous Auxiliaries, that 'twas the Romans they were designed to fight against, Three thousand Foot of the *Carpetanes* deserted the Service, not so much terrified with the War, as at the tediousness of the Journey, and the insuperable passage of the Alps: *Annibal* being loth either to force them



back, or retain them against their Wills, lest thereby he should provoke the rest that were as fierce and savage as they, to a mutiny, did of his own accord send home above Seven thousand more, whom he perceived to be weary and have no stomach to the Service, pretending that the said *Carpetanes* were also dismissed with his free consent.

But lest lingering and idleness should likewise debauch the Courage of the rest, he presently passes the *Pyrenean Hills*, and Encamps before the Town *Illeberis*. The *French*, although they were told the War was designed only against *Italy*, yet because there was a report that the *Spaniards* on the other side of the *Pyrenean Mountains*, were set upon and conquered by Force, and great Garisons imposed upon them, therefore the Heads of several Nations, for fear of being Enslav'd, betook themselves to Arms, and Rendezvous'd at *Roussillon*. Of which *Annibal* having advice, apprehending more the stop and loss of time, than their Arms, sent Messengers to their several Princes and Chiefs, That he in Person would have a Friendly Conference with them, and that the Meeting might be the more easie, They should either advance nearer to *Illeberis*, or he go on further towards *Roussillon*; For as he was ready with joy to receive them into his Camp, so he would make no difficulty to venture himself amongst them, since he came a Guest, not an Enemy into France, and was resolv'd, if they would but permit him, not to draw a Sword until he was entered *Italy*. This pass'd by Carriers between both Parties, but presently after, the *French* Chiefs remov'd towards *Illeberis*, and came willingly enough to *Annibal*, as being before brib'd by his large Presents, and so gave him free leave to march his Army through their Territories, under the Walls of *Roussillon*.

XXV. In *Italy* all this while they had no further News, than only that *Annibal* was pass'd beyond *Iberus*, which tidings was brought to *Rome* by the Envoys from *Marseilles*; yet, as if he had already pass'd the *Alps*, the *Boii* were revolted, and soliciting the *Insubrians* (those of *Milain*) to join with them; which they did, not so much for the old grudge against the *Romans*, as because they could not endure those Colonies which were brought into the *Cisalpine Gallia*, along the Banks of the *Po*, at *Placentia* and *Cremona*. So having suddenly taken Arms, they made an Incurion into those parts, and gave such a terrible Alarm, that not only the Rustick rabble, but even the *Roman* *Triumvirs* who were sent thither to assign and allot the Lands, not thinking themselves safe within the Walls, fled to *Mutina* [at this day call'd *Modena*] whose names are said to be *C. Lutatius*, *A. Servilius*, and *T. Annius*. As for *Lutatius* there is no dispute, but instead of *A. Servilius* and *T. Annius*, some Chronicles have *Q. Acilius* and *C. Herennius*; others, *P. Cornelius Asina*, and *C. Papirius Mafso*. It is also uncertain, whether it were the Ambassadors sent to Expostulate with the *Boii* that were abused, or whether it were only to the *Triumvirs* as they were measuring out the Ground that violence was offered. Whilst they were besieged in *Modena*, the Enemy being both unskill'd in the Arts of assaulting Towns, and of all others the most cowardly and unapt for any Martial Exploits, knowing not how to do any thing but lie idling before the Walls, did at last make Overtures for a Peace: But when Commissioners at their request came out to Treat with them, they, contrary not only to the Law of Nations, but also in violation of their present safe Conduct, detain'd them Prisoners, refusing to release them, unless the Hostages they had formerly given were discharged. Intelligence hereof arriving at *Rome*, and that the Garison at *Modena* was in danger, *L. Manlius* the Prator with great Indignation, and more hast than good speed, leads an Army thitherwards. In those days there were mighty Woods upon the Road, and for the most part uninhabited, so that venturing along there without his Scouts abroad, he fell into an Ambuscade, and not without difficulty and great loss of his Men, recovered the open Champaign Country, where he Entrench'd himself, and because the *Gauls* [for these *Boii* were a Branch of that Nation] had not Courage to attack their Camp; his Soldiers hearts were a little lightened, and yet would not but be sensible they had receiv'd a shrewd Blow, and were much impaired. Then they began to March again, and as long as they were in the open Fields, no Enemy appear'd, but as soon as they entered another Woody place, fell upon their Rear, cut off Eight hundred of their Men, and carried away six Colours, putting the whole Body into great Terror and Consternation; but as soon as they were got past those pathless Thickets and Forrests, both the *Gauls* ceased to molest them, and the *Romans* gave over their fears, who easily defending themselves in the open Country, made hast to *Tanetum*, a Village on the Bank of the *Po*, where with Entrenchments and Works they cast up, and supply of Provisions sent them down by the River, together with the assistance of those *Gauls* call'd *Brixians*, they secured themselves against the Enemy, whose multitudes were daily encreased.

XXVI. After this sudden tumult was reported at *Rome*, and that the Senate was advertised, that besides the *Punic* War, they were also like to be embroil'd with the *Gauls*, they immediately issue out Orders, That *C. Attilius* the Prator, with a compleat *Roman* Legion, and Five thousand of the Allies listed on a new Levy by the Consul, should go to relieve his Brother *Manlius*, who accordingly march'd to *Tanetum* without any Encounter; for upon news of his advance, the Enemy was frighted and fled. Also *P. Cornelius* having newly raised another

another Legion in the room of that which was sent along with the Prator, departed from *Rome* with sixty long Ships, by the Coasts of *Tuscany*, *Liguria*, and within view of the *Salyan Mountains*, till he arrived at *Marseilles*; and having landed his Men, Encamped by the nearest mouth of the *Rhone* (for that River being divided, discharges it self in several Channels into the Sea) scarce believing, That *Annibal* was yet got over the *Pyrenean Mountains*, till advise came, that he was already come up to the *Rhone*, and contriving to Transport his Army over it; wherefore, not knowing where he might encounter him, and for that his Men were scarce yet well recovered of their being Sea-sick, he sent out Three hundred chosen Horse, with *Marseillian* Guides, and some *French* Auxiliaries to discover the posture of the Enemy. Who having pacified the rest of the Nations, either fearing to stir, or brib'd with money to be quiet, was now come to the Territories of the *Volcans* (People of *Avignon*) a potent Nation that inhabit on both sides of the *Rhone*, who mistrusting they should not be able to keep off *Annibal* from that part which lay beyond it, that they might secure the rest by the advantage of the River, carry'd almost all they had to the other side, and there Posted themselves. The rest of the Borderers on the River, as well as those in whose Countries he quartered, *Annibal* easily prevail'd with to supply him with what Vessels they had, and in building of new ones; for both he was desirous to get his Army over as soon as possibly he could, and they were as willing to be rid of the burthen of Quartering so vast a multitude; so that there was quickly got together a World of Lighters, Barges, and sorry kind of Boats which the Country People had for their ordinary use; other new ones were also made, first by the *French*, out of the hallowed Trunks of Trees, and afterwards the Soldiers seeing how easie it was, and that they had materials enough, fell to making themselves such Canoo's, regarding no neatness, so they would but float upon the Water, and carry them over and their Baggage.

But when all things were in readines for their Transportation, the Enemy on the other side daunted them, for they covered all the Bank with Armed Men, both Horse and Foot; *Annibal*, to give them a diversion, orders *Hanno* the Son of *Bomilcar*, in the beginning of the Evening, with a strong Detachment, most of them *Spaniards*, to march up the River one days journey, and getting over the River where he could find a conveniency, to march round with all secrecy, that upon occasion he might fall upon the back of the Enemy. The *French* Guides appointed for this Expedition, led him up almost Five and twenty miles, to a place where the River dividing it self, made as it were a little Island, and so its Channel became less deep, and afforded a convenient passage: Therefore cutting down Timber in all hast, they built them Punts and flat-bottom'd Boats, to carry over both Men and Horse; but many of the *Spaniards* made no more, but clap'd their Bucklers and Cloaths upon certain Leathern Bottles, sat themselves aloft thereon, and wafted over in a trice; and the rest of the Party upon Rafts and kind of Boats. Then they Encamp'd near the Rivers side, being weary both with their long march, and this hard work; but after one days refreshment, their Leader being intent upon his Design, they advanc'd from thence, and gave notice by great smoaks that they were got over, and not far off; whereupon *Annibal*, that he might lose no time, gave his Army the Signal to transport themselves as fast as they could. The Foot had their Wherries or Canoo's ready prepared and fitted, and abundance of Barges or large Vessels placed up higher in the River, to break the force of the Current, and render it more smooth and safe for the said little Boats that pass'd below them, carry'd the Cavalry, except such Horses as swam cross, as many empty ones did after the Vessels, their Bridles being tyed to the Stern; but such as were saddled and harnessed to be ready for present Service, were transported in the Barges or Ferry-Boats.

The *French* in heaps stood upon the opposite Bank, with loud hooping, hallooing, and singing after their barbarous manner, clattering their Targets over their Heads, and brandishing their Weapons in their right hands; though yet they were not a little startled to see such a power of Vessels coming upon them, with the hideous roaring of the Water, and no less terrible shouts and clamors both of the Water-men and Soldiers, endeavoring to break through the Current, and of those yet behind on the other Bank, encouraging their Fellows that were passing. But whilst they were thus concern'd at the sight and noise before, a much more dreadful Out-cry arose behind their backs, *Hanno* having surprized their Camp, and presently after was up at them with his Brigade; so that now they were astonish'd, and in equal danger on all sides, for they had not only a mighty power of Armed Men that were got on Land from the Vessels, to deal with, but also an unexpected Army furiously charging them in the Rear: The *French*, after they had made head a while, and found all resistance vain, where they spyed the Coast most clear, broke through, and so in great fear fled several ways into their respective Towns and Villages. *Annibal* then at leisure wafting over the rest of his Forces, condemning now all *French* interruptions, Encamped himself: For transporting the Elephants, I suppose there might be several devices propos'd, because 'tis variously related; some say, That having brought them altogether to the Bank, one of the wildest and fiercest of them being purposely provoked

voked and enraged by his Keeper, when he run at him, the Fellow, as to save himself, took the Water, and the Beast in that fury followed him as he swam, thereby drawing after him all the whole drove to do the like; and as any of them fearing the depth failed to wade, the very force of the Stream carried them downwards till they came to the other Bank. But it is more credibly related, That they were conveyed over in Vessels, which as it was safer counsel before it was practised, so when 'twas done, was more easie to be believed: They made (these Authors say) a very large Raft of Two hundred foot long, and fifty broad, which, that it might not be carryed away with the Current, they fix'd with strong Ropes on the upper part to the Bank, and covered it over with Turfs and Earth like a Bridge, that the Beasts might boldly venture on it as on firm Ground: To the farthest side of this, was join'd very even, a Ferry-boat of the same breadth, but only One hundred foot long, fitted to pass the River; then the Elephants being driven along upon the first fix'd Boat, as in an High-way, their Females formost, when as many as 'twas thought convenient were pass'd into the second, presently the same was loosned, and so tow'd away by certain Gallies to the other shore. Thus when the first were landed, they went back and fetch'd more, till they had them all; whilst they were on the long Bridge they shew'd no fear, but when the Barge was put off, and they parted from their fellows into the broad River, they were a little troublesom, by thronging one another, those on the outside giving back as much as they could from the Water, until at last seeing nothing but Water all round, the very fear made them be quiet; yet some few were so unruly, that they fell into the River, but by reason of their bulk and heaviness stood firm against the Torrent, and casting their Keepers, by wading warily where it was Fordable, got safe to Land.

XXIX. Whilst the Elephants were Ferrying over, Annibal sent out Five hundred Numidian Horse to discover the Romans Camp, Where they were? of what strength? and what they intended? This Party, the Three hundred Roman Horse sent out upon the like Errand from the mouth of the Rhone, as aforesaid, happened to encounter with; between whom happened a Skirmish more fierce and bloody than could be expected from the smallness of their numbers, for besides many wounded, there were kill'd out-right near upon as many on the one side as the other; but just as the Romans were almost tyred out and spent, the fear and flight of the Enemy, yielded them the Victory: Of the Numidians who were worsted, were kill'd above Two hundred; and of the Romans side who were Victors, One hundred and sixty, but some of them French, that they had took with them for their Guides and assistants: As this was the first Hansel, so it may well be accounted an Omen of the whole War that followed, portending as in the end and upon the whole matter, a prosperous event to the Romans, so likewise that it was to be doubtfully disputed, and with great hazard and slaughter. The Conflict thus over, each Party return'd to their own Army.

Now as Scipio could not resolve what Measures to take, but as he found the Enemy to shape his course; so neither was Annibal yet certainly determined, whether he should pursue his intended march for Italy, or fight the Roman Army that was now so near him; but he was diverted wholly from engaging at present, by the arrival of Ambassadors from the Boii, and of Matalus a petty King amongst them, who offered to be both his Guides in his Journey to Italy, and sharers with him in all dangers, affirming, That in their opinion his best way was to begin the War, with his strength intire, and unweakened by any other Service. The main Body of his Army had no small apprehensions of the Enemy they were to cope with, for the remembrance of the former sharp and tedious War, was not yet obliterated. But much more did they dread so vast a Journey, and the thoughts of the Alps, whose very name to Men altogether unacquainted in those parts, was very terrible.

XXX. Annibal therefore having fix'd his Resolutions to go on, and march directly for Italy, calls his Soldiers to an Assembly, and partly by reproof, and partly by encouragement, endeavors to prepare their Spirits for the Expedition, in an Oration to this effect: I cannot but admire, Gentlemen Soldiers! what strange and sudden fear hath of late invaded your Breasts, which ever heretofore have been utter strangers to that Womanish Passion. You have served in the Wars so many years, and always Victorious; who left not Spain till you had rendred all its several Nations, and that vast Tract of Land which reaches from Sea to Sea, Tributaries and Vassals to Carthage; you who took the Romans, demanding all that were at the Siege of Saguntum to be delivered up to them as Malefactors and Slaves, in so much scorn and indignation, that you pass'd the Iberus full of generous Resolves, not only to chastize that Insolence, but even root out the Roman name from under Heaven, and for ever Enfranchise the World from their Tyranny; and in order to so glorious a design, did then declare, You would think no March too long, though it should be even from the setting to the rising of the Sun; yet after you now see the far greater part of your Journey already dispatch'd, The Pyrenean Hills and Thickets, amongst fierce and desperate Nations, happily surmounted; that we have pass'd over the great River Rhone, notwithstanding either the rapid fierceness of its Current, or those thousands of French which stood armed on its Banks to hinder us: Now that we are got within sight of the Alps, the other side of which is Italy,

Italy, Will ye faint and languish with a lazy Cowardize, when you are even upon the very Gates of your Enemy? What Monsters do you fancy these Alps to be? They are nothing in the World but a parcel of high Hills; and suppose them a little higher than the Cliffs of the Pyreneans, there is no Land (I am sure) that reaches up to Heaven, nor any place for Men unsuperable: These very Alps are inhabited, they are Plowed and Tilled like the rest of the Earth, and both breed and feed great numbers of Cattel, and other living Creatures: Are they indeed accessible and to be pass'd by a few, but unpassable to whole Armies? rather the more they are in company, the more helpful they must needs be to each other: These very Ambassadors you see here lately arriv'd, have no wings, nor did they fly over the towering tops of the Alps; nor were their Ancestors born and bred there, but strangers, that with their Wives and Children, after the manner of those that seek new Countries to inhabit, did often in vast multitudes safely Troop over these Mountains, to dwell in the more pleasant and plentiful Plains of Italy: What should there be unpassable or impossible to a Soldier, carrying no burden but his Arms? What pains did ye take, what dangers and hazards did you freely expose your selves unto daily for eight long months together, for the taking of Saguntum? and now when you are going to conquer Rome, when the reward of your Travel is no less than a City that is Mistress of the World: Shall any thing seem so hard or difficult as to stop your March, or divert your Courage from such glorious hopes? Shall it be said, That the Gauls heretofore by main force made themselves Masters of that very place, which the Carthaginians now despair of being able to get at? You must therefore either shamefully confess your selves inferior for valor and spirit, to a Nation that of late days you have so often vanquish'd; or else never hope for, or think of any other end of your March, until you come to those fair Fields that lie between Tyber and the Walls of Rome.

Having with such Discourses rais'd the hearts of his Soldiers, he ordered them to be- XXXI. take themselves to rest, refresh their Bodies, and prepare for their March. The next day crossing from the Banks of the Rhone, he advanc'd towards the Inland parts of France, not because that was the directer Road to the Alps, but because the further off he was from the Sea-side, the more out of danger he should be of meeting the Romans, with whom he resolv'd not to fight (if he could avoid it) till he got into Italy: After four days march he came to a kind of an Island made by the two Rivers, the Saone and the Rhone, which issuing out of different parts of the Alps, after they have in several Courses ran through a good part of the Country, there at length fall together and unite their Streams, and the Meadows lying between them are called, The Isle. Not far from thence inhabit the Allobroges [People of Dauphinois and Savoy] a Nation even so long ago inferior to none in France, either for Wealth or Power, but at that Juncture at variance amongst themselves, occasion'd by two Brothers contending for the Crown: The elder (whose name was Brancus, and had before enjoyed the Kingdom) being Deposed and Justled out of the Throne by a younger, and a lusty crew of the Youth of his Faction, who had more Might, though less Right on their side. This Quarrel was refer'd to Annibals Arbitrament, as seasonably as he could wish, who made a very Just Award, and no other than what the Senate and Nobles would have given, viz. That the Elder Brother should be restored to his Kingdom, and all Animosities be buryed in Oblivion: For which good Office, they plentifully furnish'd him with all sorts of Provisions, and especially Cloaths, which he thought fit to provide before-hand, by reason of the sad reports he heard of the extremity of cold he must expect to meet with on the Alps.

Having settled the Differences amongst the Allobroges, pursuing his Journey to the Alps, he pass'd not straight forward, but turn'd towards the left hand to the Tricastins, and from thence by the Territories of the Vocontians into the Country of the Tricorians, meeting with no obstacle all the way until he came to the Durance; a River likewise flowing out of the Alps, but the most difficult to be pass'd over of any in all France; for though it carries a vast quantity of Water, yet 'tis no way Navigable, nor will bear any Vessel, because being kept within no certain Banks, it runs at once in several different Channels, and not always the same, but is continually casting up new Shelves and Heaps, and making new deep Passages and Whirl-pits in the Ground (which renders it very unsafe and difficult for a Foot-man to wade through it) besides the Torrent rolling down perpetually great stones, and vast quantities of pibbles and gravel, makes it yet more dangerous: It chanc'd too at that time to be higher than ordinary, by reason of some showers that had lately falln, so that much ado they had to get over it, being no less discouraged by their own fears and uncertain out-crys as they pass'd through it, than by difficulties of the place it self.

P. Cornelius the Consul, about three days after Annibal dislodg'd from the Banks of the XXXII. Rhone, came up with his Army in excellent order to the place where the Enemy lately Encamp'd, resolv'd immediately to have given them Battel: But finding the Works deserted, and that 'twas unlikely he should easily come up with them who had so far got the start of him, returned to his Ships at Sea, hoping for a safer and more seasonable opportunity of Encountering Annibal as he descended from the Alps. But that his Province, Spain, might not be left altogether naked of Roman Succors, he sent his Brother Cn. Scipio with the greater part

part of the Forces against *Asdrubal*, with Commission not only to defend their old Allies, and conciliate new ones, but to drive *Asdrubal* out of the Country, whilst he himself with a very small Company return'd to *Genoa*, with intent to guard *Italy* with that Army which lay Quartered about the *Po*.

*Annibal*, from the River *Durance*, march'd chiefly through the Champion Countries without any disturbance from the Inhabitants, to the foot of the *Alps*; which Mountains, though they had heard much of before by report (which is wont to make things that are uncertain to us, seem much greater or more terrible than they are in truth) yet seeing now near hand their prodigious height, cap'd with Snows, that seem'd almost intermingled with the Heavens themselves. The rude mis-shapen Cottages built on the sides of steep Rocks, that over-look'd the Clouds; the Cattel, Sheep, Oxen and Horses sing'd with cold; the People barbarous, and with long shagg'd hair like Savages: In a word, all things living or inanimate parched, and stiff with continual Frosts, and nothing to be seen but a general Scene of deformity and horror; the near prospect, I say, of all this, renewed his Soldiers fears; and to encrease their apprehensions of danger, they were no sooner marching up the first Ascents, but there appeared, setting over their heads, multitudes of the Mountaineers who had seized the Hills, who if they had lain in Ambuscade in the interjacent Vallies, and all at once charg'd upon them, must needs have done great execution. *Annibal* hereupon orders his Ensigns to make an Halt, sends out some *French* to view the Ground before, by whom, understanding there was no passage that way, he pitch'd his Camp amongst those craggy steep rough places, upon as large and plain a Valley as he could find. By the same *French* Scouts (who not much differing in Language or Looks from the other *Gauls* that dwelt in the Mountains, could easily mix themselves amongst them) he was informed, That they only guarded the Hills in the day time, but in the night every one slip'd away to his own harbor. Therefore having for one whole day made several Bravado's and Parades, as if he would openly force his Passage; towards night he retreats back again to his Camp: but in the evening as soon as he perceived the Enemy were gone home from off their Guards, making abundance of Fires in the Camp for shew, more than were necessary for those that were to stay there, and leaving with the Cavalry the Bag and Baggage, and most of the Infantry, himself in Person, taking with him the most active and nimblest of his Army, and such as were most lightly Arm'd, in an instant got through the Streights aforesaid, and Posted himself on those very Hills, which the Enemy was before posselt of.

XXXIII. As soon as 'twas day, the rest of his Army dislodg'd and began their March: At the same time the Mountaineers at their usual Signal, repairing from their Forts towards their place of Guard, seeing some of the Enemies had already made themselves Masters thereof, and others hastening thither, were extremely daunted, and for a while stood as Men astonish'd; but afterwards, perceiving *Annibal's* Soldiers embarrass'd in the Streights, and disorder'd in their March, the Horses being wonderfully frighted, imagined, that if they could but add a little to that terror, it might be enough to destroy them, and therefore to alarm them ran up and down like mad, over-thwart the Rocks, and through blind Passages with which they were well acquainted, so that henceforth the *Punicks* were at once incommoded, both with the inconveniencies and dangers of the Passage, and the attacks of these lurking straglers; yet still there was more ado amongst themselves (whilst every one strove who should first escape the danger) than with the Enemy. But indeed, nothing troubled and discompos'd the Army so much as their own Horses, which, with the various shouts and out-cries, redoubled by the Echo's between the Rocks and the Vallies, were continually startled; and if any of them happened to be struck or wounded, they would keep such a flinging about on those narrow Precipices, that they overthrew and made great havock both of Men and all sorts of Carriages: Besides, the throng was so great, and the Streights on both sides so steep and craggy, that many Men were jostled down head-long a mighty height, and some of them in their Armor; but especially the Sumpter-Horses, and Beasts for carriage, by reason of their heavy Loading, were tumbled down with their Packs, making an horrible rumbling from one Rock to another, as if it were the fall of some Castle or great Building. All which, though a very grievous spectacle, yet *Annibal* for a while look'd on, and kept the party that was with him together, until he saw his Army, by the continual peltings and disturbances of the Enemy, put into such disorder, that he was afraid they would leave their Carriages and Baggages behind them, which being lost, all his labor would be in vain: To prevent therefore this mischief, he ran down from the upper Ground, and with a smart Charge quickly sent packing all the Mountaineers, but therewith encreas'd at first the tumult amongst his own Men; however, in a moment that was over, when they found their Passage now free from the troublesome interruptions and clamors of the Enemy, and so, silently and at their leisure march'd all through that narrow Pass. After which he took a Castle (the chief Fort in those parts) and several neighboring Villages, and with the Cattel there taken Feasted his Army for three days together, in which space being not at all hindred by the Inhabitants,

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nor so very much encumbred with the difficulties of the Ways, he had made a pretty considerable progress in his Journey.

They came next to a Coast well Peopled for such Mountainous places. Here *Annibal* XXXIV. was like to have been over-match'd, not by open Force, but in his own Arts, fraud and ambush. Certain antient Persons, Governors of Castles, come to him as Agents from the Country, telling him, That being better instructed by the useful examples of other Mens misfortunes, they had made choice rather to try the Friendship, than tempt the force of the Carthaginian Arms, and therefore should readily obey whatever he should command, entreating, That he would be pleas'd to accept of such mean Provisions as they were able to afford, together with Guides for his Journey, and Hostages for the true performance of what they promised. *Annibal*, neither over-hastily believing them, nor churlishly slighting the Overture, lest they should then prove his open Enemies, gave them good Language, receiv'd their Hostages, made use of what Provisions they brought in, and followed their Guides, but in good order, and with caution as in an Enemies Country. In the Van-guard were the Elephants and Cavalry; next he himself in Person with the Flower of his Foot, diligently looking round about with a watchful Eye. When at last they were entred into a narrow Pass, that on one side lay under a steep Hill which commanded it, the barbarous people started up out of their Ambush, and all at once Charg'd them Front and Rear, with Weapons from a distance, and close blows, and also rolling down vast Stones upon them as they march'd; but the greatest number came behind upon their backs, against whom the Foot faced about, and undoubtedly, if his Rear had not been very strongly guarded, he had that day received a notable Overthrow; for even as 'twas, they were reduc'd to an extremity of danger, and the very brink of ruine, for whilst *Annibal* delay'd to advance with his Division into the Streights, for that he had not left any Succors in the Rear-guard to secure the Foot, as he himself was a defence to the Horse, the Mountaineers came over-thwart and flank'd them, and breaking through the Files, cross'd upon him and beset the way before him, so that he was forc'd for one night to take up his Lodging there, without either Horse or Baggage.

The next day the barbarous People making their Incurfions more faintly, he joined his XXXV. Forces, and got clear of that Streight, not without considerable loss (but more of Horses than Men.) Thenceforwards the Mountaineers, not in a posture of War, but rather like Robbers, molested them by falling on some of the Van, and at other times picking up straglers in the Rear, as each place gave opportunity, or the carelessness of his Men admitted occasion. The Elephants in the Front, as they could march but slowly through those narrow Passages, so where they went they secured those about them, because the Enemy having never seen such huge Creatures before, durst not come near them. On the ninth day he got to the top of the *Alps*, having been forc'd to march for the most part through places before untrodden, and often wandering out of the way; either by the treachery of his Guides, or when they durst not trust them, by marching into Vallies that promised fair, and guessing the way at a venture: Here he lay Encamped two days to refresh his Soldiers, wearied out with the toil of clambering up thither, and the frequent Skirmishes and continual Alarms they had had; and several of the Sumpter-horses lost in the Passage, following the track of the Army, came up to them. But as they were thus over-toil'd with tedious Travel, a new disaster happened by the falling of a deep Snow, For the *Pleiades* were now come to set with the Sun [which happens in those parts about the middle of November] and Winter hastned on apace. When therefore at break of day the Standards began to advance, the Army march'd very heavily through the Snow, which covered all the Ground very thick, and faintheartedness and despair seem'd to appear in every mans countenance; *Annibal* marching a pretty way before the Standards up into a certain Promontory, yielding a long prospect all about, commanded his Soldiers to Hault, and there shewed them *Italy*, and the goodly Champian Fields about the *Po*, that lay under that side of the *Alpine* Hills, telling them, That now they had mounted not only the Walls of *Italy*, but even those of the City *Rome*; that the rest of their march would be plain, and all the way down-hill, and that after one or two brushes at most, they should be absolute Masters of the Bulwark and Metropolis of *Italy*. Then more cheerfully did they march on, no Enemy troubling them unless by petty Robberies upon an advantage. Yet their descent was indeed more difficult than their getting up (for as the *Alps* on the *Italian* side are shorter, so they are more steep and strait,) all the way being almost a Precipice, narrow, and so slippery, that as they could hardly keep themselves from tumbling, so if they did but happen to stumble never so little, there was no recovering their foot-hold, but both Horses and Men fell down one on the top of the other.

But after this, they came to a Rock much more difficult to pass, for the crags thereof XXXVI. were so steep down-right, that scarce the nimblest Soldier, though not at all encumbred with Arms or Baggage, could creep down it, do what he could to catch hold with his hands on the twigs and shrubs that grew about it; this place being before by Nature a kind of Precipice, by a late vast fall of Earth near a thousand foot high, was render'd yet more abrupt;

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abrupt. There the Horse-men making a stop as if they had been come to their Journys end, and *Annibal* admiring why they did not march on, word was brought him, *That 'twas impossible for them to go any further that way*; which he himself going in Person to view it, found to be too true, and that he must of necessity fetch a compass about, through places where no Road lay, and which had never yet been trodden; for here there was no going on further; for whereas over the old untouch'd Snow, there was new faln, in which being not very deep, their feet as they went easily made impression, but when the same with the trampling of such a multitude of Men and Horses, was thaw'd, they were fain to go up on the bare Ice underneath, and through the slabby Liquor of the melting Snow o'th' top: There a sad and untoward strugling they had, for as they could not tread sure upon the slippery Ice, especially being so very steep, so when they fell, if they went to get up by the help either of their hands or knees, down they came again; nor were there any stumps or twigs whereon they might take hold or stay either hand or foot; and as for the poor Beasts, all they could do was to tumble and wallow on the glassy Ice and slabby Snow, and sometimes being faln, with their flinging to and fro, and endeavoring with their hoofs to take faster hold, they would break into the hard congealed Snow underneath, and so stick fast as if they had been caught in a Trap.

XXXVII. At last, when both Man and Beast were quite tyred out, and all with strugling to no purpose, they Encamped on the top of an Hill, having first, with much ado, cleared the place for that purpose, such abundance of Snow there was to be shovell'd away; after which, the Soldiers were set to work upon a Rock, through which only they could hope for a Passage, and in order thereunto having fell'd abundance of huge Trees thereabouts, and made a mighty Pile of Wood against it, when the Wind blew fresh to encrease the fire, they set it a burning; and when the Rock was thus made red hot, they poured Vinegar upon it to soften it, and so with their Pick-Axes and other Tools, wrought it away, and with little winding Paths made a passage both for their Horse and Elephants. This work took them up four days, by which time their Horses were almost starv'd; for the tops of the Mountains are generally bare of Grass, or if there were any, 'twas covered up with the Snow; but the Vallies have some little Banks lying towards the Sun, and Rivers withal near the Woods, convenient for Habitations; there the Horse were put out to grass, and two days rest allowed the Army to refresh them after their hard labor on the Rock; from thence they descended into a plain Champian Country, and found both their March more easie and pleasant, and the Inhabitants more humane and tractable.

XXXVIII. These are the chief Occurrents of this tedious and renowned March: They entring into Italy the fifth month after their advance from *New Carthage* (as some write) having in Fifteen days pass'd over the whole *Alps*. What Forces *Annibal* had when he arriv'd in Italy, is variously related by Historians; they that speak with the most, mention One hundred thousand Foot, and Twenty thousand Horse; they that make the least on't, say, but Twenty thousand Foot and Six hundred Horse. *L. Cincius Alimentus*, an Author of great Authority, and who avers that himself was taken Prisoner by *Annibal*, would satisfy us, but that he sets down the number confusedly, by adding to the rest the *Gauls* and *Ligurians* that join'd him after he came down the *Alps*; for with them he counts *Annibals* Army to consist of Eighty thousand Foot and Ten thousand Horse (yet 'tis probable that from all parts there came more thither than so, which is also attested by some Writers.) The same Author relates, that he had it from *Annibal* himself, *That after he had pass'd the Rhone, he lost six and thirty thousand Men, and a vast number of Horses and other Cattel, especially on the Coasts of Piedmont*, which Nation lay next to the *Cisalpine Gauls* as he went down into Italy. Which being a thing generally agreed, I so much the more admire how it comes to be made a dispute, on which side he pass'd the *Alps*, and that it should be commonly believed, That he went over the place called *Peninnum*, and that the top of the *Alps* was so called, *quasi Peninnum*, a *Penis*, from this march of the *Carthaginians*: *Cælius* says, he took his way over the top of *Cremon*; but as either of both those Passes would have brought him not amongst the *Piedmontez*, but through the Mountains of the *Salassi*, to the *Gauls* called *Libuans*; so neither is it probable that those Roads into *France* were open or known so long ago, considering that which led to *Peninnum* was environed with fierce and barbarous People, half *Germans*; and certain it is (if the allusion of the Name should seem of any weight) That the *Veragrians* who inhabit that very Peak, *know nothing of its being called so from any march of the Punic that way, but from a certain Consecrated Place on the very ridge of the Hill, which the Mountaineers use to call Peninnum*.

XXXIX. It fell out very opportunely to favor *Annibals* first proceedings, That the People of *Piedmont*, the next Nation he came to, were at that time engaged in Wars with the *Milanais*; nor could he conveniently assist either party, being busie in refreshing his Army, that now grew more sensible of the harms they had received by the rigours of their March, than before whilst they actually labored under them; for ease after such toil, sudden plenty upon pining scarcity, and good and delicate keeping after all kind of sordid nastiness, had strangely disordered their Bodies. Which Considerations moved *P. Cornelius* the Consul, as

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soon as he was arrived at *Pise*, and had received from *Manlius Attilius* the new raised Army (though yet trembling under the disgrace of their late overthrows) [by the *Boians* and *Gauls*] to hasten towards the Banks of the *Po*, that he might fight the Enemy before they were well recruited: But by that time he got to *Placentia*, *Annibal* had removed his Camp, and by force taken one, and that the chief City of the *Piedmontese*, because it had slighted his Friendship; likewise the *Gauls* about the *Po*, out of inclination as well as fear, were to have join'd with him, had not the sudden arrival of the Consul retain'd them in obedience, just as they were studying a fit time and occasion for a revolt: At the same instant *Annibal* had quitted *Piedmont*, and come amongst the said *Gauls*, imagining, that standing in this wavering posture they might easily be made comply with him, when he was once present on the place. The Armies were now almost within sight of each other, and two Generals met, who though as yet not thoroughly known to one another, had notwithstanding an high esteem of each others Parts and Conduct; for the name of *Annibal* had been famous amongst the *Romans*, even before the destruction of *Saguntum*; and *Annibal* could not but believe *Scipio* to be some excellent Person, if it were for no other reason but this, That he above all others, was chosen out to be Commander in Chief against him; and that which further encreased their mutual value of each other, was, That *Scipio* on the one side who was left behind in *France*, should be here ready to encounter *Annibal* as soon as he came into *Italy*; and on the other side, That *Annibal* should not only have the Courage to attempt, but the Fortune to accomplish so daring an Expedition over the *Alps*. However, *Scipio* to prevent the Enemy from crossing the *Po* before him, removed his Quarters to the River *Ticinus*, and to hearten on his Soldiers before he fought, made an Oration to them to this effect.

"If I were now to lead the same Army into the Field which I had with me in *France*, I would spare my pains of speaking to you. For what need would there be of encouraging Rhetorick, either to that Cavalry which so gallantly routed the Enemies Troops on the Banks of the *Rhone*? or to those Legions with whom I pursued this very Enemy, whose Retreat and declining to come to a Battel, I took to be an acknowledgment of our Victory? But since that Army as it was levied for *Spain*, does still under my Command, but the immediate Conduct of my Brother *Cn. Scipio*, continue there, where the Senate and People of *Rome* have thought fit to employ them; That you might have a Consul for your General against *Annibal* and his *Carthaginians*; I have of my own free will offered my self to this Service. Being therefore a new Commander to you, and you new Soldiers to me, I think it not amiss to express my self in a few words to you all, that ye may not be ignorant what kind of War you are engaged in, nor of the quality of the Enemy. You are, Gentlemen! to fight with a parcel of People, whom already in the former War you have Routed and Defeated both by Sea and Land; a People, that for these twenty Years have been your Tributaries, and from whom you conquered *Sicily* and *Sardinia*, and hold them to this day by the Law of Arms, as the just Rewards of your Valour, and Trophies of your Victories. Therefore I doubt not, but in this Dispute both you and they will be no otherwise affected than as Conquerors, and Persons crush'd and vanquish'd are wont to be, when they meet together; nor is it their Courage, but their Necessity that brings them on now to Fight, unless you can believe that those who durst not venture an Engagement whilst their Army was sound and entire, should be so wonderfully encouraged by the loss of two parts both of their Horse and Foot in their passage through the *Alps* (for more are perish'd there, than remain alive) as now to have greater confidence in themselves than then? But some may say, Though indeed they are but few in number, yet they are valiant and brave, of courageous Minds and able Bodies, such Men for strength and stoutness, as scarce any force in the World can stand before them. Yes verily! the clean contrary way: For in truth, they are but mere shadows of Men, pinch'd with hunger, half starv'd with cold, lost for want of keeping, almost choak'd and eaten up with nastiness and Vermin, bruised and weakened between Cliffs and Rocks; besides, their Limbs are benum'd and useless, their Joints stiff with cold, all parts of their Bodies chilled with Frost and Snow, their Arms battered, broken and spoil'd, their Horses lame, and such lamentable poor Jades as they can hardly rise alone. These are the Horse-men, these the Foot you are to encounter with, not worthy to be called an Enemy, but only the Enemies last Relicks, the Skeleton of a *Carthaginian* Army: Nor is there any thing I am so much afraid of, as lest the *Alps* should rob you of the honor of the Victory, and the World ascribe *Annibal's* overthrow to those Mountains, as if they had utterly defeated him before ever you came up to Charge him: But perhaps it was most just and proper they should not fall by Humane Hands, who had already proclaimed Wars against the Powers Divine; That the Gods themselves should chastise a General and People that had so impudently violated their Faith and Solemn Leagues, and leave us (who were injured but in the second place) only the glory of finishing what they have so fairly begun to our hands.

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"I cannot apprehend that any man here should suspect that I speak thus magnificently only to encourage you, whilst in my own Breast I have other Sentiments; for without the least dishonor I might have gone into *Spain*, my peculiar Province (where I was before with my Army) and where I might have had my Brother both an Assistant in Counsels, and sharer in all Dangers, and *Asdrubal* for an Enemy rather than *Annibal*, and the brunt of the War undoubtedly more easie than could be expected here; yet as I sail'd by the Coasts of *France*, upon the report of this Enemy I presently Landed, dispatch'd away my Cavalry to find them out, and advanc'd with my whole Army as far as the *Rhone*: 'Tis true, I had only an opportunity to engage them with a Body of Horse, and therein I clearly defeated them: As for their Foot, they getting away in an hurry, more like a Flight than a March, not being able to overtake them by Land, returning to my Ships, with as much Expedition as was possible (considering what a compass I was to fetch by Sea and Land) I was again in the Teeth of him at the foot of the *Alps*. Can it then be thought that I declin'd fighting with this Enemy who is (forsooth) so formidable? and now stumbled upon them unawares? Or rather is it not most evident, that I have pursued him at the heels, and provok'd and dar'd him in a fair Field to decide the Controversie? For the truth is, I have a mighty mind to try, Whether now of a sudden within these last twenty Years, the Earth hath spawn'd *Carthaginians* of better mettle than their Ancestors? Or whether they be not of the very same Stamp with those whom we cut to pieces at the *Agatian Isles*, and whom you sold at *Erix* for eighteen Stivers an Head? Whether this *Annibal* be (as he pretends) a second *Hercules*, and one that emulates the Glories of that mighty Champions Adventures? Or a Fellow left by his Father a Tributary Vassal of the People of *Rome*? A Person, who if the barbarous wickedness he has committed at *Saguntum* did not make him desperate, would have some regard to his Native Country once already Conquered, or at least to his own House and Family, and that Treaty and League which remains written with his Father *Amilcar's* own hand, who at the Command of our Consul was glad to abandon *Eryx*, and though fretting and vex'd at heart, durst not refuse those severe Laws and Conditions of Peace imposed upon his vanquish'd *Carthaginians*, and who tamely yielded both to quit *Sicily*, and pay Tribute to the People of *Rome*. Therefore would I have you, Gentlemen Soldiers! Fight with him not only with that Gallantry and Courage as you shew against other Enemies, but with as much Rage and Indignation as if you were to chastise your Slaves taking Arms in Rebellion against you. We might, had we been so minded, when they were shut up at *Eryx*, have destroyed them with the greatest of all humane Tortures, Famine; we might have sail'd with our Victorious Armado to *Africk*, and in few days space, without any opposition considerable, have razed their proud *Carthage*, and level'd her Walls with the dust: But we pardon'd them upon their humble Submissions, and took them to mercy; we gave them Liberty, when we had them fast and they had no way to escape; nay, when we could have treated them as conquered Slaves, we condescended to make a League with them, and accepted them as Allies whom we might have made our Subjects: And when afterwards they were distressed in the *African War*, we regarded them as under our care and protection. In requital for all these Kindnesses, they come now under the Conduct of a rash hair-brain'd young Man, to invade and ruine our Country. I wish we were to dispute only for Honor and Glory, and not for our Safety and our Lives; but the truth is, we are not now to fight (as formerly) for the Possession of *Sicily* and *Sardinia*, but for *Italy* it self, and all that is dear to us: If we do not overcome the Enemy, we have no Army in reserve to encounter or resist them, nor are there any more *Alps* to obstruct their March whilst we raise new Forces. Here, Gentlemen! it concerns you to stand to't as stoutly as if you were to fight them under the very Walls of *Rome*: Let every one of you therefore consider, That he is this day not only to defend himself, but his Wife and little Ones also by the Gallantry of his Arms; nay further, besides all his private Domestical Interest and Concerns, let him continually call to mind, That the Eyes of all the Senate and whole People of *Rome* are at this instant fix'd upon us; and as our Behaviour and Courage shall be at this Juncture, such for the future will be the State and Fortune of that City, and all the *Roman Empire*.

XLI.

Thus did the Consul Harangue his *Romans*. But *Annibal* supposing it best to raise his Mens Spirits by some martial Representation and daring Deeds, before he began to encourage them with Words, drawing up his Army in a Ring, set in the middle the *Mountaineers* that he had taken Prisoners, bound as they were in Chains, and flinging before them such Arms as they were wont to use, demanded of them by an Interpreter, *Which of them, upon condition he might have his Liberty, and a good Horse and Arms given him if he prov'd the Conqueror, would be willing to play a Prize at Sharps, and fight for his Life?* whereupon they all cry'd out, *They would wish no greater favor*; and each of them, whilst the Lots were drawing, prayed heartily, *it might fall to his share to be one of the Combatants*: accordingly as every one happened to be drawn out by the Lot, he would leap for joy amongst his

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Comrades (who congratulated, and at the same time envied his good Fortune) and dancing after their Country fashion, hastily snatch'd up the Arms and prepared for the Conflict; and all the while they were fighting, such an Heroick temper of mind appeared, not only amongst those poor Wretches that were the Actors of this Traggy-Comedy, but even in the Spectators, as cryed up and applauded those that dyed gallantly, no less than those that were Victorious.

After he had thus entertain'd them with several couples one slaughtering the other, he dismiss'd the rest, and then drawing up his Soldiers to an Audience, is said to have made the following Speech at the Head of them.

"If you shall but retain anon the same generous Courage and greatness of Mind in the consideration of your own Fortune, which but now you shew'd in beholding this Example of other Mens, I dare boldly, Fellow-Soldiers! affirm, *That we have already got the Victory*: For this was not merely a dumb shew to divert you, but an emblem to admonish you, a clear mirror that represents your own present state and condition; nay I know not, whether Fortune has not encompass'd us with worse Chains, and greater necessities than our Prisoners: On both hands you are enclosed between two Seas, without so much as one Ship to render your Escape possible; just before you is the *Po*, a greater River and more violent than the *Rhone*; behind you are the *Alps*, which even when you were fresh and lusty you could scarce get over: So that in short, Gentlemen! here you must resolve, as soon as you look the Enemy in the face, either to Conquer or Dye, and the same Fortune which imposes this necessity of Fighting, does propose to you, if you get the day, such Rewards, as Men cannot wish any more great or glorious, from the Immortal Gods; If we were only to recover by our Valor *Sicily* and *Sardinia*, taken from our Ancestors, it were a sufficient Prize, and enough to encourage us to daring Endeavors; but now not only those Islands, but whatever else the *Romans* in so many Triumphs have won and heaped up together, whatever they enjoy or possess, shall, together with the Owners, *All be entirely ours*. Go on then, o'th' Gods name, and take Arms in assured hope of so rich and inestimable a Booty: You have spent time enough in Forraging a few sorry Cattel on the vast Mountains of *Portugal* and *Aragon*, yet have you met with no recompence suitable to your many toilsom Labors and desperate Hazards. The time is now come that shall make you all amends, and abundantly satisfy your pains and tedious march over so many Mountains and Rivers, and through so many Warlike Nations, all standing on their Guard; here is the place which Fortune designs to make the utmost limit of your wandering and toil; here will the Crown all your past Services with ample Rewards.

"Fancy not that because this War looks big, and is much talk'd of, therefore it must needs be a difficult thing to get the Victory; for, alas, many times both a slighted contemptible Enemy has given a bloody blow, and Nations and Kings of mighty Renown, have with ease in a moment been vanquish'd: Set but aside this glittering splendor of the *Roman* Name, and what is there wherein they may in any respect be comparable to you? To say nothing of your continual Warfare for Twenty years together, with such wonderful Courage and equal Success; it will be enough to remind you, That from *Hercules's Pillars*, from the Ocean, from the utmost bounds of the Earth, through so many fierce and most Warlike Nations, both of *Spain* and *France*, you are come thus far with a constant train of Victories, and now you are to engage with a raw new-raised Army, that this very Summer has been slaughtered, routed, and hemm'd in by the *Gauls*, a parcel of fresh-water Soldiers, as yet mere strangers to their General, and he as little acquainted with them. Ought I, who was almost born, at least altogether Educated in the Tent of my Father, the most renowned Warrior and ablest Commander of his Age; I who have subdued both *Spain* and *France*, and overcome not only the *Alpine* Nations, but, which is much more, have mastered the very *Alps* themselves; ought I to be put in ballance with this upstart Captain of half a years standing, a Deserter of his own proper Army, and who, if one should this day show him the *Carthaginians* and *Romans* without their respective Banners and Colours, would not, I am confident, be able to tell which Party he was Consul of: But this is that, Fellow Soldiers! which I am not a little proud of, That there is not one of you, but has with your Eyes beheld me perform some brave Military Exploit or other, and of whose Valor I have not been a Spectator and Witness, and can my self reckon up the very time and place where each of you achieved some signal Honor, and those whom I have a Thousand times applauded and rewarded: In a word, I that have been the Pupil of you all, and train'd up by you in the Art of War, before ever I came to be your General, am Marching into the Field against an heap of Men that know not, and are unknown to one another.

Which way soever I cast my Eyes, I behold you, methinks, all full of Gallantry, Courage and Strength; The Infantry, old experienced Soldiers; The Cavalry, Whether those mounted on the brave stout manag'd Horses of *France* and *Spain*, or the light Barbs of *Africk*, whom their nimble Riders can govern without a bridle, are all choice Men, and

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of the most Generous Nations; you, Gentlemen, that are our Allies and Copartners in Glory, I know to be most Faithful, and no less Valiant; and as for you, my stout Carthaginians, you are under a double Obligation to acquit your selves like Men, as well for the sake of your dear Native Country, as out of just hatred and revenge: We have begun the War, and descended with Banners displayed into Italy; it becomes us therefore to fight so much the more resolutely, and with greater Courage, as those commonly who are Assailants come on with braver hopes and brisker spirits than the Defendants: Besides, you have the resentments of Grief, and Injury, and Indignation, to spur you on against this insolent Enemy, who had the impudence to Demand, first me, your General, and afterwards all you that were at the Siege of Saguntum, to be delivered up (forsooth) into their hands as Slaves, and executed with the extreamest Tortures. A Nation excessive Cruel, and so intolerably Proud and Ambitious, that they count all things their own, and the Affairs of the whole Earth to be managed as they list; They will prescribe with whom we shall have War, and with whom we may make Peace, and the Terms and Conditions of Both; They will needs restrain us, and limit our Empire to such and such Hills and Rivers, beyond which we must not budge on pain of their high Displeasure; but in the mean time they themselves know no Bounds, nor will observe nor to hold any Capitulations. *Presume not (say they) to pass the Iberus, meddle not with Saguntum at your peril; Saguntum stands on the River Iberus, stir not one step forward we charge you.* They are not content with the Injustice of taking away our Antient Provinces, Sicily and Sardinia, unless they may ravish Spain too out of our hands: And should I abandon that Realm, they would no doubt straight pass over and invade Africk, they would do, I say; nay, they have already constituted the two Consuls of this present Year, one to be over Spain, and the other over Africk, so that nothing have they left us but what we can win and hold by the Swords point. They may be faint-hearted and think of running away, who have some place of refuge to retire to, who can when they fly, get safe by easie and peaceable Passages into their own Territories, and be sheltered in their own Country: But as for you, there is a necessity you should play the Men, having not the least prospect of security but in your own incomparable Valor, and therefore making no account of any Mediums between Victory and Death, on certain despair of all shifts besides, must resolve either to overcome, or if Fortune should deny you that Honor, to fall bravely in the Battel, rather than basely in the Rout, and to dye Fighting rather than be kill'd Flying: If this be but deeply imprinted and fix'd on all your Hearts, if this be your general Resolution, I will repeat it once again, *The day is yours.* Never did the Immortal Gods give any Mortals a more pointant incitement to Victory.

XLV. The spirits of the Soldiers on both sides being by these Orations enflam'd to fight, the Romans made a Bridge over the River Ticinus, and to secure the Bridge erected a Fort. Whilst they were busie at that work, the Enemy sent out Maharbal with a party of Five hundred Numidian Horse to forrage the Territories of the Romans Allies, but with particular Orders to spare the Gauls as much as he could, and withal to solicit their Chiefs to a Revolt. The Bridge finish'd, the Roman Army march'd over into the Insubrians Country, and Encamped within five miles of Dimoli, a Village where Annibal had his Head-Quarters, who dispatch'd Orders instantly to recal Maharbal and his Horse, perceiving there was a Battel towards; and thinking he could never enough hearten on and encourage his Men, assembled them again to an Audience, where he publicly propos'd to them the following Rewards if they would act gallantly and win the Day; viz. *That he would endow every Man of them with fair Lands, either in Italy, Africk, or Spain, as each of them should chuse, to remain free to them and their Heirs; or if any would rather have a present sum of money, than Land, he would content him with Silver; such of the Allies as desired it, should be made Free Denizens of Carthage, and for such as should rather chuse to return home, he would be so kind to them, as they should not wish to exchange Fortunes with the best of their Country-men. Furthermore, to all servants attending their Masters, he promised to set them Free, and give their Masters two slaves in lieu of each of them.* And for their assurance that all this should be accomplish'd and made good, holding a Lamb in his Left hand, and a great Flint-stone in his Right, he solemnly wish'd and pray'd, *That if he fail'd in any point, Jove and the rest of the Gods might so destroy him, as he there kill'd that Lamb,* and presently with the Stone dash'd out its brains: Then all fancying the Gods to be engaged on their side, full of hopes, and counting every moments delay to be but so much a deferring of their Victory, with unanimous Shouts and Acclamations they cry'd out for a Battel.

XLVI. The Romans for their part were nothing so jolly, for besides other Discouragements, they were terrified with some late Prodiges; as that a Wolf had come into their Camp, and after it had worried those that stood in its way, made its escape unhurt; and a swarm of Bees settled on a Tree that was just over the Generals Pavilion. Which ominous Tokens being expiated by Sacrifices, Scipio with his Cavalry and light Darters, advanc'd towards the Enemies Camp, where whilst they were near hand viewing their Forces, how many, and of what condition they might be, Annibal being abroad on a like Design with his Horse,

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happened to encounter them; at first they saw not each other, but the Clouds of Dust raised by the March of so many Horse and Men, gave each Party notice of the Enemies approach; whereupon both made an Halt and prepared for an Engagement. Scipio planted his Archers and French Horse in the Fore-front, the Romans and stoutest of the Allies for Reserves. Annibals main Body consisted of great Barbed Horse, and the fleet Numidians on either Wing: But on the first Charge the Roman Archers retired back unto the second Battalions amongst the Rere-guard, by means whereof the Horse alone fought a good while sharply, and with equal success, but by and by their Horses being disordered by the Foot-men, intermingled amongst them, and many of the Troopers either thrown off, or forced to alight from their Horses to assist such of their Fellows as they saw environed and overmatch'd; the Conflict in most places seem'd very doubtful, until the Numidians that were on the Wings, having wheel'd about at some distance, appeared on the Rear: That sight perfectly dismayed the Romans, whose Consternation was encreased by their Generals being wounded, who not without great difficulty was rescued and carry'd off by his Son, though then but a mere Lad, and in his first Apprentiship of Arms, but the very same for whom Fate had reserv'd the Glory of finishing this War, and who was afterwards surnamed Africanus, for his signal and absolute Victories over Annibal and the Carthaginians. However, the greatest Defeat was of the Archers, whom the Numidians first attack'd: The rest of the Horse-men, in close order, having receiv'd their Consul into the midst of their Squadron, protected him not only with their Arms, but their Bodies, and with a Retreat neither timorous nor disorderly, conveyed him to the Camp. The Historian Cælius gives the Honor of the Consuls preservation, to a certain Bond-slave Native of Liguria: But I would rather attribute it to his own Son, which most Authors affirm, and the same has obtain'd the suffrage of Common Fame.

This was the first Encounter with Annibal, by which it easily appear'd, both that the XLVII. Punicks were superior in Cavalry, and also that for that reason the Champion Countries, such as are those between the Po and the Alps, were not a fit Seat for the Romans to manage this War in. The Night following therefore, Scipio, having ordered his Men silently to pack up their Baggage, dislodg'd from the River Ticinus, and hastened to the Po, that over the Bridge of Boats he had laid cross that River, before it was broken down, he might without danger from the Enemies pursuit, re-convey his Army back again. They were got to Placentia before Annibal was certainly informed of their remove; however, he took Prisoners about Six hundred that staid behind, and were too long on the hithermost Bank a breaking down the Bridge, which he was not able to pass, because being once loosned at both ends, 'twas carry'd down and dispersed by the violence of the Current. Cælius relates, That Mago with the Cavalry and Spanish Foot, presently swam over the River, and that Annibal forded over the rest of his Army at certain shallows above, having set his Elephants in the Water higher, to break the force of the Stream. But this they that are acquainted with the River will hardly believe, for though we grant the Spaniards, after their fashion, could get over on their Bottles, yet 'tis not probable that the Cavalry in their Arms could with safety swim through so strong a Current; and besides for the rest, it would have taken up too many days time to have march'd about to find out Fordable places in the Po, where so great an Army and all their Baggage could be got over: I rather agree with those Authors who say, That they were two days before they could find a fit place to make a Bridge of Planks joyned together, on which Mago and the Spanish Light-Horsemen were sent away in pursuit of the Enemy; and that whilst Annibal staid on that side busie in getting over his Foot and Carriages, he gave Audience to the Gauls Ambassadors, and within few days Encamped within six miles of Placentia, where the next day he drew up into the Field and offered them Battel.

The Night following the Romans sustained some loss in their own Camp, but the hurry XLVIII. and tumult was greater than the real harm; about Two thousand Foot, and two hundred Horse of the Gallick Auxiliaries, cutting to pieces the Guard at the Ports, fled away to Annibal, by whom they were courteously entertain'd, and with promises of large Rewards, dismissed every one to his own Town, to sollicite and engage their Country-men in his Favor. Scipio suspecting this to be but an earnest of the Gauls revolt in general, and that they having hereby rendred themselves obnoxious, would all madly take Arms, though his late Wounds were yet very sore, did at the relief of the fourth Watch, the next Night Dislodge with great silence, and drew his Army towards the River Trebia, upon higher ground, and amongst Hills not so accessible for Horse: But here he came not off so cleverly without the Enemies notice as he did at Ticinus; for Annibal sending out first his Numidians, and afterwards the rest of his Cavalry, had undoubtedly slain very foul upon their Rear, had not the Numidians, for lucre of Booty, turn'd out of their way to rifle the abandoned Camp; where, whilst they spent time in rummaging every corner, without any Pillage that might make amends for that delay, the Romans got out of their reach, being already pass'd the Trebia, and pitching their Tents on the other side; only some straglers and loiterers they overtook and put to the Sword on the Rivers side. Scipio not able any longer



to endure the pain of his wound, jolted with Travelling, and also thinking it prudent to wait the coming up of his Colleague (for he had advice, that he was recalled from Sicily) chose out the safest place he could find by the River to Encamp on, and strongly fortified it. *Annibal* having also sat down with his Army not far from thence, was not more elevated with his success in the late Horse-conflict, than troubled with Scarcity, which began to press him more sorely every day than other, as he march'd through an Enemies Country where no provision was to be had: Understanding therefore that the Romans had got together and laid up great store of Grain, at a Town called *Clafidium*, dispatch'd a Party thither, who making ready to attack the place, had an Overture of a Surrender, and at no great price; for *Dafius Brundifinus* the Governor, corrupted with Four hundred pieces of Gold, yielded up the Garrison to *Annibal*, which serv'd the Carthaginians as a Granary all the while they Quartered at *Trebia*: The Prisoners taken there were very civilly treated, that in this beginning of the War he might spread the fame of his Clemency.

XLIX.

Whilft the War by Land stood thus at a stay about *Trebia*, several considerable Actions happened both by Land and Sea on the Coasts of Sicily, and other Islands that lye near Italy, as well before the Consul *Sempronius* arriv'd there, as afterwards. The Carthaginians had sent out twenty Gallies with five ranks of Oars apiece, and a Thousand Soldiers well armed to plunder the Sea-coasts of Italy; nine of them came to the Island *Liparae*, eight to *Vulcaus*, and three by stress of weather were driven into the Streights of Sicily, and being there discovered from *Messina*, *Hiero* King of the *Syracusans*, who by chance was there at that time attending the Roman Consuls arrival, sent forth twelve Ships against them; nor did they, being so over-powered, offer to make any resistance, but suffered themselves to be boarded and carry'd away into the Haven of *Messina*. The Prisoners gave an account, That besides that Fleet of twenty Sail, whereof they were part, bound for Italy, there was another Navy of Five and thirty Gallies designed for Sicily, to sollicite the old Allies there to revolt, and particularly to seize upon the City and Promontory of *Lilybaeum*; and that they believed the same Storm which dissipated their own Fleet, had cast these others upon the Island *Aegates*. All this Information the King, by an Express from *Messina*, communicates to *Emilius* the Prætor, who had charge of the Province of Sicily, and advises him to secure *Lilybaeum* with a strong Garrison. Whereupon the Lieutenants and Colonels that were with the Prætor, were presently dispatch'd to the several Cities of that Province to take care, that lusty Guards be kept, and above all that *Lilybaeum* be held in a good posture of defence: He likewise issued a Proclamation, That the Allies bordering on the Sea-coasts should bring aboard ten days Provision ready dress'd; and that all the Mariners and Soldiers be in readiness to go on board at an hours warning, and that the Inhabitants along the Coasts should keep watch, and from their Watch-Towers and Beacons, discover and give immediate notice if any Enemy appeared. So that although the Carthaginians purposely slackned their Course that they might come up to *Lilybaeum* but a little before break of Day, yet they were perceiv'd at a distance, both because the Moon then shone all Night, and they came with Sails hoisted up. Notice being given from the Watch-Towers, the Town immediatly took the Alarm, and all the Ships in the Port are mann'd, the Soldiers being divided, some to go aboard, and others to guard the Walls and Gates. The Carthaginians perceiving their Design was smok'd, and that they were not like to catch them napping, kept without the Haven until the Morning, spending the time in taking down their Sails and preparing for an Engagement: When it was now broad day-light, they stood out further to Sea, that they might have room to fight, and the Enemy have free egress with their Ships out of Port; nor did the Romans decline to follow them, encouraged both with the remembrance of the success they had formerly in that very place, and confiding in the number and courage of their Soldiers.

I.

No sooner were they out at Sea, but it plainly appeared that the Romans were desirous to grapple and come to a close Fight; on the contrary the Carthaginians held off aloof, willing to manage their business by Art and sleight rather than down-right Force, and to make trial of the goodness and agility of Ships, more than of the strength of their Armor, or valor of their Men: For as their Fleet was sufficiently supplied and furnish'd by their Allies with Mariners, so they were but thin of Soldiers, and wheresoever the Romans could get to grapple with and board any of them, they had not Men at Arms enough to resist them; which being once perceived, both the Romans gathered heart by reason of their advantage in numbers, and the others were no less discouraged by their paucity. In short time seven Punic Ships were hemm'd in and taken, and in them One thousand seven hundred Sea-men and Soldiers, amongst whom were three Carthaginian Noblemen, the rest of their Fleet made their escape: The Roman Navy returned safe and intire into the Haven, having only one Ship shattered, which yet they made shift to get home with the rest. About the time of this Engagement, and before the same was known at *Messina*, the Consul *Sempronius* arriv'd there, and as he entred within the Sound, King *Hiero* met him with a gallant Navy richly gilt and adorned; and passing out of his Royal Ship, went aboard the

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Consuls, and Complemented him upon his happy Voyage, bidding him welcome to Sicily, and wishing him good success; then gave him an account of the present state of the Island, and designs of the Carthaginians against it, withal assuring him, That as heretofore, when but a Youth, he assisted the People of Rome in the former War, so with no less good will and resolution would he serve them now in his Age, by accommodating the Consuls Legions, and also the Mariners of the Allies employed in the Fleet with sufficient Cloaths and Provisions of all sorts gratis: telling him further, That *Lilybaeum*, and other Maritime Towns, were in very great danger, there being some seditious Spirits amongst them that were banking after alterations, and willing to change their Masters. Therefore the Consul resolv'd to Sail to rights to *Lilybaeum*, and the King with his Navy Royal accompanied him; but in their Voyage received Intelligence of the afore-mentioned Engagement in those parts, and how the Enemies Fleet was scattered, and all their Ships either put to flight or taken.

At *Lilybaeum* the Consul dismissed King *Hiero* and his Fleet, and leaving the Prætor to guard the Coast of Sicily, he himself crossed the Sea to Malta, then in the hands of the Carthaginians. And upon his arrival, the Governor, *Amilcar* the Son of *Gisco* rendered up himself, and near upon Two thousand Soldiers together, with the Town and whole Island; from whence, within few days, the Consul returned to *Lilybaeum*, and sold all the Prisoners (except those that were of eminent Quality) for Bond-slaves. Having thus sufficiently secured Sicily on that side, he sail'd to the Isle *Vulcano*, where part of the Enemies Fleet was reported to ride at Anchor, but could meet with none there; for it happened, they were already gone over to walt the Coast of Italy, and having foraged as far as the Territories of *Vibo*, gave Rome it self no small Alarm: whereof the Consul upon his return to Sicily, having notice, and withal Letters from the Senate of the descent of *Annibal* into Italy, commanding him therefore, with all expedition to repair to his Colleagues assistance; In great perplexity having so many Irons at once in the fire, he Embark'd his Army, and sent them by the Adriatick Sea to *Rimini*, ordered his Lieutenant *Sex. Pomponius*, with Five and twenty long Ships, to secure the Lands of *Vibo*, and the rest of the Sea-coasts of Italy. With *Emilius* the Prætor he left a Fleet of Fifty Sail to guard Sicily; and after he had settled the Affairs of that Island, he himself, with ten Ships, Coasting along Italy, arrived at *Rimini*, whence marching his Army to the River *Trebia*, he joined his Colleague.

Now were both the Consuls, and all the strength the Romans could make, opposed against *Annibal*: The Roman Empire must be defended with these Forces, or else all their hopes were gone; yet one of the Consuls discouraged with the late defeat of his Horse, and his own wound, was desirous to defer engaging; but the other coming fresh, and so much the more fierce, would endure no delay. The Country between the *Trebia* and the *Po*, was then inhabited by the Gauls, who in the Contest between these two mighty Nations, contain'd themselves in a kind of Neutral posture, making full account of the good will of that Party which should have the better; with this the Romans were well enough content as long as they attempted nothing against them; but *Annibal* resented it very ill, often saying, That he was invited thither by the Gauls, to restore them to their Liberties. In this angry mood, and to relieve his Men with Plunder, he sent out a Detachment of Two thousand Foot and a thousand Horse, most of them Numidians, and some Gauls intermix'd, to Forrage all those parts as far as the Banks of *Po*. The Gauls that before were wavering and indifferent, found themselves obliged now wholly to turn from those that offered them these Injuries, and join with those that might protect them: Whereupon they sent Agents to the Consuls, imploring the Romans to assist a Region, which merely for its Inhabitants fidelity to them, was wasted and harassed. *Cornelius* liked neither the Cause, nor thought the present Juncture fit to enter into any such Treaty, for he thought he had reason to suspect the sincerity of that Nation, as well for many other treacherous Pranks, as especially (to pass by former Disloyalties) for the late perfidious Revolt of the *Bœii*. *Sempronius* on the contrary, was of opinion, That there could not be a greater Obligation to retain the Friendship of the rest of their Allies, than to see those defended who first openly declared themselves on their side. And whilft his Colleague demurr'd upon the matter, sent his Horse, with near a Thousand Archers cross the *Trebia*, to defend the Gallick Territories, who falling upon the Enemy there as they were straggling and disordered, and besides most of them over-loaded with Plunder and suspecting no such matter, put them into a terrible Consternation, cut abundance of them to pieces, and pursued the rest home to the Out-Guards of their Camp, whence being repulsed by multitudes that issued forth, they were again re-inforced with fresh Parties from their own Army, and renew'd the Battle, which though, upon the whole matter it was very dubious, and neither side had much to brag of; yet Fame attributed the Victory to the Romans, rather than to the Enemy.

But no Man made so great a matter on't as the Consul *Sempronius*, who seem'd overjoy'd, and boasted, That with the very same part of the Forces (to wit the Cavalry) which under the other Consul lost the day, he had been Victorious; That the Soldiers were now sufficiently refresh'd, nor was there any one that desired to delay fighting, save only his Colleague, who (he thought) was more weak in his mind than his body, and with the thoughts of his late Wound, would

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henceforth, as long as he liv'd, never brook pitch'd Fields and the sight of Weapons; but 'twas not fit to sit still and grow old in their Camp without action, merely to humor one crazy Person; for to what purpose was this lingering and spinning out of time? Was there any third Consul coming up, any other Army to be expected? That they must remember the Carthaginians were now in Italy, almost within sight of the City, and that they came not now to recover Sicily and Sardinia, heretofore taken from them when they were welfavour'dly beaten, nor to possess themselves of that part of Spain which lies on this side the River Iberus, but utterly to drive the Romans out of their Native Soil, and that dear Land wherein they were born and bred: How will (quoth he) our brave Fathers, that were wont to wage War round about the Walls of Carthage, sigh and mourn if they shall see us their degenerate Off-spring, two Consuls with our compleat Armies, lie trembling within our Trenches in the midst of Italy? and the Carthaginians already to have added to their Dominions, all the whole Country between the Alps and the Appenine Hills. At this rate he continually talk'd when he came to visit his wounded Colleague, and abroad in his own Pavilion, almost publickly to all the Soldiers. That which the more spur'd him on, was, because the Election-days drew nigh, and he was afraid lest the War should be devolv'd to the new Consuls, and besides, was greedy to lay hold of this opportunity whilst his Colleague was indisposed, to grasp the whole honor of the Victory to himself alone; therefore commands the Soldiers to prepare for a Battel, *Cornelius* in vain opposing it. *Annibal* was quick-sighted enough to discern what was most for the Enemies advantage, and therefore could scarce hope that the Consuls would attempt any thing rashly or improvidently. But when first by Report, and afterwards by Experience, he found that one of them was naturally of a temper hot and furious, believing that he might be grown yet more fierce and self-conceited, by being puffed up with his late imaginary Victory over his Forragers, did not despair of a fit opportunity to do his business; and was very intent and solicitous to lose no time, whilst the Enemies Soldiers were yet but raw and unexperienced, the ablest of their Generals disabled by his hurt; and whilst the spirits of his French Auxiliaries were up and brisk, of whom he had a great multitude, whom he knew would still grow more faint and less servicable, as they were drawn further off from home. For these and the like Reasons, whilst *Annibal* was wishing for a speedy Battel, and desirous to provoke them to it rather than fail, he had advice by his *Gallick* Scouts (who could with more safety perform that Office, because those of that Nation serv'd in both Armies) That the Romans had made ready for an Engagement: Whereupon, with all speed, the crafty Carthaginian began to view the Ground all about for a fit place for an Ambuscade.

LIV.

The River ran in the middle between the two Armies, with very high Banks, and there abundance of Sedge and Weeds growing, as also Bushes and Brush-wood, as such uncultivated places are wont to be over-grown with, which *Annibal* himself in Person having taken a view of by riding round it, and finding the same was thick and high enough to cover Horse as well as Foot: This, quoth he to his Brother *Mago*, is the Spot where you shall be posted: Go chuse you an hundred of the stoutest Men you can find in all the Cavalry, and as many more out of the Infantry, and bring them to me at the first Watch in the Evening; in the interim let them refresh themselves: So the grand Officers that attended about the Generals Tent, were for the present dismissed. At the time appointed, *Mago* brought his selected Men: I see (saith *Annibal*) you are all gallant Men, but that you may be as strong in number as courage, let each of you chuse out of the several Troops and Bands, nine more like himself: *Mago* will Conduct you to the place where you shall lie perdue, and I dare assure you, that you shall find the Enemy as blind as Beetles in these stratagems of War. *Mago* having taken charge of these thousand Horse and thousand Foot, *Annibal* at break of day orders the Numidian Horse to pass the River *Trebia*, and to ride up and brave the Enemy at their Ports, and by Darting upon their Out-guards to provoke them to a Battel, but with directions, after some Skirmishing, to retreat leisurely, and by degrees train them down towards the River. These were his Orders to the Numidians. The rest of the Officers, both Horse and Foot, he commanded to let all their Men first take their Dinner, and then arm'd and mounted to expect the Signal. *Sempronius* upon the Alarm raised by the Numidians, drew out first all his Cavalry, being very confident on that part of his Forces, afterwards Six thousand Foot, and in fine, all his whole Army to a place which he had before designed in his mind, being extreme eager of Fighting. It happened to be Winter time, and snowy weather in those places between the Alps and Appenine Mountains, the sharp cold of which was increased by the neighboring Rivers, Lakes and Moors. His Horse and Men being hastily drawn out thither, having not first eaten any thing, nor been baited, nor any Provision made against the cold, had scarce any heat left in them; and as they approached nearer the vapors of the River, the more the chill Air pierced them. But when pursuing the retreating Numidians, they were forc'd to wade through the Water (and being swell'd with a shower over night, it was then Breast-high) as soon as they came out again, their whole Bodies seemed congealed, and so stiff, that they were scarce able to hold their Weapons, and also the day being now far spent, began to faint for hunger.

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But *Annibals* Soldiers, who had rousing Fires made before their Tents, and quantities of LV. Oyl distributed amongst every Company to annoint and supple their Limbs, and keep out the cold, and also had eat lustily and at leisure; as soon as notice came that the Enemy was pass'd the River, cheerfully, and with Bodies as vigorous as their Minds, betook them to their Arms and drew up in Battalia. The Slingers and light-arm'd Men, making up about Eight thousand, he placed in the Front before the Standards, then the Foot that were better Arm'd, even the main strength and flower of his Army. In the Wings he bestowed Ten thousand Horse, and on the outside of each Wing set the Elephants equally divided.

The Consul finding his Horse as they were in their full career upon the pursuit, to be unexpectedly Charg'd by the Numidians, making head against them, founded a Retreat, and received them in amongst the Body of his Foot. He had with him Eighteen thousand Romans, Twenty thousand of the Allies, and some Auxiliaries of the *Cenomani*, the only *Gallick* Clan that continued faithful and firm to the Roman Interest; with these Forces on both sides they engaged. The Fight was began by the Slingers, but they not being able to sustain the Charge of the Roman Legions, were with the rest of the Light-arm'd Infantry soon drawn off to the Wings, whereby the Roman Horse were much over-powered and distressed; for as they were but Four thousand in number, and consequently of themselves scarce able to cope with Ten thousand Horse of the Enemy, so they were already tired out with Service in the former part of the day, whereas most of *Annibals* were fresh; under which disadvantages, and especially being now over-whelm'd with a storm of Stones and Darts cast upon them by these *Balearian* Slingers and Archers, the Roman Horse were not able to bear up; moreover, the Elephants that appeared on the Extremities of the Wings, wonderfully frighted their Horses, not only with their strange shape, but also with an uncouth smell, and made them, do what their Riders could, run away in disorder. The Battel between the Infantry was carry'd on with equal Courage and Stoutness of mind, but not with a like strength of Body, which the *Punicks* brought with them into the Field, having just before refresh'd themselves; but on the other side, the Romans Bodies were fasting, and weary, and benumm'd with cold, yet merely by their natural Valour they would have made good the Field, if they had only been engaged with Foot: But the Slingers, after they had routed the Roman Horse, charged the Infantry on both Flanks, and the Elephants broke into the very middle of them. And withal, *Mago* and his Party (as soon as the Roman Army was improvidently pass'd by their place of Ambuscade) fiercely Charged them in the Rear, and put them into great Conternation. Yet amidst all these fatal Circumstances, their Main-Body stood a good while firm and immoveable, and especially (beyond all expectation) against the Elephants; for certain Light-harness-men, appointed for that purpose, did so pelt them with their casting-darts, as made them turn tail, and following hard after them gall'd them under the tails (where by reason of the tenderness of the skin in that place, they are soonest wounded) and so made them run away.

These Elephants, when *Annibal* saw them flying back, and ready to run upon his own LVI. Men from the Main-body to the Flanks and Rear, he commanded them to be driven up to the Left Wing, and to Charge the *Gallick* Auxiliaries of the Romans, whom they presently disordered, and made them run like mad: This was a new discouragement to the Romans to see their Auxiliaries routed, and therefore being now surrounded on all sides, and fighting as it were in a Ring, near Ten thousand of them seeing no other means to escape, broke clean through the African Main-body (which was corroborated with *Gallick* Auxiliaries) not without a mighty slaughter of the Enemy: And finding they could neither return to their Camp, the River being between; nor for the Rain, well discern how to succor their Fellows, they took the way strait to *Placentia*: After which, there were several Irruptions made on all sides, but most of those that went towards the River, were either drown'd before they got over, or whilst they delayed to go into the Water, overtaken and cut off by the Enemy: Those that fled, here and there scattered through the Fields, lighting upon the track of the first Battalion that escaped, followed them to *Placentia*, some whom the fear of the Enemy had made so bold as to take the River, got safe over to their Camp. The Rain and Snow together, and intolerable severity of the cold destroyed many, both Men and Beasts, and in a manner all the Elephants. The Carthaginians followed the pursuit no further than the River *Trebia*, and returned into their Camp so clumsy and half-frozen, that they were scarce sensible of their Victory. And for that reason, when the Guard of the Roman Camp, and what Soldiers were left, pass'd the *Trebia* on Rafts the Night following, either they did not hear them for the noise of the tempestuous Rain, or else not being able to stir for weariness and wounds, made as if they knew nothing of it; so that without being molested by the Enemy, the Consul *Scipio* with a silent march brought his Company to *Placentia*, and from thence crossing the *Po*, pass'd to *Cremona*, that one Colony might be over-burdened with Quartering two Armies all Winter.

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LXVII. The news of this Defeat caus'd such Consternation and Terror at *Rome*, that they already fancied the Enemy with displayed Banners was advancing up to rights to that City; nor had they any thing of hope or help to defend their Gates and Walls from the violence of his Assaults. One Consul had been worsted but a while ago at *Ticinus*, the other recalled from *Sicily*: Now both Consuls, and two compleat Consular Armies being overcome, and as good as destroyed, *what other Generals, what other Legions had they to send for in this Extremity?* Whilst they were under these dreadful Apprehensions, the Consul *Sempronius* comes to Town, having made a very hazardous Journey, by reason the Enemies Horse were continually scouring the Roads, so that he escap'd rather by good luck at a venture, than any hopes he could have either to avoid them, or to resist them, if met with. After he had held the Elections (the only thing for which he was at present wanted) he returned again to the Winter-Quarters. The Consuls chosen, were *Cn. Servilius*, and *C. Flaminius*.

But the *Romans* could not be at quiet even in their Winter-Quarters, being continually molested by stroling Parties of *Numidian* Horse, and, in Mountainous places which were troublesome for them to pass, by Troops of *Celtiberians* and *Portuguese*, as better acquainted with Hilly and steep Passages. Thus all Provisions were cut off, except what was brought in Boats down the *Po*. The City *Placentia* standing a mile and an half off that River, had a Mart, or place of stowage for Vessels, Provisions and Goods, on the River side, strongly Fortified and Garisoned. In hopes to storm it, *Annibal* comes with his Horse and Light-arm'd Foot, and the better to effect his purpose, march'd very privately in the Night to surprize them; but the Centinels took the Alarm in time, and set up such an Out-cry, that it was heard to *Placentia*; whereupon, as soon as it was Day, the Consul came up with his Horse to their Relief, having ordered his Foot to follow in Battel Array: In the mean time the Fight was managed by Horse, and *Annibal* happening to be wounded, the Enemy was therewith much daunted, and the place happily preserv'd. Having rested not many days, and before his Wound was thoroughly well, *Annibal* was abroad again, designing to take *Vidulumvia*, a Mart-Town which had been Fortified by the *Romans* during the War with the *Gauls*; after which it became well Inhabited, by a mix'd People out of several Nations, and at this time the fear of being Plundered, made all the Boors of the adjacent Country retire thither for shelter. This multitude (such as they were) being buoy'd up with the report how bravely the Garison near *Placentia* defended themselves, took Arms, and advanced forth to encounter *Annibal*, who met with them as they were upon their March disorderly, and not in a posture for Fighting; so that on one side there being only a raw undisciplin'd Rabble; on the other, a Captain that could rely on his Soldiers, and the Soldiers on their Captain: He, with a handful of Men, routed all this tumultuous Multitude consisting of no less than Five and thirty thousand. The next day having treated for a surrender upon Articles, they received a Garrison within their Walls; and being required to deliver up all their Arms, after they had so done, a signal is given to fall on and plunder the Town as if it had been taken by Storm. Nor was there omitted any kind of Out-rage that is wont to be Recorded by Historians on such occasions, such lamentable Examples of all manner of Cruelty and Lust, and inhumane Insolence, they practis'd upon these poor wretched People.

LXVIII. These were *Annibal's* Winter-Expeditions, after which, the Frosts being intolerable, he allow'd his Soldiers some short Repose; but upon the first approach of the Spring, quits his Winter-Quarters, and marches for *Tuscany*, to reduce that Nation too, as he had done the *Gauls* and *Ligurians*, either voluntarily or by force, to his obedience. But as he pass'd over the *Apennine*, so dreadful a Tempest happened, that it almost exceeded all the Calamities he met with on the *Alps*. The Rain, with a fierce Wind, drove full in their Teeth; at first they stood stone-still, seeing they must either lay away their Armor, or strive in vain to march with it against the Weather, whilst the violent Gusts whirling them round were ready to fling them to the Ground; but then the violence of the Weather taking away (as it were) their Breath, they sat down with their backs Wind-ward. When on a sudden the Heavens rattled with horrible peals of Thunder, and flash'd with dreadful Lightenings, so that affrighted in two Senses at once, and terrified both with their Ears and their Eyes, they became all astonish'd with fear. At length it Rain'd so fast as if it had been poured down by Pail-fulls; and withal, the Wind blew higher than before, wherefore they thought it necessary to Encamp in the very place where they were thus caught by the Tempest: But this was to begin a new Labor and Difficulty; for neither could they spread any thing for a Covering, nor fix the posts for their Tents securely; nor could what was pitch'd down abide the fury of the Wind, which rent and tore, and hurried away all before it. After a while, the falling Rain being congealed aloft over the tops of those bleak Mountains, turn'd into a storm of Hail, and came upon them with such a Force, that every one was glad to leave his Work, and clap themselves flat on the Ground groveling on their Faces, rather smothered than covered with their Tilts and Hillings. After which ensued that Night, so bitter and excessive a Frost, that there was not one of all that

that miserable heap of Men and Beasts, that was able for a great while the next Morning to raise himself and get up alone, for their Sinews were so benum'd with cold, as they could scarce bend their Joints; at length, by bestirring and chafing their Limbs they got some warmth, recovered their Spirits, some few began to make Fires, and the rest got thither to thaw and recruit themselves. Thus for two days they remained there as if they had been Besieged, unable to stir. Abundance of Men and Cattel perish'd here, and seven of those few Elephants that surviv'd the Battel at *Trebia*.

Hereupon *Annibal* quits the *Apennine*, and returns towards *Placentia*, within ten miles of which he Encamped, and the next day advanc'd with Twelve thousand Foot and Five thousand Horse against the Enemy. Nor did *Sempronius* the Consul (for he was now come back from *Rome*) decline the Combat. The two Armies were that day within three miles distance of each other, next morning they fought with mighty Resolutions and various Success. At the first On-set the *Romans* had so much the better of it, that they did not only worst the Enemy in the Field, but pursue them home to their Entrenchments, and afterwards assaulted and endeavored to break in after them into their Camp. *Annibal* having Posted a few stout Men to defend the Ports and Rampart, retired the rest thick and close together into the midst of the Camp, ordering them to watch for the Signal when they should fall forth: It was now near three a clock in the After-noon, when the *Romans* having wearied themselves in vain, seeing there was no hopes of making themselves Masters of the Camp, sounded a Retreat: Which *Annibal* perceiving, and that they gave over the Assault and were marching back to their own Tents, immediately sent out his Horse on the right and left hand after them, and himself in Person with the whole strength of his Infantry, sallies out through the middle of the Camp. There has seldom been known a more bloody Fight, or wherein greater slaughter was made on both sides, than this would certainly have been, if the Day would have permitted them to dispute it longer, but Night parted the Conflict in the heat of their Courage; so that the number kill'd did not answer the fury of the Combatants, and as it was a drawn Battel, so the loss on each side was much alike, about Six hundred Foot and Three hundred Horse-men being kill'd of either Party; only the *Romans* loss was greater in respect of Quality than number, because some of the Order of Knights, five Colonels, and three Captains of the Allies, were that day slain. After this Bout, *Annibal* march'd into the *Ligurians* Country, and *Sempronius* to *Luca*: To welcome *Annibal* upon his coming amongst the *Ligurians*, they delivered up to him *Cn. Fulvius*, and *L. Lucretius*, two Roman Questors [Treasurers or Paymasters] whom they had surprized by an Ambuscade, together with two Colonels, and five others of the Equestrian Order, (whose Fathers were as good as Senators fellows) thereby the better to assure him, that they would keep the Peace and Alliance they had made with him firm and inviolable.

Whilst these Transactions happened in *Italy*, *Cn. Scipio* is dispatch'd with a Fleet and Army into *Spain*. Having set Sail from the Mouth of the *Rhone*, and compassed the *Pyrenean Mountains*, he arriv'd at a place called *Emporia*; where landing his Army, partly by renewing the antient Alliances, and partly by contracting new, he reduced all the Seacoasts from the *Lacetanians* up as far as the River *Iberus*, to the Roman Obedience; whereby he acquired such great Reputation for his Clemency, that it spread not only through those Provinces which bordered on the Sea, but amongst those Mountainous and fiercer Nations which dwell'd up far within Land, so that not only Peace was concluded with them, but they took Arms to assist him, and list'd several stout and able Companies for his Service. *Hanno*, the Enemies Governor on this side the *Iberus* (whom *Annibal* had left there to guard those Parts) was not ignorant of these Proceedings, and therefore before all was gone, and the Country wholly alienated, thought good to encounter him; and Encamping within view, drew out into the Field. Nor did the *Roman* judge it his Interest to defer the Dispute, for well he knew he had to do both with *Hanno* and *Asdrubal*, and were better fight them single than conjoin'd. Nor did the Battel prove very hazardous, Six thousand of the Enemy were kill'd, and Two thousand taken Prisoners, with the Guard of the Camp; for both the Camp was over-run, and he that Commanded there in Chief taken, and also the Town *Sciffis* which lay hard by, won by Assault, but the Plunder thereof not much worth, as being the Household-stuff of poor barbarous mean people: The Camp afforded the Soldiers better Booty, for there they got the Baggage, not only of the Army now routed, but of that too which went with *Annibal* into *Italy*, who left their choicest Goods behind them on that side the *Pyrenean Mountains*, that they might not be incommoded in their March.

*Asdrubal*, who before he had any certain Intelligence of this Over-throw, had pass'd the *Iberus* with Eight thousand Foot and One thousand Horse, purposing to make head against the *Romans* at their first arrival, upon the news of the Field and Camps being both lost, diverted his March towards the Sea. Not far from *Tarragon*, he found the Soldiers of the *Armado*, and Mariners wandring and stragling over the Country (so usual it is for Success to breed negligence) whereupon sending out Parties of Horse every way, with great slaughter



ter he chased them to their Ships: Yet not daring to continue longer in those parts, left Scipio should surprize him, he got back to the other side of *Iberus*. For indeed, Scipio upon news of this new Enemy, march'd with all speed to *Tarragon*, but came not up till they were gone, and having punish'd such Captains as were the occasion of the late loss there, leaving a competent Garrison in that Town, return'd with his Navy to *Emporiae*. He was no sooner gone, but *Asdrubal* was in his place, and having inveigled the *Illygetes* (who had given Hostages to Scipio) to a Revolt; he, with their assistance, wasted the Territories of all the *Romans* Allies thereabouts that continued faithful to them. This rous'd Scipio out of his Winter-Quarters, at whose approach the Enemy again quitted all the Country on this side *Iberus*: Scipio with a terrible Army invades the *Illygetes*, who were now abandoned by those who were the Authors of their Defection, and having driven them all into *Athagnagia*, (the Metropolis of that Nation) beleaguered that Town; but within few days accepted of their submission, upon their giving him a greater number of Hostages than before, and paying down a considerable sum of Money. Thence he advanc'd against the *Ausetanans*, Allies of the *Carthaginians*, bordering on *Iberus*, and having Besieg'd their City, surprized with an Ambuscade, the *Lacetans* coming in the Night to relieve their Neighbors, just as they were ready to enter the City; of whom Twelve thousand were kill'd, the rest generally glad to fling away their Arms, fled scatteringly through the Fields to their own home. Nor did any thing protect the Besieged so much as the Season, it being Winter, and very prejudicial to the Assailants; for in all the thirty days they lay before the Town, there was scarce one, but the Snow lay at least four foot deep, and so covered the Galleries and Engines of Battery that the *Romans* had provided, that when the Enemies often attempted to Fire them, that alone preserved them. At last *Amusius* their Chief, having made his escape to *Asdrubal*, they Articled to pay twenty Talents of Silver to avoid Plundering, and so surrendered. And Scipio carryed back his Army to their Winter-Quarters at *Tarragon*.

LXII. That Winter in and about *Rome* happened many Prodigies, or at least (as commonly it happens when the Peoples minds are once tainted with Superstition) many were reported and rashly believed; amongst the rest, *That an Infant but six months old, a Free-mans child in the Herb-Market, cryed out with a loud voice, Io Triumphe! as Soldiers were wont to do at a Triumph. Also in the Beast-Market, an Ox of his own accord went up three Stories high, and thence flung himself down, to the great amazement of those that dwell'd in the House. That the resemblance of a Navy of Ships had been seen in the Air: The Temple of Hope in the Herb-Market burn'd with Lightning: That at Lanuvium a Spear shook and brandish'd itself; and a Raven flying into Juno's Temple, and perch'd upon the very Shrine or High altar: That in the Territories of Amiternum, there were seen in many places the shapes of Men walking at a distance all in white Garments, but as Folks came nearer they vanish'd: That in Picenum it rain'd Stones; and at Cære the Lots were found to be, or at least seem'd to be much less than they really were heretofore: And that in France a Wolf came up to a Centinel, snatch'd his Sword out of its scabbard, and ran away with it. As for diverting the Presages of the rest of these Prodigies, the Decemvirs were ordered to consult the Sibylline Books: But for its raining Stones in Picenum, a Nine-days Solemn Festival was appointed; and for diverting the other ill Omens, the whole City was almost continually employed. Now above all other things, the City was solemnly purged, greater Sacrifices than ordinary Offered to the particular Gods, whom the Decemvirs reported were to be appeased; a Present of Forty Pounds weight in Gold (One thousand four hundred and forty sterling) sent to Juno's Temple at Lanuvium; a Statue of Brass dedicated to Juno in Aventinum: At Cære where the Lots were diminished, a *Lectistern*, or grand Procession appointed; and Supplications to the Goddess Fortune in Algidum: At Rome too, there was a *Lectistern* Solemnized in Honor of the Goddess of Youth, and publick Prayers at the Temple of Hercules: Express commandment given to all People to frequent all sorts of Shrines with their Devotions, and four Sacrifices of the greater kind, Offered to the God *Genius*; and besides all this, C. Attilius Seranus the Prætor, was ordered to pronounce a Solemn Vow, if the Commonwealth should for the space of ten years continue in a good condition. By these Expiations deriv'd from the Books of the Sibyls, the minds of the Mobile were pretty well eased of their Superstitious fears.*

LXIII. *Flaminius*, one of the Consuls Elect, to whom the Command of those Forces that Quartered at *Placentia*, fell by Lot, sent an Ediçt and Command to the present Consul, *That the said Army should Rendezvous at Rimini on the fifteenth of March*: His design being to enter upon his Consulship in the Province, remembering the old Brangles he had had with the Nobles, both when he was Tribune of the Commons, and afterwards when he was Consul; as well about the Consulship of which they would have deprived him, as afterwards concerning his Triumph which they denyed him, but especially the Senate regarded him with an ill Eye, for a late Law which Q. Claudius a Tribune of the Commons had unjustly carryed against them, only by the help of this *Flaminius* himself a Senator; viz. *That no Senator, or Senators Father, should have any Ship at Sea bearing above*

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Three hundred Amphores, [or about eight Tuns Burthen] for such were thought sufficient to bring the Fruits and Commodities arising out of their Lands and Country Farms, up to *Rome*; and as for Gain by Traffick, 'twas look'd upon unbecoming Persons of their Quality. The matter having long been bandied with great Contention, contracted not a little Envy from the Nobles on the Proposer, but no less Favor from the Commons, and indeed it was upon that score that they now chose him the second time Consul. Therefore suspecting the Senate would endeavor to keep him at home under colour of unlucky *Auspices*, or for holding the Latine Holy-days, or some such pretences, he giving out as if he would only take a Country Journey whilst yet he was a private Person, departed secretly to his Province. When this was discovered, it exasperated the Senate more than ever: 'Tis not (said they) now with the Senate that C. *Flaminius* quarrels, but with the Immortal Gods; when he was before made Consul without due *Auspices*, and both the Gods and Men recalled him out of the Field, he would not obey; and now conscious of his former Miscarriages, has avoided going to the Capitol, and making the Solemn Vows, merely that he may not on the Day he should enter on his Office visit the Temple of Almighty *Jupiter*: That he may not see and consult with the Senate, who justly are offended with him, and whom he alone cannot endure: That he may not proclaim the Latine Festivals, and perform the solemn Rites to *Jupiter Latialis* on the *Albane* Mount; nor would he, after he had luckily offered up his *Orisons* in the Capitol, set forwards in his Robes of State towards his Province; but is gone away like some Scoundrel that follows the Camp, without any Ensigns of his Authority, or *Lictors* and Officers to attend him; crept away privately and by stealth, no otherwise than if he had been forc'd to leave his Country, and were sent to Banishment rather than employed in an Office of Trust and Honor; as if, forsooth, he thought it more for the Honor of the Commonwealth to enter into his Magistracy at *Rimini* than at *Rome*, and to put on his Consular Robes in a paltry common Inn, than in his own House and the presence of his Domestick Gods. In short, they all agreed, That he should be recall'd, and compell'd, first to dispatch all the Rites and Ceremonies due to the Gods and Civil State, before he should take upon him the Command of the Army and depart into his Province. On this Ambassy (for under that Character they thought fit to send) were employed Q. *Terentius* and M. *Antistius*, but could no more prevail with him, than the Senates Letters did in his former Consulship. For a few days after he entred upon his Office, and whilst he was making his Oblations, a Calf, after he was stuck, got out of the Sacrificers hands, and not only sprinkled many of the standers by with his Blood, but caus'd those that stood behind, and knew not what the matter was, to take their heels and run away as in a fright; which many People look'd upon as an ill Omen, presaging some great Conster-nation or Calamity. Having soon after received two Legions from *Sempronius*, last years Consul, and two more from C. *Attilius* the Prætor, he began to march his Army cross over the *Appennine* into *Tuscany*.

## DECADE III. BOOK II.

## E P I T O M E.

2, 3. **A**nnibal comes into Tuscany, but in his way thither, marching for four days and three nights together through the Marshes or Fens without any sleep, lost one of his Eyes by a Defluxion of Rheume. 3, 4, &c. The Consul C. Flaminius, a rash inconsiderate Man, venturing to fight against several ill Auspices (as, That the Field-Ensigns could not be pluck'd out of the Ground by the Standard-Bearers, which therefore he caused to be dug up; and a violent fall from his Horse head-long as soon as he Mounted) soon after surrounded by Annibal in an Ambuscade near the Lake called Thrasymenus, is kill'd, and his Army defeated. 6. Six thousand Romans which there broke through, afterwards surrendering their Arms upon Maharbals promise, They should march away freely, are by Annibals perfidionsness kept Prisoners. 7. In the general lamentation at Rome for this Overthrow, two Matrons dyed for very joy at the unexpected sight of their Sons, whom they supposed to have been kill'd. 10. In regard of the said Defeat, by the directions of the Sibyls Books, there was Vowed a Sacred Spring, (viz. That all the Cattel then brought forth, should be Dedicated to the Gods.) 12. After this, Q. Fabius Maximus being sent Dictator against Annibal, declines to fight, as loth to put the Soldiers, daunted with their late ill Fortune, so soon upon the hazard of a Battel against an Enemy fust'd with so many Victories, contenting himself only by lying always near, to hinder them from attempting any great Exploit. 14, 26. M. Minucius, General of the Horse, (a Man of a proud spirit, and rash in his undertakings) by reproaching the Dictator as negligent and a Coward, prevails so far upon the People, as by their Ordinance to be joyned in equal Commission with him. 28. And having divided the Army, fights in a place very disadvantageous, where his Legions being distress'd and like to be cut off, 29. Are by the timely coming in of Fabius, relieved and rescued from that imminent danger. 29. Minucius overcome with this favour, joyns again with Fabius in the same Camp, stiles him Father, and commands his Soldiers to do the like. 16. Annibal having over-run Campania, is between the Town Calilinum, and the Mountain Callicula, hemm'd in by Fabius, but by a Stratagem of tying little Barms of dry sticks unto Bullocks horns, and setting them on fire, frighted away the Roman Guard that kept the pass at Callicula, and so escaped. 23. He also when he burn'd all the Neighboring Country, forbore to do any damage to the Dictators Lands, to render him suspected at Rome of holding a secret Correspondence with him. 47. After this, when Æmilius Paulus and Terentius Varro were Consuls, and Generals of the Army, Annibal, near a Village called Cannæ, gives them a mighty Overthrow. 49. There were slain in that Battel, Five and forty thousand Romans, with Paulus the Consul, and Four-score Senators, and Thirty other Persons of Quality that had been either Consuls, Prætors, or Ædiles. 53. After which defeat, several young Noble-men in despair enquiring to leave Italy, P. Cornelius Scipio, a Colonel, who afterwards was surnamed Africanus, comes amongst them with his Sword drawn over their Heads, swearing, He would presently kill the first Man that should refuse the Oath that he should tender, and so made them all oblige themselves in an Oath not to abandon their Country. 7, 19, 20, &c. This Book also describes the Consternation, and general Mourning of the City, by reason of the said defeat of their Army; and withal, some Actions in Spain achieved with better success. 57. Opimia and Floronia, two Vestal Virgins condemned for Incest. By reason of the scarcity of Soldiers and serviceable Men for the Wars, Eight thousand Slaves are put in Arms. 60, 61. The Senate refuses to redeem their Men that had suffered themselves to be taken Prisoners, though Annibal offered it; and go forth to meet the Consul Varro, and welcome him home with thanks, because after such an amazing Blow, he had not given over the Cause of the Commonwealth as desperate.

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I.

**T**he Spring was now come on, when Annibal removed from his Winter-Quarters, and as before (when he attempted it) he was not able to get over the Apennine for the intolerable Cold, so he continued there thus long not without great fear and hazard; for the Gauls, whom he had drawn to his side by hopes of Prey and Plunder, seeing that instead of Foraging and getting Booties from others, their own Territories were made the Seat of War, and oppressed by the Armies of both Parties lying upon them all Winter, began to hate him, more than they did formerly the Romans: Several times had their Princes contrived to destroy and cut him off by Treachery, and it was only by their own perfidionsness to each other (whilst with the same levity wherewith they conspired against them, they betray'd their Fellows, and detected their Conspiracies) that he escaped their hands. As also by frequent changing sometimes of his Clothes, and sometimes of his Head-piece, and by being almost continually in motion, he endeavored to secure himself: However, the apprehensions of these Dangers cause him to quit his Winter-Quarters so much the sooner.

About the same time, viz. on the fifteenth of March, Cn. Servilius entred upon his Consulship at Rome, and after he had propos'd the Affairs of the Commonwealth to the Senates consideration, their envy and spight against C. Flaminius (his Colleague) was afresh renewed, saying, That they Created two Consuls but had but one: For what just and lawful Authority, what fortunate Success can that other have that is gone? Since such a Magistrate ought always to carry the same with him from the City, from the publick and his own private Affairs, after he had Celebrated the Latine Festivals, perform'd the Sacrifice on the Alban Hill, and duly made

made his Vows in the Capitol. But since without discharging all these necessary Rites, he departed hence only in the Quality of a private Person; as the Auspices of Government could not accompany or follow him; so neither being gone without them, can he in a foreign Soil receive them new and entire as they ought to be. The business look'd the worse, because at the same time People were terrified with stories of Prodigies related from several places: That in Sicily certain Soldiers Darts were on a sudden on Fire; and in Sardinia, as a Trooper was going the Rounds under the Walls, his Staff burn'd in his hand; That strange Fires had been frequently seen on the Sea-shore; That two Shields sweat Blood, and some Soldiers were struck dead with Lightning; That the Body of the Sun appear'd less to the sight than it was wont to do; and that at Præneste red-hot burning Coals fell from the Skie; That at Arpi there were seen in the Air the shapes of Targets or Bucklers, and the Sun fighting with the Moon; That at Capena two Moons rose and shone together in the day-time; That the Cæretan Waters ran mingled with Blood, and the very Fountain of Hercules cast up Water with Bloody spots; and as People were reaping in the Antian Fields, certain Bloody ears of Corn fell into their Skeys; At Falerii the Heavens seem'd to open with a mighty Chafin, whence shone forth a wonderful Sight; That the Sacred Lots of themselves grew less and less, and one fell out of the Pitcher with this Inscription,

Mavors telum suum concutit.

Behold! Mars brandishes his dreadful Spear.

About the same time the Statue of Mars at Rome in the Appian way, near the Images of the Wolves, was observ'd to Sweat; and at Capua the Heavens seem'd all on fire, and something like the Moon to fall down in a great shower. Hence men came to take notice of, and believe other Prodigies scarce worth mentioning; as that some Goats, instead of Hair bore Wool; that an Hen was turn'd into a Cock, and a Cock into an Hen. These things as they were reported being inquired into, and the Authors brought before the Senate, the Consul propos'd and desired that House to take into their consideration the Affairs of Religion: who Decreed, That these threatening Tokens should be expiated, some with the greater sort of Sacrifices, others with young sucking ones; That for three days space there should be Supplications at every Shrine: And as for the rest, after the Decemvirs had inspected their Books, such Atonements should be made, as the Gods in their Verses should fore-tell to stand with their pleasure. Accordingly, by the directions of the Decemvirs it was Ordered, First, That to Jupiter should be made and consecrated a Golden Thunder-bolt of fifty pound weight [worth about One thousand eight hundred pound sterling] and the like of Silver to Juno and Minerva; besides, that to Juno the Queen on Mount Aventine, and Juno the Preserveress at Lanuvium, Sacrifices of the bigger sort should be offered: That the Ladies and Matrons should make a Collection amongst them, every one contributing as much as she could, for a Gift to the said Juno the Queen, and bring it to Mount Aventine, and there celebrate a Lectistern; nay, the very Libertine Lasses, or Women that had been Slaves, but had got their Freedom, were all to bring in their Pence according to their respective Abilities for a Present to Dame Feronia the Goddess of the Woods. These matters being dispatch'd, the Decemvirs Sacrificed with great Bullocks in the Market-place of Ardea; and lastly, by directions from the aforesaid Books, in the Month of December, they made their Offerings in the Temple of Saturn at Rome, and a Lectistern was appointed (where the Senators themselves officiated) and withal a publick Feast celebrated, and the Saturnalia [or Feasts of five days continuance, where the Servants sat at Table and Masters waited, in memory of the Liberty men had in Saturns reign] were day and night Proclaimed throughout the City, and the People commanded to observe and keep that as an Holy-day for ever.

Whilst the Consul at Rome is thus busie in appeasing the Gods, and making his Levies, Annibal quitting his Winter-Quarters, and having advice that the Consul Flaminius was already advanc'd to Arretium, would needs (though he were shewed a better Road, but somewhat further about) take the nearest way through the Marshes and Fens, which happened too at that time to be more than ordinarily overflow'd with the River Arno. In the Van he placed the Spaniards and Africans, and all his old beaten Soldiers (the Flower and Strength of his Army) together with their Baggage; That wherever they should be forc'd to stay, they might not be to seek for necessaries. Next followed the Gauls or French, being desirous to keep that sort of People in the middle, and the Horse made up the Rere-guard: Mago, with the Numidian Light-Horse coming last of all, who had orders to keep the Army close in their March and prevent straglers, especially the French, if any of them wearied with the toil or tediousness of the March (as they are a People tender, and not able to endure much hardship) should either offer to run from their Colours, or loiter behind. The Van-Guard, which way soever their Guides led them, pass'd resolutely through thick and thin, wading through great Rivers and deep kind of Pits and Quagmires, and though they were almost drowned, or buried in the mud, yet still they followed their Colours. But the Gauls, if they chanc'd but to slip, down they came, and when they were down were not able to rise again out of the dirty Sloughs and Holes; they had neither courage of mind to support their Bodies, nor so much as hopes left to bouy up their Spirits;

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some made a sorry shift to drail along their weak and fainting Limbs; others quite overcome with weariness, lay down and died amongst the Beasts, who also were every where sprawling and ready to expire: But that which most of all undid and destroyed them, was want of Rest, for they had now march'd four days and three nights continually without sleep. At last, finding all the Country still over-flow'd, and no dry ground where they might lie down, they piled up their Snapfacks and Baggage on heaps in the Water, and laid themselves down thereon; and others, glad of any thing that appeared above Water, made the Bodies of their Horses and Cattel that tumbled down in heaps one upon another, serve them a while instead of Beds to get a nap: As for *Annibal* himself (who was already troubled with his Eyes, occasioned at first by the distemperature of the Spring, suddenly varying from great heats to excessive colds) he was mounted on an Elephant, the only one he had left alive, which carry'd him high enough out of the Water; yet by reason of this overwatching himself, and the moist Nights and damps of the Fens stuffing his Head with Rhumes, and having no opportunity for remedy by Physick, he lost the sight of one of his Eyes irrecoverably.

III. Having at last, with the loss of many of his Men and Horses, got through the Marshes, on the first dry ground he came at, he pitched his Tents, and received advice by his Scouts, that the Roman Army continued under the Walls of *Arretium*. Then with the utmost diligence he endeavored to find out the designs and temper of the Consul; the situation of the Country; which way he march'd? what store of Forces and Provisions he had? from whence supplied? and all other things necessary to be known. As for the Country, 'twas one of the most fertile in all *Italy*, as being the Champian Fields of *Tuscany*, between *Fesula* and *Arretium*, abounding in Corn and Cattel, and Riches of all sorts. The Consul fierce and proud, valuing himself not a little because he had once before born the same Office; a Man, that as he not much regarded either the Laws or Authority of the Senate, so he had paid no great Reverence to Religion, or the Gods themselves. This rashness of Mind implanted in him by Nature, Fortune had cheris'd and augmented by several Successes both in Civil and Military affairs; whence 'twas easie to collect, that such a person that neither respected Gods nor Men, would be apt to act all things violently and hand over head: That he might the more be plunged into the ill effects of this complexional rashness and indiscretion, the subtle *Punic* resolves to provoke and exasperate him; leaving him therefore on the left hand, *Annibal* marches by *Fesula* to Forrage *Tuscany*, and gives him at a distance as dreadful a prospect as possibly he could, of the havock and devastation he made by Fire and Sword. *Flaminius*, who would not have sat still though the Enemy had been quiet, when once he saw the Lands and Goods of his Allies thus haras'd and destroyed, as it were just under his Nose, thinking it redounded much to his disgrace, that the *Carthaginians* should march thus at their pleasure through the midst of *Italy*, and at this rate might quickly advance even to attack the Walls of *Rome*, whilst all the rest in the Council of War advis'd for Safety rather than Bravery; That he should wait till the coming up of his Colleague; that having join'd their Armies, they might with united hearts and Councils manage the War; and that in the mean time, by sending out a Brigade of Horse and Light-arm'd Foot, he would give a check to the Enemy, and restrain them from this licentious Plundering. He in a Passion flung out of the Council, and presently gave the Signal both for a March and a Battel: Nay, quoth he, let us sit still eternally under the Walls of *Arretium*; this belike is our Habitation, and all the Native Country we regard; Let *Annibal* escape our hands, and lay all *Italy* desolate as he lists; Let him over-run and utterly destroy all before him with Fire and Sword up to the very Walls of *Rome*, and let us not budge till the affrighted Senate send for *C. Flaminius*, as of old they did for *Camillus* from *Vei* to their rescue. As thus he reproach'd them, he at the same time commanded the Standards forthwith to advance, and in a Fury mounts himself, but his Horse presently happened to stumble, and threw him with his Head foremost on the ground. Whilst all that were about him were terrified with this Accident, looking upon it as an ill Omen at the beginning of his Enterprize, word was brought that one of the Ensigns could not be pluck'd out of the Ground by all the strength and endeavors the Standard-bearer could use; whereupon turning to the Messenger, What? says he, hast thou brought me Letters too from the Senate to forbid me serving the Publick? Go, tell them they must dig it out, if their hands are so benum'd with fear that they are not able to pluck it up; which being accordingly done, he began his March. The chief Officers which gave contrary advice, being now more disheartened with this double Prodigy, but the common Soldiers over-joyed at the forwardness and animosity of their General, were full of hopes, without considering what Grounds they had for such their confidence.

IV. *Annibal* had wasted the whole Country between the City *Cortona* and the Lake *Thrasymenus*, with all manner of Hostility, that he might the more provoke the Enemy to revenge these Injuries done to their Allies. He was now come to a place that seem'd framed by Nature merely for an Ambuscade, just where the Lake *Thrasymenus* flows up nearest to the foot of the Hills of *Cortona*; for there lies between only a very strait and narrow Passage, as if there had been left that space of Ground, for such a purpose and nothing else; beyond

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it the Plains open wider, and so you come to the brow of the Hills. *Annibal* in the open ground pitch'd his Camp for himself, his *Africans* and *Spaniards*; but his Slingers, and other Light-arm'd Soldiers, he led round about behind the Mountains: His Horse he Posts near the Mouth of the Pass, behind certain rising Grounds that very conveniently sheltered and kept them out of sight, that so, as soon as the Romans were entred, the Cavalry clapping behind them, they should all be shut up between the Lake and the Mountain. *Flaminius* being come to the Lake over-night, about Sun-setting, early the next Morning before it was full day-light, without ever sending out according to the custom of War any Scouts before, to discover the Coasts and posture of the Enemy, pass'd the aforesaid Streight; but no sooner did he begin to spread his Army on the open Plain, but he might perceive the Enemy, I mean that part of them only which were before him, for those behind and over his head did not yet shew themselves. *Annibal* having now got the Enemy into the Toil, and every way surrounded, quickly gives the Signal for them all to fall on, who rushing down every Man the nearest way he could; that which made the matter appear the more surprizing to the Romans, was, that a Fog rising from the Lake was much thicker on the Plain where they were, than on the Hills, so that the *Carthaginians* could see one another from their several Posts, and the better Charge them all at once: But the Romans perceived not themselves entrapped, till they heard the shout quite round them, and were forced to fight both in the Front and on the Flank, before they could draw into Battalia, and indeed before they could fit their Arms, or almost draw their Swords.

In this general Consternation the Consul alone shewed himself nothing daunted, he set in order, as much as the time would give him leave, the Ranks which were apt to be confus'd by their turning themselves every way as they heard the several clamors; and where-ever he came, or could be heard, encouraged and commanded them to stand to it and fight stoutly, telling them, That 'twas not making of Vows, and lazily imploring the help of the Gods, but their own manly Courage, and Arms, that must bring them off; That they must cut their way with their Swords through the midst of their Enemies thickest Battalions, and that where there is least fear, there is generally least danger. But for the noise and tumult, neither his Advice nor his Commands could be heard; and so far were his Soldiers in this distraction from knowing their proper Colours, Ranks and Places, that they had scarce understanding and resolution enough left to take their Arms, and put them on as they should do for a Battel, so that some of them were surprized and beat down, rather oppress'd and clogg'd with their Armor than defended by it, and so thick was the Mist, that their Ears were of more use to them than their Eyes; yet at the groans of their wounded Fellows, and resounding strokes on their Bodies and Arms, and the shouts of the Valiant intermix'd with the shrieks of the timorous, they could not but be continually turning their Faces and casting their Eyes every way about them: Some as they were flying, light into an heap of those that were fighting, and forc'd to joyn with them because they could get no further; some having recollected their spirits, returning to Charge the Enemy, were stop'd and driven backwards by heaps of their own Men that were running away. At last, having attempted every way in vain to get forth, and seeing plainly that as they were thus shut up on one side by the Lake, on the other by the Mountain, and both in the Front and Rear by the Enemy, there was no possible hopes or means to escape but by fighting their way through, then every one became a Captain, and encouraged himself to fight manfully: Thus was the Battel renewed, not in that order as they were wont; first by the *Principes*, then by the *Hastati*, and at last by the *Triarii*; nor some before the Standards, others after, and every Soldier in his particular Regiment, Company and File, but hickled-pickled, as Fortune jumbled them together; to it they went Pel-mel, and as every mans heart serv'd him, so he marshal'd himself to fight, either before or behind; nay, so eager and intent they were, and all the faculties both of Body and Soul so intirely taken up with fighting, that although at that very instant there happened a most dreadful Earth-quake, which threw down a great part of many Cities in *Italy*, turn'd the Courses of great Rivers out of their antient Channels, forced the Sea up a long way into fresh Rivers, overturned Mountains with mighty falls, and levell'd Vallies and Hills, yet there was not one Man in this Battel that in the least perceived it.

The Conflict had now lasted near three hours, every where sharp, but near the Consul most fierce and cruel; for as he was attended with the stoutest and bravest Men, so for his own Personal Valor and Gallantry he came not behind the best of them, but in his rich Armor, wherever he saw his Men distressed or over-powered, thither presently he flew to their aid, and shewed no less care and good nature in succoring and defending his Friends, than courage in Charging furiously the Enemy; until at last a certain Knight of *Milain*, named *Ducarius*, knowing him by sight as well as by his Arms, cries out to his Countrymen, Yonder is the Consul, the same who cut to pieces our Legions, and plundered our City and Territories; now will I presently offer him up a Sacrifice to the Ghosts of our Fellow-Citizens, that by his means were piteously slain; saying this, he clapp'd spurs to his Horse, and with an irresistable violence Charged in amongst the thickest of the Enemy, and having first

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cut off a Squires head that interposed himself, seeing him come so fiercely, he in the next place ran the Consul himself quite through the Body with his Lance; and fain he would have disarm'd and rifled him, but some of the *Triarii* step'd over the Corps with their Targets, and kept him off. Thence many began to take their heels, and presently neither the deep Lake nor the high Mountain could stop their fear; were the way never so strait, or never so steep, like blind men they venture on't, in hopes to escape; and Horse and Man, Man and Arms are tumbled head-long one upon another. A great number seeing no other means to get away, endeavored to wade through the Lake, finding it fordable on the edges, and went so far till nothing but their head and shoulders appeared above Water; and some (so inconsiderate was their fear) sought to save themselves by swimming, which being an endless and impossible work, they were either drowned, their breath and spirits failing, or else after they had made much haft, and took excessive pains to no purpose, with much ado made back again to recover the Land, where the Enemies Horse (that were now advanc'd a pretty way into the water) miserably cut them to pieces. Six thousand, or thereabouts, of the Van-Guard, charging desperately through that Battalion of the Enemy which was right before them, got safe out of the Plain, and seized on the top of a little Hill, altogether ignorant of what became of their Fellows, for by reason of the Fog they could not see what pass'd, nor learn the Fortune of the Battel, only could hear their shouts and cries and the clattering of Armor. But by this time that the Romans all gave ground, the Sun being got pretty high, dispell'd the Mist, and then they could clearly see that all was lost; therefore for fear the Enemy (who had discovered them at a distance) should send their Cavalry to fall upon them, they got up their Ensigns and hastned away with all expedition; but *Mabarbal* with all the Horse he could make, pursued them all Night, and the next day being almost come up with them, who besides other Calamities were almost ready to faint for hunger, they came to a Treaty with him, who promised, That if they would surrender their Arms, they should be freely released, and without being strip'd go whether they list; which *Annibal* perform'd as Religiously as Carthaginians are wont to do; for no sooner were they in his power, but he detained them every one Prisoners, and loaded them with Chains.

VII. This is that noble Battel at the *Thrasymenan Lake*, one of the most memorable of those few Over-throws which the People of Rome had hitherto sustained: Fifteen thousand of them slain in the Field, and Ten thousand more dispersed in their flight all over *Tuscany*, by several by-ways got at last to Rome. Of the Enemy Fifteen hundred kill'd out-right; but on both sides a great number dyed afterwards of their Wounds. The loss is differently related by several hands; but for my part, as I love not to write vain Untruths, or any thing without good warrant (a trick most Authors are too much guilty of) I have herein chiefly followed *Fabius*, one that was living at the time of this War. Such of the Prisoners taken as were of the Romans Allies, *Annibal* set at liberty without Ransome, but the Romans themselves kept in strict Custody; the Bodies of his own Men cull'd out of the promiscuous heaps of the Dead, he ordered to be buried, and also caused diligent search to be made for the Corps of *Flaminius*, to bestow thereon the honor of a Funeral, but they could not find it.

Upon the first Intelligence brought to Rome of this Defeat, the People ran altogether in a fright and tumult into the Forum, and the good Wives wandered about the streets, enquiring of all they met, What news from the Army? and what this disaster was that People talk'd of? At last the Multitude being assembled thick (as it were to a publick Audience) and turning to the Town-Hall and the Senate-House, and calling frequently on the Magistrates to know the matter; a little before Sun-set, *Marcus Pomponius* the Prætor came forth, and said, There was been a great Battel fought, and we are worsted; and though he spake no more words, nor told them the certainty of any particulars, yet filling one anothers heads with Rumors, they carryed home news, That the Consul, and a great part of his Forces were slain; that very few were left alive, and those either scattered by flight through *Tuscany*, or else taken Prisoners by the Enemy. And look how many Casualties can possibly befall a routed Army, into so many perplexities were all their minds distracted, who had any Relations that serv'd under *C. Flaminius*, all the while they were ignorant what was the true Fortune of each, nor did any Man certainly know what to hope or fear. On the morrow, and some days following, abundance of People, but most Women, stood at the Gates waiting to see their Friends come home, or some that could tell tidings of them, and flock'd about every one they met, asking a thousand Questions, nor could they that were of their acquaintance get rid of their continual Enquiries: There might you have seen an Alphabet of Faces, and read in their looks whether the news each had received were good or ill, and Houses fill'd with those which at their first coming knew not whether their business would be to Congratulate or Condole. The Female Sex especially, were extream as well in Joy as Grief; one standing at the Gate, spying on a sudden her Son returned safe, is reported to have expired whilst she embraced him; and another, who had received false news of her Sons being slain, as she sat mourning at home, he happened to

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come in, which so transported her with excess of Joy, that she immediately fell down dead. The Prætors caused the Senate for divers days to sit close, from Sun-rising to Sun-setting, consulting, With what Forces, and under what Conduct, they might be able to resist and give some check to these Victorious Carthaginians?

Before they were come to any certain Resolution, advice arrives of another late disaster, viz. That Four thousand Horse dispatch'd away by *Servilius* the Consul, under the Conduct of *C. Centenius* the Pro-Prætor, to the assistance of his Colleague, were hemm'd in by *Annibal* in *Umbria*, for thither, upon news of the Armies defeat at *Thrasymenus*, they had diverted their march. This Intelligence variously affected Mens minds, some taken up already with thoughts of a greater Calamity, counted the loss of the Horse would be but small in regard of the former defeat; but others judged, That what happened, was not so much to be esteem'd by the importance of the thing it self, as by their present Circumstances: For as it happens in the Natural Body of Man, if it be weak and crasse, every disorder or disease is more grievously felt and proves more dangerous, than a much greater injury or distemper to a person that is sound and strong; so when any Calamity comes upon the Body Politick of State, already enfeebled and languishing, we are to measure the same not so much by the greatness of the loss, as by the tender and decayed strength, unable to endure any thing whatsoever that does surcharge or agrieve it. Therefore at last, the City applied themselves to that sovereign and oft-approved Remedy, long desired, but not yet administr'd, viz. The appointing of a Dictator. But since the Consul was absent, who alone it was thought, had power to nominate that Magistrate, and Italy was so over-run by the Enemy, that it was not safe sending Letters or Messengers unto him, nor any president could be shewn that ever the People at any time did create a Dictator; They therefore chose *Q. Fabius Maximus*, with the title of Pro-Dictator, and *M. Minucius Rufus* General of the Horse, who had Commission from the Senate, To fortifie the Walls and Towers of the City; To post necessary Guards where they saw cause; To break down what Bridges they thought fit; To impede the Enemies march, and if they could not clear Italy of the Carthaginians, yet at least to defend the City against them.

*Annibal* in the mean time marches directly through *Umbria* as far as *Spolito*; and having grievously wasted all the Neighboring Country, attacks that City; but being repulsed with great loss of his Men, guessing by the strength of that one Colony against which he had such small success, how difficult a matter it would be to assault Rome it self, he diverted his course into the *Picene* Territories, not only abounding in Fruits of all sorts, but full of rich Plunder besides, which his Soldiers equally covetous and poor, greedily pillaged and carry'd away. There for some days he kept a standing Camp, to refresh his Soldiers wearied out with their Winter Marches, and untoward Passage through the Fens, and especially with the late Battel, which prov'd more fortunate in the Event, than flight or ease in the Conflict it self. When he thought he had sufficiently recruited his Men (who of themselves were more inclinable to Forragings and Booties, than unprofitable ease and lying still) he dislodged and journeyed forwards, spoiling first the *Prætutian* and *Hadrian* Fields, and afterwards the *Marsians*, *Marrucins* and *Pelignians*, as far as *Arpi* and *Luceria*, the next Province to *Apulia*.

*Cn. Servilius* the other Consul, having had some small Skirmishes with the Gauls, and taken one of their Towns of no great note, after he was advertiz'd of the defeat of his Colleague and his Army, apprehending the Mother City of his Country to be now in danger, that he might not be absent in the last Extremity, hastned towards Rome.

*Q. Fabius Maximus* the Dictator, the same day he entred upon his Office, assembled the Senate, and beginning first with matters of Religion, telling the Fathers, That the late Consul *C. Flaminius* had committed a greater fault by his neglecting the Ceremonies and Auspices, than either by his rashness or unskilfulness; and that the Gods themselves were to be consulted, what Atonements they would accept of to allay their displeasure, prevailed so far, that, (what is rarely done but on the account of some direful Prodigies) the *Decemvirs* were commanded to Inspect the Sibylline Books, who from those fatal Leaves reported to the Fathers, That the cause of the present War, was a Vow made to Mars not rightly performed, which must be renewed and accomplished in a more ample manner: That the great Games must be Vowed to Jupiter, and Temples to Venus Erycina, and to Dame Mens, the Goddess of Understanding. Moreover, that a solemn Supplication and Læstifern should be Celebrated, and a publick Vow made of a Sacred Spring [that is, to give the Gods all the young Cattel that should be brought forth in one whole Spring] if they prospered in the Wars, and the Commonwealth should be continued in the same state as before the War broke out. The Senate, because *Fabius* was taken up with the management of Affairs Military, ordered *M. Aemilius* the Prætor, according to the directions of the Colledge of Pontiffs, to take care, That all these Religious matters be with all speed performed.

Upon these Ordinances of the Senate, *L. Cornelius Lentulus* the chief Pontiff, when the Prætor came to consult their Colledge, gave advice, That in the first place the business of a Sacred Spring should be propos'd to the People, for without their consent it could not be Vowed;

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Vowed; whereupon the same was propounded to them in this form of Words following: "Pleaseth it you, and do you command that the thing be done in this manner? If the State of the People of Rome and Quirites shall (as I desire it should) for the space of five years next ensuing, continue safely preserved in these Wars between the Romans and Carthaginians, and with the Gauls on this side the Alps, Then the People of Rome will perform an Oblation and Gift given and vowed, viz. That all the Increase whatsoever which the Spring shall yield and afford of Sheep and Swine, Goats and Kine, from the day that the Senate and People shall appoint, shall be Sacrificed to Jupiter, provided the said Animals be not before dedicated to some other of the Gods? Provided, That he that Sacrifices may do it when he will, on what conditions he will, and in what manner soever he shall have done it, the same may stand for good and rightfully performed. If the Beast that should be Sacrificed, happen to dye, let it not be accounted Sacred, nor be imputed as a fault to him who ought to have offered it. If any one unawares shall wound or kill any of these Animals thus Vowed, let it not be accounted Criminal in him. If any shall steal or hide any of them out of the way, let it not be imputed for wickedness unto the People, nor to him from whom it shall be so stol'n or hidden. If any shall Sacrifice it on an unlucky day, wherein Sacrifices are forbidden, let it be counted rightly Sacrificed. If the Senate and People shall Ordain these Sacrifices to be done, or shall Sacrifice sooner than any private Man, let the People be thereby discharged and freed. To this purpose also were the Great Games before Vowed, performed, the Expences thereof amounting to Three hundred thirty three thousand three hundred thirty and three pieces of Brass-mony, called *Asses*, and one third part of an *As* [some reckon it to be 1041 l. 14 s. 4 d. sterling] besides the Sacrificing of Three hundred Oxen to Jupiter, and many white Oxen to the rest of the Gods, and other Oblations. After these Vows solemnly pronounced, and performed accordingly, a publick Supplication was Proclaimed, and in Procession they went with their Wives and Children; not only the Citizens, but those too of the Country, their private Estates depending upon the fate of the publick. The *Lectistern* was set out with great Magnificence, and continued three days, the *Decemvirs* having the ordering thereof; the Sacred Beds were openly exposed to be seen, one for Jove and Juno, another for Neptune and Minerva, a third for Mars and Venus, a fourth for Apollo and Diana, a fifth for Vulcan and Vesta, and a sixth for Mercury and Ceres. There were Temples vowed, that to Venus Erycina, by Q. Fabius Maximus the Dictator, for so 'twas required in the fatal Books, That he should do it, who had the chief Office and Authority in the City. The other to the Goddess *Mens*, was Vowed by Otacilius the Prator.

XI. Matters of Religion being thus dispatch'd, the Dictator desired the judgment of the Senate touching the War, and important Affairs of the State; what Legions, and how many they thought fit to send against the Victorious Enemy? Their Lordships Decreed, That he should receive the Army from Cn. Servilius the Consul, and levy besides, both of Citizens and Allies, so many Horse and Foot as he pleased; and should act and order all other things according to his own discretion, as he should judge it most expedient for the Commonwealth. Fabius declared, He would only add two new Legions to the Army under Servilius, which being accordingly raised and lifted by the General of the Horse, he appointed a Rendezvous at Tibur such a day; and set forth a Proclamation, Requiring all that dwelt in Towns or Castles unfortified, to repair into places of safety; and that all should depart out of the Villages in those parts through which Annibal was to march, but first to set fire on their Houses and destroy their Corn, that he might find no Provisions or Accommodations. Then he himself set forwards towards the Consul and Army, along the Flaminian Road, and on the Banks of Tiber near Otricoli, saw the Consul and his Horse at a distance coming to meet him; whereupon he dispatch'd an Officer to warn the Consul, To come without his Lictors to the Dictator (for to him now belong'd those supreme Ensigns of Authority:) The Consul readily obeyed, and their meeting represented the Dictatorship as a thing of great Awe and Majesty, both to the Roman Citizens and their Allies, the Grandeur of that Office by its disuse for some years being almost forgot. Letters came from Rome, That certain Ships of Burden transporting Victuals and Provisions from *Hosia* into Spain for the Army there, were set upon and taken by the Carthaginian Fleet near the Haven of *Cossa*; therefore the Consul was immediately dispatch'd for *Hosia*, to Man out what Ships he could find there, or at Rome, with Soldiers and Mariners of the Allies, and therewith pursue the Enemies Navy, and secure the Coasts of Italy. At Rome a power of Men were lifted, for even the *Libertini*, or Servants enfranchized, that had Children, and were of Age fit to bear Arms, were obliged to take the Military Oath; out of these City-Regiments such as were under five and thirty years old, were drawn out and put aboard the Ships, the rest left at home as a Guard for the City.

XII. The Dictator having received the Consuls Army from the hands of Fulvius Flaccus his Lieutenant, march'd through the Sabines Country to Tibur, where he arriv'd the very same day on which he had appointed the new-raisd Forces to meet him there. From whence by crossing the Country into the High-Road called *Via Latina*, he returned unto *Præneste*, and so on towards the Enemy, sending out his Scouts diligently before to give him Intelligence, and

and resolv'd not to run the hazard of a Battel in any place, unless compell'd by necessity. The first day he came within sight of the Enemy not far from *Arpi*, they instantly drew out and offered him Battel; but finding him to lie quiet, and no tumult in his Camp, Annibal began to upbraid them to his own Men, saying, That now at length they might perceive the Martial hearts of the Romans, were brought down and daunted; That by refusing to fight, they did openly recede from their ancient Valor and Glory, and acknowledge themselves inferior both in Strength and Courage. Having said thus, he retreated to his Camp, not a little vex'd inwardly (for all this vamping,) that henceforwards he found he should have to do, not with a rash General, like Flaminius or Sempronius, but that at last the Romans grown wiser by their late Errors and Calamities, had made choice of a Captain that was a Match for Annibal, who indeed was more apprehensive of the Prudence and Conduct of the Dictator, than of his Force. However, having not made trial of his constancy, he still endeavor'd to disquiet, and tempt him if he could to a Battel, by oft removing of his Tents, and destroying the Lands of his Allies just under his nose; one while he would seem as in fear to march away in an hurry clean out of fight, and then on a sudden he would stop, and lie close in some by-corner, to see if he could take him at an advantage on the Plain. But Fabius march'd above upon the higher Grounds, at such a convenient distance, as neither to neglect him, nor yet to encounter him. He kept his Soldiers for the most part strictly within their Camp, unless upon urgent and necessary occasions; and when Parties were sent out for Forrage or Wood, he would not suffer them to go in small numbers, or stragling, but in such order as might secure them from the Enemy. His Guards of Horse and Light-arm'd Foot, were so formed and always ready against any sudden Alarm, as both rendred all things safe for his own men, and easily check'd the Enemies plundering, cutting off their stragling Forragers if they ventured too far from their Camp. Thus he would never put the main Chance all at once to a venture, and by these small Essays, and continual Skirmishes (safely attempted, because he had always Reserves and Relief at hand) he enured and heartned up his Soldiers, almost quite dispirited with their late frequent Overthrows, and made them at length less distrust their own Valor or Fortune. Yet all these sober Counsels of the Dictator, and his prudent management of Affairs did not more vex Annibal, than they did his own General of the Horse, who wanted nothing but the Sovereign Command to precipitate the Commonwealth; for being a Man naturally fierce, in all his Undertakings violent, and too full of Tongue; first among a few of his own Gang, but afterwards publicly throughout the Army, he would envigh against and reproach the Dictators proceedings, calling him instead of a confederate, staid and sober Person, heavy and dull; and instead of wary, timorous and a Coward; attributing to his Virtues, the names of the next neighboring Vices; and having a singular knack at undervaluing his Superiors, did thereby extol and magnifie himself; a most base Art, which yet hath too often succeeded in the advancement of those that use it.

Annibal marches from *Arpi* into *Samnium*, Forrages the Country of *Beneventum*, takes the City *Teleisa*, and by committing all kind of Outrages, endeavors on set purpose to provoke the Roman General, if he could incense him with so many Indignities and Calamities of his Allies, and so draw him to fight on even hand. Amongst that multitude of the Italian Allies taken Prisoners by Annibal at the Lake *Thrasymenus*, and freely released, there were three Gentlemen of *Campania* that serv'd on Horseback, whom he had allured with Gifts and Promises, to bring over their Country-men to his Interest. These Blades brought him word, That if he would but bring his Army into *Campania*, he should be Lord of *Capua*. And though the thing it self seem'd of too great moment for Persons of their Quality to effect, and rendred Annibal doubtful, sometimes apt to credit, and by and by distrusting their advice, yet at last it prevailed with him so far, as to resolve to march out of *Samnium* into *Campania*, and therefore charging them to make good their words, and be ready to meet him with their Countrymen, and especially some of their Chiefs, he dismiss'd them away before to prepare for his coming. Then he commands his Guide, to lead him into the Province of *Casnum*, having been informed by those that knew the Country well, That if he seized that Pass, he would stop the Romans from being able to come up to the relief of their Allies: But the nearness of the names, and the vast difference there is between the Carthaginian Language and the Latine, caus'd the Guide to mistake *Caslinum* for *Casnum*, and so turning from the Journey intended, brought him along through the Coasts of *Alifanum*, *Calatinum* and *Calenum*, into the plain Champian Region of *Stella*, where Annibal seeing the Country environed round about with Hills and Rivers, calls for his Guide, and asks, Whereabouts in the World he was? Who answered, That he should that night Quarter at *Casalinum*. Then, and not before, the mistake was discovered, and that *Casnum* was a long way off in another Country. The Guide, for a terror to others, he scourged first with Rods, and then Crucified him; and having fortified his Camp, dispatch'd *Mabarbal* with the Cavalry into *Falernum*, who laid waste all the Country as far as the Waters of *Sinnessa*; the Numidian Horse committing great slaughter wherever they came, but the flight and fright of the People was much greater than the real harm; and yet could not all this Terror,

Terror, when their Country was round about on a Flame, and nothing but War and Calamities threatned on every side, startle those faithful Allies from their Allegiance to the Romans; and the reason was, because they were Govern'd with a just and moderate hand, and thought not much to be subject unto their Betters: The only Bond of Loyal Fidelity.

XIV. *Fabius* lying encamped near the River *Vulturnus*, whilst the most pleasant part of *Italy* was all on fire, and the Villages far and near smoaking with Ruines and Desolation; as he was leading his Forces over the top of the Mountain *Massicus*, the murmurs in his Army were renewed, and the Ring-leaders of the Mutiny enkindled it afresh; for they had been for some days pretty quiet, because marching faster than ordinary, they imagined that hast was made to prevent the Devastation of *Campania*: But when they were come to the farther edge of those Hills, and had before their Eyes both the Enemy, and the flaming Houses of *Falernum*, and their Colony at *Simuesse*, and yet heard no mention of coming to a Battel: "What? Are we come thus far, quoth *Minucius*, only to feed our Eyes with the Miseries of our faithful Confederates? To see our dearest Friends destroyed with Fire and Sword? Or if we have no compassion for our Allies, are we not ashamed to be idle Spectators of the ruine of our own Citizens? Those whom our Ancestors sent as a Colony to secure these parts from the *Sammites*, 'tis not now the Neighboring *Sammite* that waists and consumes them: But *Carthaginians*, strangers that come from the furthest parts of the World, are by our delays and cowardize advanced thus far into the Bowels of our Country. So much, alas! do we degenerate from our Fathers gallant Spirits, That the very Coasts which they thought it a disgrace to their Empire, to suffer the *Punic* Fleet to sail near, we now can tamely behold full of *Numidians*, and under the Command of our Enemies the *Moors*: We, who but a while ago when they were going to attack *Sammium*, took it in such indignation and disdain, and called the Gods and Men to witness the violation of the League, stand still and gaze upon *Annibal* now he is furiously battering the Walls of a Roman Colony. The smoke of the Villages and Fields all on fire is ready to put out our eyes, and our ears are every minute pierced with the woful cries of our Associates, imploring our help as often as they do the Gods, and we fool away time in leading our Army (as if they were a company of Goats) through shady Woods, and over the tops of unpassable Hills, hid in Clouds and Thickets, as if we were afraid of the Sun as well as of the Enemy: If the brave *Furius Camillus* had been of the humor to relieve *Rome* from the *Gauls* by ranging over Hills and Forests, at the same rate as this new *Camillus*, forsooth, (the only Man sought out to be Dictator in our distress) goes about to recover *Italy* from *Annibal*, *Rome* at this day had assuredly been French; and really I cannot conceal my just apprehensions, that if we go thus coldly to work, our Ancestors courage did only so often preserve that City from others, that by our negligence it might fall into the hands of *Annibal* and his *Carthaginians*. But that brave Man, a Roman indeed, on the very day that word was brought him at *Veii*, That the Senate and People had chosen him Dictator, although *Janiculum* was high enough whereon he might have fate and view'd the Enemy at his ease, chose rather immediately to descend into the Plain, and the very same day in the heart of the City (where now the *Gallick* Tombs remain as Monuments of his Courage) and the next day between *Rome* and *Gabes* fell upon and cut to pieces the Legions of the Enemy. What shall I say of that which happened many years after, when at the Streights of *Caudium* we were put under the Yoke by the *Sammites*? Tell me, I pray, did *Lucius Papirius Cursor* by scampering over the *Sammian* Hills, or not rather by attacking and pressing hard upon *Luceria*, and daring the Victorious Enemy, take off the yoke from the Romans, and impose it on the proud necks of the Enemy? What was it but Expedition that gave the late Consul *Lutatius* a Victory? For the very next day after he got sight of the Enemy, setting upon their Fleet overfraught with Provisions, and encumbered with their own Munition, he compleatly destroyed them. 'Tis mere folly to think that by sitting still, or sluggish Prayers, we shall vanquish our Foes; Our Forces must buckle on their Armor, descend into the Plain, and charge them lustily man to man. 'Twas by daring and by doing, by bold Action and hardy Execution, that the Roman State hath arrived to this height of Empire and Glory, and not by those faint dreaming Counsels which Cowards call the wary Policies of War. Whilst *Minucius* made these Harangues, a multitude of the Roman Colonels and Gentlemen of the Cavalry flock about him; nor were the common Foot Soldiers unacquainted with his *Rodomontado-Discourses*, so that if it had been put to most voices amongst the Soldiers, 'tis not to be doubted but they would have preferred *Minucius* before *Fabius* their General.

XV. *Fabius* having an Eye to his own Men, as well as on the Enemy, and resolving first to shew that his mind was not by either of them to be conquered, though he well knew these delays were not only condemned in his Camp, but had rendered him censured and ill spoken of at *Rome*, yet he spent the whole Summer persisting in the same method; so that *Annibal* frustrated of his chiefest hopes of a desired Battel, was now to look out for Winter-Quarters,

ters, for that Country afforded present, but not lasting Plenty, as abounding in Fruits and Vineyards, and such pleasant accommodations, rather than in Corn and the staple Necessaries of Life. *Fabius* by his Scouts was advertisd of this, and knowing that the Enemy must return by the same Streights, as he came in, to *Falernum*, seized on the Hill *Callicula*, and the City *Casilinum*, and Posts there sufficient Garisons; that City divided by the River *Vulturnus*, parting *Falernum* from *Campania*. Himself brings back his Forces through the same Hills, sending *L. Hostilius Mancinus* with Four hundred Horse of the Allies, to discover the posture of the Enemy. This Gentleman being one of the young Gallants that were wont to hear and admire the General of the Horse fiercely declaiming and spurring them on to Action, after he had advanced a pretty way, as only to gain Intelligence and view from some safe place the Enemy, lighting upon some few *Numidians* stragling through the Villages at an advantage, cut them off, and therewith his mind was so set upon Fighting, that he forgot the orders of the Dictator, who expressly commanded him, To march very warily, and to be sure to retreat before the Enemy got sight of him. The *Numidians*, now one party, and then another, sometimes charging and sometimes retreating, trail'd him on almost to their very Camp, thereby wearying both his Horses and Men. And then *Cartalo*, Commander in Chief of *Annibals* Cavalry, coming out with a full Body against him upon the Spur, before they came within Dart-shot put the Romans to flight, and had the pursuit of them for almost five miles together. At last, *Mancinus* seeing that neither the Enemy would give over the Chase, nor any hope was left to escape them, prevailed with his party to face about and Charge them; but being every way over-match'd, he himself, and the choicest of his Troops, were hemm'd in and slain, the rest in a scattered flight got first to *Cales*, and thence through By-lanes and unknown ways to the Dictator. *Minucius*, as it happened, the same day joyned *Fabius*, having before been abroad to Garison a Pass that lay between *Tarracina* and the Sea, lest *Annibal*, if the *Appian Way* were left without defence, should slip into the Roman Territories: The Dictator and General of the Horse, with united Forces, pitch'd their Camp in the very road where *Annibal* was to march and not above two miles distance from the Enemy.

The next day the *Carthaginians* drawing out their Men, took up all the space between the two Camps; and though the Romans were Posted just under their own Rampire, a place no doubt of great advantage, yet the *Punics* with their Light-Horse to provoke them to a Battel, came up and charg'd them sometimes near hand, by and by retiring, and then rallying afresh; yet still the Romans kept their Ground, the Encounter being slow, and more to the liking of the Dictator than of *Annibal*, of whose side Eight hundred wereslain, and but Two hundred of the Romans. Thenceforwards *Annibal* seem'd shut up, and as it were Besieged within *Casilinum*, whilst the Romans had *Capua* and *Sammium*, and other rich and powerful Nations, their Allies at their backs ready to bring them in Provision. On the contrary, the *Punics* were like to take up their Winter-Quarters between the Rocks of *Formii*, and the barren Sands of *Linternum*, and certain Lakes that yielded nothing but a prospect of horror. Nor was *Annibal* insensible that he was now out-done in his own Arts of Policy; therefore seeing he could not get off through *Casilinum*, but must take the Mountains, and march over the top of *Callicula*, fearing lest the Romans should fall upon his Army enclosed in the Vallies between the Hills, he contrived a Stratagem terrible to look at, to beguile their Eyes and frustrate their Expectations, and therewith resolv'd in the beginning of the Night to approach with all secrecy the Mountains: The parade of his device was thus; He caused to be gathered out of the adjoining Villages abundance of Fire-brands; then he took certain Bavins, or small Faggots of Bruil-wood and dry sticks, all which he tyed fast to the Horns of Oxen, whereof he had tame and wild a great number that he drove before him, amongst other Booties gotten out of the Country, making in all near Two thousand head of Cattel; ordering *Asdrubal*, That as soon as it grew duskish he should drive that Herd, with their Horns set on fire towards the Mountains, and as near as he could to those Passes where the Enemy kept Guard.

No sooner was it dark, but he dislodg'd his Army with great silence, the Oxen being driven a little before, and when they came near to the foot of the Hills and narrow Streights, upon a Signal given, the Bavins are lighted, and the Cattel violently forc'd up the Mountains, who being frighted as well with the Flames on their Heads, as especially by the heat and pain when they burnt down to the quick of their Horns, run every way about as if they had been mad, whereby as if all the Woods and Hills had been on a light Fire; the Coppices round about seem'd to blaze, and the tossing of their heads encreasing the Flame, look'd as if Men were running up and down with Torches and Flambeaus. The Guard appointed for those Passes seeing so many Lights on the tops of the Hills, and as it were over their Heads, concluding themselves circumvented, quitted their Posts, making towards the highest ridges of the Mountains, where they saw fewest Lights, as the safest places for their escape: There they lighted on some of the wandering Cattel, and first at a distance seeing them as breathing Flames, thought it a Miracle, and stood still in astonishment; but when they perceived it to be only an humane Trick, reckoning themselves betray'd

XVI.

XVII.



betray'd and over-reach'd, with a sad cry they betook themselves to their heels, and stumbled upon some of the Enemies Van that were Light-arm'd; but on both sides they were afraid to begin any skirmish in the Night, and so little Action happened until next Day: *Annibal* in the mean time with his whole Army getting through the Streights, having there slain some of the Enemy, Encamped next Morning in the *Alifan* Territories.

XVIII. *Fabius* perceiv'd this Tumult, but imagining it might be some Trepan, and always hating Night-work, kept his Men within their Trenches. As soon as 'twas light there was a conflict on the top of the Hill, where the *Romans* being somewhat superior in number, would easily have vanquish'd the Enemies Light-arm'd Squadron, as having already hemm'd them in, had not *Annibal* sent back a Spanish Regiment, who being more used to Mountainous places, and more apt and ready to clamber over Rocks and Precipices, both by the agility of their Bodies, and the slightness of their Harnes, avoided, and were too hard in that kind of skirmish for their Enemies, who were heavy-arm'd, and went to fight on the Plain and keep their Ground, so that in this unequal Dispute almost all the *Spaniards* got off safe, and the *Romans* with some loss retreated to their Camp: Which *Fabius* presently removed, and passing the Streights sat down above *Alifus*, in a place high-situate and well fortified. After this, *Annibal* making as if he would march through *Samium* to-rights for *Rome*, returned back, wasting and spoiling the Country as far as to the *Pelignians*: And *Fabius* hovered still on the Hill-tops between them and *Rome*, neither keeping far off from the Enemy, nor yet closely engaging them. At last *Annibal* departed from the *Peligni*, and retired into *Apulia* as far as *Gerione*, a City, which upon the falling down of part of their Wall, was for fear abandoned by its Inhabitants. The Dictator Entrench'd his Army in the Country of *Larinum*, and being sent for home to *Rome* for dispatching certain solemn Sacrifices, he not only laid his Commands upon the General of the Horse to forbear fighting in his absence, but by way of Advice and Intreaty, did as it were beg of him, *That he would rather trust Prudence than Fortune, and be guided by him, rather than follow the ruinous steps of Sempronius and Flaminius; That he would not think the time spent in vain, though there had been not much actual Fighting, for 'twas no contemptible service that they had kept so powerful an Enemy almost all the Summer in play, and by dallying with him prevented his designs; That Physicians sometimes by prescribing Rest, do as much good as with all their Purging and Bleeding; That it was no small matter, that we have left off being overcome by this Enemy, which so oft has worsted us of late, and that we have got some breathing time to refresh and recruit us after our losses.* Having given these Admonitions (but all in vain) to the General of the Horse, away he went to *Rome*.

XIX. In the beginning of the Summer wherein these Occurrences happened in *Italy*, War was also begun in *Spain* both by Sea and Land. *Asdrubal* added ten new Ships to the number of those left him ready rigg'd and fitted by his Brother; and setting out of *New Carthage* with his Army, as they march'd on the shore, *Himilco* (whom he had made Admiral) with a Fleet of forty Sail coasted along by them; being thus prepared to fight the *Romans*, whether they should meet them at Land or Sea. *Cn. Scipio*, upon advice that the Enemy had taken the Field, thought at first to have done so too, but afterwards not judging it fit to hazard a Battel at Land, by reason of the reports of the vast Assistance that was come in to the Enemy, putting his choicest Soldiers on board, with a Fleet of five and thirty Sail he set out to Sea, resolving there to engage them. The second day after he look'd from *Tarracone*, he cast Anchor about three Leagues distant from the mouth of the River *Iberus*; and sent out two *Marseillian* Pinaces to discover the Enemy, who brought advice, *That their Fleet rode in the Mouth of that River, and their Army lay Encamp'd just by upon the shore.* Therefore that he might surprize them unprovided, and attack them with all the terror he could when they least expected it, he presently weighs Anchor and makes towards them. Along the Coasts of *Spain* there are many Towers, built upon the highest Grounds, which serve both for Beacons to discover, and also as Forts to withstand Thieves and Rovers. From thence the Fleet was first descry'd, and notice by a Signal given thereof to *Asdrubal*, so that the Alarm and Tumult began first at Land in the Camp, before it came to the Ships; for as yet there was no dashing of Oars, or other ordinary noise of Mariners heard, and the Capes on either side hinder'd the Enemies Fleet from being seen there where the *Punicks* lay, so that they were in full security; when on a sudden, certain Horse-men came one after another from *Asdrubal*, commanding the Soldiers (who were either wandering on the shoar, or asleep in their Tents, expecting nothing less than an Enemy and fighting that day) to get on board with all speed, and betake themselves to their Arms; for the *Roman* Navy was already not far from the Mouth of the Haven. Within a while, *Asdrubal* in Person with his whole Army drew down to the Sea-side, and all things are in an hurry, the Mariners and Soldiers promiscuously tumbling into their Ships in such confusion as if they had fled from shore, rather than were going to Sea to fight an Enemy. They were scarce all got on board when some began to put off, either weighing their Anchors, or for expedition cutting Cables; all that they did was with more haste than good speed; with the Soldiers harnessing themselves to fight, the Sea-men were

were hindered in managing their Tackle; and the Sea-men bustle and running to and fro hinder'd the Soldiers in getting ready. By this time the *Romans* were not only come up with them, but had put their Fleet in a posture to begin the Engagement. The *Carthaginians* were no less disorder'd by the Tumult and hurly-burly of their own People, than by the attack of the Enemy; and having made a proffer of Fighting, rather than fought to any purpose, they tack'd about and fled, and the mouth of the River not being large enough to receive so many of them huddling in all together, they run their Vessels on ground any where, and the Men some waded, others leap'd on shore; some with their Arms, and some without, fled to their own Army, which stood drawn up in Battalia on the Strand: However, in the first On-set, two *Carthaginian* Ships were taken, and four sunk.

The *Romans*, though they saw the Enemy Masters at Land, and standing in Battel-array all along the Banks, yet they neglected not to pursue their trembling Fleet, and as many of the abandoned Ships as had not either broke their Stems on the shore, or stuck fast in the Sands by the Keels, they tow'd off to Sea; and so out of thirty Sail, carry'd away with them five and twenty: Nor was the taking of them so happy a fruit of their Victory, as that by this one slight Engagement they were Masters at Sea, and had all those Coasts at their devotion; therefore they sail'd to *Honofca*, and making a descent upon the Land, took that City by storm and plundered it; thence set forwards to *New Carthage*, plundered all the adjacent Country, and burn'd the Suburbs up to the very Walls and Gates. Well laden now with rich Pillage, the Fleet came before *Loguntica*, where *Annibal* had laid up abundance of Cordage for the use of his Navy, of which they took away as much as they need'd, and burnt the rest; nor were they content only to coast along the Continent, but stood over to the Isle *Ebusus*, and having for two days together assaulted the chief City of that Island; when they saw they did but spend time in vain, left it, pillaged the Country, burnt several Villages, and got better booty there than on the Main-land. Here arriv'd Ambassadors from the *Balearian* Isles to Treat with *Scipio* for Peace. After this steering his Course back again to the hither parts of his Province, Agents resorted to him on the same Errand from all the People that dwelt along the *Iberus*, and from many in the furthest parts of *Spain*, so that no less than One hundred and twenty several States or petty Nations, did then become absolute Subjects to the *Roman* Government, and gave Hostages for their faithful Obedience: By which means the *Romans* being reinforced at Land, made an Expedition as far as the Forrest of *Castulo*, and *Asdrubal* was glad to retire into *Portugal* near the Ocean Sea.

XXI. The rest of the Summer was like to be quiet, and had proved so for any thing considerable that the *Carthaginians* did to the contrary: But besides that, the natural temper of all *Spaniards* is restless, and desirous of new Commotions, *Mandonius* and *Indibilis*, who before was a petty King of the *Illegetes*, after the *Romans* were retreated from that Forrest towards the Sea-coasts, raising their Country-men in Arms, fell upon the peaceable Territories of the *Romans* Allies, and plundered them; against whom *Scipio* sent a Detachment of Three thousand, with some Auxiliaries lightly arm'd, who easily routed them, as being but a tumultuary Rabble, kill'd many, took some, and the rest generally fled away without their Arms. This Insurrection drew back *Asdrubal*, that before was marching towards the Ocean, to return on this side the *Iberus* to protect his Confederates. The *Carthaginians* lay encamped in the Lands of the *Ilercaonians*; the *Romans* near their new Armado, when sudden News arriv'd, That the War was diverted another way; for the *Celtiberians*, who had sent the principal Persons of their Country Ambassadors and Hostages to the *Romans*, being privately excited by a Message from *Scipio*, took Arms, and with a formidable Army invaded those parts which remained under the *Carthaginian* Government, storm'd three Towns, and afterwards bravely engaging *Asdrubal* himself in two set Battels, kill'd Fifteen thousand of his Men, and took Four thousand Prisoners, with many Military Standards and Colours.

XXII. The Affairs of *Spain* were in this posture, when *P. Scipio* arriv'd there, being sent by the Senate (who had continued his Command after his Consulship expired) with thirty long Ships, and Eight thousand Soldiers, and great store of Provisions, which at a distance seem'd a mighty Fleet by reason of the great number of Ships of Burthen that attended him, and with no small joy both of the *Romans* and their Associates, was welcom'd into the Port at *Tarracon*; where *Scipio* landing his Army, joined his Brother, and thenceforwards by united Councils and with one accord managed the War: Therefore whilst the *Carthaginians* had their hands full of the *Celtiberian* War, without any delay they pass'd the *Iberus*, and not finding any Enemy to oppose them, march'd directly for *Saguntum*, because 'twas reported, that the Hostages of all *Spain* delivered into the custody of *Annibal*, were kept there in the Castle, but with a small Guard about them. That was the only Pledge which kept all the Cities of *Spain* in awe, for though they were inclinable enough to enter into League with the *Romans*, yet they durst not do it, for fear it should cost them the Lives of their Children: But they were all eas'd of those apprehensions, by the crafty, rather than faithful Counsel of one *Abelex*, a Spanish Noble-man at *Saguntum*, that had hitherto join'd with,

with, and been very trusty to the Carthaginians, but now (as 'tis the nature for the most part of these Barbarians) with this change of Fortune he resolv'd to shift his Party; and considering, that if he should fly to the Enemy without having done them some signal Service, they would not much esteem the accession of his Person, but look upon him as infamous and of no regard, and therefore applyed his mind to get these Hostages at liberty, as the greatest favor he could possibly do his Country-men, and the readiest means to bring over their chief Men to take part with the Romans. But well he knew, that without warrant from *Boftar* Governor of the Castle, those that had the custody of the Hostages would do nothing; he begins therefore to wheedle with *Boftar* himself, who at that time lay without the City by the Sea-side, to prevent the Romans from entering the Haven: After he had taken him aside in private Discourse, he represents to him the present state of Affairs, That it was only fear that had hitherto kept the Spaniards quiet and in obedience, because the Romans were too far off to assist or protect them; But now the Roman Army being advanced on this side the Iberus, will be a sure refuge, and ready to back them on in any Insurrection; and therefore seeing they could no longer be retained by fear, it would be the best way to secure their Affections by kindness, and some signal favor. *Boftar* in some admiration demanding, What Obligation was it possible for him now all of a sudden to lay upon them, that might be effectual for such a purpose? Why, quoth the other, send home the Hostages to their respective Cities: This will be a most welcome Courtesie both to their particular Parents and Relations, who are Persons of the first Quality and Interest in those places where they dwell; as also to the several Nations in general. Every man (you know) is desirous to be trusted, and for the most part Credit frankly given to any one, obliges him the more firmly to be faithful. The charge of conducting home the Hostages I desire may be committed to me, that I may by my pains improve this my Counsel to the best advantage; and as the thing in it self cannot but be very acceptable, so I may by Words represent the greatness of the Obligation in its fairest colours. Having with such Discourses perswaded the Man (who happened not to be so subtle and crafty as most Carthaginians were wont to be,) away steals he privately in the Night to the Roman Guards, and meeting with some Spaniards that served there as Auxiliaries, was by them carried to *Scipio*, and acquainted him with the Affair. And after mutual promises of secrecy and performance, and a time and place agreed on for delivering the Hostages into his hands, returns as secretly back again to *Saguntum*, and spent the next day with *Boftar*, in receiving his Orders, telling him, He would carry the Youths out in the Night, the better to avoid the Enemies Guards; so about the hour appointed, he called up those that had them in their Custody, and began his Journey; and as if he had been altogether ignorant of what happened, led them directly to the place where the Romans, by his own treachery, lay in Ambush to intercept them, being conducted into the Roman Camp. The Hostages were surrendered to their respective Relations by the Romans as their own act, but freely in all respects, as *Boftar* had intended to deliver them, and as if it had been transacted in the name of the Carthaginians; yet the Romans got more good will and greater thanks, than the Carthaginians could have expected in doing the very same courtesie: For the Spaniards having experienc'd them to be Proud and Oppressive whilst their Affairs were prosperous, would have concluded this Kindness to be an effect only of their present fear and weak condition: But *Scipio*, being before unknown, conciliated a great opinion of his Clemency and good Nature, by so liberal and generous an Action at his first coming amongst them: And *Abelox* was look'd upon as a prudent Man, that had not without good Reason exchanged the Friendship of the former for that of the latter. Henceforward the Spaniards, with one consent, were studying a Revolt, and they had presently taken Arms, but that the Season of the Year obliged both Romans and Carthaginians to break up the Campaign, and betake them to their Winter-Quarters.

XXIII. These were the Occurrences that pass'd in Spain the second Summer of the Punic War, whilst in Italy the Politick delays, and wariness of *Fabius*, gave the Romans some intermission and breathing-time after their several Defeats; which, as it did not a little vex *Annibal*, and put him to his trumps, to see that now at last the Romans had made choice of a General that was resolved to manage the War according to Reason and Judgment, and not hazard any thing upon the Capricio's of Fortune: So on the other side, this wise Conduct of his, was slighted and condemned amongst his own Citizens, as well the Soldiery abroad, as the Gown-men at home, especially after it happened, That in his absence the General of the Horse had rashly fought the Enemy, with a Success more joyful and applauded, than really great or advantagious. Besides, there were two other things that contributed to make the Dictator the worse thought of; one contrived by the deceitful Policy of *Annibal*, who being told by some Renegades, which were the Dictators particular Lands, when he utterly destroyed the Country round about, and laid all level with the Ground, gave a strict charge to his Soldiers, to forbear all acts of Hostility there, and not to touch any of his Estate, Tenants or Possessions either with Fire or Sword, or do them the least injury; on purpose to raise Jealousies, as if the Dictator held secret Intelligence with him, and that this preservation of his Lands were but a reward paid for his suffering him to go on

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so long plundering and wasting others without controul: The other, arose from an Action of his own, at the first indeed suspicious (because done without waiting for the Senates Commission and Approbation) but in the up-shot redounding, no doubt, to his singular praise and honor: It was about Exchange of Prisoners; for having Capitulated with the Enemy (as had been formerly practised in the first Punic War) That Prisoners should be mutually released, and that side that received more than they gave, to pay the other Two pound and an half of Silver [between seven and eight pounds sterling] for every Head. It happened, that *Fabius* received Two hundred and forty seven Prisoners more than he could ballance; and the Senate, after a long Debate of the matter, because he had not Directions therein from them, delayed to raise the Silver which was by the aforesaid Agreement to be paid for them [amounting to near Two thousand pound of our money.] Whereupon sending his Son to Rome, he made sale of his Estate which the Enemy had spared, and with the money discharged the Debt to *Annibal*, chusing rather to part with his private Fortune, than bring a scandal on the Publick-Faith of his Country, which he had engaged. *Annibal* lay encamped under the Walls of *Gerion*, a City which he had taken and burnt, all but a few Houles reserved for Granaries to lay his Corn in; and to replenish them therewith, sent abroad two thirds of his Forces to bring in all the Grain they could find in the Neighboring Countries; with the rest he remained in Person, and kept them almost always in Arms, both for securing his Camp, and to be in readiness to relieve those that were abroad, if they should happen to be attack'd.

XXIV. The Roman Army was then in the Territories of *Larinum*, Commanded by *Minucius* General of the Cavalry, the Dictator being gone to Rome as aforesaid: But the Camp which he left on an high Hill and place of safety, was now carried down into the Plain, and according to the temper of the present chief Commander, it was agitated in the Council of War, either to set upon those Detachments of the Enemy Foraging the Country, or else to storm their Camp now left but with an inconsiderable Guard. Nor was *Annibal* insensible, that together with the Commander, the whole conduct of the War was chang'd, and that now they would act with more fury than discretion; therefore, though the Enemy were advanced nearer him, he continued still (which a Man would scarce believe) to send out one third part of his Army to gather in Harvest, and kept the other two at the Camp, which he also removed nearer to the Romans, almost two miles from *Gerion*, and Posted himself on a small Hill in view of the Enemy, to let them perceive that he was ready to rescue and defend his Men that were getting in the Corn, if they were Charged. There he spyed another Hill nearer unto, and standing as it were over the Roman Camp; for the gaining whereof (since if he should have attempted it in the day, the Enemy would undoubtedly prevent him, and seize it first themselves, as being next it) he sent out in the Night a party of Numidians, who posted themselves thereon; but the next day, the Romans making nothing of so small a number, drove them thence, and removed thither their Tents; so as then there was but a very small distance between one Camp and the other, and that too almost taken up by the Romans, who out of a back Port dispatch'd their Cavalry and Light-arm'd Foot to fall upon the Enemy that were at Harvest-work, and as they were scattered through the Fields, cut off many, and put the rest to flight: Nor durst *Annibal* issue out to encounter the Enemy in the open Field, having scarce enough with him to defend his Works if assaulted; so that now, whilst part of his Army was absent, he was forced to imitate the Conduct of *Fabius*, by sitting still as it were, and keeping the Enemy at staves-end, and retreating fairly to his former Camp, under the Walls of *Gerion*. Some Authors write, that they fought a pitched Battel, wherein at the first Charge the Punics were routed even to their Camp; but thence, falling out with greater violence, repulsed the Romans, and had defeated them, but they were re-inforced by the seasonable coming in of *Numerius Decimus* a Samnite: A Person both for his Quality, Interest and Wealth, the most considerable, not only in *Bovianum* where he dwelt, but indeed throughout all Samnium, who by the Dictators order was marching at the Head of Eight thousand Foot and Two hundred Horse to the Roman Camp; and when he first appeared, both Parties flattered themselves with hopes of fresh assistance, but by and by the noise went, That it was *Fabius* returning from Rome: whereupon *Annibal* fearing to be enclosed, began to retreat, and was hard pursued by the Romans, who also that day with the Samnites help, storm'd and took two fortified Boroughs or Castles: There were slain Six thousand of the Enemy, and very near Five thousand of the Romans; but though there were no greater disproportion in the loss, the rumor ran to Rome of a mighty Victory which was encreased by the vain-boasting Letters of the General of the Horse, to the same purpose.

XXV. Upon which Intelligence, the maner of managing the War was frequently debated both in the Senate, and before the People in the Common-Hall: All the City being overjoy'd at the News, only the Dictator alone declared, That he knew not how to credit either Common Fame, or the Letters themselves: And suppose all that they talk'd of were true, yet for his part he was always more afraid under the smiles, than frowns of Fortune. Whereupon

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*M. Metilius*, one of the Tribunes of the Commons, made the following Harangue. "This above all (quoth he) is not to be suffer'd, That the Dictator should not only, when he is present in the Camp, oppose and hinder all gallant Enterprizes against the Enemy, but reproach and disgrace those brave Actions which are atchieved now he is absent; That he should thus spin out the War on purpose to continue himself the longer in his Office, and be the only Man to govern all, both at home in the City, and abroad in the Field; since one of the Consuls was slain, the other is pack'd out of the way far enough from Italy, on pretence of pursuing the Carthaginian Fleet; and as for the two Prætors, he has employ'd them in Sicily and Sardinia, though there was at this time no need of their presence in either of those Provinces. *M. Minucius*, General of the Cavalry, he has all this while kept as it were a Prisoner, scarce letting him see the Enemy, much less suffering him to engage them. Thus verily not only *Sammium* (the possession whereof was as freely abandon'd to the *Punicks*, as if it had lain on the other side the River *Iberus* in Spain) but all *Campania*, *Calenum*, and the *Falernian* Territories, are suffered to be miserably wasted with Fire and Sword, whilst the Dictator lay quietly at *Caslinum*, and with the Legions of the People of Rome defended his own petty Farm and private Possessions; when both the Army and General of the Horse were zealous to have fought the Enemy, they were prohibited, and confined, as it were, not to budge out of their Entrenchments, and their Arms taken from them, as if they had been Captive Enemies: But no sooner were their hands at liberty by the Dictators absence, but like Men delivered from a Siege, they bravely fall out upon the Enemy, and routed and put them to flight. All which considered, if the Commons of Rome had the same mettle which they had in days of old, I would not scruple to prefer a Bill for depriving *Q. Fabius* of his Office: but at present I shall only propound a more moderate course, That the General of the Horse be made equal with the Dictator in Authority, yet so, as that notwithstanding *Fabius* be not sent to the Army until he shall first have ordain'd another Consul in the room of *C. Flaminius*.

The Dictator forbore to come into any of these Assemblies of the People, as being a Man not vers'd in making Speeches, and far from aiming at Popularity; nor was he, even in the Senate, heard without sufficient prejudice, when he either extoll'd the strength and policy of the Enemy, or related the Overthrows that for two years past had been received by the rashness and ignorance of their own Commanders, and told them, That the Master of the Horse ought to be call'd to an account for presuming to fight contrary to his express Orders; adding, That if he might have the supreme Command, and his Counsels obeyed, he doubted not but in a little time to convince Men, That a wise General ought not much to regard Fortune, but to be altogether ruled by Reason and sound Judgment: And that for his own part, he should always esteem it a greater Honor to have, in so calamitous a Juncture, preserved the Army without any loss or disgrace, than if he had slain many thousands of the Enemy. But finding them deaf to all these Discourses, having Created *M. Attilius Regulus* Consul; that he might not so much as by his presence seem to stickle in the Question concerning his own Government, the day before the matter was to be determined by the Peoples suffrages, he departed in the Evening towards the Army. Next Morning, when the Commons were assembled, Men seem'd rather secretly in their hearts to envy the Dictator, and favor the General of the Horse, than willing to be seen openly to set forward and perswade a Business which was no less without precedent than against Reason, and therefore, though the Bill were exceedingly well liked of, yet there wanted some Person of Note to give it Credit and Authority: At length one stept up publicly to promote it, viz. *C. Terentius Varro*, who the Year before had been Prætor, a person not only of a mean but sordid Extraction; for his Father, 'tis said, was a Butcher, and kept a Stall, and train'd up this Son of his in the same servile Occupation.

XXVI. This *Varro* being a young Man, and having a pretty Estate left by his Father, scrap'd together by the aforesaid Trade, it rais'd his mind to hopes of a more liberal Fortune; and that he might live like a Gentleman, he became a kind of Solicitor, or Splitter of Causes, got him a Gown, and haunted the Publick Assemblies and Courts of Judicature, where by Declaiming for vile Persons and worse Causes, and bespattering the good name of honest Citizens and Men of Repute, he soon became the Oracle of the Rabble, and mounted himself into Preferment: Having been Chamberlain of the City, and born both *Ædileships*, as well that of the Chair as that of the Commons; and at length gone through the Office of Prætor, he now began to aspire to the Consulship, and in order thereunto, did craftily endeavor to insinuate himself into Popular favor by means of that ill-conceit which they generally had of the Dictator, and so was the only man in Vogue with the Mob; for every Body, friends and foes, as well those at Rome as the Army (except it were only the Dictator himself) concluded the passing that Bill, would redound to his disgrace and reproach: But *Fabius*, with the same gravity and even temper of mind as he had received the Clamors of his Enemies bawling against him to the Crowd, entertain'd this Injustice of the Commons; and having on his Journey received Letters, importing the Decree of the Senate, for

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dividing his Authority equally with the General of the Cavalry, being satisfied, That though they had parted his Power, they could not diminish his skill and sufficiency in Conduct, nor communicate any share thereof to the other, returned to his Army with a Soul not to be conquered either by the Ingratitude of his own Citizens, or the Power of the Enemy.

But *Minucius*, who before was grown almost intolerable, what with his petty successes, and the favor of the Populace, began now to hector and rant beyond all bounds of modesty, boasting no less that he conquered *Fabius*, than that he had worsted *Annibal*; "That very *Fabius* who in a time of distress (says he) was sought out as the only fit match for *Annibal*, is now by an Ordinance of the People (a thing never before heard of in any Chronicle) equaliz'd with my self, the greater with the lesser, the Dictator with the Master of the Horse, and this too in that City where Generals of the Horse were wont to dread and tremble at the Dictators Rods and Axes; so illustrious is my Valor and Success become in all Mens eyes: I will therefore henceforwards follow the auspicious conduct of my own Fortune, if the Dictator shall still persist in his wonted sloth and cowardize, already condemn'd by the Verdict both of Gods and Men. Accordingly the first day that he and *Fabius* met together, he told him, That in the first place it would be necessary they should agree after what manner they should exercise this equal Authority and Command; For his part he thought it best, That every other day, or after what longer Interval should be concluded on, each of them should alternately one after the other, have the full, whole and sole Command of all the Forces; That if any occasion of Fighting were presented, there might be one ready equal not only in Counsel, but also in numbers and strength to engage the Enemy. This did not at all please *Fabius*, as fore-seeing that whatever his rash Colleague should have the dispose of, would certainly be at the arbitrament of Fortune: Therefore he reply'd, That he was indeed to impart unto him an equal Government and Command, but not wholly to depart from, or at any time exclude himself from the same: That he should never be willing to fail in managing such part of Affairs as was still intrusted with him, according to the maxims of Prudence, and therefore would not divide days or times with him, but the Armies; and since he was not permitted to save all, would endeavor to preserve as much as he could by those wary Counsels which he had hitherto practis'd, and found no cause to repent of. Thus he prevailed, that they divided the Legions between them as Consuls are wont to do: The first Legion and the fourth happened to *Minucius's* Lot, the second and third to *Fabius*; after the same manner they shared by equal numbers the Horse and Auxiliary Forces of the Allies. Moreover, *Minucius* would needs have them separated in several distinct Camps.

As *Annibal* by Renegades and his own Spies had continual notice of all that pass'd in the Enemies Army, so upon this Intelligence he hugg'd himself, as conceiving a two-fold occasion of Joy; for first, he doubted not but he should deal well enough with the lavish temerity of *Minucius*, and fit him in his own kind: And as for the politick *Fabius*, he was now deprived of half his strength. There happened to be an Hill between the Carthaginian and *Minucius's* Camp, and there was no doubt but he that could gain it first would have a notable advantage of the Ground; yet was not *Annibal* so desirous only to seize it without resistance (though that were well worth while) as thereby to draw on *Minucius* to a Battel, who he knew would be forward enough to encounter him. The Plain that lay betwixt that and *Minucius*, at first sight seem'd altogether unfit for stratagems, so far from being Woody, that there was not a Bush or a Bramble growing on it; but indeed it was naturally framed for an Ambuscade, the rather because in so naked and open a Valley no such matter could be expected, yet there were in certain nooks and by-places, several hollow Rocks or Caves under ground, some of which would receive Two hundred Armed men apiece. In these Coverts he in the Night plants Five thousand Horse and Foot, as many as each hole would contain and hide out of sight; and left any of them starting out unadvisedly, or the glittering of their Armor should in so open a Plain discover the trick, as soon as 'twas light he sent out a small Party to seize the aforesaid Hill, and thereby diverted the Enemies eyes another way. The Romans no sooner saw them, but contemning such a small sorry company, every one was eager to be at them, and chase them thence; and their General *Minucius* was as hot as the fiercest to call them to their Arms to regain the place, with no little vanity braving and threatening the Enemy. First, he sent out his Light-harnes'd men to skirmish; then his Horse in a close Body; at last seeing continual Reliefs sent to the Enemy, he marches forth with all his Legions in Battel array. *Annibal* too, as from time to time he saw his Men distressed, and one Conflict growing upon another, dispatching forth continually Parties of Horse and Foot, had brought the Main-body of his Army into the Field, so that now they tugg'd for it on either side with all the Forces they had. The Romans Forlorn-hope of Light-armed Men that endeavored to get up the Hill where the Enemy was Posted, being beat back and thrust down, affrighted and disorder'd the Horse that followed them, and fled for refuge to the Standards of the Infantry, who alone, when all the rest were in confusion, stood undaunted; and had the Fight been fair and upon equal terms, were like enough to have made their party good against

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the Enemy, so much had their late success encouraged them; but when on a sudden the Ambush started forth round about them, they caused such a tumult and terror by Charging them all at once on both Flanks, and Rear, that they had neither hearts to fight, nor hopes to escape by flying.

XXIX.

Then it was when *Fabius* hearing first their out-cries of fear, and presently seeing from afar off their Battel disordered; *I thought even as much* (quoth he) *and no sooner than I feared, has misfortune overtaken inconsiderate rashness; The man that would needs be equaliz'd in Command with Fabius, sees now that Annibal is his Superior both in Valor and Fortune: But there will be a fitter time to chide and be angry in; at present hasten out with your Standards, and let us at once wrest the Victory out of the hands of the Enemy, and a confession from the mouths of our Fellow-Citizens of their Error.* There were by this time abundance slain, and the rest looking about which way they might most safely run, when *Fabius's* Army shew'd it self on a sudden, as sent down from Heaven to their succor, causing such an alteration in the Scene of the Battel, that before he could come within reach of Dart, or near enough to strike one stroke, he not only stopt his Fellow-Citizens from their tumultuous flight, but abated the fury of the Enemy. Those that before were scattered, began to rally from all parts to the intire Body, and many that in heaps had taken their heels, face about, and wheeling to the Right or Left, whilst some retire a little in good order, others advance; so that now both those that had been routed, and those that stood firm, became reduced into one orderly Battel, and began to Charge the Enemy: But *Annibal* immediately sound-ed a Retreat, and openly acknowledged, *That as he had defeated Minucius, so Fabius had been too hard for him.* The greater part of the day being spent in these vicissitudes of Fortune, and all retired again to their Camps, *Minucius* assembling his Soldiers, spake to them after this manner: "I have often heard, Fellow Soldiers! that he is the ablest Man that does of himself know what is best to do: and in the next place, he that hearkens to good counsel from others: But he that has neither the Wit to advise himself, nor the modesty to be guided by those that are Wiser, is of a deplorable temper and good for nothing: Since therefore we have not had the happiness to deserve to be numbered in the first Rank, let us not neglect the second; but whilst we are learning to Command, resolve to obey those that are more prudent than our selves; let us forthwith go and join Camp with *Fabius*, and when we have brought our Standards up to his Pavilion, and when you shall hear me call him *Father* (which both the late benefit we have received from him, and the Majesty of his Virtue well deserves) do you all salute those his Soldiers, by whose Arms and Hands you were just now preserved, by the name of your Patrons, so shall this day yield us, if nothing else, yet at least, the glory of having had grateful Hearts, though none of the most prudent Heads.

XXX.

This said, he gave orders to pack up Bag and Baggage, and away they March in good order towards the Dictators Tent, to his great wonder, and the astonishment of all that were with him: When they had stuck down their Ensigns before his Tribunal, the General of the Horse advancing a little before the rest, salutes *Fabius*, calling him *Father*; and presently all his Army congratulate their Fellow-Soldiers that were under him, as their Patrons: After their shout was over, *Minucius* thus continued his Discourse, "To my Parents, Most Honored Dictator! (to whom as much as my Tongue can express, I have just now equalld you in Title) I owe only my Life, but to you both the preservation of that Life of mine, and of the Lives of all these that were lately under my separate Command; That Act of the Commons with which I was rather exposed, than honor'd, I myself do first of all repeal and disclaim, and may it be prosperous to you and me, and both our Armies, as well the Conservators as the Preserved; I do again submit my self to your Command and auspicious Conduct, and restore you these, these your Ensigns and Legions, intreating, that pardoning my past Follies, you will please to continue me in the same Quality of General of the Horse, and all these, every one in his former rank and condition. Then did they lovingly shake hands, and the Soldiers dismiss'd from the Assembly, began to Treat and Carels each other, as well those that were Strangers, as those who before were acquainted with one another, and so that became a joyful day, but even now was so sad and like to prove fatal. When the rumor of this accident arrived at *Rome*, and was confirm'd by the Letters not only of the Commanders, but of the common Soldiers too unto their Relations, every one did praise and applaud *Maximus* up to the Skies; nor was his glory less with *Annibal* and the *Carthaginians*, who then at length began to perceive, That they had to deal with *Romans*, and were indeed waging a War in *Italy*; for so much had they for the last two years despised both the *Roman* Leaders and their Soldiers, that they could hardly believe they were engaged against the same Nation, of whose Conduct and Courage they had heard such terrible Stories from their Fathers. *Annibal* himself, as he was retreating out of the Field, is reported to have said: *At last that Cloud which hover'd so long over our heads on the Mount-tops, is broke down upon us in a Storm.*

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Whilst *Italy* was the Scene of these Actions, *Cn. Servilius Geminus* the Consul, with a Fleet of One hundred and twenty Ships, sail'd round the Coasts of *Sardinia* and *Corfica*, and having received Hostages of both Isles, steer'd his Course for *Africk*; but before he made any descent upon the Continent, plundered the Island *Meninx*, and wasted it with Fire and Sword, and had served *Cercina* the same sauce, but that its Inver [or One thousand eight hundred seventy and five pounds sterling] paid down upon the Nail. Then he brought up his Fleet to the *African* shore, landed his Forces, who presently both Soldiers and Sea-men fell to Forraging the Country, as disorderly, as if they had been rifling some Island that had scarce any People in it; by which rashness they fell into Ambuscades, as they were stragling abroad and ignorant of the Coast, being enclosed by vast numbers; and after a great slaughter made of them, the rest were shamefully put to flight and beat back to their Ships, having lost a thousand Men, and amongst them *Sempronius Blasius* the Quæstor; whereupon the Fleet in all hast and consternation put off from the Shore, which was all full of the Enemy, and stood away for *Sicily*: When they arriv'd at *Lilybaeum*, the Navy was committed to the charge of *T. Otacilius* the Prætor, to be convey'd home to *Rome* by *P. Sura* his Lieutenant. The Consul himself crossing *Sicily* by Land, hastned over the Narrow Sea into *Italy*, for both he and his Colleague *M. Atilius*, were summon'd by Letters from *Fabius*, to receive from his hands the charge of the Army, the term of his six months supreme Government being almost expired. All Historians almost relate, that these Exploits against *Annibal* were perform'd by *Fabius* as Dictator: And *Caecilius* affirms further, that he was at first created Dictator by the People; but both he and the rest do not consider, that the power of creating a Dictator was solely in the only surviving Consul *Cn. Servilius*, who was then remote in *France* his peculiar Province; and the City terrified with a late overthrow, not being able to wait so long till he should return, were forc'd to this Expedient, That the People should chuse one in the room or stead of a Dictator: But by reason of the signal Services by him performed, and his deserved Glory and Renown, and his Posterity augmenting the Title on his Statue, it easily happened, that instead of Pro-Dictator, he was generally stiled Dictator.

The two new Consuls, *M. Atilius*, and *Geminus Servilius*, having received the Forces; the former, those that were under *Fabius* whilst he acted separately; and the latter, those that had been under *Minucius*, settled and fortified their Winter-Quarters very early, for 'twas then but Autumn: They managing the War with the greatest Concord imaginable between themselves, and following the same politick Course as *Fabius* had done before them. When *Annibal* sent out Parties to fetch in Corn, they met with them opportunely in several places, falling on their Rear and picking up stragglers; but still would not run the hazard of a general Battel, which the Enemy by all kind of Arts, sought to provoke and draw them unto: For being in a strange Country, and not able to get in Provisions, were so put to it for Necessaries, that *Annibal*, but for shame lest his Retreat should be counted a running away, would even then have gone back again into *Gallia*, finding it impossible for his Forces to subsist in those parts, if the succeeding Consuls should manage the War after the same method. Whilst by reason of the Winter the War was at a stand near *Gerion*, Ambassadors arrived at *Rome* from *Naples*, who being admitted to Audience, presented the Senate with forty massy Boles or Goblets all of beaten Gold, of a very great weight, and one of them made a Speech to this effect: *That they were not insensible that the Roman Exchequer must needs be much exhausted by this War; and since the same is waged as well for and on the behalf of the Cities and Territories of their Allies, as for the City of Rome, the Metropolis and Bulwark of all Italy, and for the Sovereign Empire of this part of the World, The People of Naples thought it but just and reasonable to assist them with what Gold their Ancestors had left them either for Ornament, or to relieve them in a time of necessity, and if they could think of any other thing wherein they might be serviceable, they would frankly offer it with the same zealous affections; That they should take it as a favor, if their Lordships and the People of Rome, would please to esteem whatever the Neopolitans did possess, as their own; and in particular, if they would vouchsafe to accept this small Present, infinitely more considerable, in respect of the good Will and hearty Intentions of those who make it, than in regard of the thing it self.* The Senate returned thanks to the Ambassadors for this munificent offer and loving care of their Affairs, but would accept only one Bole, and that too of the least weight of them all.

About the same time a *Carthaginian* Spy was taken at *Rome*, that had resided there for two years space unsuspected, both his hands were cut off, and so he was dismissed; also Five and twenty Slaves were Crucified for a Conspiracy contrived in the *Campius Martius*, their companion that discovered them had his Freedom given him, and Twenty thousand pieces of Bras money (about 60 l. 2 s. 6 d. sterling) for a Reward. Ambassadors were dispatch'd to *Philip* King of *Macedonia*, to demand *Demetrius Pharius* to be delivered up to them, who being vanquish'd in the Field, had fled to him for shelter: And others sent to the *Ligurians* to expostulate with them for having assisted the *Carthaginians* with Men and Money; and also to take notice, when they were so near, how the *Boii* and People of *Milvain* stood affected,

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feated, and in what posture they were. A third Ambassay was address'd as far as *Sclavonia*, to King *Pineus*, to demand the Tribute, the day of payment being past; or if he desired longer time, then to take new Hostages of him for security. Thus provident were the Romans, that notwithstanding that dreadful War which lay so near and heavily upon their shoulders, yet no one Affair, how remote soever, was neglected. Likewise in point of Religion, being conscious, That the Temple which *L. Manlius* the Prator had two years before, when the Soldiers were in a Mutiny in *Gallia*, Vowed to the Goddess *Concord*, was not as yet put out to Work-men to be built; therefore *Amilius* the City Prator, created *Cn. Pupius* and *Cæso Quintius Flaminius*, Duumvirs to take care of that Affair, who ordered the Temple to be built upon the Capitol Hill. The same Prator, by the Senators Order, wrote to the Consuls, *That if they thought fit, one of them should repair to Rome for creating new Consuls, and that he would appoint a Common-Hall to be held on such a day as they should appoint.* Who returned Answer, *That they could not without hazard and prejudice to the Commonwealth, depart from the Army, lying so near a dangerous Enemy; and therefore thought it would be better to hold the Elections by an Inter-regent, than to recal either of them from the War.* But the Senate was rather of Opinion, To have a Dictator chosen by one of the Consuls only for holding that Court, and accordingly *L. Veturius Philo* was nominated, who made *Pomponius Matro* Master of the Horse. But these being not duly Created, were commanded at a Fortnights end to give over their Places, and so it came to an Inter-regency.

XXXIV. The Consuls were continued in their Command over the Army for a Year longer. The Senators named for Inter-regents, first, *Cn. Claudius Cento*, the son of *Appius*, and after him *P. Cornelius Asina*, in whose time the Assemblies for Election were held, with much debate and struggling between the Nobles and the Commons: The vulgar People endeavoring to advance unto the Consulship *C. Terentius Varro*, a Man of their own condition, and who had mightily insinuated into their favor by opposing himself and contesting with great Personages, and by other popular practices; as particularly by abasing the Power of *Fabius* and the Majesty of the Dictatorship, for indeed he had nothing else to recommend him, but an envious malicious mind, always industrious to bring others into disgrace. The Nobles opposed this Choice with all the Interest they could make, lest it should become a Custom for Men to hope to raise themselves to be their Equals, merely by quarrelling with and aspersing them. *Q. Bæbius Herennius*, one of the Tribunes of the Commons, and a Relation of *Varro's*, clamored not only against the Senate, but blam'd the *Augurs* too, because they did not suffer the late Dictator to go on with the Elections; and by drawing them into hatred, sought to advance the Interest of his Kinsman, telling the People, *That as Annibal was first brought into Italy by the means of the Nobility, who for many years had desired nothing more than War, so the same Persons, now he is come, use all Artifices to prolong and spin out the same, which might else have been ended long ago. For when 'twas apparent that the compleat Power of the four Legions all together, were a sufficient match for the Enemy, by the success that Minucius had whilst Fabius was absent; a Contrivance was set on foot, That two Legions only should engage them, who being first exposed as it were to be hewn in pieces, must afterwards (forsooth) be rescued when they are half slain: and what was all this for? That Fabius might be stiled Father and Patron, even he that first hindered the Romans from vanquishing the Enemy, before he saved them from being vanquish'd. The Consuls afterwards followed those Arts of Fabius, and drill'd out the War, when they might easily have finish'd it with Victory: A Confederacy, no doubt, this is amongst all the Noblemen, nor can we ever hope to see a good end put to the War, until you shall chuse for a Consul a mere Commoner indeed, that is to say, some new man that has nothing to boast of his Ancestors, nor is yet tainted with these Patrician Arts: For those who of Commoners are made Noble, are all alike, of the same Cabal, and driving on the same Design; and ever since they themselves are grown great with the Patricians, do no less than they, disdain the Commonalty. For who sees not, that in seeking to have an Inter-regency, their only reach and design was, that the Election might be wholly in the power and management of the Senators? This was it which the Consuls aim'd at in staying both with the Army, and when a Dictator was chosen against their Wills to hold the Elections, they intrigu'd with the *Augurs* to set him aside, upon frivolous pretences of his not being duly Created, and wanting some of the lucky Presages; but let them enjoy their Inter-regency: 'Tis certain, one of the Consulships does of right belong to the Commons of Rome, and certainly the People in their free Election will rather confer that Dignity on a Person that resolves to vanquish the Enemy, and put a speedy end to the War, than upon such as only endeavor to perpetuate their own power of domineering.*

XXXV. The Commons were so enflamed with these Harangues, that though there were three Competitors of the ancient Nobility, *P. Cornelius Merenda*, *L. Manlius Volso*, and *M. Æmilius Lepidus*, and two Commoners that by their own, or their Ancestors bearing of Honorable Offices were become Noble; viz. *C. Atilius Serranus*, and *Q. Ailius Pætus*, of whom one was Pontiff, the other an Augur, yet *C. Terentius* was chosen Consul, and alone by himself, that so he might have the power of holding the Assembly wherein the People were to chuse another to be his Colleague. Then the Nobility perceiving, that none of their Candidates could prevail, put forward *L. Æmilius Paulus*, who had formerly been Consul with *M. Livius*, and when he was condemn'd, narrowly escap'd, a man of all others most mischievously bent against the Commons, him, I say, they urged to stand for the other Consulship, though

though he refused a long time, and alledged many Reasons against it; but at last he was prevailed with, and the next Court-day all the rest of the Candidates that had opposed *Varro*, having quitted their Pretensions, he was chosen, not so much to be a Colleague and Assistant to the said *Varro*, as to be a fit match to thwart and cross him. After which they proceeded to the choice of Prators, and Elected *Manius Pomponius Matro*, and *P. Furius Philus*, the first by Lot was to have Jurisdiction over Free-men, and the other between Free-men and Foreigners: Two other Prators were added, *M. Claudius Marcellus* to be sent into *Sicily*, and *L. Posthumius Albinus* into the *Cisalpine Gallia*: All these were Created in their absence, and except *Terentius* the Consul, there was not one of them but had born the same Office before, several stout and able Men being pass'd by, because in such a difficult time it was not thought fit to prefer any Man to an Office in which he was unexperienced.

The Armies also were augmented, but to what proportion either of Horse or Foot, I XXXVI. cannot certainly affirm, Authors do so much vary in their Accounts, both of the number and kind of the new-raisd Forces. Some say there was a supply of Ten thousand Soldiers listed; others, that were four new Legions added, and so eight Legions of Romans in all employed. But the number as well of Horse as Foot in each Legion, was likewise increased, 1000 Foot and 100 Horse being added, so that every Legion consisted of 5000 Foot and 300 Horse. And that the Allies and Confederate Nations should find as many Foot, and double the number of Horse as were Enroll'd of Romans. Some Historians write, That at the Battel at *Canna*, the Roman Camp was Eighty seven thousand and two hundred strong; but in this all agree, that there were greater Preparations made, and things carried on with more heat and vigor, because the Dictator had put them in good hopes that the Enemy might at once be subdued. Before the new Levyed Troops advanc'd from Rome, the *Decemvirs* were commanded to repair to and inspect the *Sybilline Books*, because Peoples minds were terrified with several Prodigies of late; for it was reported, That both at Rome on the *Aventine Hill*, and also at a Town called *Aricia*, it had rain'd Stones much about the same time; and that in *Sabinum*, out of a certain Fountain, issued hot Waters intermingled with abundance of Blood, which was taken to be a sign of some mighty Slaughter, and did the more affright People, because the same had happened divers times one after another. And in the Street called *Fornicata* in Rome, several Persons were struck dead with Lightning, which ill Portents were all expiated according to the Prescriptions of the aforesaid Books. Agents from the City *Pæstum* in *Lucania*, brought to Rome a Present of several Golden Boles, whom, as to those of *Naples*, the Senate returned their Thanks, but would not receive any of their Gold.

At this time arriv'd at *Ostia* a Fleet from King *Hiero*, with great store of Provisions: The XXXVII. *Syracusan* Ambassadors, being introduced into the Senate-House, declared, "That their Master, King *Hiero*, as soon as he received the sad Tidings of the death of the Consul *C. Flaminius* and the defeat of his Army, was so much concern'd, that no misfortune of his own, or calamity happening to his Kingdom, could have afflicted him more sensibly; "Therefore though he well knows such is the magnanimity of the People of Rome, as to be "more admirable under the most threatening shocks of adverse Fortune, than in their Prosperity, yet he had taken care to send them all such things as good Friends are wont to furnish "their Allies with, in time of War, and did heartily request their Lordships acceptance "thereof: And in the first place, for luck-sake, and as an Omen of Success, they had brought "the Image of Victory in Gold, weighing 320 pounds, which they desired them to receive, "and hold and enjoy as their own for ever. Moreover, they had transported with them, "Three hundred thousand *Modii* of Wheat, and Two hundred thousand *Modii* of Barley [a "Modius is said to contain almost half a Bushel of our Measure] to the end they might "not be in straits for Provision; And that they were ready to bring in as much more "as they should have occasion for, to any Port which they should appoint. As for Foot- "men heavily Arm'd, and Cavalry, he knew the People of Rome were not wont to employ "any but either Natural Romans, or at least of some of the *Latine* Nations; but having seen "in their Camp some Light-harnes'd men that were Foreigners, he had sent them a Thou- "sand Archers and Slingers, a competent Force to mate the *Baleareans*, *Moors*, and other "Nations, that us'd such kind of Weapons as did Execution at a distance. To which Presents they also added this Advice, "That the Prator that should happen to have the "charge of *Sicily*, would sail with the Fleet over into *Africk*, to find the Enemy work at "home, that they might feel the smart of War in their own Bowels, and be the less able to "send Recruits to *Annibal*. The Senate return'd this Answer, *That King Hiero had done the part of a right good Man and a most excellent Ally, who ever since he entred into Amity with the People of Rome, had kept the same constant tenor of Fidelity and Friendship, and never fail'd but at all times and places had assisted and advanced the State of Rome with all bounteous Munificence, which good will of his, the People of Rome took in very kind part, and most thankfully, as they had reason. As for Gold, some other Cities had offered them considerable Quantities, but accepting only their kindness, they had declined to receive it: However, the Image of Victory, and the good Omen thereof, they did gladly accept, and resolv'd to place that Goddess in the Capitol, the Temple of Almighty Jupiter, that being Enshrind in the chiefest Fortrefs of their City, she might always*

remain propitious, and firmly constant to the People of Rome. The Slingers and Archers, together with the Corn, were delivered to the Consuls, 25 Gallies, of five ranks of Oars on a side, were added to the Fleet which were with T. Otacilius the Pro-Prætor at Sicily, to whom leave was given to waft over into Africk, if he should think it expedient for the Commonwealth so to do.

XXXVIII. The Levies being finish'd, the Consuls waited a few days till the Associate Forces came up; the Soldiers had an Oath administred to them by their Colonels, *That they should appear at the Consuls Command, and not depart without their leave*, which had never before been practised; for until this time, there was nothing required but the general Military Oath, and when the Horse or Foot were form'd into their respective Troops or Companies, then indeed they were wont of their own accord to engage one to another, *That they would never part from each other for fear or flight, nor step out of their Ranks, unless it were on one of these three occasions; viz. To fetch some Weapon; To smite an Enemy; or to save a Fellow-Citizen.* Which voluntary Covenant was now imposed by the Officers as a Solemn Oath, and the Soldiers enforc'd to take it: Before the Army advanc'd from Rome, the Consul Varro made divers hot and hectoring Orations to the People, telling them, *That the War was invited and brought into Italy by the Noble-men, and was like to continue long enough in the Bowels of the Commonwealth, if they should employ more such Generals as Fabius was; but for his part, he was resolv'd as soon as he could get sight of the Enemy, on the very same day to fight them, and doubted not to rout them too, and make an end of the business at once.* His Colleague Paulus made but one Speech, and that was the day before they march'd out of Town, which though not very acceptable to the People at present, proved much more true in the end; yet did not he use any bitter Reflections on Wars, but only said, *That he could not but wonder how any Commander before he was acquainted either with his own Army or the Enemies, or knew the situation of the Places, or nature of the Country, whilst he was yet in the City in his Gown, could so certainly know what was to be done in the Field? or be able to foretel punctually the very day when he would fight the Enemy?* For his own part he was of Opinion, *That the circumstances of things ought to administer apt Counsels to Men, rather than that Men could govern things at their pleasure by their Resolutions, and therefore he would not flatter himself or them with any such rude and immature conceits, which might possibly prove only pleasant Dreams. He only wish'd, That Enterprizes cautiously and prudently undertaken, might prosperously succeed; for rashness, besides that 'tis always foolish, had hitherto been also unfortunate.* 'Twas plain, he was of his own accord inclinable to prefer safe, before heady Courses, and that he might persevere in that mind, Q. Fabius, just as he was marching out, is reported to have talk'd to him, as follows.

XXXIX. "If either, O L. Æmilius! you had a Colleague of your own temper (which I rather wish) or if you your self were of the same humor with your Colleague, my Discourse would be altogether superfluous; for as being both good and wise Consuls, you would without my speaking, act all things faithfully for the good of the Common-wealth; and if both bad and head-strong, you would neither hearken to my words, nor regard my advice: But now considering both what your Partner is, and how worthy and discreet a Person you your self are, I shall only make my Address to you; Though yet, methinks already, I foresee your being both a wise Man, and a good Citizen, is like little to avail us, as long as the Conduct of publick Affairs halts on the other side, for ill Counsels will have as much sway and authority as good: And you are mistaken, My Friend Paulus! if you expect not to be as much pestred with C. Terentius your Fellow-Consul, as with Annibal your Enemy. Nay, I know not but the former may prove the more troublesome Adversary of the two, for the other you are only to engage in the Field, but with him you must contend at all times, and every where: Besides, you have your Horse and Foot to fight Annibal and his Forces, but General Varro shall attack you with your own Soldiers. I desire not to put you in mind of C. Flaminius, lest it should be an ill Omen; but certain it is, that even he did not begin his wild Freaks till he was Consul, till he was in his Province and at the Head of his Army: But this Man was mad even before he put in for the Consulship, and all the while he was bandying for it; and since he is got to be Consul, before ever he has seen either the Camp or the Enemy, continues to talk like one besides himself: Now he that already amongst the peaceable Gown-men swaggers thus, and speaks of nothing but *Blood and Wounds, Fire and Sword*: What extravagant work (think you) will he make in the Army amongst the hot-blooded Youths, where there is no more but a Word and a Blow, and ill Directions are immediatly followed with worse Execution? But if this Gentleman shall (as he says he will) presently venture a Battel, either I understand nothing of the Art Military, nor the manner of the present War, nor the nature of this Enemy, or else we shall have some other place more renowned for our overthrow than the *Trafjmenan Lake*. This is not a time to boast my self, nor is it my custom, who have rather ran into an Excess by contemning Glory, than by seeking it: But this I must needs say, and so it will prove in the end, That the only way to deal with Annibal, is, that which I took; nor is the same only taught by the Event, which is the Master of Fools, but even by Reason it self, which has been and will still be the same, as long as the same Circumstances remain. The War on our part is manag'd at home in our own Country, all Quarters round about full of our own Men or our Allies, ready to assist us with Arms, Men, Horses and Provisions, having already

already in our distress given us sufficient proof of their Fidelity: Time betters us, and every day renders us more prudent and resolute. On the other side, Annibal is in a Foreign Land, an Enemies Country, all things adverse to him, far from his own Country, having Peace or Security no where either by Sea or Land, no Cities to Befriend him, no Walls that will entertain him, wherever he Marches he sees nothing that he can call his own, and lives merely by Plunder from hand to mouth; he has now scarce a third part of that Army which pass'd the *Iberus*, more being destroy'd by Hunger than the Sword, nor has he Victuals for those few that are yet left alive. Can you doubt therefore, but we may easily Conquer him by sitting still, who every day grows weaker and weaker? and who has neither Victuals, nor Recruits, nor Money? How long was he fain to fight for *Gerion*, a poor little Borough in *Apulia*, as if it had been for the Walls of *Carthage* it self? Nor will I magnifie my own Conduct to you: Do but consider how Cn. Servilius and Attilius, the two last Consuls strangely baffled him. This, O Paulus! is the only way of Safety, which our own People alone do make difficult and unpracticable, for you shall have your own Soldiers and the Enemy both of a mind; and Varro the Roman Consul will desire the very same thing that Annibal the Punic General aims at. These two Captains you alone must resist, and resist you shall and overcome them too, if you shall but stand firm enough against the noise of Fame and rumors of the People: If neither the vain Applauses given to your Colleague, nor false reports blown abroad to your own disgrace, shall at all move you. Truth, they say, is too often oppress'd, but can never be extinguish'd; he only enjoys solid Glory, that despises it; let them call you a Coward for being cautious, slow instead of confederate, and an ill Soldier instead of an experienced Captain: I had rather a wife Enemy should fear you, than foolish Citizens applaud you; 'tis certain, if you venture boldly on all things, Annibal shall contemn you, but when once he finds you will undertake nothing rashly, he shall dread you. Nor do I advise you to lie idle, and act nothing at all, but that in all your Actions you should let Reason be your Guide, and not Fortune, and to keep things always in your own compass and at your dispose. Be continually upon your Guard, and neither neglect any advantage that presents it self, nor give any to the Enemy; take time and leisure, and you shall find all things plain and certain, but haste makes wast, and rashness is improvident and blind.

The Consul answered very heavily, as confessing what Fabius had said was true, rather than easie to be performed: "For if (quoth he) the General of the Cavalry were so violent, and not to be restrained by you, who were Dictator and his supreme Commander: What course can I take, or what Authority am I like to have with my seditious, quarrellous, and head-strong Colleague? For my own part, in my former Consulship I narrowly escap'd a scouring, and was well sing'd with those Flames of popular Fury where-with my Partner was consumed. I wish all things may go well; however, if it shall fall out otherwise, I am resolv'd rather to expose my Head to the Enemies Weapons, than to the Votes of angry and testy Citizens. Paulus had no sooner express'd himself thus, but he began his March, being waited upon out of Town by the Principal Senators: The Plebeian Consul was also attended by a Train of the Commons, making a great shew with their Numbers, though not much to be regarded for their Quality. When they were arrived at the Camp, and that the new-raisd Forces were intermingled with the old, they divided the whole Army into two Bodies, and ordered the business so, That that Body which chiefly consisted of raw Soldiers, and was the least in number, should lie next to Annibal, whilst the greater part and main Strength continued in their old Leaguer: Then they dismiss'd M. Attilius the last Years Consul (who desired to be excused by reason of his Age) that he might return to Rome; and gave Cn. Servilius the Charge and Command of one Roman Legion, and Two thousand Horse and Foot of the Allies in the lesser Camp. Annibal, though he perceiv'd the Enemy so reinforced, and half as strong again as before, yet was glad at the coming of these new Consuls. For not only was no possibility of getting more: For after the Country found themselves plagued with his continual Incurfions, they carried all their Corn into Cities and Walled Towns, so that (as was known afterwards) he had not Bread enough left for ten days, and the Spaniards for want of Victuals were ready to desert him, and only waited for a fit opportunity.

As the Consul Varro was naturally rash and over-hasty, so Fortune administred apt Fewel to put him into a greater Flame; for in a tumultuary Skirmish with a Party of Annibals Forragers (began rather by a casual Rancounter of the Soldiers, than by any confederate Counsel before-hand, or directions from the Generals) the Carthaginians happened to be worsted, there being a matter of Seventeen hundred of them kill'd, and not above One hundred of the Romans and their Allies. But as the Victors were with full speed pursuing

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XLI.



pursuing the Chace, the Consul *Paulus* who had the Command that day (for they took it by turns) restrained them, for fear lest they should fall into some Ambuscade; which *Varro* took in great indignation, and bawl'd out wherever he came against his Colleague, *That he had wilfully let the Enemy escape out of his hands, and if he had not thus given over the Pursuit, the War might have been ended at once.* *Annibal* did not lay this loss much to heart, but rather made full reckoning that he should thereby, as with a Bait, draw on the Fool-hardy Consul and his new-raisd Soldiers; for he knew all that pass'd in their Camp as certainly as in his own, *viz.* That the Generals were of disagreeing Tempers, always jarring and thwarting one another, and that their Army consisted two parts in three of raw untrain'd Soldiers: Therefore supposing he had now a fit time and place for putting some Stratagem in execution; the next night he marches away all his Men, carrying nothing with them but their Arms out of his Camp, leaving the same full of all things, as well private Goods and Furniture, as publick Ammunition and Provisions, and behind the next Mountains privately plants his Foot, ready drawn up in good order, on the left hand, and his Horse on the right, and his Carriages in the middle; that whilst the Enemy should be busie in rifling the abandon'd Tents, and encumbered with Pillage, he might fall upon them and cut them to pieces. He also left abundance of Fires burning in his Camp, to make them believe, that he had a mind to amuse the Consuls with a false shew of his continuing there, and so get the further off before they pursued him, as he cheated *Fabius* the other Year with the like policy.

XLII. As soon as 'twas day, the Romans seeing the Enemies Out-guards drawn off, and afterwards upon a nearer approach perceiving nothing but an unwonted silence and solitude, wondred much what the meaning on't might be; but after they certainly discovered that the Camp was abandoned, old running there was to the Consuls Pavilions with the news, *That the Enemy was run away in so much hast and disorder, that they had left all their Tents standing, and that their flight might not be perceived, left abundance of light-fires all over their Camp.* The Soldiers began to bawl out and desire, *That the Ensigns might presently advance, that they might pursue the Enemy and rife their Camp.* And indeed, one of the Consuls was no less eager than the common Soldiers; but *Paulus* told them, and frequently repeated it, *That they must look before they leap'd, and proceed cautiously for fear of some trick:* And at last, seeing he could not stop the mutiny, nor otherwise appease his Partner the Ring-leader thereof, he sent out *M. Statilius* a Captain, with a Troop of *Lucan* Horse to discover how matters stood; who advancing up to the Ports, commanding the rest to stay without the Works, himself with two Troopers entred within the Rampire, and having taken a careful view, brings back word, *That undoubtedly it was a Design, for the Fires were only left in that part of the Camp next the Romans; The Tents stood open, and all things of value exposed; besides in several places they saw many carelessly scattered as a Bait to train them on in hopes of a Booty.* But all this which was related to check their minds from the over-greedy and dangerous desire of Pillage, did but the more enflame them to be at it, so that the Soldiers set up a general Cry, *That if the Signal were not given, they would go on without their Officers:* Nor need they want a Leader, for *Varro* forthwith sounded a March, and as he was just going out at the Ports, *Paulus* (who made no such hast) finding that the Auspices were not favorable, caus'd notice thereof to be given him; and though *Varro* could scarce be held back, yet the remembrance of the late Misfortunes of *Flaminius*, and the overthrow of *Claudius* the Consul at Sea in the first *Punic* War, caus'd some awe of Religion in his mind; but indeed, it was the Gods themselves who that day deferred for a time, rather than quite remov'd the fore Judgment that was impending on the Romans; for when the Consul commanded the Ensigns to be carried back into the Camp, and the Soldiers were so set upon Plunder, that they refused to obey; just upon the nick of the Mutiny, two Servants that waited, the one upon a *Formian*, the other on a *Silicim* Cavalier, and had last Year been taken Prisoners amongst the Forragers by some *Numidian* Horse, having made their escape, return'd to their Masters, and being brought before the Consuls, assured them, *That Annibal's whole Army lay in Ambush behind the Hills:* This seasonable Intelligence caus'd the Consuls to be obeyed, when one of them by his Ambition in seeking, and ill compliance with Popular humors in managing his Office, had quite lost that Majesty and Reverence that belong'd to it.

XLIII. *Annibal* perceiving that the Romans, though they at first began to stir and make a tumult, yet did not proceed to come out according to his expectation, concluding that his Plot was discovered, returned again into his Camp, where he was not able to remain many days for want of Provisions; and not only his Soldiers (being a mixture of several Nations) began to entertain new designs in their Heads, but he himself was almost at his Wits end: For first they grumbled, and after with open mouth call'd for their Arrears, and complain'd of the scarcity of their Allowance of Victuals, and at last grew afraid of being starv'd in good earnest; so that the Report went, *That most of the Mercenary Troops, especially those of the*

the Spanish Nation, were upon the point of deserting and going over to the Enemy, *Annibal* is said to have had sometimes thoughts of flying away with his Horse into *Gallia*, and leave his Infantry to shift for themselves. His Affairs being in this untoward posture, he resolv'd to dislodge and march into the warmer Region of *Apulia*, where the Harvest was more forward; as also, that being farther off from the Enemy, such of his Men as were fickle and inconstant, might not be able so easily to run away to them. He march'd off therefore in the Night, making Fires as before, and some few Tents left for a shew, that the fear of a like Stratagem as before, might keep the Romans from pursuing. But after the before-mentioned *Lucanus Statilius* had diligently search'd all places beyond their Camp, and on the other side of the Mountains, and brought advice, that he had a sight of their Rear at a great distance, a Council of War was next day held by the Romans, and the matter debated, whether or no they should follow and urge him to a Battel?

The two Consuls were still of the same different Opinions as always they had been, but almost all the rest of the Officers concurred with *Varro*, and none but *Servilius* that was Consul last year, join'd with *Paulus*; so by the majority of Votes away they went, blinded by Destiny, to render the little obscure Town *Cannæ* illustrious to all Posterity for the Romans over-throw. Near that Village *Annibal* had pitch'd his Camp, having the Southernly Wind call'd *Fulturnus*, at his back, which in the Fields, parch'd with drought, is wont to raise vast Clouds of dust: This was not only very convenient for his Men as they lay intrench'd, but like to prove of good advantage to them when they should be drawn up in Battalia, for having the Wind behind to cool them, they should attack the Enemy, who must needs be almost blinded with the dust driven full in their faces so abundantly. The Consuls sending out Scouts before, diligently to discover the Passages, pursued the *Carthaginians* until they came to *Cannæ*, where having a sight of the Enemy, they intrench'd themselves in two distinct Camps, about the same distance from each other as they lay at *Gerion*: The River *Aufidus* ran near each Parties Camp, and gave both opportunities to supply themselves with Water from thence, but not without skirmishing with each other. But the Romans that were posted in the lesser Camp, beyond the *Aufidus*, could fetch Water with more freedom, because the Enemy kept no Guards on the farther Bank of the River.

*Annibal* having now got a place of advantage for his Cavalry to engage in, as being an open Champion Country, and knowing his chief strength and hopes to consist in that part of his Forces, offers the Consuls Battel, draws up his Army to upbraid them, and sends some of his *Numidian* Troops to skirmish with and provoke them. This occasion'd the Roman Camp to be again fill'd with the murmurs of the Common Soldiers, and discord between the two Consuls; *Paulus* objecting to *Varro* the fatal rashness of *Sempronius* and *Flaminius*, and *Varro* declaiming as fast at the Conduct of *Fabius*, as commended by none but dull and cowardly Captains; the latter, call'd Gods and Men to witness, that it was none of his fault that *Annibal* was suffered to demean himself as if he were Sovereign Lord of Italy, or had taken possession thereof for his own use for ever, but the same was wholly to be attributed to his Colleague who tyed up his hands, and suffered not the Soldiers to take their Arms, though their spirits were up, and they desired nothing so much as a Battel: On the other side *Paulus* protested, *That if any disaster should happen to the Roman Legions by their being exposed, or rather betrayed to the hazards of a doubtful Battel, he would never be guilty of the blame of the Advice, though he was ready to take his share (whatever it should be) in the event; and only wish'd, That those who were now so nimble and forward with their Tongues, might in the Fight prove as brisk with their Hands.*

Whilst thus they spent time in scolding rather than consulting, *Annibal*, who had stood a great part of the day in Battalia, retreated with most of his Troops into his Camp, but sent over a Party of his *Numidians* cross the River, to fall upon such as went for Water from the Romans lesser Camp; whom (being but a disorderly Rabble) they presently put to flight, with the noise and shout they made as soon as they gain'd the opposite Bank, and pursued them up to the Out-guards, and thence ventured further, even almost to the very Ports: This the Romans took in mighty dudgeon, to see themselves thus affronted by a raskally crew of *Moors* in their very Camp; and the only reason why they did not presently cross the River, and fight the Enemy, was because *Paulus* happened that day to have the Sovereign Command. But that Power being next day devolved to *Varro*, he without consulting his Colleague, displayed the Signal, and in Battel-array pass'd the River, *Paulus* following him; for though he could not approve the Enterprize, yet he was bound to assist him in it. Beyond the River they join'd with the Forces of the smaller Camp, and drew up in this order: On the right Wing (which was next the River) were placed the Roman Horse, and next to them a Body of Foot; on the Extremity of the left Wing, the Associate Cavalry, and within a Body of Foot, but the Main-Battel consisted of Roman Legions intermixed with Archers; and of the rest of the Light-harnes'd Troops was compos'd the Van-guard: The Consuls took charge of the Wings, *Terentius* of the left, *Emilius* of the right, and *Cn. Servilius* of the Main-Body.

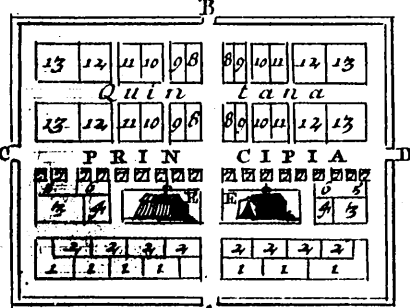
*Annibal*

- XLVI. *Annibal*, as soon as 'twas day-light, sending before his Slingers, and others lightly-armed, pass'd the River, and as his Forces came over, rang'd them in order: The *French* and *Spanish* Horse in the left Wing, near the Bank of the River over against the *Roman* Cavalry; the *Numidians* had the right Wing, and the Main-Body was fortified with Foot so placed, as the *Africans* were on each side, and the *French* and *Spaniards* between them in the middle: You would have fancied the *Africans*, for the most part, to have been a *Roman* Army, they were so generally Arm'd with what they had taken, either at *Trebia*, or at *Thrasymenus*: The *French* and *Spanish* had Targets much alike, but their Swords were very different; those of the *French* very long and without points; the *Spaniards* (used to push and make Passes at their Enemies, rather than hack and slash them with down-right strokes) had shorter ones, better to be wielded, and with sharp points. Those Nations above the rest were terrible, as well by the greatness of their Stature and bulk of Body, as for their strange habit; the *French* all naked above the Navel; the *Spaniards* very gay, in pure white Jackets embroidered with Purple. The number of all his Forces that day in the Field, is said to be Forty thousand Foot, and Ten thousand Horse: The left Wing was led by *Asdrubal*, the right by *Maharbal*, and in the Main-Battel was *Annibal* himself with his Brother *Mago*. The Sun shone very indifferently on both their Flanks, whether they drew up so on purpose, or by chance; the *Romans* fronted the South, and the *Carthaginians* towards the North: But the South-East Wind, which the Inhabitants of those parts call *Vulturnus*, rising very high, drove mighty heaps of dust full in the *Romans* faces, and almost choak'd and blinded them.
- XLVII. After the shout set up on both sides, the Auxiliaries began to skirmish with their Darts and light Weapons, then the left Wing of *French* and *Spanish* Horse, charg'd the *Roman* Cavalry in the right, but not after the usual method of Horse-Service; for here they were forc'd to confront one another strait forwards, having no room for wheeling about, being shut up on the one side by the River, and on the other by the Battalions of Foot; so that standing all thick together, as soon as their Horses began to be disordered, the Riders grappled together, and each Man laying hold on his opposite, pull'd him down, and so for the most part fought on foot; yet was this Conflict rather sharp for a spurt, than of long continuance, for the *Roman* Cavalry were beat back and fled: Then began the Foot to engage, the *French* and *Spaniards* with equal strength and courage for a good while kept their Ranks, but after several vigorous Efforts, the *Romans* being as thick in the Front as in the Main-Body, broke into that pointed Squadron of the Enemy, which was thinner rang'd, and swelling out at some distance from their main Battel, and thereby the less able to resist their Impression; and having once made them give ground, followed their Blows so close, that all at once with the same violence they pierc'd through them, as they fled headlong, until they got into the midst of their Main-Body, and thence without resistance came up with their *African* Reserves, who having drawn in their Wings on both sides, the *Gauls* and *Spaniards* stood to it for a while stoutly, somewhat advanc'd before the rest; but they too being so far beat back, as to range even with the rest of the Front, after some further enforcement, shrunk away, leaving a Lane in the middle, into which the *Romans* unwarily pressing after them, the *Africans* charg'd them on the Flanks, and spreading out their Wings encompass'd them on the Rear. Henceforwards the *Romans* having in vain perform'd this first Encounter, were forc'd to give over the Chase of the *French* and *Spaniards*, and renew the Fight with the *Africans*, upon a double disadvantage, as being both surrounded, and to deal with a fresh Enemy, when they themselves were already almost tired out.
- XLVIII. In the mean time there was hot Service in the *Romans* left Wing, where their Associate Troops oppos'd the *Numidian* Horse, yet it began but faintly at first, and was manag'd with *Punic* Treachery; for near upon Five hundred *Numidians*, having besides the rest of their Arms and Javelins, got short Skeins hidden under their Harness, came riding full speed from their Army as Deserters, with their Bucklers at their backs, and all on a sudden dismounting, cast both their Bucklers and Javelins at their Enemies Feet, whereupon the *Romans* opening to the right and left, received them into their Main-Body, conducted them up to their Reserves, and ordered them to abide in the Rear; where they continued quiet until such time as they saw them fiercely engaged in all parts, and that every Mans eye and mind was intent and altogether taken up therewith, then snatching up Bucklers from amongst the heaps of the dead, they fell upon the *Romans* behind, and wounding their backs, and cutting their ham-strings, committed great slaughter, but raised a far greater Terror and Tumult; whilst thus the *Romans* in some places were frighted and fled, and in others fought stoutly, though with little hopes, *Asdrubal* who commanded that Wing, detach'd the *Numidians* from the main Battel where they did little Service, to pursue such as fled, and seeing the *Africans* almost weary'd out, rather with Killing than Fighting, he reinforc'd them with the *French* and *Spaniards*.
- XLIX. In the other Wing *Paulus*, though grievously wounded with a Stone out of a Sling at the very first On-set, yet several times Charged *Annibal*, keeping his Men together, and in divers places rally'd them when they began to flinch, and renewed the Fight, the *Roman* Cavalry all the while protecting him, but at last they were forc'd to alight, because the

# INSTRVCTORVM AD PVGNAM CANNENSEM EXERCITVM DELINEATIO

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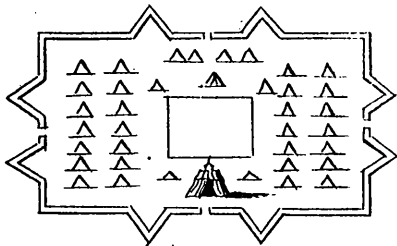
## CASTRA MAIORA ROMANORVM



### FORMA CASTRORVM et loca Ordinii

- A. Porta Praetoria, hostem versus in fronte Castrorum
- B. Porta Decumana, aversa ab hoste
- C. Porta Principalis dextra
- D. Porta Principalis sinister
- E. Praetorium, consulis Tabernaculum, et circa Quæstorium, Legati, ac Tribuni.
- 1. Extraordinarij Pedites
- 2. Extraordinarij Equites
- 3. Ablecti Pedites
- 4. Ablecti Equites
- 5. Evocati Pedites
- 6. Evocati Equites
- 7. Praefecti Sociorum
- 8. Equites Romani
- 9. Triarii Legionum
- 10. Principes Legionum
- 11. Hastati Legionum
- 12. Equites Socij
- 13. Pedites Socij

## CASTRA PCENORVM



CANNÆ

Septentrio

ROMANI

Peditatus

Octo

Legiones

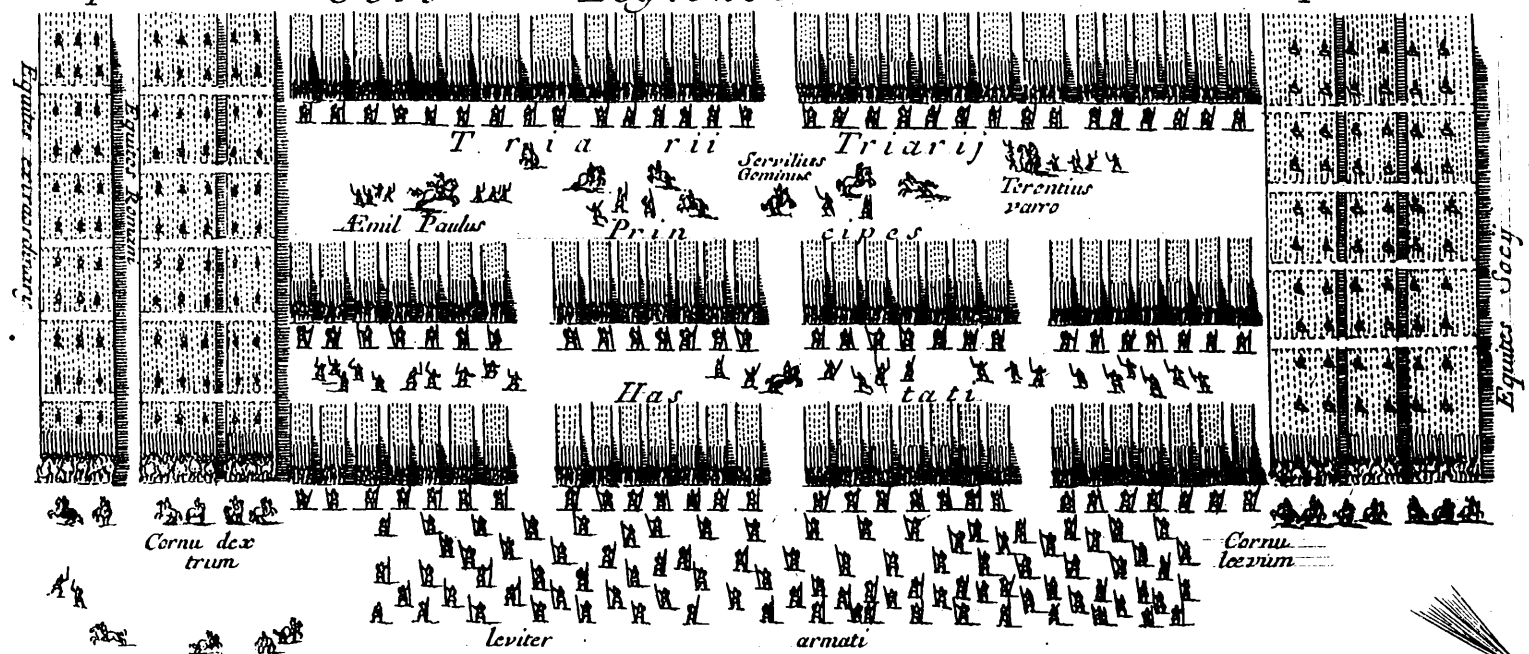
ROMANI

Peditatus

Socii

Equitatus

Equitatus



Castra Minora Romanorum



Aufidus

Fluvius

Equitatus

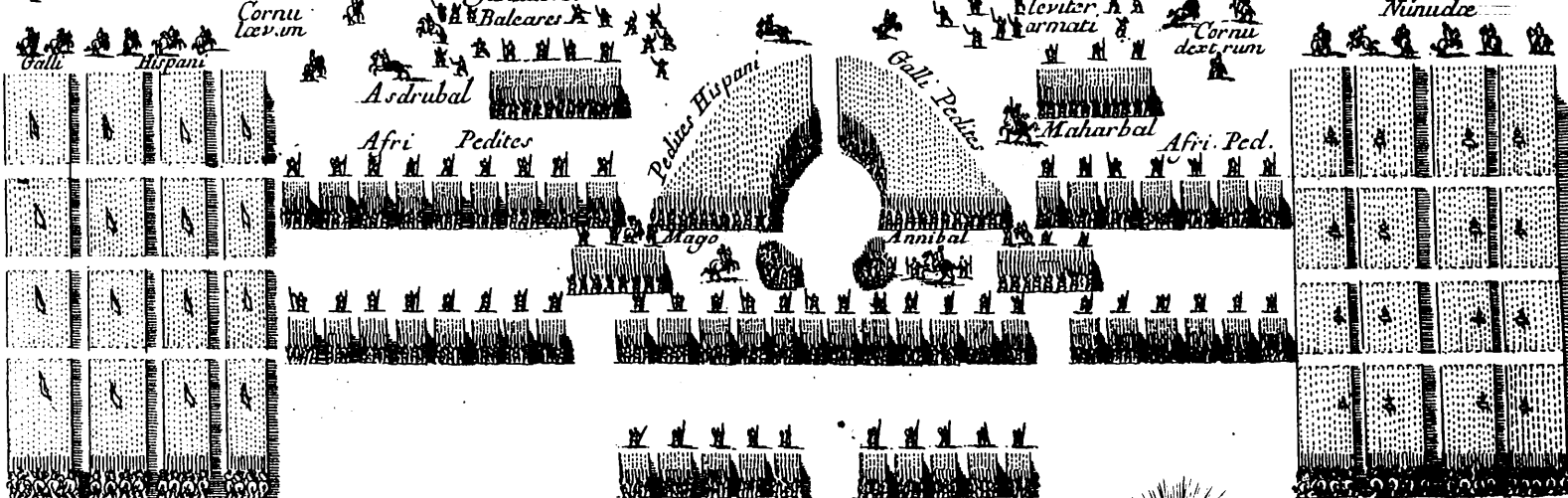
Cornu lævum

funditores

PCENI

Equitatus

Nunude



Meridies



Oriens



Consul by reason of his Wound, was no longer able to sit his Horse. And *Annibal*, when one told him that the Consul had ordered his Troopers to dismount, is reported to have replied, *I am better pleased with that, than if I had them all in Chains*. Indeed these Horsemen, though they fought after they were on Foot, under such Circumstances as 'twas no longer to be doubted but the Enemy would have the Victory, yet they chose rather to die upon the Spot, than retreat an Inch; whereupon the Enemy enraged at them for retarding their Victory, cut to pieces those whom they could not make give ground: And at last some few seeing themselves utterly over-come, and wearied both with toil and wounds, gave place to that Torrent which they could not withstand, and so were dispers'd; such as could, mounting again their Horses to assist their Flight. *Cn. Lentulus*, a Colonel, as he was getting away on Horse-back, chanc'd to spy the Consul all over Bloody, sitting upon a Stone: *Ab, Æmilius!* (quoth he) *Thou art the only Person guiltless of this days over-throw, and therefore the Gods ought to regard and preserve thee; Here, take this Horse, whilst you have yet some strength left, I am able to mount you upon his back, and will attend and protect you, make not this Battel yet more disastrous by the death of a Consul, without which there is matter enough for Mourning and Lamentation:* To which the Consul answered, *I thank thee, Cn. Cornelius! and may the Gods bless thy generous Valor; But do not waste that little time thou hast to escape the Enemy, vainly in commiserating me: Be gone! and for Publick Matters advise the Senate to fortifie the City of Rome, and raise what Guards they can, before the Victorious Enemy comes up and surprizes it; and privately acquaint Q. Fabius, that L. Æmilius did whilst he lived, observe his Directions, and remembers them now he is dying: Suffer me here to expire amidst the heaps of my slaughtered Soldiers, that I may neither be again my self accused for my unfortunate Consulship, nor yet survive to accuse my Colleague, and protect my own Innocence by another Mans Crime.* As the Consul uttered these words, first a multitude of his own Men in the Rout, and then the Enemy in the Pursuit, ran over him, and not knowing who he was, dispatch'd him, almost covered with Darts; but *Lentulus* in the hurry, by the help of his Horse made shift to escape. The Romans now every where fled for their Lives, Seven thousand got into their lesser Camp, Ten thousand into the greater, and Two thousand into the Town *Cannæ*, but they were presently environed by *Cartago* and a Party of Horse, and it being an unwall'd Village, all either kill'd or made Prisoners: The other Consul, whether by chance, or on purpose I know not, was in none of these Parties, but with about fifty Horse fled to *Venusia*. In this Battel 'tis said there were slain of the Romans Forty thousand Foot, and Two thousand and seven hundred Horse, and near about as many of the Allies of the Romans; amongst whom were one of the Consuls, two Quæstors, *L. Atilius*, and *Furius Bibaculus*, one and twenty Colonels, divers that had been Consuls, Prætors and Ædiles, particularly *Cn. Servilius*, and *C. Minucius*, who the last year had been General of the Horse, and some time before Consul; moreover, Four-score Persons that either were Senators, or had born such Offices as they were capable of being chosen into the Senate, who serv'd in the Legions as Volunteers: The Prisoners taken, are reported to have been about 3000 Foot and 300 Horse.

Thus was the Battel at *Cannæ* no less famous for the Romans defeat, than that at the River *Allia*: For though this prov'd not so fatal in the event, because the Enemy did not make hast enough to improve his Victory, yet here the slaughter was greater, and the flight more dishonorable. For as their running away at *Allia* betrayed the City, so it saved the Army, whereas at *Cannæ* there were not above fifty followed the Consul that fled; and as for the other Consul that was slain, almost his whole Army took them to their heels. The multitude in the two Camps being without any Commanders in chief, and scarce half arm'd, those that were in the bigger Camp sent messengers to the others, *That whilst the Enemy wearied both with the Fight, and with frolicking afterwards for their Victory, took their repose and slept soundly, they should come over to them, and so in a joint Body march away for Canusium.* This advice some did altogether disdain: For why (quoth they) do they send for us, and not come hitber themselves, since so we had as soon be joy'd? But here's the business, they see all the Passage betwixt is full of the Enemy, and they would willingly expose other mens Bodies to the danger rather than their own. Others would not budge, not so much for any dislike of the motion, as for that their hearts failed them to attempt it. Whereupon *P. Sempronius Tuditanus*, a Colonel, thus rounded them up: "What then? Will you chuse rather to be taken by an Enemy, whose Cruelty nothing can equal but his Covetousness? Will you suffer your selves to be sold at so much an head, and hear them when they enquire the price, ask whether you are a Roman Citizen, or a Latine Allie? That so the proud Victor may encrease his Glory by your Misery and Reproach? Certainly none of you will endure this, if at least you are Fellow-Citizens with the brave *Æmilius*, and so many other gallant and most valiant Men, whose Bodies lie round about him, who rather resolv'd to die in the Bed of Honor, than live with Infamy. Let us therefore forthwith, before 'tis light, and more numerous Troops block up our Passage, break through those few who in disorder make a noise before our Portals; a good Heart and a good Sword will make way though they were never so thick, with a pointed Battalion, like a wedge, we'll pierce

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through the midst of these stragglers, as easily as if none were to oppose us. Come along then with me as many of you as are willing, to save either your selves or the Commonwealth. With these words, he draws his Sword, and casting those that were willing to accompany him into such a Wedge-like Figure, march'd through the Enemy; and when the Numidians charg'd them on the right Flank, shifted their Targets to that Arm, and so 600 of them got to the greater Camp, and joyning the others there, went safe to Canisium. This was done by the Vanquish'd on a present heat of Courage, which their natural Wit or good Fortune prompted them to, rather than upon any serious Consultation amongst themselves, or Command from others.

LI. Whilst most of Annibals great Officers flock'd about him, congratulating his Victory, and perswaded him after so great a Fight, to spend the rest of the day and the night following, in refreshing himself and his weary Soldiers: Maharbal, General of the Horse was of Opinion, not to make the least delay: Nay rather, quoth he, that you may know the consequence of this Battel, resolve within these five days to sup in the Capitol; Do you follow as fast as you can, I will immediately advance with the Horse, and be upon them, before ever they shall know we are coming. Annibal told him, He commended his Spirit and good Will, That what he said was very specious and inviting, but of too great moment to be so suddenly resolv'd, and therefore he would take time to consider on't: Nay then, says Maharbal, I see the Gods do not confer all their Gifts upon one Man; you, Annibal, know how to gain a Victory, but not how to use and improve it: That one days delay, 'tis believed, sav'd the City of Rome and its Empire. Next morning, as soon as 'twas light, they applyed themselves to take the pillage of the Field, and to view that mighty slaughter, a doleful sight even to the Enemy themselves who made it; so many thousand Romans there lay Foot and Horse all hickled-pickled together, as chance, or fighting, or flight had joyn'd them; some were seen crawling up all bloody amongst the heaps of Carcasses, the frosty morning causing their Wounds to smart with exquisite pain, and these the Enemy knock'd o'th' head; some they found yet alive, but cut shorter by the Thighs or Haunches, who offered their bare Necks and Throats, begging to be put out of their pain; divers had their Heads pretty deep in the ground, having made those holes, and run their faces therein, on purpose to suffocate themselves: But above all the rest remarkable, was the sight of a Numidian, with his Nose and Ears pitcously torn and mangled, but yet alive, lying under a dead Roman, who it seems when he was no longer able to hold his Weapon in his hand, had in a rage torn his Enemy with his Teeth, and so continued till he expired.

LII. Having spent a great part of the Day in gathering the Pillage, Annibal advanced to attack the lesser Camp, and in the first place diverted that Arm of the River that flank'd them, and so cut them off from any Water: But those within being all wearied out with toil, and watching, and wounds, submitted to a surrender sooner than he could hope for, upon Articles, To part with their Arms and Horses, and for every Roman to pay Three hundred pieces of that sort of Money as had the Picture of a Chariot and four Horses on it; for each of the Allies 200, and for Servants an hundred per head: which money being paid, they should be released, and suffered to go whither they list in single Apparel. Then they were taken into the Enemies Camp, and kept in custody, but Citizens and Allies by themselves apart, and not one amongst another. In the mean time, out of the greater Camp, of such as had strength and courage enough, there were a matter of 4000 Foot and 200 Horse, some in a Body, and others stragling through the Fields, which was safe enough, gone away to Canisium; and the rest that were left behind being either wounded Men, or Cowards, yielded up themselves on the same terms as those of the other Camp had done. Here was got a mighty booty, and all of it divided amongst the Soldiers, except the Horses and Men, and some Silver, which for the most part was about their Horses harness, for being in the Field they had not much Table-plate with them. Then Annibal ordered the Bodies of his own Men to be gathered together and buried, which, 'tis said, were in number 8000, and the stoutest Soldiers he had. Some Authors say, the Roman Consul was also fought out and buried. The Romans that fled to Canisium, were by the Inhabitants only admitted within their Walls to have lodging: But a certain Lady of Apulia, named Busa, a Person of an eminent Birth and great Estate, relieved them very bountifully, with Victuals, and Cloaths, and Money in their Pockets: For which Munificence, the Senate after the War was ended, conferr'd signal Honors on her.

LIII. Amongst these Relicks of the Army there were four Colonels, Fabius Maximus of the first Legion (whose Father but the Year before was Dictator;) of the second Legion, L. Publius Bibulus, and P. Cornelius Scipio; and of the third Legion, Ap. Claudius Pulcher, who lately was Aedile; but by general consent, the chief Command was conferred upon P. Scipio (being yet but a very young Man) and Appius Claudius: Who being in Consult with some few others how to manage their main Affairs, P. Furius Philus, whose Father had been Consul, came and told them, That in vain they consulted together, and hoped to buoy up the sinking State, whose Case was already desperate, and given over as lost; For several young Noblemen, of whom L. Cæcilius Metellus was chief, were just now contriving to get Ships and put out to Sea, and utterly abandoning Italy to the pleasure of the Conquerors, seek shelter for themselves with

with some Forrein Prince. This ill news, as it was in it self a matter of great Consequence, so falling out as it did upon the nick of other Disasters, so unlook'd for, did with its Novelty, like some Wonder, astonish those that heard it, and most present were for calling a General Council of War about it: But young Scipio (whom the Destinies even then design'd should be the fatal General that must period this War) told them, There was no time nor room for advice in such an Extremity, but the mischief was immediately to be suppress'd and prevented by some resolute and daring Action; therefore (quoth he) as many of you as wish the preservation of the Commonwealth, arm your selves and come along with me: No where have we more dangerous Enemies encamp'd, than where such Designments are hatching. Away he goes with a few following him, directly to Metellus's Lodging, and finding there the Cabal of Youngsters, according to the Intelligence he had receiv'd, he drew his Sword, and brandishing it over their Heads as they sat: I swear before you all (says he) and I swear it willingly and from my heart, That neither I my self will forsake my Country and the Commonwealth, nor suffer any other Roman Citizen to abandon her; If I fail herein wittingly or willingly, then do thou, O mighty Jupiter! confound me, my House and Family, and bring me and all that I have to destruction and a most shameful end: And you, Metellus! I require to swear after me as I have done, and all the rest of you to take the same Oath; for whoever shall refuse, let him be assur'd 'tis against him I have drawn this Sword. Terrified no less than if it had been the Conqueror Annibal himself, they all took the Oath, and yielded themselves up to Scipio's Conduct.

Whilst these things were doing at Canisium, about 4000 Horse and Foot who were dispersed over the Country in the Rout, were rallied together, and came up to the Consul at Venusia, whom the Inhabitants received very courteously, and having Quartered them from House to House, bestowed upon the Horse to every one a Vest and Tunick, and 25 Quadrigates [or pieces of money with Chariots and four Horses engraven on them, the whole sum amounts to about 15 s. 7 d. ob. a Man] and to the Foot ten such pieces, and what Arms they wanted; and in all other respects publick and private, treated them most Hospitably, as if they had strove that it should not be said, All the People of Venusia were out-done by the kind Offices of one single Gentlewoman of Canisium. But indeed by this time the Multitude at the later place were grown very burthensom to Madam Busa, for they were now near Ten thousand in number: Therefore as soon as Appius and Scipio understood that the other Consul was safe, they sent an Exprels to acquaint him what Forces, Horse and Foot, they had with them, and to know his pleasure, Whether they should continue there, or march to him at Venusia? Varro thought best to go himself with what strength he had to Canisium; so as now they made a pretty good shew of a Consular Army, and seemed able to defend themselves, if not by force of Arms in the Field, yet at least by the strength of the Walls within the Town. But at Rome the news went currant, That not so much as any remnant of Citizens and Allies was left, but that both the Consuls, with their two Armies, were all put to the Sword, and hew'n to pieces to the last Man. Never was there known, whilst the City was yet safe, so much terror and tumult within the Walls of Rome. I will therefore, even at first, sink under so great a Burthen, and say nothing at all, rather than undertake to set forth that, which after I have used all the words I can, will be represented far short of Truth. After the Consul Flaminius and his Army destroy'd but last year at Trasymenus, this was not only a new wound added to that, before it was heal'd, but a Defeat that was as bad as many Overthrows altogether, for every body said, That with the two Consuls, two whole Consular Armies were cut off; That there was no longer any such thing in the World as a Roman Camp, a Roman General, or a Roman Soldier; That Annibal was already Lord of Apulia, of Samnium, and as good as all Italy: Nor was there, certainly, any other Nation under Heaven, but would have fainted, and suffered themselves to have been utterly over-whelm'd and crush'd with the weight of so mighty a Disaster. Shall I compare hereunto the Defeat with the Carthaginians received at Sea, near the Isle Agates, wherewith their Spirits were so broken, that at once they were content to part both with Sicily and Sardinia, and also to make themselves Subjects and Tributaries to the Romans? Or their other Overthrow afterwards in Africk, which utterly broke the back of this very Annibal, and made him confess himself vanquish'd? Neither of them are in any respect comparable to this, save only that they were born and supported with less Courage and Resolution.

P. Furius and M. Pomponius the Prætors, summon'd the Senate to sit in the Hostilian Court, and consult for the safeguard of the City; for they could not doubt, but the Enemy having defeated their Armies, would advance to assault Rome, the only work that was behind to compleat the War. But as the Fathers were much to seek what Remedies to apply to Calamities so great, and yet not known to the full, so their Debates were disturb'd with the loud Out-cries of the Women, who almost in every House fill'd the Air with Lamentations, and promiscuously mourn'd for the Quick as well as the Dead, it not yet being certainly known who was slain: Whereupon Fabius advis'd, That Parties of Light-Horse should be sent out both on the Appian and Latine Road, to enquire of such as they met that came from the Fight, and were straggling home, if any of them could give a true account of the Consuls and Armies misfortune; and if the Immortal Gods had in compassion suffered any of the Roman name to survive, where those Forces were? Whither Annibal march'd next after his Victory? What Preparations he makes?

What he is doing at present? and what he probably designs for the future? That in this Affair the nimblest and most active Young Men should be employed, and in the mean time, the Senators (because there were few inferior Magistrates in Towns, or at least the People would not so much reverence their Authority) should themselves in Person appease this Hurly-burly and fearful tumult in the City, by debarring the Dames, and all sorts of Women, from coming abroad into the streets, but every one to keep in their own House, by restraining the mournful Exclamations of whole Families, and making silence through the Town; To take order that all Posts and Messengers of News should to rights be brought before the Prætors, without prattling to the Rabble by the way, and that every body should patiently at home wait for such Tidings as particularly concern'd them; Likewise to set Guards at the Gates to keep all Persons from going out of the City, and make all Men see, That they can have no hopes to preserve themselves, but in defending the City and its Walls: And when by these means the Hurry was over, then might the Fathers sitly be called again together, and take further Measures for the Publick Safety.

LVI. This Advice being generally approved, and the Magistrates having cleared the Forum of the multitude that were thronging together, the Senators divided themselves into several parts of the City to still the Uproars. Then at last arriv'd Letters from Terentius the Consul, giving an account, That L. Æmilius the Consul was slain, and the greatest part of the Army; That himself was at Canusium, rallying those that escaped this mighty Over-throw, as scattered Planks after a Ship-wreck; That the Forces he had got with him were about Ten thousand strong, but disordered, and of several Regiments and Bands intermixt; That Annibal still continued at Cannæ, busie in taxing what Ransoms the Prisoners shall pay, and intent upon the rest of the Pillage; and neither measuring his late Victory with that Grandeur of Mind usual to Conquerors, nor making that advantage of it which might be expected from so great a Commander. Then the private Losses were communicated to every Family, and the City was filled with such an universal Mourning and Lamentation, that the Anniversary Festival of the Goddess Ceres could not be kept, because it was not lawful for any Mourners to celebrate the same, and there was not a Matron in the City but was then bewailing the death of some Relation or other: Left therefore other Sacred Rites, publick and private, should be neglected on the same account, the Senate made an Order, That all Persons should give over their Mourning at the end of Thirty days. But no sooner were the Senators met again in the Council-House, after they had qualified the confusions in the City, but other bad News arriv'd, by Letters out of Sicily from T. Otacilius the Pro-Prætor, acquainting them, That a Fleet of Carthaginians were wasting the Territories of their good Friend, King Hiero, whom he was willing to have assisted at his request, but had intelligence, that there lay another Navy ready fitted and Man'd at the Isles Ægates, which as soon as they should find the Roman Forces drawn to defend the Syracusans, would presently fall upon Lilybæum, and other parts of the Roman Dominions: And therefore there was an absolute necessity to equip another Fleet if they would aid the King their Ally, and secure Sicily.

LVII. The Letters both of the Consul and of the Pro-Prætor being read, it was Resolv'd, That M. Claudius, Admiral of the Fleet that lay in the Harbor at Ostia, should be sent to the Army, [and withal, Letters to the Consul, that delivering the charge of the Forces to the Prætor, He should come with as much Expedition as the publick Safety would permit, to Rome. Besides these sad Calamities abroad, People were frighted with several Prodigies; and amongst the rest, because that year there were Two Vestal Nuns, Opimia and Floronia, convicted of Whoredom; of whom, one was according to the Custom buried alive at the Gate Collina, the other made away her self. L. Cantilius (Secretary to the Pontiffs, whom now they call Petty-Pontiffs) the Man that committed Incest with Floronia, was so severely scourged by the Arch-Pontiff in the Common-Hall, that he died under the blows. This Villany happening amongst so many other Disasters, as usually it happens, was look'd upon as a Prodigy, and the Decemvirs were commanded to resort to their Books. And moreover, Q. Fabius Pictor was sent as far as Delphos to inquire of the Oracle, With what Prayers and Supplications they might pacifie the Gods? and what would be the end of all these Miseries? In the mean time, by directions from the Sybilline Books some extraordinary Sacrifices were made; and amongst the rest Two Couples, a French-man and a French-woman, a Grecian-man and a Greek-woman were buried alive, in the Beast-market, in a place all vaulted in with Stone, and which had before been defiled with Humane Victims, though the same were not common in the Religious Ceremonies of the Romans. The Gods being thus, as they thought, sufficiently appeased, M. Claudius Marcellus sends Fifteen hundred Soldiers levied for the Service of the Navy of Ostia, to Rome, as a Guard for the City; and having sent before the Legion that belong'd to the Armado (which was the Third) under the Command of Teanus Sidicinus a Colonel, and committed the Fleet to P. Furius his Colleague, he himself, a few days after taking long Journies, hastned to Canusium. By authority of the Senate, M. Junius was created Dictator, and T. Sempronius Master of the Horse, who in their Levy muster'd all the Youth above seventeen Years of age, and some that were not so much, and thereby raised four Legions, and a Thousand Horse: Likewise they sent to their Allies of the Latine Nations, to raise Forces according to the Form of their respective Leagues, ordering, that Armor, Weapons, and all Habiliments of War should be provided; and the better to furnish

furnish them, caused the old Armor and Spoils of their Enemies to be taken down from the Temples, Galleries, and Publick places where they hung up as Trophies. Moreover, necessity and want of Free-men enforced them to a new fashion of levying Soldiers, for they publickly Arm'd 8000 lusty young Bond-men, buying their Freedoms, and having first demanded of each, If he were willing to serve in the Wars? For they thought it better to take up Soldiers thus, than to redeem their own Men that had suffered themselves to be taken Prisoners, though they might have Ransom'd them at a cheaper rate, than they bought these Slaves.

For Annibal, after this so fortunate Field fought at Cannæ, acting rather as one that had completed a Conquest, than mindful of carrying on the War, having first selected from amongst the Prisoners those that were of the Allies, with very kind words, as he had done before at Trebia and Thrasymenus, released them gratis; and calling also the Romans before him (which formerly he had never done) he spake to them fairly enough, telling them, That in this War with the Romans he aim'd not at their destruction, but the Quarrel was only for Glory and Empire; That as his Ancestors were forc'd heretofore to truckle to the Roman Valor, so he was now endeavoring to make them again in their turn submit to his Courage and Fortune; therefore would admit them to redeem those whose luck it was to become his Prisoners, at the rate of 500 Quadrigates an Head for Horsemen, 300 for Foot, and 100 for Servants. Now though the Horse-mens ransom was somewhat enhanc'd above what they agreed for, when they surrendered themselves, yet they gladly received any Conditions of Liberty: And therefore thought fit to chuse from amongst themselves, ten Persons to go to Rome and move the Senate for the Money; nor did he insist on any other Security for their return, than their own Oaths: with them was sent Carthalo a Carthaginian Noble-man, who if he found the Romans inclinable to Peace, had Instructions to propose Terms. When these Agents were set forwards, and got a little way out of the Camp, one of them, a Person far from the natural plain-hearted Generosity of a true Roman, pretending to have forgot somewhat, returns back again to the Camp (thereby to evade his Oath) and before Night overtook his Companions; when Intelligence arriv'd that they were coming towards Rome, an Officer was dispatch'd to meet Carthalo, and charge him in the Dictators name, To be gone before Night at his peril out of the Roman Confines.

The Senate having vouchsafed these Agents of the Prisoners Audience, M. Junius the chief of them spake to this effect: "Venerable Fathers! There is none of us ignorant, That never any City or State is wont to have less value for their Subjects, when taken Prisoners, or at less charge for them, than ours: But unless we are too partial to our selves in our own Case, we think we may avow, That never any fell into an Enemies hands, who could more justly lay claim to your compassionate Regards, than we, who yielded not up our Arms safely in the Field for fear, but when we had resolutely stood well near till Night over heaps of dead Bodies, we retreated to our Camp, and all the rest of that Day and the Night following, weary as we were with Toil, and weakned with Wounds, we defended our Rampire: Next Day, being besieged by the Victorious Enemy, and cut off from all Water, and without any hope or possibility of breaking through those multitudes so thick and close ranged round about us, we could not think it any Crime or Reproach, after Fifty thousand of our Army cut to pieces, for some few Roman Soldiers to survive the Battel at Cannæ; and therefore then, and not before, we Capitulated to be Ransom'd upon payment of so much money, and so delivered up our Arms which were no longer able to defend or help us. We had heard, that even our Ancestors long ago thought it no dishonor to redeem themselves from the Gauls with their Gold. And our Fathers, though most averse to terms of Peace, yet made no scruple to send Ambassadors to Tarentum to redeem Prisoners; although in truth those two Battels, both that at Allia with the Gauls, and the other at Heraclea with Pyrrhus, were not so notable for the numbers kill'd, as ignominious for the Soldiers fears and shameful running away. But the Plains of Cannæ are yet covered over with heaps of Roman Bodies; nor had we escap'd the fury of that day, but that the Enemies Swords were blunted, and their strength so spent, that they could kill no more. Some too there are of our Men that fled not at all in Battel, but being left to guard the Camp, when that was yielded, fell into the Enemies Power. I can assure you, I envy not any Citizens or Fellow Soldiers good Fortune and better present condition; nor would I, by degrading another, seem to magnifie my self, but sure those who for the most part having flung away their Arms, fled out of the Field, and never stopt till they were got either to Venusia or Canusium, cannot (unless good Footmanship be regarded) justly prefer themselves before us, nor glory that they stand the Commonwealth in better stead than we; but you make use of them as good Men and valiant Soldiers, and such too shall you find us; nay, so much the more ready to serve our Country, since 'tis by your bounty we are restored thereunto. You make Musters of all Ages and Conditions, Eight thousand Bondmen, I hear, are to be put into Arms, our number is not less, nor will our Redemption cost more, than to buy them; with whom to compare our selves, were to put an Affront upon the Roman Name.

Moreover, Conscrip Fathers! there is another thing to be regarded in this Debate, and that is, if you should be inclinable to deal severely with us (which I hope none of us have deserv'd



deserv'd at your hands) that you would be pleas'd to consider what a kind of Enemy it is in whose hands you will leave us: Not such an one as *Pyrrhus*, who entertain'd his Prisoners as if they had been his Guests; but a barbarous *Carthaginian*, in whom 'tis hard to say, whether Covetousness or Cruelty does most predominate: Could you but see the Chains, the nasty filthiness and sad usage of your Citizens, I am confident that rueful Spectacle would move you no less, than if on the other part you should behold your Legions lie slaughtered in the Fields of *Cannæ*: However, you may near hand view the perplexed looks and tears of our Relations standing in the Lobby and waiting for your answer; and since they are thus solicitous, and in such an agonous suspense for us and those that are absent: What strange agitations do you think those poor hearts themselves endure, whose proper concern it is, and whose lives and liberties depend solely on the hinge of your Vote? And in good Faith, if *Annibal* himself would contrary to his Nature, be merciful and kind to us, we shall not esteem Life any favor, after you shall have adjudged us unworthy of Redemption. Prisoners heretofore return'd to *Rome*, dismiss'd by King *Pyrrhus* without any Ransom, but they return'd with Ambassadors, principal Persons of this City, sent to redeem them: And shall I return unto my Country again (if *Annibal* would let me) a Citizen reckoned by our own Senate not worth 300 pence? Every Man, My Lords! has his peculiar fanfie, and for my own part, though I know my Life and Liberty is in jeopardy, yet the danger of my Honor affects me more than either, lest we should be thought condemned and rejected by you: For the World will never believe, that you will lose so many thousand Citizens to save your Purse and spare so much Money.

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When he ended his Speech, immediately the Multitude who were got together in the Common-Hall, set up a lamentable Cry, holding up their Hands towards the Council-house, and begging the Fathers, *To let them have their Children, their Brethren, and their Kinsfolks again.* The very Women also for fear and necessity, thrust themselves amongst this Crowd of Men, and encreased the Out-cry. After they were all put out, and the Place cleared, the Senate fell to Debate the matter, and great variance there was in their Opinion: Some were for ransoming them at the publick Charge; others oppos'd that, and insisted *That the City ought not to bear the expences of their Redemption, but it should be left free for every one to deliver himself at his own cost; and in case any had not money at present to lay down, the Chamber of the City should lend it him, upon security given either Personal by sufficient Sureties, or by a Mortgage of his Lands for repayment.* But when *T. Manlius Torquatus* (a Man of the old strict Severity, and as most People thought too too rigid in this Point) was demanded his Opinion, he spake (tis reported) as follows.

"If these Agents had only made it their request, That those that are in the Enemies hands might be redeemed, and had not reflected upon others, I should in very few words have delivered my Judgment: For what had I more to do, but advise you, that you would maintain the wholesome Custom you have received in such cases from your Ancestors, and assert the same by an Example sone cessary for your Service in War? But now since they have not only justified, but in a manner boasted of their yielding themselves up to the Enemy, and think they ought to be prefer'd, not only before those that were taken in the Field, but those too who march'd safe to *Venusia* and *Canusium*, and even before *C. Terentius* the Consul himself; I will not suffer you, Conscript Fathers! to be thus led away in the dark, but truly state every thing as it pass'd there; and I wish what I am about to say before you, were to be delivered at *Canusium* in the head of the Army, the best witness of every mans Cowardize or Valour; or at least that *P. Sempronius* alone were present there, whom if these Fellows would have followed when he offered to be their Leader, they had at this day been Soldiers in the Roman Camp, not Captives at the devotion of their Enemies. For whilst the Enemy was weary with fighting, and making merry for their Victory, and most of them retir'd into their Tents, they had the night before them, to save themselves at their pleasure; or however being seven thousand strong, they were able to have broke through the Enemy, had they been never so thick: But this they would neither attempt of themselves, nor follow another when he urg'd them to it. All night long almost *P. Sempronius Tuditanus* ceased not to exhort and importune them, whilst yet there were but few of the Enemy about their Camp, whilst all things were hush and quiet, and might favour'd their retreat, to lay hold of these opportunities and follow his conduct, not doubting but before day-light they might reach unto places of security, and arrive safely at some Cities of their Allies: As in our Grandfires days Colonel *Decius* did in *Sammium*; or as of late when I was a young Man, in the former *Punic War*, *Calpurnius Flamma* said to the three hundred Volunteers, whom he led to gain a little Hill situate in the very midst of the Enemies, *Let us dye bravely my fellow Soldiers, and by our death set at liberty the Roman Legions, who are now circumvented and besieged.* Had *Sempronius* said thus to you, who could judg you to be either Men or Romans, if none of you had accompanied him? But the truth is he pointed you a way not only to Glory, but to Safety too; offered himself to lead you to your Parents, to your Wives, to your Children. You that had not the Courage to save your selves, what would you have done if it had been necessary you should have dyed for your Country? Fifty thousand of your fellow-Citizens and Allies lay round about you slain that day; if so many examples of gallantry could not raise you to a generous disdain

disdain of being Captives, nothing in the World can ever move you? If so great a slaughter could not make you despise your Lives, no Arguments will ever prevail with you to hazard them. Desire home o'th' Gods name, and long after your Native Country whilst you are free and safe; nay, desire if you please to be in your Country, whilst it is your Country; but your desires now come too late, having disfranchis'd your selves, lost your former state and right of Citizens, and are now become *Carthaginian* Bond-slaves: Would you have us purchase you with money to the same condition which you forfeited by your own default and cowardize? You would not hearken to *P. Sempronius* your Fellow-Citizen, when he bid you take Arms and follow him, but you could listen to *Annibal* presently afterwards, when he commanded you to betray your Camp, and basely surrender up your Arms and your Persons. But why blame I only their faint-heartedness and fears, when I may justly charge them with wilful wickedness and actual Villany? For they not only refused to follow *Sempronius*, when he advis'd them to what was both their Interest and their Duty, but endeavored all they could to stop and detain him, and others amongst them, had not the brave Men with their Swords in their hands set the Cowards further off. Thus *Sempronius* was forc'd to make his way through a vile heap of his own Country-men, before he broke through the Battalions of the Enemy: And shall our Country desire such Citizens, by whose means, if the rest had been as base as they, she would not this day have had one Citizen left of all that were in the Battel of *Cannæ*? But by good luck, amongst 7000 Armed-men, there happened to be 600 that had the Courage to break through, and came safe with their Freedom and their Arms, home to their Country, notwithstanding there were 40000 of the Enemy to resist them; judge you then how easie and safe the Passage might have been for a Body of almost two Legions, and so should you, Conscript Fathers! have had now at *Canusium* an Army of stout and Faithful men, Twenty thousand strong. But now, in what respect can these People be good and faithful Citizens (for sure themselves have not the face to pretend to the Title of stout and valiant) I cannot imagine, unless we shall think them so, who would have hindred the rest from forcing their way, even when they were at the point to open a passage, and since, do both envy at their safety and honor obtain'd by Valor, being conscious that their own fear and cowardize was the occasion of their present servitude? Whilst they had an opportunity to get away in the silent Night, they chose rather lurking in their Tents, to wait for the approach of Day and their Enemies: But perhaps, though they had not the Courage to break through the Enemy, they had the hearts stoutly to maintain their Camp, and being beleaguerr'd several days and nights, defended their Works with their Arms, and themselves with their Works; and at last, having ventured all hazards and suffered all extremities, wanting the necessary supports of Life, pin'd with hunger, and so feeble, that they could wield their Weapons no longer, were overcome rather by Humane Necessities, than the Arms of their Enemies: No, forsooth, there was nothing of all this in the case, but the Enemy coming before their Rampire the very next Morning at Sun-rising, within two after, without making any defence, or standing out one Brush, they tamely yielded up both their Arms and their Persons. This you see was their good Service for two days together; when they should have maintain'd their ground in the Field, they sneak'd into the Camp; and when they should have made good their Camp, they surrendred it; good for nothing, either abroad in the Battel, or at home in their Entrenchments: Shall we consent to ransom such fellows, as when they ought to have sallied out of their Camp, delay'd and staid in it; when they should have continued there and defended their Tents with their Arms, parted both with the Camp and their Arms and themselves? Nay verily, 'tis my opinion, Worthy Senators! that these no more deserve to be Ransomed, than those do to be delivered up to *Annibal*, who cut their way through the midst of the Enemy, and most valiantly restor'd themselves to their Country.

After this Speech of *Manlius*, though most of the Senators were related to some of the Prisoners, yet besides the custom of the City, from all Antiquity, little indulgent to those that suffered themselves to be taken Prisoners, the Ransom it self, which amounted to a considerable sum, had no small influence upon them, as being loth to exhaust the Exchequer, (having lately disburs'd a great deal in buying up Bond-slaves, and arming them for the Wars) and especially unwilling to furnish *Annibal* with so much money, the main thing which (as the report went) he stood in need of. But when this their sad Resolve was made publick, viz. *That no Prisoners should be Ransom'd*, there was a new fit of Weeping and Lamentation amongst the People, for the loss of so many Citizens, and with abundance of Tears and Complaints, they followed the Agents to the Gates; of whom one, (he that thought by his sham-return into *Annibals* Camp, he had discharg'd his Oath) went privately home and staid at his own House; but no sooner was that known, and the Senate made acquainted with it, but they unanimously Decreed, *That he should be apprehended, and under a Guard sent back to Annibal.*

There goes another report touching these Prisoners, That ten of them came at first, and the Senate being divided, *Whether or no they should be admitted into the City?* It was carry'd in the Affirmative, but with a Proviso, *That they should not be admitted to Audience, and that there-*

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thereupon staying longer than was expected, Three more followed them, viz. *L. Scribonius*, and *C. Calpurnius*, and *L. Manlius*; and that then a Relation of *Scribonius* that was one of the Tribunes of the Commons, moved the matter in the Senate, which not being granted, the three last returned to *Annibal*, but the former ten staid behind, because after they had been onwards some part of their Journey, they had gone back again under pretence of getting a List of the Prisoners names, and so had discharg'd themselves of their Oath. And that there was great debate in the Senate about delivering them up, but at last it was carryed in the Negative by some few Voices: However, that those Persons were so branded by the next Censors, that some of them presently made away themselves, and the rest were so ashamed and hated, that all their Lives after they durst never appear in publick, nor scarce stir out of their own doors: Touching which we may rather admire how Authors come thus to differ, than how from amongst them to establish the Truth.

That this loss at *Cannæ* was much greater than any others that happen'd before, may from hence be gathered, because those of the *Romans* Allies, who till that very time had continued firm to their Interest, then began to fall off, meerly despairing of their Condition; for soon after, all these Nations revolted to the *Carthaginians*; the *Attellans*, the *Calatines*, the *Hirpines*, part of the *Apulians*, all the *Samnites* except the *Pentrians*; the *Bruttians* and the *Lucanians*, together with the *Surrentines*, and almost all the *Greeks*; the *Tarentines*, *Metapontines*, *Crotonians*, *Locrians*, and all the *Gauls* on that side the *Alps*: Yet could not all these Losses, all these Defections of their Allies prevail so far, as to cause the *Romans* so much as to make mention of a Peace, either before the Consuls arrival, or after he was come and renew'd the Memory of the Over-throw, by giving an account of the Particulars. But on the contrary, the City carryed such a Greatness of mind, That at the same time when he return'd from so great a Defeat of which he had been the principal Cause, the People of all Ranks went out in Multitudes to meet and welcome him home; And by the Senate Thanks were return'd him, for that he had not despair'd of the Commonwealth, whereas had he been a General amongst the *Carthaginians*, he must certainly have undergone the greatest of Punishments.

## DECADE III. BOOK III.

## The E P I T O M E.

1, 3, &c. The *Campanians* revolt to *Annibal*. 11, 12. *Mago* sent to *Carthage* to carry Intelligence of the Victory at *Cannæ*, pours the Gold-Rings taken off the Fingers of the Roman Gentlemen slain there, out upon the Floor in the Lobby of their Senate-House, which are said to have been above half a Bushel. 12, 13. Upon these tidings, *Hanno* (one of their chief Noblemen) advis'd the *Carthaginian* Senate to make Peace with the *Romans*, but could not prevail, the *Barchine* Faction so strenuously opposed it. 16. *Cl. Marcellus* the *Praetor* has good success in a sally he made upon *Annibal* out of the City *Nola*. 18. *Annibal's* Army by taking up Winter-Quarters at *Capua*, are strangely debauch'd and enfeebled, both in their Bodies and Spirits. 19. *Castrinum* besieg'd by the *Punicks* is so straitned for Provisions, that they pull off Leather from their Targets and eat it, as also dice, and are sustain'd a while by Nuts sent them down the River *Vulturnus* by the *Romans*. 23. The Senate of *Rome* is fill'd up with a new choice of a hundred ninety seven persons out of the *Equestrian* Order. 24. *L. Postumius* the *Praetor* is cut off, together with his Army, by the *Gauls*. 26, &c. The two *Scipio's* in *Spain* over-come *Asdrubal*, and become Masters of that whole Realm. 31. The Soldiers that escap'd at *Cannæ*, are sent away into *Sicily*, not to depart thence till the war be finish'd. 33. A League made between *Philip* King of *Macedon* and *Annibal*. 35. *Sempronius Gracchus* the Consul, destroys the *Campanians*. 40, &c. This Book likewise contains the successes of *T. Manlius* the *Praetor*, in *Sardinia*, by whom the General *Asdrubal* himself is taken, and also those other great Commanders *Mago* and *Hanno*. 45, &c. *Cl. Marcellus* the *Praetor*, in a pitched Field near *Nola*, defeats *Annibal's* Army, and was the first that put the *Romans* in hopes of better success, after so many losses and disasters.

**A** *Annibal* after the Battel at *Cannæ*, and the taking and ransacking both the *Roman* Camps, hastned out of *Apulia* into *Samnium*, being invited to come into the *Hirpines* Country by one *Statius*, who promised to deliver the City *Compsa* into his hands. This *Statius* was of that Town, and a Gentleman of good quality, but kept under by the Faction of the *Mopsians*, a Family by the favour of the *Romans* very potent; but after the noise of the Victory at *Cannæ*, and a report of the advance of *Annibal* that way industriously spread by *Statius*, all those *Mopsians* of their own accord left the City, which without any resistance surrendered to the *Carthaginians*, and receiv'd a Garrison. *Annibal* leaving there all his plunder and Baggage, divides his Army, sending one part under *Mago* to receive into protection all the Cities of those parts that would voluntarily desert the *Romans*, or otherwise to subdue them by force; whilst with the rest of the Forces, he himself march'd through *Campania*, towards the lower Sea, designing to attack *Naples*, that he might have the conveniency of a Sea Port. As soon as he entred the *Neapolitan* Confines, he dispos'd some of his *Numidians* in Ambush as cunningly as he could (and thereabouts the ways for the most part are hollow and full of blind holes and corners) others he order'd to drive away the Cattel out of the Fields, and ride braving with them by the Gates of the City, upon whom, because they were but few, and seem'd out of Order too, a Party of Horse making a Sally out of the City, were by their retreating on purpose decoy'd into the Emboscade, and there hem'd in, nor had one of them escap'd but that being near the Sea, some filher-Boats happen'd to be within sight of the shore, on which those that could swim got aboard; but several young Noblemen were slain, and amongst the rest *Hegeas* that commanded that Squadron, charging too far upon those that seem'd to fly, was cut off. However when *Annibal* came to view the Walls of the Town, how strong and impregnable they were, he was discouraged from sitting down before it.

From thence he turn'd his march towards *Capua*, a City grown luxurious with a long prosperity and indulgence of Fortune, but amongst all corruptions that there reigned, it was most of all infected with the licentiousness of the Commons, who beyond all measure abused their Liberty; *Pacuvius Calavius*, a man of noble descent, and popular in his Carriage, but by ill Courses grown Rich, had both the Senate and the Commons very much at his Devotion. He happen'd to be their Chief Magistrate that year, the *Romans* were over-thrown at *Thrasymenus*, and having some inkling that the Commons who a long time had mortally hated the Senate, might, if *Annibal* came that way, attempt such a desperate Villany, as to murder all the Senators, and surrender the City to the *Carthaginians*, though he were an ill man, yet he was not so profligately wicked, but he rather desired to domineer over the Commonwealth in being, than utterly to subvert it, and knowing no State could subsist, if once depriv'd of publick Council, he bethinks himself of a course whereby he might both preserve the Senate, and oblige them as well to the Commons as himself. Assembling therefore one day the Senate together; after a solemn Preface, protesting, That in no case he could approve of any design of revolting from the *Romans* (unless it were upon necessity), as having himself Children by the Daughter of *Appius Claudius*, and his own Daughter married to *Livius* at *Rome*; but he told them, there was a thing in agitation of greater importance and far more dreadful consequence than that; For the Commons had a design,

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not only by way of Revolt and Rebellion, to rid the City of the Senate's Authority, but even to Massacre the Senators, and so to yield up to Annibal and the Carthaginians, the City void of all Governours and Magistracy; That he knew how to free them from this imminent danger, if they would trust him with the management of it, and forget former jars and differences which had happen'd between them and himself, concerning publick affairs. All of them present consenting for nicer fear to what he propounded, I will (says he) shut you up here in the Council Chamber, and by seeming to approve and be a Confederate in those Councils which I should not otherwise be able to oppose, I will work a way for your safety, and for performance hereof, I will give you any security that you your selves shall demand. Thus having pass'd his solemn Promise to be true to them, away he goes, shuts up the Senate-House, and sets a Guard in the Lobby, and all the Avenues, charging them to let no body pass in or out without his Order.

III. Then he calls all the people together to the Town-Hall, and makes this Speech to them. That which so often you have wish'd for (Fellow Citizens of Capua!) even an opportunity to punish and revenge your selves of your naughty and accursed Senate, is now fairly presented, and may with equal ease and safety be perform'd; for you need not in a tumultuous way, assault their several Houses; which by reason of the strong Guards they keep of their Clients and Bond-slaves, was not to be done without great hazard, but you may set upon them altogether in the Council-Chamber, where they are fast shut up, alone, and without Armour, Friends, or dependants to rescue them. Yet shall you do nothing rashly, but I will bring every one of them severally before you to receive your impartial Doom, that each according to his desert, may be punish'd; However in the first place, you must not so far indulge your just resentments, as to suffer a present heat or desire of revenge to betray your future safety. For (as I conceive) it is only these wicked Senators, whose persons and ill practices you hate; not that you mean wholly to abolish and live without a Senate; For either you must have a King (which I know you abhor to think of) or else that, which is the only Council of a Free City, a Senate; Therefore we have two things before us, To Cassier the old Senate, and furnish our selves with a new one. In order thereto, I will cause the several Senators to be cited, and demand your Sentence upon them, and what you Decree shall be done; but before any be Executed, you shall first chuse some good substantial person of Wisdom and Courage, worthy to succeed in his place.

Then down he sits, and Orders the Senators names to be drawn by Lot, and the man that it first fell upon, to be brought thither from the Council Chamber; As soon as his name was mentioned, every one cryed out, That he was a wicked Wretch, and a Villain, and well deserv'd to be hang'd; Then says Pacuvius, Well, Gentlemen, I see what your Judgement is of him; Let him turn out like a base Fellow as he is, and now go on to chuse a good, just and worthy Senator in his room. At first they were all hush'd, and silent, for want of a better man to supply his place, by and by some bold Fellow of the Crowd, laying aside modesty, names one that he had a fancy for, but then presently the Clamour was louder against him than the other, some crying out, they did not know him, others laid vile Crimes to his Charge, another said he was a Beggar, or else they objected his base descent, or scandalous sordid employment; and when a second or third was named, the more impetuous they were, and muster'd up against every one a thousand Exceptions: so that 'twas plain the people were weary of the Senator in being, but wanted a better to put in his place. For to what purpose was it to put up the same men again whom they had already nominated, unless to hear them reproach'd afresh? and if they went on to others, still they appear'd more base and unfit than such as first occur'd to their thoughts; so that at last the people began to whisper one to another, Better trust a Knave we know, than a Knave we do not know, and desired that the old Senators might be set at liberty.

IV. By this Policy Pacuvius having saved the Senators Lives, oblig'd them to himself much more than to the Commons, and without Arms govern'd all things at his pleasure, none controuling him. Thence-forwards the Senators forgetting their Dignity, began to court and Complement the Rabble, to invite and treat them sumptuously at their Houses, to Espouse their Quarrels, were always ready to stand by them, and appoint Judges favourable to that party that was most in credit with the Mob; so even in the Senate it self all things were transacted just as if it were an Assembly of the Populace. That City had always been too much given to Luxury, as well by the natural disposition of the Inhabitants, as by that over-flowing plenty of delights, and the alluring enticements of all delicacies that either Sea or Land could afford: but now, such was the obsequious fawning of the Grandees, such the insolence and licentious living of the vulgar, that they grew wanton beyond all measure, and set no bounds either to their outrageous Lusts, or extravagant Expences. Besides their contempt of their own Laws, Magistrates, and Senate, after the overthrow at Cannæ they began to despise the Romans Government, which before they had in some kind of reverence; and that which kept them from a present revolt, was that by antient Inter-marriages several of their best Families were Allied to the Romans, and especially because when they serv'd the Romans in their Wars, three hundred Horsemen of the noblest Birth in all Campania, had been drawn out and sent to reside in several Garisons of Sicily.

V. Those Gentlemens Parents and Relations with much ado obtain'd, that Embassadors should

should be sent to the Roman Consul, who found him (before he march'd to Cannusium) at Venusia, accompanied with but a few Souldiers, and those scarce half-arm'd, in a condition that would most of all have moved pity in the Breasts of well-affect'd Allies, but to those that were unfaithful and proud, (as these Campanians,) apt to render him contemptible; and indeed the Consul made himself and the state of his affairs to be the more despised, by discovering too much his distress, and laying it too open: For when the Embassadors acquainted him, That the Senate and people of Capua, were extremely sorry, that any disaster had happen'd to the Romans, and offer'd to supply him with all things necessary for War; he replyed at this rate, You have, O Campanians! rather observ'd the common phrase and civilities us'd amongst Allies, when you bid us require of you what Warlike assistances we stand in need of, than spoken home to the present state of our affairs; For what after this defeat at Cannæ, have we left? Or how can we, as if we had something of our own, desire our Confederates to supply what we are wanting in? Shall we request Foot of you? Where is our Horse? Shall we tell you we lack money? as if that were all? No, No, Fortune hath dealt so severely, that she hath left us no Fund, nothing that can be made up or supplied by others; Our Legions of Infantry, our Cavalry, our Arms, our Standards, our Horses and our Men, our money and our provisions; All are lost either in the Field, or in those two Camps which next day the Enemy made themselves Masters of. Your business therefore, O Campanians! is not so much to assist us, as for us and your selves to undertake the War with the Carthaginians; Be pleas'd to remember, when your trembling Ancestors heretofore were beat into and coop'd up within your Walls, and dreaded not only the Samnites but the Sidicins too, we took them into protection, and bravely defended them at Satricula, and for your sakes engag'd our selves in a War with the Samnites, which lasted with various success for an hundred years; Add to this, that when you submitted your selves to our Government, we concluded an indifferent and equal League with you, allow'd you your own ancient Laws, and at last bestow'd upon many of you (that which before this disaster at Cannæ, was always counted no small Honour and Priviledge) the Freedom of our City, and to participate in all rights and immunities equally with our selves. Therefore in all reason you ought to esteem the late loss as much your own as ours; and count it the common Country to us both, which you are to defend. You have not to do with the Samnite or the Etrurian, so as that the Empire taken from us, should still remain in Italy; but 'tis the Carthaginian that is your Enemy, drawing with him a barbarous Train of Souldiers from the Worlds end, from as far as the Streights of the Ocean, and the Pillars of Hercules, nay some of them not born in Africk it self, but come no body knows from whence, void of all sense of Law or Justice, and almost incapable of humane Speech. This brutish rabble, wild and cruel both by nature and custom, their General hath rendred yet more savage, by making Bridges and Cawseys of dead Carcasses, and teaching them (which I abhor to mention) to feed on Mans flesh. What mortal born in so civil a Country as Italy, can possibly endure to see and have for his Lord, these Monsters, fed with such execrable diet? and run as far as Africk and Carthage for Laws and Justice, and suffer Italy to be a Province truckling under the Tyranny of Numidians and Moors? How glorious and honourable will it be O worthy Campanians! for you, by your fidelity and prowess to buoy up, and recover the Roman Empire prostrated by this overthrow! You can, I believe, in Campania, levy thirty thousand Foot, and four thousand Horse: you have money enough, and enough provision; If your Faith be but equal to your Fortune, neither shall Annibal have any cause to boast his Victory, nor will the Romans much feel their loss.

VI. The Consul having with this Speech dismiss'd the Embassadors, as they were going home, one of them, Vibius Virius by name, thus discours'd his Companions; The lucky hour (says he) is come, wherein the Campanians may not only regain their Lands which the Romans have heretofore unjustly taken from them, but may moreover secure to themselves, and enjoy the Empire of all Italy; For they may now make a League with Annibal on what terms they themselves please; nor is it to be doubted but Annibal when he has finish'd the War, will go home to Africk, so shall the command of Italy be left to the Campanians. The rest all subscrib'd to Virius's notions, and accordingly they gave in a report of their Embassy, That in all mens judgment the Roman state was utterly desunt, and lost beyond any possibility of recovery. Whereupon presently the rabble, and the greatest part of the Senate, were for a Revolt, but by the authority of some persons of age and gravity, the business was stopt for a few days; however at last most Voices carried it, That the same Embassadors that had been with the Roman Consul, should be sent to Annibal. In some Annals I find, that before they went, or were fully resolv'd to revolt, Embassadors were sent to Rome, requiring, That if the Romans expected their assistance, they should admit a Campanian to be always one of their Consuls, which the Romans took in such indignation, that they forthwith commanded them out of the Senate-House; sent a Licor to carry them out of the City, and charge them at their peril not to remain that night within the Roman Territories; but because this demand jumps too near with that of the Latines long before, and since Cælius and other Writers have (not without reason) pass'd it over and said nothing thereof, I dare not recommend it for a truth.

VII. 'Tis certain their Embassadors went to Annibal, and concluded a Peace with him on the Conditions following: That no Carthaginian General or Magistrate should have jurisdiction over



over any Campanian Citizen; nor should any Campanian be compell'd to take Arms, or serve any Office without his consent. That Capua should enjoy its old Laws and Magistrates; that Annibal should bestow on them three hundred of the Roman Prisoners, such as they should chuse, to the end they might exchange them for the three hundred Campanian Horse that were in the Romans Service in Sicily. These were the terms agreed on, but the Campanians beyond their Agreement committed several Outrages, particularly, the rabble seiz'd upon the Captains of several associate Troops, and other Roman Citizens, residing there either in some military employment, or concern'd in other private affairs of their own, and under pretence of securing them, clapt them into the *Hot-Houses*, where with the heat and noxious vapours they were stifled to death in an inhumane manner. To prevent both this Cruelty, and their making any Overtures at all to Annibal, one Decius Magius used his utmost endeavours, a man that well deserv'd the highest Authority, and would have had it too, if he had liv'd amongst people of judgment and discretion; but when notwithstanding all his Remonstrances, he heard a Garison was to be sent thither from Annibal, he laid before them the insolent Tyranny of Pyrrhus, and the wretched condition of the Tarentines, as Precedents sufficient to give them warning; He ceased not to cry out aloud in all places and Companies. First, That they should not admit any such Garison within their Walls; and afterwards when they had received them, was as urgent to have them turn'd out again, or rather (he told them) if they would by a brave and memorable exploit, atone for the baseness of revolting from their most ancient Allies and Kinsfolks, they should fall upon these Carthaginian Troops, and cut every man of them off, and so restore themselves to the Romans protection. These Discourses of his being related to Annibal (for they were not spoken in higger-mugger) he first summon'd Magius to appear before him in the Camp; but when he stoutly denied to go, alledging that even by their late Articles it was expressly capitulated, That Annibal should have no jurisdiction over any Citizen of Capua, the Punick was so enrag'd, that he commanded him to be seiz'd and dragg'd unto him in Chains; but upon cooler thoughts, left by offering such violence a tumult should arise, and in heat of blood some mischief happen, he resolv'd to be present in person, and sending notice to Marius Blossius the Prætor of Capua, that he would be there next day, sets forwards from his Camp with a small guard; Marius having assembled the people made Proclamation, that they should be all ready with their Wives and Children in a full body, and solemn Order, to meet Annibal upon the way, and welcome him to their City; which was not only obediently, but zealously perform'd by them all, both for the fancy the common people always love to be busy, and especially for the desire they had to see that famous Warriour of whom they had heard so much; only Marius for his part would not stir a foot to meet him, nor on the other side would he keep himself private, left he might seem to be afraid, or conscious of guilt, but with his Son and a few of his Friends and Dependents, walkt up and down the Market place as unconcern'd; whilst the whole Town was in an hurry to entertain and gaze at this strange Guest; Annibal as soon as he came into the City, desired the Senate might forthwith be Assembled, but the principal Capuans beseeching his Excellency, not to trouble himself that day with any serious affairs, but that as by his presence he had made it an Holy Day, so he would be pleased to celebrate it as such, and partake with them in their universal Joys; he was prevail'd with, contrary to his natural hasty temper, to defer it, because he would not at his first coming seem to deny them any thing; and accordingly spent most of that day in viewing the City.

## VIII.

He and his whole Train were entertain'd and lodged by the *Manii Celeres*, and at the House of *Stenius Pacuvius*, two of the most eminent Families both for Nobility and Riches in the City. *Pacuvius Calavius* whom we mentioned of late, (being the chief of that Faction which brought over the people to the Carthaginian Interest) going to the Generals Quarters, carried with him his Son, a young Gentleman, whom he was forc'd almost by violence to pluck away from Decius's Company, for he was always of his Party, and most stily oppos'd the League with Annibal, nor could the inclinations of the whole City running the other way, or the reverence he had for his Father, alter his resolutions therein. The Father by begging pardon for this youth rather than by excusing him, endeavour'd to reconcile him to Annibal's favour, and with his intreaties and tears prevail'd so far, that he order'd him to be invited together with his Father to Supper, at which he admitted none but they, and his Landlord, that gave the Entertainment, and one *Jubellius Jaurea*, a man renowned for his services in War. They began their Banquet by Day-light, and were treated not after the niggardly Punick mode, or with the strict diet of a Camp, but as magnificently regal'd as could be expected in a City and a Family long inur'd to the choicest varieties of dainty Dishes, and abundance of voluptuous superfluity. Only *Perolla Pacuvius's* Son, alone was melancholly, and could not be prevail'd with to be brisk and jocund; though the Masters of the Feast, and sometimes Annibal himself invited him to be merry; and when his Father inquir'd the cause of these strange dumps and trouble of mind, he excus'd it, by alledging he was not well; but about Sun-set *Calavius* going out of the room where they sup'd, his Son followed him, and when they were come to a place of privacy (a Garden it was on the backside of the House) I have (says he) a contrivance in my head, whereby we may not only obtain the Romans Pardon for our offence in revolting to Annibal, but the

the same will render us Campanians in greater honour and favour with them than ever we were. The Father with Admiration demanding what this contrivance might be? the young man flinging back his Gown, shows him a Sword by his side; This (quoth he) is it; I will seal and ratify our League with the Romans with Annibals Blood; But I was willing to let you know it first, that if you had rather be absent whilst the brave act is doing, you may take your opportunity.

The old man, as if he had already been present at the Tragedy, was almost out of his Wits; For Heavens sake, my Son! and by all those sacred Tyes that oblige Children to their Parents, I beg and conjure you, That you will not, before your Fathers Eyes, do or suffer such an execrable piece of Villany, and violate all Law Divine and Humane. There have not many hours pass'd since we swore by all the Gods, and join'd our right hands with solemn Promises of Faith and Amity, and was all this for nothing else, but that as soon as we had eaten together, and talk'd a while, we should presently arm our selves against him? Dost thou but now rise from that hospitable Board, where thy self wast the third man of all Capua invited by Annibal, and wilt thou now stain and pollute that Board with his Blood? Was I thy Father able but now to reconcile Annibal to my Son, and shall I not be able to reconcile my Son to Annibal? But if thou dost indeed think nothing Holy, and hast no regard to Faith, Religion, or Piety, then boldly go on in thy horrid design, if it will not involve us in inevitable destruction, as well as shameful wickedness. What? wilt thou alone set upon Annibal? what must the multitude of his Guards do the mean while? so many brave Officers, and so many Servants as constantly attend him? Are not all their Eyes, all their hands employ'd to secure him from danger? Dost thou think they will all be blind, or stupified at the time of this frantick Enterprize of thine? Those fierce looks of Annibal, which Armed Legions tremble at, and the whole people of Rome cannot stand before, canst thou alone undaunted encounter? If other assistance fail, canst thou endure to wound me thy Father, when I shall interpose my Body for the safeguard of his? yet stab me thou must, and shalt to the heart, before thou shalt be able to reach him; and through my Breast must aim at Annibal's? Suffer thy self to be deterr'd now from such an abominable undertaking, rather than be destroyed in attempting it; And let my intreaties prevail with Thee, which once to day prevail'd for Thee. At these words perceiving his Son to weep, he embrac'd and kiss'd him, and left not off his importunities, till he made him lay away his Sword, and promise to desist. Whereupon the young man burst out into these Expressions, I will for once be content to pay to my natural Father that Piety which I owe to my Country; but must, Sir! bewail your condition, who lie under the guilt of having thrice betray'd her, once when you caus'd our revolt from the Romans; Again, when you were the chief Promoter of the League with Annibal, and now in the third place, by being the only obstacle and hindrance that Capua is not restored to the Romans, and her ancient Liberties. Here, my dear Country! take this Sword of mine, with which I had resolv'd to defend thee, and cut off thy most mortal Enemy; take it, I say, since my own Father hath wrested it out of my hands; with which words, he flung the Sword over the Garden Wall into the open street, and to prevent suspicion, returned to the Banquet.

The next day a full Senate was call'd in the presence of Annibal; The beginning of his Speech was very kind and coaxing, Giving the Campanians thanks for preferring his Friendship, before their Alliance with the people of Rome, and amongst other magnificent promises, assur'd them, That Capua ere long should be the Metropolis of all Italy, whereunto the Romans themselves, as well as other Nations, should resort for Law and Justice. But withal told them, he understood there was a certain person amongst them, that had no share in the League made with the Carthaginians, and who neither was a true Citizen of Capua, nor ought so to be accounted; This was one Magius Decius by name, whom he did demand to be delivered up into his hands, and that in his presence the Senate would pass Judgment upon him. To this they all consented, though the greater part knew well enough the Gentleman was far from deserving any such Calamity, and withal perceiv'd that this Invasion of their Liberties in the beginning threatned no less than a total subversion of them in the end. The chief Magistrate went out of the Council Chamber, and sat in the Temple, where they were wont to hold their Courts of Judicature; and Decius Magius being apprehended, and brought before him, was Ordered to Answer for himself, but he persisting in his former stoutness of spirit, Told them he was not bound so to do by the Articles of the League, whereupon he was clapt in Irons, and an Officer commanded to convey him to Annibal's Camp; All the way as he was led, whilst he was open-fac'd, he went preaching to the multitude, and crying out, Now, O Capuans! you have I hope that liberty that you so much long'd for. In the open Market-place, at Noon-day before you all, I, a person inferiour to none in Capua, am dragg'd along in Chains to be unjustly put to death; What greater outrage could have been committed, if Capua had been storm'd by an Enemy? Go out in pomp to meet Annibal, adorn your City, and Register this day of his Entrance as an Holy Day, that in the end you may behold this goodly triumph over one of your own Citizens. The people seeming to be moved with such his Exclamations, he was order'd to be muffled, and halstned out of the Gates; being brought to the Camp, he was immediately put on board a Ship bound for Carthage, left by any tumult happening at Capua upon so unusual a proceeding, the Senate should repent themselves of delivering up such a principal Member, and send to desire his Release; by denying of which Annibal must offend

IX.

X.

offend his new Allies, and by granting it, have always an Enemy at Capua ready to stir them up against his Interest; The Ship that was to transport him happen'd to be driven by streſs of weather into Cyrena, a Port-Town at that time under the Kings of Egypt, and Magius getting ashore, fled for Sanctuary to the Statue of King Ptolemy, and thereupon was carried by certain Officers to that Prince at Alexandria. To whom having related how he was put in Chains by Annibal against all right, and contrary to his own League, the King caused his Shackles to be knockt off, and gave him leave to return to Capua, or go to Rome, which he pleased; But he reckoning Capua not safe, and that at Rome in such a Juncture he should be lookt upon rather as a Fugitive than a Friend, declared, he would spend the rest of his days no where more willingly than in his Majesty's Territories, who had given him his Life and Liberty.

XI. During these Occurrents, Q. Fabius Pictor comes back to Rome from Delphos; and read the Answer of the Oracle out of a writing which he brought, containing the names of the Gods they were to address themselves unto, and in what manner; concluding thus. *If these things, O Romans, you shall do, then shall your affairs succeed better and more fortunately, and your Commonwealth shall thrive according to your desires, and the people of Rome shall be Victorious over their Enemies; but remember when all things go well on your side, and that your State is preserved, That ye send to Pythian Apollo a Present answerable to your Successes, and honour him with part of the spoils and booty, and keep your selves from lasciviousness.* After he had repeated this translated out of Greek Verse; he added, *That so soon as he departed from the Oracle; he sacrificed to all those Gods with Wine and Frankincense, and that being commanded by the Priest, that as he approached the Oracle, having on a Laurel Crown, and in the same had sacrificed, so he should go on board with it, and not leave it off till he arriv'd at Rome; all which with the highest diligence and devotion he had performed accordingly, and deposited the Crown on the Altar of Apollo in Rome.* And the Senate decreed, *That all those Sacrifices and supplications enjoyn'd, should with care and speed be celebrated.* Whilst these things were a doing in Italy, Mago the Son of Amilcar arriv'd at Carthage, sent as an Express to give an account of the Victory at Cannæ, yet not directly from his Brother out of the Field, but staid some dayes by the way to receive the submissions of several Cities of the Bruttii revolting from the Romans. This Gentleman being brought to his Audience, set forth at large the Achievements of his Brother Annibal in Italy. *That he had given Battel to six Generals, whereof four were Consuls, the other two a Dictator, and a General of the Horse; That he had engag'd in pitched Fields with six intire Consular Armies, and slain above two hundred thousand of the Enemy, taken above fifty thousand. That of four Consuls he had cut off two, and of the other two, one was wounded, and the other having lost his whole Army, forc'd to fly with not above fifty men to accompany him. That the General of the Cavalry, created with full Consular Authority, was routed and put to flight, and the Dictator (forsooth) that never durst hazard the Fortune of a Battel, was now counted the only worthy General. That the Bruttii, the Apulians, and part of the Samnites and Lucanians, were already revolted to the Carthaginians; And Capua the head City, not only of Campania, but (since the Roman State thus brought down at Cannæ) of all Italy, had freely set open their Gates to Annibal; For all which great and signal Victories, he desired (as was most due) That there should a Thanksgiving day be kept, with Sacrifices to the Immortal Gods.*

XII. Then to confirm their Belief of these joyful news, he caused the golden Rings taken from those of the Enemy that were slain, to be pour'd down upon the Floor in the Lobby before the Senate-House; which made so great an heap, that some Authors say, they fill'd three and an half of those measures call'd *Modii* [in all almost two Bushels of our measure.] But the common report and most probable is, That it was but one *Modius*-full; After which, to shew the greatness of the overthrow, he acquainted them, *That none of the Romans but Knights and persons of Quality were allow'd to wear that Ornament.* The drift and conclusion of his Speech was this, *That the greater their hopes were of putting in a short time a period to the War, the more vigorous they ought to be in supplying Annibal with all necessaries, considering that he mannaged a War far from home, in the midst of the Enemies Country; That abundance of Corn and Money was necessarily spent, and as so many Battels had utterly destroy'd the Enemies Armies, so they could not but have diminish'd the Conquerors Forces; Therefore new Recruits must be sent over, and money to pay off the Souldiers Arrears, with store of Provisions for those brave Souldiers, who had so well deserv'd of the Carthaginian Nation.* All being overjoy'd at this news, Himilco a Senator of the Barchine Faction, supposing he had now a fit opportunity to rally and upbraid Hanno the chief of those that oppos'd them. *How now Hanno? (quoth he) do you still repent of undertaking this War against the Romans? Now bid us surrender up Annibal into their hands; oppose the returning of thanks to the Gods for all these prosperous successes; Let us hear a Roman Senator now Harangue it in the Council of Carthage: Then stood up Hanno, saying, I intended, my Lords! to have been silent to day, left in this common Follity, I should say any thing that might not be so pleasing as I could wish; but since a Senator hath been pleas'd to Catechize me, and demands directly, whether I still mislike our undertaking this War with the Romans? If I should say nothing, I may be censur'd either as proud or culpable; forgetful of other mens Liberty, or not enough remembering my own. I will therefore Answer Himilco, and frankly tell him, That I have not yet left off to dislike this War; nor shall*

cease

cease to blame our Invincible General, until I see the same ended upon some equal and tolerable Conditions; For nothing can satisfy my longing after the old Peace, but the making of a new one. Those particulars which Mago but now recounted so magnificently, as they are at present most joyful to Himilco, and the rest of Annibal's Favourites, so they may prove welcome to me, in this respect, That success in War, if we make a right use of our Fortune, will be a means to procure us an easy and honourable Peace. For if we overslip this Juncture, wherein we seem able to give, rather than prove vain in the end. But let us consider of what kind it is even at present, and how grounded; The sum and substance of Annibals Message is this. *I have routed the Enemy and destroy'd their Armies. Therefore send me more Forces. What could he demand more, if he had been overthrow'n? I have taken two Camps of the Enemies, full (we must think) of Victuals and all good things; allow me therefore speedily Provisions, Corn and Money; what could he have desired else, if he had been plunder'd and turn'd out of his own Camp? But that I may not wonder alone at these strange Conclusions (since now I have answer'd Himilco, I may sure be free to ask a question or two) I would desire either Himilco, or Mago, to satisfy us in the following particulars, since you say that in the Battel at Cannæ the Roman Empire was wholly ruin'd beyond resource, and that all Italy is upon the Revolt; I demand first, whether any one Nation of the Latine People be come over to us? And in the next place, whether any one person of all the five and thirty Tribes of Romans is fled to Annibal?*

Mago answering in the Negative to both these Interrogatories, the other continued, *Then I perceive there yet remain a multitude of Enemies; but now I would fain know in what heart they are, and whether or no they yet keep up their spirits and their hopes! Mago saying he could give no account of that: There is nothing (quoth Hanno) more easie to be known: Have the Romans yet sent any Embassadors to Annibal to intreat for Peace? or are you certainly inform'd that at Rome they talk of Peace? When that too was denyed, Nay then (says Hanno) by this account we have still as fresh and intire a War as we had that very day that Annibal first set foot in Italy; there are many of us yet alive that remember how various the success was in the former War; nothing could be more prosperous or in a better condition, both at Land and Sea, than our affairs before C. Lucatius and Aulus Postumius came to be Consuls; and yet before they were out of their Consulship, we were vanquish'd and utterly overthrow'n at the Island Ægates. And if (may the Gods divert the Omen) any change of fortune should now also happen, can you hope for a Peace when we are worsted, when no man so much as offers or seeks after it now we are all Conquerors? For my part if my opinion were ask'd, touching a Peace, either upon Terms to be tendered to the Enemy, or proposed by them, I know well what to say, but as for these demands which Mago makes on Annibals behalf, my judgment is, That there is no occasion to send such supplies to those that already are Conquerors; and if they do but abuse us with an empty noise of Victory, much less ought we to send them. But this Speech of Hanno's did not much sway with the Senate, for his known animosity against the Barchine Family made his Authority in this matter of little weight, and besides, their minds were so taken up with the present Joy, that they could not endure to hear any thing that might lessen that satisfaction, and did fully perswade themselves, that the War would soon be at an end, if they did but now strain a little to help it forward. Therefore with great consent, there pass'd an Act of the Senate, That forty thousand Numidians should be sent Annibal for recruits, and forty Elephants, and many Talents of Silver; Also a Dictator was dispatcht away with Mago, into Spain, to raise twenty thousand Foot, and four thousand Horse to reinforce the Armies that were there and in Italy.*

But these things though briskly voted, were yet (as oft it happens when people are in prosperity) but slowly accomplished. Whereas on the other side, neither the Romans natural diligence, nor present Fortune, would permit them to make any delays; For as the Consul was not wanting in any affairs that he was concern'd in, so the Dictator, as soon as he had dispatcht the necessary Ceremonies of Religion, and obtain'd the peoples order for his advance; besides the two City Legions, which in the beginning of the year had been levied by the Consuls, and the Bondslaves that were before mustered, and some Regiments gather'd out of the Picenes and Gauls Country; For a further help at a dead lift, considering that in cases of Extremity, courses may be lawful, or at least excusable, which at other times are not to be allow'd, he descended so far as to make Proclamation, *That all Prisoners for Capital Crimes, or in Execution for Debt, who would list themselves Souldiers, should be discharged and freed from their Creditors; and of such he Armed six thousand, with the spoils of the Gauls, which were carry'd about for shew in the Triumph of C. Flaminius, and so march'd from Rome five and twenty thousand strong.* Annibal having possess'd himself with hopes, sometimes with fears, but all in vain, leads his Army into the Territories of Nola, designing not at first to go roughly to work with them, because he was in some hopes they might voluntarily comply; but if they answer'd not his expectations in some reasonable time, resolv'd to put them to all the Extremities they could either suffer or fear. The Senate of that City, and especially the principal of them, continued firm to their Alliance with the Romans, but the Commons (as their manner is) greedy of alterations, were all

XIV.

for

for *Annibal*, alledging their fears of having the Country plunder'd, and the Calamities of a Siege; nor were there wanting some people of Quality to push them on to a Revolt. Whereupon the Senate, fearing they might not be able to resist the popular Torrent, if they should openly thwart their inclinations, by temporizing and seeming to comply, gain'd their point, and prevented the mischief; pretending that they approved of a Revolt to *Annibal*, but were not yet agreed on what terms they should enter into this new Alliance. So having gain'd time, they send Post an Express, to *Marcellus Claudius* the Roman Prætor, who lay then with his Army at *Casilinum*, acquainting him, in what danger the State of *Nola* stood, That *Annibal* was already master of the Country, and would quickly be so of the Town, if they were not assisted; That the Senate were already driven to this shift to promise the Commons to revolt whenever they would have them, or else they had in Rebellion before this time. *Marcellus* praising the Senates prudence and fidelity, desires them to spin out time by the same Artifice, until he could come up, and in the interim to conceal this correspondence, and seem to have no hopes of assistance from the Romans. And himself with all Expedition march'd from *Casilinum* to *Calatia*, and thence having pass'd the River *Vulturnus*, through the Territories of *Saticula* and *Trebia*, came by *Suessula* over the Mountains to *Nola*.

XV. Before he got thither, *Annibal* was gone out of that Country, towards the Sea near *Naples*, for his teeth water'd at that fine Sea-Port Town, to which Ships at any time might safely arrive from *Africk*; but finding that City under a Roman Governour (which was *M. Junius Syllanus*, call'd in, by the Inhabitants themselves) not being able to get into either *Naples* or *Nola*, he went to *Nuceria*. Having lain before that Town a good while, and endeavour'd in vain to take it by force, or get it surrendred by trinkling sometimes with the people, and sometimes with the Nobles, meer Famine at last oblig'd them to yield to him, upon condition to march clear away in single Garments, leaving their Arms behind them. And (as he always would seem kind to all Italians, but the Romans) he offer'd them good pay and preferments, if they would take up Arms under him; But not a man would stay, but got away, some to their Friends, and others at a venture as their minds stood, to divers Cities of *Campania*, but most to *Nola* and *Naples*. Amongst the rest almost thirty Senators, and those too generally of the first rank, came to *Capua*; but being not admitted there, (because they had shut their Gates against *Annibal*;) they took up their Residence at *Cumes*. The spoil of *Nuceria* was given to the Souldiers, and then the City burnt. *Marcellus* in the mean time held *Nola*, confiding no less in the good will of the chief Inhabitants, than in the strength of his own Garison; but was in jealousy of the Commons, and above all the rest there was one *L. Bantius*, who having before been in the Conspiracy, and consequently fearing the Roman Prætor, was always contriving either to betray the Town, or else to run away to the Enemy; A stout young man he was, and one of the bravest Cavaliers of all the Romans Confederates, who being found half dead amongst the heaps of the slain, at *Cannæ*, *Annibal* not only took care to have his wounds cured, but also sent him home with very bountiful gifts, in gratitude for which favours, he was willing to yield up *Nola* into his hands; and the Prætor having an Eye upon him, plainly perceiv'd that his head was at work by all means to compass that alteration. Now there were but two ways to deal with him, either to cut him off by rigour, or win him by Courtsey, and he thought it a better course to gain unto himself so brave and valiant a Friend, than only to deprive the Enemy of him, Therefore sending for him, he thus kindly accosts him; *I cannot but judge that you have many amongst your Fellow Citizens that envy you, since no one man of your Town hath all this while given me an account of your Character, and those gallant military Exploits you have done, but 'tis not possible any mans merit, that serves under the Romans, should long lye obscure or unrewarded; several that were your Fellow Souldiers have of late inform'd me what a stout Gentleman you are; how often and how bravely you have hazarded your Life for the honour and safety of the people of Rome; and particularly how in the Battel of Cannæ, you gave not over fighting, till having scarce any blood left, you were beat down by the heaps of Men, Horses and Arms tumbling upon you; Therefore I applaud and wish all success to your valour, which from me shall never want either Honour or Reward; and the oftner you visit me, you shall find it shall be the more for your dignity and profit; and withal, besides these fair promises, gave him an excellent Horse, and ordered the Treasurer to tell him out five hundred Bigats of Silver [between fifteen and sixteen pound sterling] and likewise commanded the Lictors to admit him to his presence, without any waiting, whenever he came to speak with him.*

XVI. These Civilities of *Marcellus* did so charm the mind of this haughty young Gentleman, that thence forwards of all their Associates, no one did more strenuously or faithfully promote the Roman Interest. *Annibal* having again removed his Camp from *Nuceria* to *Nola*, *Marcellus* upon their approach withdrew his Army into the Town, not that he was afraid to keep the Field, but to prevent any opportunity of betraying the City, seeing too many of the Inhabitants inclinable thereunto. After this they began on both sides to arrange their Forces and face each other; the Romans under the Walls of *Nola*, the Carthaginians before their own Entrenchments; thus there happen'd several Skirmishes between the City and the Camp, with various success; For the Generals neither hindred small parties that were eager to fight, nor yet would give the signal for a general Battel; whilst thus the two

Armies

Armies were continually upon their Guard, *Marcellus* was advertiz'd by the chief Nobles of *Nola*, That there were secret correspondencies held by night between some of the inferior Townsmen and the Carthaginians, who had agreed, That when the Romans were march'd out of the Gates, they should seize their Baggage and Carriages, and shut the Gates upon them, and secure the Walls; that being Masters both of their Goods, and of the City, they would let in the Carthaginians instead of the Romans. Upon this advice, *Marcellus* (having thank'd the Senators that gave it) resolv'd before any mutiny should happen in the City, to hazard the Fortune of a Battel. At the three Gates that fronted the Enemy, he drew up his Army in three distinct Bodies, giving order that the Carriages should follow, and the Lackies, Snapfack Boys, and weak or sick Souldiers to carry *Palizado's* for the Rampire. At the middle Gate he placed the choicest of the Roman Legions and Horse, at the other two, the new-raiz'd men, and those lightly arm'd, together with the Auxiliary Horse. The Townsmen were commanded not to come near the Walls or Gates, and sufficient Guards appointed to the Carriages and Baggage to prevent any surprize; thus prepared, they stood within the Gates. *Annibal* who stood in *Battalia* most part of the day (as he had done several dayes before) wondred greatly at first, that neither the Roman Army came out, nor any one in Arms appeared on the Walls, but at last concluding his correspondence was discovered, and that for meer fear, they were thus still and quiet, sends back part of his Forces into their Camp, with order to bring out all the Artillery necessary for the storming the Town, not doubting, but if he assaulted them briskly, the people within would quickly raise some tumult. But, anon, when his Souldiers were all in a hurry, every man about his charge, in the Front, and he was just advancing to storm the Walls, on a sudden, one of the Gates flew open, *Marcellus* founds a charge, his men set up a shout, and first the Foot, and after them the Horse, issue, and charge the Enemy with all the violence imaginable; By that time they had sufficiently terrified and disorder'd their main Body; *P. Valerius Flaccus*, and *C. Aurelius*, two Lieutenant Generals, issued forth at the other two Gates, upon their Flanks and Wings; The Snapfack-Boys, Attendants and other multitude set to Guard the Baggage, shouted and hallow'd as fast as the best of them, so that whereas the Carthaginians before despised them, especially for the smallness of their numbers, they now fancied them to be a mighty Army; I dare not indeed affirm, what some Authors write, That of the Enemy there were two thousand three hundred slain, and but one man lost on the Romans side; but be the Victory greater or less, it was an excellent piece of service at this Juncture; and I think I may say of the greatest consequence of any thing acted in all that War; For at that time of day, it was a more difficult matter for the Romans (that had been of late so often baffled) not to be overcome by *Annibal*, than afterwards to overcome him.

*Annibal* seeing no hopes of making himself Master of *Nola*, retreated to *Acerra*; *Marcellus* in the mean time causing the Gates of *Nola* to be shut, and Guards set that none should pass forth, sat judicially in the Market place to examine those that had held private Conference with the Enemy, of whom above seventy being found guilty, were Beheaded, their Goods sold, and the Money delivered to the Senate; then marching away with his Army, above *Suessula*, he Encamp'd himself. The Punick endeavour'd first to draw the *Acerrans* to a voluntary Surrender, but finding them obstinate, begins to besiege and storm the Town, whose Inhabitants had more Stomach than Courage, and therefore despairing to defend themselves, as soon as they saw a Circumvallation was making before their Walls, before the Line was finish'd, in the dead of the night, stole away as well as they could by the Guards, and fled (every one as his Wits guided, or his fear carry'd him) into such Cities of *Campania* as continued firm to the Romans; *Annibal* after he had plunder'd and burnt *Acerra*, having intelligence, that the Roman Dictator and Legions were come up towards *Casilinum*, fearing lest being so near they should have some design upon *Capua*, leads his Army to *Casilinum*. There were then in that Town, five hundred *Prænestines* with a few Romans and *Latines*, which the news of the defeat at *Cannæ* had brought thither; For the levy at *Præneste* not being finish'd by the day appointed, they setting out late from home, being come to *Casilinum*, join'd with certain Romans, and others of the Allies, and set forwards from thence in a pretty handsome Body, but the noise of the overthrow at *Cannæ*, turn'd them back again to *Casilinum*, where having spent some days, suspecting and being no less suspected of the Campanians (for they were mutually counter-plotting upon each other) hearing at last for certain, that *Capua* was revolted, and had entertain'd *Annibal*; they one night massacred the Townsmen, and seiz'd on that part of the City which stood on this side *Vulturnus* (for that River ran through and divided it) where they still kept Garison, being reinforc'd with a Company of *Perusines*, consisting of four hundred and sixty men, driven to *Casilinum* by the same sad tidings that brought the *Prænestines* thither; and as they seem'd now to defend that place (considering the Walls were of so small a space, and that they were flankt on one side by the River) so for the proportion of Corn, (whereof they had but little) they were indeed too many.

*Annibal* being come pretty near, sent a Party of *Getulians*, under the Conduct of one *Ialca*, with Orders first, if he could come to a Parley, to perswade them with fair words

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XVII.

XVIII.



to open their Gates and receive a Garifon, but if they continued obdurate, to attack them briskly, and try if in any part he could storm the Town. When they came up to the Walls, this *Barbarian* Captain finding nothing but stillness and solitude, concluded they had abandon'd it for fear; and set his men to break open the Gates, and force the Locks and Bars; but on a sudden the Gates flew open, and two compleat Companies drawn up within, sally out with a mighty shout, and cut to pieces abundance of the Enemy. The first, being thus repuls'd, *Maharbal* was sent with a greater force, yet neither could he endure the charge of these Companies sallying out upon him. At last *Annibal* Encamping just before the Walls, prepares with all his Forces and utmost strength to assault this little City and petty Garifon, and whilst he pressed hard upon them, investing it round with his Souldiers, he lost a great many men, and especially such as were most active and forwards; once upon a sally planting his Elephants between them and home, he had like to have intercepted them, and forc'd them to run for their lives into the City, not a few (considering their small number) being left dead behind them, and more had been cut off, if the approach of night had not favour'd them. The next day the Assaults were all sharp set to give a fresh and hot charge, and the more to enflame them, a golden Coronet was propos'd to whatever should first scale the Wall; and the General himself upbraided them, that they who storm'd *Saguntum* should stand so long trifling about a paltry Borough situate too upon a Plain; and at the same time put them all in general, and each man by himself in mind of the gallant service they had done at *Canna*, *Thrasymenus* and *Trebia*; then began they to play their Engines, and undermine; nor omitted any thing that could be attempted either by Force or Art. The Defendants raised Mounts within to oppose their Fabricks without, and prevented their Mines with Countermines and cross Trenches, so as both above ground and beneath they frustrated all their designs, till at last *Annibal* for very shame gave over the Enterprize; And having fortified his standing Camp, and left a competent Guard to defend it (because he would not seem wholly to quit the Siege) withdrew into *Capua* for his Winter Quarters. There he kept his Army most part of the Winter, in close Houses and warm Beds, who always before had been enur'd to all the hardships that men could endure, and not acquainted with good keeping, much less with the delights of the World. Thus those very men that had triumph over the horrors of the Alps, and were not to be broken by any Extremity, were spoil'd and undone by too good usage, and excess of pleasures; to which they so much the more greedily abandon'd themselves, as they were unaccustomed thereunto. Sleep and drunkenness, and delicate Fare, and Wenching, the Stews and the Hot Houses, Ease and Idleness, which every day grew more pleasant and habitual, had so weakened their Bodies and debauch'd their minds, that henceforwards they subsisted rather by the reputation of their past Victories, than any present strength or manhood; Inasmuch that those well skill'd in affairs of War, reckon this Wintering at *Capua* to be no less an over sight in *Annibal*, than his not marching to rights to *Rome* from the Battel of *Canna*; For that delay did only seem to defer, but this error destroy'd the hopes of Victory for ever. Most certain it is, he march'd out of *Capua*, as it were with a new Army, for they had nothing of their old Discipline, or hardy Courage; For not only they parted thence, intangled or encumber'd with Harlots, but when they came to lie abroad in the Field, and to endure hard marches and other military toils, their Bodies and Spirits faint'd, just as if they had been raw fresh-water Souldiers: so that all that Summer, abundance of them fled from their Colours, and the chief place of resort where they lurk'd and shelter'd themselves, was *Capua*.

XIX. The Winter being pretty well over, *Annibal* again took the Field, and return'd to *Caslinum*, where though there had not been much Battery, yet the Blockade continuing, had reduced the Townsmen and Garifon to the extremity of want. *Marcellus* with all his heart would have relieved them, but he was hindred, both by the overflow of the River *Vultur-nus*, and the intreaties of the people of *Nola* and *Acerra*, fearing to be over-run by the *Capuans*, if once the Roman Garifons were withdrawn. As for *T. Sempronius Gracchus*, who at that time commanded in chief the Roman Army in those parts, the Dictator being gone to *Rome* to repeat the *Auspices*, had given express Orders, not to attempt any thing in his absence, so that though he lay Encamp'd near *Caslinum*, yet he could not stir a foot to help them; and yet there came to him daily such tidings as might have provok'd the greatest patience in the World; for 'twas certain, that some not able to endure the Famine any longer, had flung themselves down headlong; and others expos'd their naked Breasts upon the Walls as Buts for the Darts and Arrows of the Enemy. Sadly griev'd was *Gracchus* at this news: fight the Enemy he durst not, because that was contrary to the Dictators Commands; without fighting he saw he could not send them in any Provisions openly; nor had he any hopes to do it privately; at last having got what meal he could out of the adjacent Country, therewith he fills several Barrels, and got an opportunity to advise them in the Town to take them up as they should come swimming down the River, which the night following they received and equally divided among them. The next night, and the third, they used the same stratagem, for being put into the water in the night, and coming down before day, they escaped the Enemies Centinels. But afterwards by continual Rains, the River

swelling

swelling higher than ordinary, some of these Vessels were driven by the Current, cross the Channel, and lodg'd on the Bankside amongst the Officers, near the Enemies Guard, where with *Annibal* being made acquainted, he caus'd a more strict watch to be kept, that nothing sent down the River might escape them. After this there were great store of Nuts poured into the water from the Roman Camp, which floating along unperceiv'd in the middle of the stream, were taken up by those of the Town in Wicker-Baskets. In fine, they were reduc'd to such extremity, as to take the Thongs and Leather from their Shields and Bucklers, and making them soft in scalding Water, try'd to eat them; Nay, they fed on Mice and all other Vermin and Carrion, nor was there a Weed or Root they could come at on the Banks and Terraces under the Wall, but they devoured it, and when the Enemy had turn'd up with a Plow all the Green sod at the foot of the Counterscarp, they cast Turnip-Seed upon the Mould, which made *Annibal* cry out, *What a Devil must we be before Caslinum until those Rapes are grown and ripe?* And then, he that before would never hear of any Composition, consented to a Parley for ransom all that were Freemen in the Town. It being agreed, they should pay seven Ounces of gold a Head; and so security being given for performance of Articles, they surrendred, and were kept Prisoners till the gold was paid, and then, sent with a Safe-Conduct to *Cumes*, for that's more credible than the report that they were cut off by his Cavalry, sent after them on the way thither. Most of them were *Prænestines*, and of five hundred and seventy there in Garifon, on half well near were destroy'd, either by the Sword or Famine: the rest return'd safe to *Prænestes* with their Commander *Manicius* (one who formerly had been a Scrivener) in memorial of whom a Statue was erected in the Market place of *Prænestes*, arm'd at all points, in a long Robe, and his Head cover'd; and three other Figures with this Inscription engraven on a Brass plate. That they were vow'd by *Manicius* for the Souldiers that were under him in the Garifon at *Caslinum*. And the same Inscription was under three other Images set up in the Temple of *Fortune*.

The Town of *Caslinum* was restor'd to the *Campanians*, strengthned with a Garifon of seven hundred men out of *Annibal's* Army, lest when he was gone, the Romans should attack it; The Senate of *Rome* bestow'd on these *Prænestine* Souldiers double pay, and five years vacancy from serving in any War, they also offer'd to make them free Burgesses of *Rome*, but they declined it, and chose rather to live in their own Country; what was done for the *Perusians* is not so plainly recorded, it not appearing by any Monuments of their own, or Records of the Romans. At this time the *Petellines*, who alone of all the *Bruttii* stood fast to the Romans, were attack'd, not only by the *Carthaginians*, who were Masters of most of the Country round them, but also by the rest of the *Bruttii*, because they would not join with them; In this distress the *Petellines* sent to the Romans for a Garifon; whose intreaties and tears (for when they were bid defend themselves as well as they could, they flung themselves down at the Door of the Senate, and wept abundantly) did very much move the compassion both of the Senators and Commons, yet being again consulted about it, and having survey'd all the strength of the Empire, they were at last forc'd to confess, that it lay not in their power at present to assist and defend their Allies so remote, but wish'd them to go home, and since they had continued their fidelity to the utmost, henceforth they gave leave for them to use any Expedients as might be most for their own preservation. This Answer being reported by the Embassadors to the *Petellines*, their Senate was so surpris'd, that most of them were for deserting the City, and shifting every one for himself; others seeing they were abandon'd by their own Allies, were for siding with the rest of the *Bruttii*, and by their mediation to be reconcil'd to *Annibal*: but at last that Party prevail'd who were for resolving upon nothing rashly. So the business being adjourn'd, at the next Assembly, the fright being somewhat over, the chief Noblemen carry'd it, That all their people should bring in their Goods out of the Country, and the City be fortified.

About this time Letters came to *Rome*, both out of *Sicily* and *Sardinia*; Those from *Ota-cilius* the Pro-Prætor of *Sicily* were first read in the Senate, purporting, That *L. Furius* the Prætor was come back to *Lilybæum* from *Africk* with the Fleet, dangerously wounded and like to die; That neither the Souldiers nor Seamen had their pay, nor their allowance of Provisions at the times appointed, therefore he earnestly entreated that the same might be sent with all Expedition, and wishal, if their Lordships thought fit, to dispatch one of the new elected Prætors to succeed him in his Government; Much to the same effect, as for Money and Corn, did *A. Cornelius Mammula* the Pro-Prætor of *Sicily*, write; And a short Answer was return'd to them both, That there was none to send; but they must provide for their Armies and Fleets as well as they could. Whereupon *Oracilius* sending to King *Hiero* (the Romans only help at a dead lift) procur'd from him money enough to pay off his Souldiers Arrears, and also six Months Provisions. And the associate Cities furnish'd *Cornelius* in *Sardinia* very bountifully. At *Rome* they were in such want of money, that they were forc'd at the instance of *Minucius* Tribune of the Commons, to create three Bankers who were call'd *Triumviri Mensarii*, viz. *L. Aemilius*, who had been Consul and Censor, and *M. Atilius Regulus* who had twice been Consul, and *L. Scribonius Libo* who at that that time was one of the Tribunes of the Commons.

Commons. The two *Atilii*, *M.* and *C.* were also Created *Duumviri*, and Consecrated the Temple of Concord, which *L. Manlius* the Prætor had vow'd. Three Pontiffs were also made, *Q. Cæcilius Metellus*, *Q. Fabius Maximus*, and *Q. Fulvius Flaccus*, in the room of *P. Scævinius* late deceased, and of *L. Æmilius Paulus*, and *Q. Ælius Patrus*, both slain at *Canna*.

XXII. The Fathers having with all the industry, and as much prudence as was possible, supplied what was wanting abroad, to repair the Breaches which ill fortune had made in their State, had at last respect to themselves, the solitude and thinness of their own House, and the small number of those left to manage publick Councils, for there had been no new Election of Senators since the Cenforship of *L. Æmilius* and *C. Flaminius*, in which five Years time, a great number of them, what with private Casualties, and especially by the publick Losses in so many Battels, had been taken off. *M. Æmilius* the Prætor, in the absence of the Dictator (for since the loss of *Cæcilium* he was gone to the Army) did, upon the request of them all, propose this matter, and *Sp. Carvilius* having in a long speech, bewail'd not only the penury of the City in general, but also the small number that was left of those Citizens out of whom Senators were wont to be chosen, told them, That he thought it advisable both for filling up the Body of the Senate, and to oblige the Latine Nation in a stricter bond of unity, two Senators of each Latine State (if the House should so think fit) be naturaliz'd, and then taken into the Senate in the room of those deceased. This motion was generally as ill resented as the Latines demand to the same purpose heretofore, and there being throughout the whole House a great muttering and indignation, *Manlius* starts up, There is yet (quoth he) one man left yet alive of that Family, and his Lineage who formerly swore in the Capitol, That whatsoever Latine he saw sitting in the Roman Senate he would kill him with his own hand. *Q. Fabius Maximus* added, That there never was so unseasonable a motion made between those Walls, for the affections of their Allies being already wavering, and their Faith so uncertain and doubtful, the very mention of such a matter were enough to alienate them quite; Therefore by all means he desired this rash Speech of one inconsiderate person, might become extinct by the silence of them all. For if ever there were utter'd in that Council any thing which 'twas fit to keep conceal'd, this very business above all others ought to be buried in oblivion, and reputed as never spoken at all. So that project was dash'd, and they resolv'd, that a Dictator should be chosen to supply the Vacancies in the Senate, one that had been Cenfor, and the eldest of those that had born that Office; and that *C. Terentius* the Consul should be sent for to nominate such Dictator, who being come to Rome by long Journeys out of *Apulia* (where he left a sufficient Guard) the night following did by virtue of an Act of the Senate, create *M. Fabius Buteo*, Dictator for six Months, but without any General of the Horse.

XXIII. This Gentleman ascending up to the *Rostra* (or place of publick Audience) with all his Licitors about him, declar'd to the people. That he could neither allow of two Dictators at a time (a thing without Precedent) nor of himself being a Dictator without a General of the Horse, nor yet that the authority and intire power of the Censors should under any varied Title, be put twice into the same mans hands; or that a Dictator unless Created to manage the Wars, should have six months Government allotted him. Therefore he would moderate all these Extravagancies which chance, or time, or necessity had introduc'd. Not that he would turn any one out of the Senate that *C. Flaminius* and *L. Æmilius* the Censors had elected to that dignity, he only would cause their names to be call'd over, that it might not lie in any one mans power to judge of and arbitrate at his pleasure touching the reputation and manners of a Senator; and in substituting new Senators in the room of those deceased, he would take such a course, that all the World should see one rank or degree only had the precedence, not that this or that man was prefer'd before another. Thus after the names of the old Senators were recited, he made up the Vacancies; First with those that after the time of the Censors, *L. Æmilius* and *C. Flaminius*, had officiated any Curule Magistracy, and were not yet chosen into the Senate, in course as each had born his Office; next he chose such as had been *Ædiles*, *Tribunes*, *Prætors*, or *Quæstors*; and last, of such as had not yet obtain'd those great Offices, but yet had done signal services for the Commonwealth, as those who had Trophies hanging up in their Houses taken from the Enemy, or had been rewarded with a Civic Garland for saving the Life of a Citizen. Thus there being one hundred and seventy persons chosen into the Senate with the good liking of all ranks, the Dictator immediately threw up his Office, discharg'd his Licitors, and came down from the *Rostra* as a private man; mixing himself amongst the croud that attended their private affairs, lingering out the time on purpose because he would not have the multitude accompany him out of the Forum; but yet they were so zealously affectionated to him, that they would notwithstanding attend his leisure and waited upon him home. The Consul the next night returned towards the Army, without taking leave of the Senate, for fear he should be detained still in Town for holding the Elections.

XXIV. On the morrow, the Senate upon a motion made by *M. Pomponius* the Prætor, wrote to the Dictator, That if it might consist with the publick safety, he would come to Town to chase new Consuls, and that the Master of the Horse, and the Prætor *M. Marcellus*, should come along with him, that from their own mouths the Fathers might understand in what condition the Commonwealth was, and take measures suitable to the circumstances of affairs. Accordingly they all appear'd,

appear'd, leaving their Lieutenants to take charge of the Forces. The Dictator spoke little relating to himself, and that very modestly, referring the greatest part of the honour of what had been done, to his Master of the Horse *T. Sempronius Gracchus*. He appointed the Election-Days, where *L. Posthumus* in his absence (being then Governour of *Gallia*) was created the third time Consul; together with *T. Sempronius Gracchus*, then Master of the Horse; The Prætors were *M. Valerius Leuvinus*, *Ap. Claudius Pulcher*, *Q. Fulvius Flaccus*, and *Q. Mucius Sævola*; The Dictator having settled the Magistrates, return'd to his Winter Quarters at *Theamum*, leaving behind him his General of the Horse, to the end that being shortly to enter upon his Consulship, he might advise with the Senate what Forlignce arrives of a new disaster (Fortune seeming that year to pride her self in heaping up one Calamity on the neck of another; viz. That *L. Posthumus* the Consul Elect, was slain, and his Army defeated in *Gallia*. The manner thus; There was a vast Forrest (the Gauls call'd it *Litana*) through which he was to march, the Trees whereof on the right and left hand of the pass, the Gauls had more than half saw'd through, near the Root on the inside, so that though they stood upright, with a little shog they would fall down. *Posthumus* had only two Legions of Romans, but had levied so many of the associates near the upper Sea as made him five and twenty thousand strong; The Gauls lay lurking about the edges of this Forrest, and when he with his Army was got into the narrow way, threw down the Trees that stood next, which toppling down one another on either side, fell upon the Romans, and knockt o'th' head both Horse and Men, that scarce ten escap'd. For as most of them were struck stark dead, either with the Bodies of the Trees, or with the broken Boughs and Branches, so the rest, affrighted with this unexpected accident, were being taken alive, who making towards a Bridge that the Enemy had before posses'd themselves of, were there intercepted, amongst whom the Consul *Posthumus* resolving not to be made a Prisoner, was slain. Whose Armour and Head (after they had cut it off) the Boii carried in triumph to one of their most eminent Temples, and having cleansed the skull (according to their mode) gilded it with gold, which serv'd them both for a Chalice in their solemn Sacrifices, and an ordinary drinking Cup for their chief Priest and his Assistants; nor was the booty of less importance to the Gauls than their Victory; for though the Horse were generally kill'd by the fall of the Timber, yet the rest of the Goods and baggage (nothing being carried off was found all along scatter'd on the ground amongst the dead in the same order as they march'd.

These sad tidings having put the City into such consternation, that for several dayes together all Shops were shut up, and no more stirring about streets than if it had been perpetually night, the Senate order'd, the *Ædiles* to walk about and cause the Shops to be open'd, and remove this show of publick grief. Then *T. Sempronius* having assembled the Senate purposely on this occasion, comforted the Fathers as well as he could, and desired, That as they were not dismay'd or cast down at the mighty loss at *Canna*, so they would not now suffer their spirits to shrink for lesser Calamities; That if (as he hop'd) they had but good success against *Annibal* and his Carthaginians, the War with the Gauls might without any danger or inconvenience be laid aside at present, and deferr'd to a better opportunity; The revenge of this treacherous trick remaining still in the power of the Gods and People of Rome, to take it when they thought fit; but the main business now before them was to consult and take measures for managing the War against *Annibal* their grand Enemy; in order to which, he himself in the first place gave their Lordships an Account what Foot and Horse there were in the Dictators Army, either of natural Romans, or Auxiliaries from their Allies; Then *Marcellus* stated the Forces under his Command; and the numbers of those in *Apulia* with *C. Terentius* the Consul, were also given in by such as were well acquainted therewith; after which they proceeded to Debate, whether two Consular Armies well appointed, would be sufficient for carrying on so great a War? Thus for the present they let the Gauls alone, though their fingers itcht to be at them, in revenge of the late defeat; the Dictators Army was assign'd to the Consul; and those in *Marcellus's* Army that escap'd at *Canna*, were sent into *Sicily* to remain in service there as long as the War should continue in *Italy*; and thither likewise were drawn out of the Dictators Army such as were able to do the least service, without assigning them any certain time of abiding there, otherwise than as the Law, at the end of their ten years service should discharge them. The two City Legions were decreed to the Consul that should be chosen in the room of *L. Posthumus*, who 'twas Order'd should be Elect'd as soon as ever the lucky *Auspices* would permit. Likewise two Legions with all Expedition were to be brought out of *Sicily*, out of which the said Consul that was to command the City-Legions, might take what recruits he thought fit. The Command of the Consul *C. Terentius* was continued over the Army for another year; nor were any of the Forces he had with him for the Guard of *Apulia*, to be withdrawn from thence.

XXV. Whilst these Preparations were making in *Italy*, the War went on briskly in *Spain*, and hitherto to the advantage of the Romans; the two *Scipio's* having divided the Forces between

tween them, *Cneus* being General at Land, and *Publius* Admiral at Sea. *Asdrubal* the Punick General mistrusting he was not able to deal with either of them, kept off at a great distance, and in places of security, and after much intreaty and long sollicitation had four thousand Foot and five hundred Horse sent from *Annibal* to reinforce him; with which new help, having gather'd new hopes, he advanc'd somewhat nearer, and began to Equip out a Fleet for the defence of the Coasts: but whilst he was in the heat of that work, all was spoil'd by the revolt of most of his Sea-Commanders, who having been sharply treated and reproacht for running from their Ships on the River *Iberus*, and suffering them to be taken by the Enemy, could never after endure *Asdrubal*, nor much valued in their hearts the *Carthaginian* Interest. These Renegades caused an Insurrection amongst the *Carpesians*, and by their means, several Cities revolted, and one was taken by storm. *Asdrubal* therefore being forc'd to divert his War from the *Romans*, and endeavour to subdue these Mutineers, marcht with a stout Army into those parts, to fall upon *Galbus* the General of the *Carpesians*, who lay Encamp'd with a strong Army under the Walls of the late taken City; and sending before, some of his light-arm'd men to draw on the Enemy to a Battel, sent part of his Foot to Forage the Country, and take up what Straglers they could meet with. Thus at one and the same time there was a Skirmish before the Camp, and in the Fields, where they were either slain or put to flight, but having by running several ways from all parts recovered again their Camp, their fears were dispell'd, and on a sudden they grew so courageous as not only to defend their own Works, but also to attack the Enemy; so out they sallied in a Body, leaping and Skipping as their manner was, and with their confidence daunted the Enemy, who but just before challeng'd them into the Field; therefore both *Asdrubal* himself retired with his Forces to an Hill of good height, and situate for his advantage, having a River between him and the Enemy, and caus'd his Forlorn Hope and Horse that were scouring the Fields, to retreat thither also for their better security, and not thinking fit to trust either to the Hill or River, fortified his Camp with a Rampire: in this interchangeable fear on both sides, there pass'd some Skirmishes, but neither the Numidian Horse were so good as the Spanish, nor were the Moorish Archers able to deal with the Carpesian Targeteers, who for agility were their equals, and in courage and strength of body their Superiours. At last, seeing they could neither provoke *Asdrubal* to a Battel, with all their braving him just under his Camp, nor yet could easily storm his Works, they went and took the City *Asena*, where *Asdrubal* at his first coming upon their Frontiers had laid up his stores of Corn and other Provisions; and thenceforwards grew so insolent that they would be under no Command either in the Field or the Camp, which disorders *Asdrubal* perceiving to be occasion'd (as usually it happens) by their late success, having encouraged his men to fall upon them as they were roving about without their Colours, and in no Order; descending from the Hill, he marches in Battalia towards their Camp. Of whose approach notice being given by some Messengers running in hast from the Sentinels and Out guards, they cry'd out, To Arms, To Arms! and as every one could get ready without Command or Ensigns, they hurried confusedly to oppose him, and some were already engaged whilst others were but coming up in heaps, and some not yet got out of their Camp. At first their boldness rendred them formidable, but the *Carthaginians* being rang'd close and thick together, the others soon found they were too few to deal with them, and therefore began to look about for the rest of their Fellows, and being every where worsted cast themselves in a Ring, and made as good a defence as they could, but being then thrust up so close, had not room enough to wield their Arms, and so being environ'd by the Enemy, were for a good part of the day cut to pieces by degrees; only a small Party broke through by dint of Sword and escap'd to the Woods and Mountains; with the same fright they abandon'd their Camp; and next day the whole Nation made their submission to the *Carthaginians*, but did not long continue quiet; for within a while after, *Asdrubal* receiv'd Orders from *Carthage* to march away with all Expedition into *Italy*; which being nois'd through *Spain*, turn'd in a manner all their hearts to the *Romans*, whereupon *Asdrubal* dispatcht an Express to *Carthage* with Letters to acquaint them how prejudicial the bare report of his going was to their affairs. That if he should set forwards and go out of those parts before he could be pass'd the *Iberus*, the *Romans* would be Masters of all *Spain*; For besides that he had no sufficient Guard nor Commander to leave behind in his stead; the *Roman* Generals there were such, that it would be hard to make head against them with equal Forces. Therefore if they had any regard of *Spain*, it would be requisite to send some body to succeed him with a strong Army, who would find his hands full enough of business, let things succeed never so prosperously.

XXVIII. These Letters at first startled the Senate, yet because all their aim was at *Italy*, they would not reverse their orders touching *Asdrubal's* march thither, only sent *Himilco* with a compleat Army, and a Navy newly augmented, to hold *Spain* in Obedience, and defend it by Sea and Land. Who having cross'd the Sea, landed his Men, and fortified them in a Camp, drew his Ships also on Shore, and cast up Works to secure them, and then with a select party of Horse made what hast he could possibly through Nations, some professed Enemies, and others wavering in their inclinations, and did not stop or stay at any place, but

but always upon his Guard, until he came to *Asdrubal*; to whom having communicated the Senates command, and from him received an account of the present state of Affairs, and how the War in *Spain* was to be manag'd, with like expedition return'd back to his Camp, the celerity of his march being his only security; for he was always gone from a place before the People could agree get together to surprize him. Before *Asdrubal* began his march, he levied what Money he could in all the Cities and States in his Jurisdiction; for well he knew that *Annibal* was forc'd to pay for his passage through certain Countries, and that the assistance he had from the Gauls was hired, and if he had undertaken that Journey empty-handed, his Money, away he marches towards *Iberus*. Upon intelligence of these resolutions of the *Carthaginians* and *Asdrubal's* march, both the *Roman* Generals, laying aside all other Affairs, prepared to join all their Forces together, and go meet and oppose him; for since *Annibal* himself was so formidable an Enemy, that all *Italy* could scarce make head against him, they concluded if *Asdrubal* and the Spanish Army should once join him, there would presently be an end of the *Roman* Empire; intent on these considerations they draw their Forces towards the *Iberus*, and having pass'd the River, call'd a Council of War to debate, whether they should encamp themselves and wait the coming up of the Enemy to fight them, or by falling upon some of the *Carthaginians* Allies, retard their march? And the latter being resolv'd on, down they sat before *Ibera*, a City not far from the River, and the richest at that time in those parts. Whereof *Asdrubal* having notice (to help his Friends by diverting the *Romans*) went and besieg'd a City that had lately submitted to the *Romans*, whereupon they rais'd their Siege, and advanc'd to engage *Asdrubal* himself.

For some Days both Armies lay but at five Miles distance, not without some skirmishes, and at last on one and the same day, as if it had been by agreement, each Party put forth the signal of Battel, and with all the Forces they could make, came into the Field. The *Romans* drew up in three Battalions, part of the Foot before the Standards as a Van guard, the rest behind the Standards as a Rereguard, and the Horse on both Wings. *Asdrubal* plac'd his Spaniards in the Main Battel, on the right Wing his *Carthaginians*, and his Moors on the Left; and as for his Auxiliary Horse, the *Numidians* he clapt before the *Carthaginian* Foot to Guard them, and dispos'd of the rest of the African Troops about the Skirts and edges of the several Battalions. Nor were all the *Numidians* posted in the Right Wing, but only those, who after the manner of Vaulters, led two Horses a piece, and used oft-times in the hottest of the conflict to leap armed as they were, from their wearied Horse, upon the fresh one, so nimble they were themselves, and so tractable their Horses, standing thus in Battalia, the Generals of each side, having equal hopes of success, for no great difference there was, either in numbers or kinds of the Souldiers, but in their Courage and Resolution, there was abundance of odds; for the *Romans*, though they fought far from their Country, yet were easily perswaded by their Officers, That it was for no less a prize than *Italy*, and the City of *Rome* it self, that they were that day to contend, therefore as if all their hopes of ever seeing their Country again depended on this one Battel, they had fix'd their minds either to conquer or die. Nothing so resolute were the Souldiers of the other side, being for the most part Spaniards, willing rather to be overcome at home, than with Victory to be drawn into *Italy*: therefore at the very first push almost, before there was a Dart thrown; their main Battel retreated, and being then so much the more fiercely press'd upon by the *Romans*, plainly ran away; however in both Wings the service was hot enough, the *Carthaginians* on the one side, and the *Africans* on the other, charg'd the *Romans* briskly, and had them in a manner enclosed, but the *Roman* Army being rallied altogether in the middle of them, was strong enough to keep off both Wings; for facing several ways they maintain'd the fight in two places at once, but both in one and the other (having before routed the Enemies main body) were superiour in numbers as well as Courage; a power of men were kill'd that day, and if the Spaniards had not fled so fast before the Battle was well begun, there had very few of the whole Army escap'd. The Horse were not at all engag'd to speak of, for as soon as the *Numidians* saw their main Battel shrink, they presently fled as fast as they could, driving the Elephants before them, and left the Flanks naked; *Asdrubal* himself maintain'd the Fight till he plainly saw all was lost, and then accompanied with a very few, got away out of the midst of the slaughter; his Camp the *Romans* took and plunder'd; and if any people of *Spain* stood Neuters before, the success of this day turn'd the Scale, and brought them over to the *Romans*, and so far was *Asdrubal* from pursuing his march to *Italy*, that he had no hopes to continue long with safety in *Spain*. The two *Scipio's* sending Intelligence of this action to *Rome*, the whole City was overjoy'd, not so much for the Victory it self, though very considerable, but because *Asdrubal* was prevented from coming into *Italy*.

Whilst this was doing in *Spain*, *Petelia* a City of the *Bruttii*, after several months Siege, was taken by *Himilco*, one of *Annibal's* Captains; yet it cost him dear, many of his men being kill'd or wounded, nor was it his Force abroad so much as Famine within, that subdued the Town; for having eaten up all their Provisions of Corn, and flesh, of what Creatures soever, they liv'd at last upon Shoemakers-Leather, Weeds, Roots, the Inward Barks



Barks of Trees, tops of Briars and Brambles, and the like; nor did they submit as long as they were able to stand on their Legs, or wield their Swords. After the taking of this Town, the same Party of *Carthaginians* marcht to *Consentia*, which made nothing so brave a Defence, but surrendred in few days. About the same time an Army of the *Bruttii* sat down before *Croton*, a City built and inhabited by the *Greeks*, heretofore rich and potent; but now so weakened by several losses and disasters, that there were not in it twenty thousand Souls of all sorts, so that for want of men to defend it, the Enemy easily got possession of the City, but some that fled to the Castle held out still. The *Locrians* also by the treachery of some of their Grandees, revolted to the *Bruttii* and *Carthaginians*; and only the *Rhegines* of all that Country continued true to the *Romans*, and had the good luck to preserve all along their own liberty; nay this deserting humour like an infection spread into *Sicily*, nor was the Family of King *Hiero* free from the Contagion; for his eldest Son *Gelo*, contemning both the old Age of his Father, and also (after the defeat at *Canna*) the Friendship of the *Romans* turned unto the *Carthaginians*, and had no doubt made a great alteration in *Sicily*, had he not been taken off by Death, so very opportunely, just in the nick, when he was arming the multitude, and soliciting the Allies to Rebellion, that his own Father did not escape some Censures as if he had hastned his end. These were the remarkable Actions that happen'd in *Italy*, *Afric*, *Sicily*, and *Spain* that year; towards the end of which, *Q. Fabius Maximus*, desired leave of the Senate to dedicate that Temple which he had vow'd to *Venus Erycina* when he was Dictator; Accordingly it was decreed, that *T. Sempronius* the Consul Elect, as soon as he came into his Office, should move the people to create Duumvirs for that affair. In honour of *Emilius Lepidus* lately deceased, who had twice been both Consul and Augur, his three Sons *Lucius*, *Marcus*, and *Quintus*, exhibited certain Funeral Games, and caused two and twenty couple of Fencers to play at sharps for three dayes space, in the publick Market place. The *Ædiles* of the Chair, *C. Latorius*, and *Tib. Sempronius Gracchus*, Consul Elect (who during his *Ædileship* had been General of the Horse) celebrated for three dayes together the *Roman Games*, and the like was done for the Commons, by *M. Aurelius Cotta*, and *M. Claudius Marcellus*. At the end of the third year of the Punick War, *Tib. Sempronius* the Consul entred upon his Magistracy on the fifteenth of *March*. The Prætors were *Q. Fulvius Flaccus* for the City, and *M. Valerius Lavinius* for the Foreigners; *Ap. Claudius Pulcher* for *Sicily*, and *Q. Mucius Scaevola* for *Sardinia*. *M. Marcellus* was by the people continued in his Command as Vice-Consul, as being the only General that since the loss at *Canna*, had fought the Enemy with success.

XXXI. The first day the Senate met in the Capitol, it was resolv'd, That a double Tax should this year be levied, the first to be immediately collected for paying all Arrears to the Souldiers, except those that were at *Canna*. Then concerning the Armies it was ordered, That the Consul *Sempronius* should appoint a day for the two City Legions to Rendezvous at *Cales*; That six Legions should be conducted to the Camp of *Claudius* above *Suessula*, and the Legions that were at present there (being for the most part the *Cannian Army*) should be carried over into *Sicily* by *Ap. Claudius* the Prætor; and those that were now in *Sicily* brought home to *Rome*. To the Army appointed to Muster at *Cales*, *M. Claudius Marcellus* was sent, and commanded to lead the Detachment of the City Legions from thence, to the Camp of *Claudius*, and lastly, to receive the charge of the old Army, and conduct it into *Sicily*. *T. Metilius Croto* was dispatcht by *Ap. Claudius*. People silently expected when the Consul should appoint the Elections for chusing him a Partner, and when they saw *Marcellus* (whom they pitcht upon for that place in reward of his great services whilst he was Prætor) to be sent out of the way, as it were on purpose, they began to mutter and grumble aloud, which the Consul perceiving, told the Senate, That it was for the good of the publick both that *M. Claudius* should go into *Campania* to exchange the Armies, and that the Elections should not be held till he had dispatcht that affair, to the end they might have such a Consul as the present Juncture needed, and as themselves did most desire. So there was no more talk of the Elections till he return'd; but in the mean time, the Duumvirs were Created, *Q. Fabius Maximus* for dedicating the Temple of *Venus Erycina*, and *T. Otacilius* for that to the Goddess *Mens*, both those Fabricks being in the Capitol, only divided with a small Canal, or Water-stream. A propofal was made to the people, that the three hundred *Campanian* Horse who had faithfully serv'd out their ten years time of Warfare in *Sicily*, might be admitted Free Denisons of *Rome*; and also be declared Free of *Cumes*, from the time before the *Campanians* revolted from the *Romans*; the chief ground of which motion was, because those Gentlemen alledged, that they did not know to what place they did rightfully belong, having abandon'd their old native Country, and not being incorporate into that whereto they had retired. *Marcellus* being come back from the Army, is with great applause chosen Consul in the room of *L. Postumius*, and presently assumes the Office. But it happening to thunder at his first entrance upon that charge, the Augurs were consulted about it, who reported, That he was not rightfully Created; and the Senators buzz'd it abroad, That this being the first time that ever two Commoners were chosen Consuls together, the Gods were displeas'd. Whereupon he flung up his Office, and in his stead was chosen *Fabius Maximus* the third time. That

That year the Sea seem'd to be all on fire; at *Suessula* a Cow brought forth a Colt; certain Statues in the Temple of *Juno Sospita* in *Lanuvium*, sweat blood, and near the same place it rain'd stones; for which shewer there were Sacrifices offer'd for nine dayes together, and the other Prodigious carefully expiated.

The Consuls divided the Armies between them, *Fabius* took charge of the Forces that were under *M. Junius* the Dictator. *Sempronius* Commanded the Volunteers, and five and twenty thousand of the associate Troops; *M. Valerius* the Prætor had those Legions that came out of *Sicily*, *M. Claudius* as Pro-Consul was sent to the Army that lay to guard *Nola* above *Suessula*. The other Prætors went to their respective Charges *Sicily* and *Sardinia*; The Consuls made an Order, that whenever the Senators met, they and all others that had right to speak in that Court, should assemble at the Gate *Capena*. And the Prætors held their Tribunals at the publick Filhpool, and all that had any Suits at Law repaired thither all this year for Justice. In the mean time *Mago*, *Annibals* Brother, was setting out from *Carthage* for *Italy* with twelve hundred Foot, and fifteen hundred Horse, twenty Elephants, and a thousand Talents of Silver, with a Guard of sixty long Ships; but just as he was ready to depart, advice came of their Forces being defeated in *Spain*, and that almost all the people of that Country were join'd with the *Romans*. Hereupon some were for having *Mago* wave his Voyage into *Italy*, and go with the Fleet and Forces aforesaid for *Spain*; especially because there were some hopes of recovering *Sardinia*, a private Message being sent from the principal persons of that Island, and especially *Hampsicorus*, a man that both for riches and power excell'd all the rest, That the *Romans* had but very few Forces there; That *Cornelius* the old Governour was upon his departure, and a new one expected, That the *Sardinians* were generally weary of the *Romans* Government which they had so long endured, and who had last year used them very harshly by imposing a very heavy Tribute, and forcing them to pay a most unjust Contribution of Corn, so that in fine they were ripe for a Rebellion, and only wanted somebody to head them. The *Carthaginians* with this different Intelligence being at the same time partly troubled and partly encouraged, send *Mago* with his Navy and Forces into *Spain*, and chose one *Asdrubal* furnam'd the Bald, to go General into *Sardinia*, and allow him near upon as great a strength as *Mago*. And now the *Roman* Consuls having dispatcht what they had to do in the City, began to take the Field: *T. Sempronius* met his Army at *Suessula* on the day appointed; but before *Q. Fabius* advanc'd from the City, he with the Senates consent, set out a Proclamation; That all Corn should before the first of June be convey'd out of the Country into some fortified Town; and whoever should not do so, he would not only lay waste their Fields, but sell their Servants, and burn their Houses and Villages. The Prætors themselves created for civil Jurisdiction and deciding of Law-Controversies, were not now exempted from Military Service; for *Valerius* was sent into *Apulia*, to receive the Army from *Terentius*, and when the Legions were arriv'd out of *Sicily*, to use them chiefly for the Guard of that Country, and send away the old Forces that before belong'd to *Terentius*, under the Command of some of his Lieutenant Generals; he had also the charge of twenty five Ships, that with them he might secure the Sea-Coasts between *Brundisium* and *Tarentum*; the like number of Ships was allotted to *Q. Fulvius* the City Prætor to guard the shore near the Town. *C. Terentius* the Pro-Consul, was enjoin'd to raise Souldiers in the *Picene* Territories, and therewith guard the same; and *T. Otacilius Crassus* after he had dedicated the Temple of the Goddess *Mens* in the Capitol, was dispatcht into *Sicily* as Admiral of the Navy there.

The Eyes of all Princes and States were fix'd upon this mighty War between the two most potent Nations of the World; and amongst the rest *Philip King of Macedon*, was so much the more concern'd as being nearer to *Italy*, and only parted with the *Ionian Sea*. Upon the first intelligence that *Annibal* was got over the *Alps*, as he was well enough pleas'd that the *Romans* and *Carthaginians* should worry one another in War; so he could not well tell to which of the two he should wish success, but when he heard that the *Carthaginians* had in three several Battels got the Victory, he resolving to follow fortune, and join with the strongest side, sent Embassadors to *Annibal*, who avoiding the Ports of *Brundisium* and *Tarentum*, because there the *Romans* had guards of Ships, landed at the Temple of *Juno Lacinia*, and thence passing through *Apulia* towards *Capua*, chanc'd to light upon part of the Roman out-guards, and were brought before *M. Valerius Levinus* the Prætor, who lay encamped by *Nucerina*. Where *Zenophanes* the chief of the Embassadors, readily, and without blushing affirm'd, That he was sent from King *Philip* to treat about and conclude a League and Alliance with the People of *Rome*, and had Commission to repair to the Consuls as well as the Senate. After so many defections of old Friends, *Valerius* was not a little pleas'd at this overture from so great a Prince, and courteously entertain'd the Enemy in the disguise of a Friend; allowing them Guides, and acquainting them what passes were held both by the *Romans* and the *Carthaginians*. So *Zenophanes* having pass'd the Roman Guards into *Campania*, went thence to rights to *Annibal*, and concluded an Alliance with him on the Terms following. That King *Philip* with the greatest Fleet he could Equip (and he was thought able to set out two hundred Sail) should pass over to *Italy*, and spoil all the Sea-Coasts, and to his power promote the War both by Sea and Land. That upon the conclusion of the

War, all Italy and the City Rome should be enjoy'd by the Carthaginians, together with all the Pillage and Booty. But in lieu thereof, after Italy was thus reduc'd, they should transport their Forces into Greece, and wage War with such Princes as it should be found convenient, and that all those Cities on the main Continent or Islands bordering on Macedonia, should be annex'd to the Dominions of King Philip.

XXXIV. To this purport was the League between the Punick General, and these Macedonians; with whom, to see the same Articles ratified by the King, he sent back three Embassadors, Gisco, Bostar, and Mago; and all together they came to the aforesaid Temple of Juno Lacinia, where a Vessel lay privately at Anchor to receive them; but no sooner were they put out to Sea, but the Roman Navy that lay to guard the shore of Calabria discover'd them, and Fulvius made out certain Corcyreans to fetch them in; at first the Macedonians endeavour'd to fly, but finding themselves over-reacht in sailing, yielded and were brought up to the Admiral, who demanding who they were? whence they came? and whither bound? Xenophanes who had sped so well by making a Lye before, made no great scruple of Conscience to frame another now, and told him, That being sent from King Philip to the Romans, he came to M. Valerius because to him only he could pass in safety, but could not get through Campania, that Region being so much beset by the Enemy. But afterwards upon light of some in Carthaginian Habit, they were suspected to be Annibals Agents, which was more confirm'd by their Speech when they were Examined; Then their Attendants being questioned apart, and threatned, discover'd the whole intrigue, and Annibals Letters were taken containing the substance of the terms agreed upon between him and the King of Macedonia; whereupon it was thought fit to fend the Embassadors and their Train to Rome, or to the Consuls where-ever they should happen to be; To which purpose five of the nimblest Gallies were selected under the Conduct of L. Valerius Antias, commanding him to put the Embassadors in several Vessels, and not suffer them to have any Communication one with the other. About the same time, A. Cornelius Mammula departing from his Province of Sardinia, gave an account at Rome of the condition of that Island, That all the Inhabitants were inclinable to Sedition, and that Q. Mucius his Successor, on his first Arrival, what with his passage by Sea, and the ill Air of the Country, was fallen into a sickness, not so dangerous as tedious, and therefore for a long time would not be able to manage the War; That the Army there, though sufficient to keep the place whilst it remain'd in Peace, would be too weak, if once they broke out into an open Rebellion, which seem'd to be threatned; Upon which the Senate decreed, That Q. Fulvius Flaccus should levy five thousand Foot and four hundred Horse, and with all Expedition transport them into Sardinia, under such Commander as he should think fit, until such time as Mucius should recover his health. The person pitch'd upon was T. Manlius Torquatus, who had twice been both Consul and Censor, and in his Consulship, had subdued these very Sardinians. Near the same time a Fleet from Carthage, Admiral the Bald, Admiral, bound for Sardinia, happen'd to be cast by a Tempest on the Balearean Isles, whereby their tackling was not only destroy'd, but their Hulks so much damag'd, that they were forc'd to hale their Ships on shore, and spent a great deal of time in refitting them.

XXXV. The War in Italy since the Battel at Cannæ, was slow and languishing, the strength of the one party being broken, and the spirits of the other effeminat'd; therefore in this dead Vacation, the Campanians of their own heads began to contrive how to reduce the State of Cumæ to their Obedience, first soliciting them to a revolt from the Romans, and when they saw that would not take, thought to catch them by a stratagem. All the Campanians were wont every year to solemnize a certain set Feast and Sacrifice at a place call'd Hanne; now they gave notice unto the Cumans, that the whole Senate of Capua would resort thither, requesting the Senate of Cumæ to meet there also, to take measures for their common safety, and enter into a League Offensive and Defensive, withal signifying, That they intended to have a Guard of Armed men there, to prevent any surprize or danger, either from the Romans or Carthaginians; The Cumans though they suspected some Treachery, yet seem'd very well pleas'd at the Proposal, thereby the better to colour their own design. The Roman Consul T. Sempronius, having took a view of his Forces at Sinuessa, where he appointed their Rendezvous, passing the River Volturnus, Encamp'd near Liternum, where whilst they lay without Action with the Enemy, he daily Exercis'd his Men, that the raw Souldiers (for such for the most part were the Volunteers and Bondmen that had been list'd) might learn to know their Ranks and their Postures, but the main thing the General aim'd at in these Trainings, was to bring them to Love, and agree with one another, and therefore Order'd the Lieutenant Generals and Colonels, That they should not by upbraiding any man with his past Condition, occasion discord in the Army, but that the old Souldiers should descend and be content to be equaliz'd with the young beginners, and these that were Freeborn not think it any disgrace to be Comrades with the Volunteers that had been Slaves, but rather that all should count those to be well descended and noble enough, whoever they be, whom the people of Rome hath intrusted with their Arms and their Ensigns, since the same necessity which had forced them so to do, ought to oblige them to make the best on't now 'twas done. Nor were these good Documents more diligently preach'd by the Commanders, than practis'd by the Souldiers; so that in short time they were all so united in their Affections, that they seem'd altogether to have forgot what each

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mans degree or condition was before he entred into the service, and now lookt upon themselves all as Brothers. Whilst Gracchus was thus busy in disciplining his Army, Messengers from the Cumans acquaint him, what a kind of overture was made to them the other day from the Capuans, and what Answer they had return'd. That three dayes hence the Feast was to be, and that not only all the Capuan Senate was to be there but their Army too. Gracchus Orders the Cumans to convey all that they had abroad in the Fields into the City, and to stay within their Walls; on the Evening before the Feast marches to Cumæ, from which Hanne was but three miles distant, whither the Campanians, according to appointment, flockt in great multitudes, and not far from thence Marcus Alfius the Chief Magistrate at that time of Capua, lay closely Encamp'd with fourteen thousand men; but more busy in preparing the Sacrifices, and contriving the intended surprize of the Cumans, than intent upon fortifying his Camp, or any other military action; for three days space this Festival Sacrifice continued at Hanne, celebrated always in the Evening, and ending before Midnight, which therefore Gracchus thought the best time to surprize them, and having set a Guard at the Gates that none should give them notice, the Souldiers being order'd to refresh themselves, and sleep from Noon till four a Clock, that they might as soon as it grew dark be ready to repair to their Colours a little before the first Watch, causes them to advance, and with a silent march came to Home in the middle of the Night, seiz'd the Capuans Camp, entring at all the Ports at once, being negligently Guarded, Cutting to pieces many as they lay asleep, and others unarm'd as they came from the Sacrifice; In all there were slain that night above two thousand, together with their General Marcius Alfius, and four and thirty Colours taken.

Gracchus having without losing full an hundred men, made himself Master of the Enemies Camp, hastned back to Cumæ, for fear of Annibal, who lay above Capua at Tifata; nor did his foresight deceive him, for as soon as the news of this defeat came to Capua, Annibal considering that this Army of the Romans consisted most of raw Souldiers and Bondslaves, concluded he should find them at Hanne, insolently over-joy'd with their success, and busy in spoiling the dead, and loading themselves with Pillage, and therefore with a flying Army came in all haste on this side Capua, and such of that City as he met flying, he sent home with a Guard, and if they were wounded, in Waggons; but when he came to Cumæ, he found the Enemy gone, and nothing but marks of the slaughter and dead Bodies of his Allies lying all about upon the ground. Some advis'd him immediately to go on from thence to assault Cumæ, which Annibal was willing enough to do, as being desirous since he could not gain Naples, to make himself Master of Cumæ, being a Sea-Port Town as well as the other, yet because his Souldiers came out in such an hurry, that they brought nothing with them but their Arms, he thought it best at present to retreat to his Camp at Tifata; but the next day overcome with the intreaties of the Campanians, taking with him all necessary preparations for carrying on a Siege, he return'd towards Cumæ, and having plunder'd all the adjacent Country, Encamps within a mile of that City; where Gracchus still continued, more for shame that he might not seem to abandon his Allies in their necessity, who craved protection, and depended on his Aid, than for any confidence he had in his own Army as able to withstand the whole Force of Annibal; especially since so it happen'd, that Fabius the other Consul who lay at Cales, could not transport his Army over the River Volturnus, being buis'd first with going to Rome to repeat the Auspices, and afterwards troubled with several Prodigious reported one after another, which when he went about to expiate, the Soothsayers declared was not like easily to be accomplish'd.

These occasions hindring Fabius from coming up to his relief, Sempronius continued Besieg'd; and by this time several Engines of Battery were rais'd against him; one mighty wooden Tower being erected against the Town, he ran up another to oppose it somewhat higher, using the Wall which of it self was a good height, for its Platform or Foundation, having strengthened it with strong Posts and Piles of Timber to bear up the said Frame. From whence at first they defended the Town with Stones, and lancing of Darts at the Assaultants, but at length seeing the other Turret brought up close to the Wall, they flung Fire and abundance of combustible matter thereon, which forc'd those that were in it to shift for their Lives, and at the same time the Besieged fallied out at two several Gates, routed the Enemies Guards, and beat them into their Camp; so as that day Annibal was more like one Besieg'd himself, than laying Siege unto others; There were fifteen hundred Carthaginians slain, and sixty wanting but one taken Prisoners, as they were carelessly standing under the Walls and upon the Out-guards, suspecting nothing less than a Sally out of the Town. Before the Enemy could recollect themselves, Gracchus founded a Retreat, and secured his men within the Walls. The next day Annibal supposing the Consul flusht with this success might be drawn to venture a pitcht Field, drew up his Army in Battalia, between his Camp and the City, but when he saw no stirring from the usual Guards, and that the Enemy was not for rash attempts, he retreated without having effected any thing, back to his old Post at Tifata. The same day the Siege was rais'd from before Cumæ, T. Sempronius Surnamed The Long, overcome Hanno the Carthaginian before Grumentum in Lucania, kill'd above two thousand, and took one and forty Colours, and lost but two hundred and

eighty of his own men; *Hanno* being thus beat out of the *Lucans* Country, retired unto the *Bruttians*. *M. Valerius* the Prætor retook by force of Arms three Towns of the *Hirpini* that had revolted from the Romans, and Beheaded *Vercellius* and *Sicilius* the Authors of that Defection; above a thousand Prisoners he sold for Slaves, gave the rest of the plunder to the Souldiers, and brought his Army back to *Cumes*.

XXXVIII By this time the five Ships that had on Board the Embassadors of *Macedonia*, and of *Annibal* taken Prisoners, as was before mentioned, being got about from the *Adriatick* to the *Tuscan* Sea, almost round the whole Coast of *Italy*, as they sail'd by *Cumes*, *Gracchus* not knowing whether they were Friends or Enemies, sent out part of his Fleet to meet them, and when they had Hal'd and knew one another, understanding the Consul was at *Cumes*, they put into that Port, and gave both the Prisoners and their Letters into his hands, who having read their Papers, sent them sealed up to *Rome* by an Express by Land, but Order'd the Embassadors to be carried by Sea, who arriv'd there almost as soon as the Post, and upon their Examination confirm'd the truth of that which their Writings purposed. The Senate was not a little startled to think of being plung'd into a *Macedonian* War, when they were scarce able to weather out that with the *Carthaginians*, yet so far were they from despairing, that immediately they began to consult how they should first invade the Enemy at home, and so divert them from coming into *Italy*. And to that purpose, having secured the Embassadors in Chains, and sold their Attendants for Slaves, they decreed that twenty Ships ready fitted up should be added to these five and twenty that *Valerius* had, which, with the five Ships that brought in the Ambassadors, making in all a Navy of fifty Sail, loosed from *Ostia*, and arrived at *Tarentum*; where *Q. Fulvius* was appointed Admiral, and having taken on Board those Souldiers which lay there under the Command of *L. Apustius*, *Varro's* Lieutenant General, was with that Fleet and those Forces, order'd not only to Cruise up and down for the security of *Italy*, but to inquire what posture the *Macedonians* were in? and if they found them preparing for War, then to give immediate notice to *M. Valerius*, who in that case was to leave his Army to the Command of *Apustius*, and go in person to the Fleet, and by making a descent into *Macedonia*, hold *Philip* in play at home; to maintain this Navy, and carry on the *Macedonian* War, that money was employed, which before was to have been repaid to King *Hiero*, who also of his own generosity furnish'd them with two hundred thousand *Modii* of Wheat, and one hundred thousand of Barly.

XXXIX. Whilst these preparations were making, one of those Ships that had been taken and sent to *Rome*, made her escape, and got home to King *Philip*, by which he understood that his Embassadors and Letters were taken; but being still ignorant what terms they had made with *Annibal*, dispatches another Embassy, viz. *Heracilius* Surnam'd *Scotius*, *Crito Berrans*, and *Sofitheus Magnes*, who got thither and return'd in safety, but in the mean time the Summer was spent, and so the King could do nothing this Year, of so great importance was the taking of that small Bark where the Embassadors were, that it diverted for the present an imminent War. *Fabius* having at length expiated the before-mentioned Prodigies, pass'd the River *Vulturius*, and thence forwards, the two Consuls act in Conjunction, and retake *Comulteria*, and *Trebula*, and *Saticula*, Cities that had revolted to *Annibal*, whose Garrisons and abundance of *Campanians* were there made Prisoners. At *Nola* the Senate was for the Romans (as in the year before) but the Commons for *Annibal*, and Cabals held for cutting off their principal Citizens, and surrendring the Town to him; to prevent which, *Fabius* drew his Forces between *Capua* and *Annibal* (who lay Encamp'd at *Tifata*) and fortified himself on Mount *Vesuvius* where *Claudius* lay before, and sent *M. Marcellus* the Pro-Consul, with what Forces he had, to keep Garrison at *Nola*.

XL. In *Sardinia*, *T. Manlius* apply'd himself to manage publick Affairs which had been neglected ever since *Q. Mucius* the Prætor had been taken very ill; for after he had drawn the Gallies on shore, and arm'd all the Mariners for Land Service, and receiv'd the Army into his charge from the Prætor, he having then in all two and twenty thousand Foot, and twelve hundred Horse, march'd with them into the Enemies Country, and Encamp'd not far from the place where *Hampscoras's* Army lay, but he himself at that time was gone amongst the *Pellidians* (a people of *Sardinia*) to muster their youth for recruiting his Forces, and his Son *Hofstus* was then left Commander in Chief, who being a rash young man, inconsiderately ventur'd upon a Battel, and was routed, three thousand of his men kill'd, and near three hundred taken alive, the rest of the Army fled scatter'd through the Fields, and at last gather'd up towards a City named *Cornus*, the Metropolis of that Region, whither 'twas reported their General was fled before them. This Victory had put an end to the War in *Sardinia*, had not the Punick Fleet under *Asdrubal*, which the Tempest drove upon the *Balearean* Islands, now arriv'd seasonably to buoy up the Islanders to fresh Rebellion; upon the news of their Arrival, *Manlius* betook himself to *Caraleis*, whereby *Hampscora* had an opportunity of joining with *Asdrubal*, who having landed his Souldiers, and sent back his Fleet to *Carthage*, march'd under the Guidance of *Hampscora*, to Forage the Territories of those that continued in obedience to the Romans, and was like to have come up as far as *Caraleis*, if *Manlius* going out with his Army against him, had not restrain'd their

their extravagant plundering. First they Encamp'd near each other, then Picqueerings and some small Skirmishes followed, at last they drew into the Field and fought a pitched Battel for four hours together. As for the *Sardinians* they signified little, being always used to be beaten, but the *Carthaginians* stood to't stoutly, but at last seeing the *Sardinians* all about them either lie dead, or running away, they also gave ground, and the Romans wheeling about that Wing which had routed the *Sardinians*, hem'd them in, and then it was rather a slaughter than a fight; twelve thousand of the Enemy were kill'd, and of *Sardinians* and *Punicks* together, three thousand and six hundred taken, with seven and twenty Colours.

That which most signaliz'd the Victory, was the taking of General *Asdrubal*, and *Mago* and *Hanno*, two Noblemen of *Carthage*; *Mago* was of the *Barchine* Family, and near related to *Annibal*, *Hanno* the person that stirr'd up the *Sardinians* to Rebellion, and the undoubted Author of that War; nor was the Field less famous for the loss of the *Sardinian* Generals, for both *Hampscora's* Son *Hofstus* was kill'd upon the spot, and *Hampscora* himself flying with a few Horse, hearing (after all the rest of the sad Tydings) of the Death of his Son, in the Night, that no body might prevent him, made away himself. The rest took shelter as they had done formerly, in the City *Cornus*, but *Manlius* investing it with his Victorious Army, soon made himself Master thereof; after which other Towns that had join'd with *Hampscora* and the *Carthaginians*, sent Hostages, and surrendered themselves; upon whom *Manlius* set a Fine of so much money for his Souldiers pay, and so much Corn, according to every ones ability and offence, and then return'd with his Army to *Caraleis*, and from thence to *Rome*, giving the Senate an account that *Sardinia* was wholly subdued, and delivering the money rais'd, to the Quæstors, the Corn to the Ædiles, and the Prisoners to *Fulvius* the Prætor. Much about this time the other Prætor *T. Otacilius* sailing from *Lilybeum* into *Africk*, and having wasted the *Carthaginian* Territories, upon news of *Asdrubals* being gone from the *Balearean* Isles, hastned back for *Sardinia*, and by the way met with the Enemies Fleet going home; of whom (after a slight Engagement) he took seven, with all the Seamen thereunto belonging, and the rest for fear were scatter'd as if it had been a Tempest all over the Sea. Now also *Bomilcar* with certain Bands of Souldiers for recruits, and forty Elephants, and good store of Provisions, arriv'd at *Locris* from *Carthage*; *App. Claudius* had a mind to surprize him, and in Order thereunto, making a speedy march to *Messina*, under pretence of visiting the Province, puts over to *Locris* with the Tide, but *Bomilcar* was gone before into the *Bruttians* Country to *Hanno*, and the Inhabitants of *Locris* shut their Gates against the Romans, so that *Claudius* after all his preparation and toil, return'd to *Messina* without having effected any thing. This Summer *Marcellus* from his Garrison at *Nola*, made frequent incursions upon the *Hirpini* and *Candine Samnites*, and made such havoc there with Fire and Sword, as renew'd the remembrance of the *Samnites* old losses and devastations.

Whereupon they sent Embassadors to *Annibal*, who thus accosted him. We have been Enemies, May it please your Excellency! to the people of Rome; first by our selves as long as our own Arms and Forces were able to defend us; and when we found those too weak, we join'd with King *Pyrrhus*, and being by him abandon'd, were forc'd to submit to a Peace on pure necessity, wherein we have continued almost fifty years, until your coming into *Italy*; whose valour and success were not more prevalent with us, than your singular humanity and kindness, in restoring our people when taken Prisoners, and altogether hath rendred us so firm to your Interest, that we believ'd, as long as you were safe, and our Friend, we needed not to stand in dread of the people of Rome, no, nor of the Gods themselves (were it lawful so to speak) though they had been never so angry against us; yet most certain it is, That whilst you are not only safe and victorious, but present too, and almost near enough to hear the Cries of our Wives and Children, and see our Houses all on a flame; we have this Summer been so lamentably harass'd as if it had been *Marcellus*, and not our Friend the mighty *Annibal*, that won that glorious Victory at *Cannæ*; and the Romans already boast, that you are only good at the first push, and ever after, like a Bee that hath spent its sting, grow dull and drowsy, and can do no more Execution. For well nigh an hundred years have we waged War with these Romans, without the aid of any Foreign Commander or Army, except only two years time, when *Pyrrhus* rather reforc'd himself with our Souldiers, than defended us with his: We shall not therefore boast our successes, how we vanquish two Consuls and two Consular Armies, and made them pass under the ignominious yoke; nor any thing else that happen'd to us joyful or honourable, but even our greatest disasters and calamities in those dayes, we can repeat with less indignation, than the miseries which at present we suffer. Then famous Dictators with their Generals of Horse, two Consuls with their compleat Armies and Banners displaid entred our Territories, and when they sent out to Forage our Fields, 'twas in strong Parties not without their Scouts before, to discover dangers, and good reserves to assist them on any occasion, but now we are exposed as a prey to one only Garrison, and that but a small one, left for the Guard of *Nola*; now they do not come in Regimental Order, or form of War, to destroy us, but like Thieves and Robbers they over-run all our Borders as boldly and negligently, as if they were wandering in their own Roman Territories; and the reason of such their confidence is because your Excellency does not protect us, and our lusty youth, which if they were at home would secure us, are drawn out into your Service;



Service; But we must be altogether ignorant of you and your Army, if we should not be fully persuaded, that you, who we know have routed and cut to pieces so many Roman Armies, are easily able to suppress these vagrant Pilferers who straggle about without their Colours, whither soever the vain hope of booty draws them; they themselves would soon become a prey to a Party of your Numidians; and thereby at once you might secure us with a Garrison, and destroy that of the Enemies at Nola, in case you judge not us (whom you have thought worthy to be your Confederates) since we have cast our selves under your protection, unworthy to be defended.

XLIII. Hereto Annibal made Answer. That the Hirpines and Samnites were too quick, and huddled up things altogether, which ought to have preceeded each other; for at one and the same time they shew their grievances, and desire a Guard, and complain of being left undefended and neglected; but they should first have remonstrated their damage or danger, then requested a Guard, and when that was denied, and not before, they would have had grounds to say they had in vain implored his assistance. However he promised them, that though he would not draw his Enemies into their Countries, merely because he would not be burthensome to his Allies, yet he would march into the next Quarters belonging to the Romans Confederates, and by plundering them both enrich his own men, and with the terror of his advance set their Enemies far enough from them. And as to the Roman War in general, as the Battel of Thrasymenus was more noble than that of Trebia, and the Field of Cannæ more memorable than that of Thrasymenus, so he doubted not but to obscure the Renown of Cannæ, by a yet greater and more glorious Victory. With which Answer, and honourable rewards he dismiss'd the Embassadors. Leaving a Garrison at Tifata, he advanc'd with the rest of the Army towards Nola, and in his march, Hanno with the Recruits sent from Carthage, and the Elephants, join'd him, having pass'd through the Brutian Country. But after he had pitcht his Tents not far from Nola, upon Enquiry, he found all things much different from what the Embassadors had related; for Marcellus was so prudent, that he had left nothing to Fortune, nor by rash Conduct gave the least advantage to the Enemy; He never us'd to send abroad Parties to Forage, but Scouts were before them, and good Reserves to secure their Retreat, and indeed had manag'd all his Affairs as cautiously as if Annibal were actually present; but now he had notice he was indeed approaching, he kept all his Forces close within the Walls, and ordered the Senators of Nola to walk up and down upon the Works, and observe the Enemies motion. Hanno coming up very close to view the Town, call'd to two of them, Herennius Bassus, and Hierius Petrus, and invited them to a Parley; and they (with leave from Marcellus) going forth, spoke to them by an Interpreter, Magnifying the Valour and Fortune of Annibal, and undervaluing the majesty of the people of Rome, as being now in its Wane, and declining equally with their strength; but if both sides were in those respects still equal, as heretofore they had been, yet any that had felt how grievous the Roman Government was to their Allies, and on the contrary, how kind and indulgent Annibal had been even to all the Prisoners he took of the Latine Nations, must needs desire and prefer the Carthaginians Friendship, before that of the Romans. That if both Consuls with their Armies were at Nola, they would be no more a match for Annibal, than they were at Cannæ; and how vain was it then to think, that one Prætor, with but a few raw Souldiers, could secure them? That it would more concern them, than Annibal, whether the Town were his by Surrender or by Storm; for his it would certainly be as well as Capua and Nuceria, but what odds there was between the Fortune of the former and latter of those places, they, who lay almost in the middle between them both, could not be ignorant: That he not for Omens-sake, mention the consequences, if they were subdued by assault; but this he could promise them, that if they would yield up the Town and Garrison, no other should prescribe the terms of the League between them and Annibal but themselves.

XLIV. To this Herennius Bassus answer'd, That there had now for many years been an Alliance and firm Friendship between the people of Rome and the Nolans, of which neither of them to this very day had any cause to repent; and that for their own part, if they had been inclinable to change sides, and make their Faith follow the measures of Fortune, yet the same was now too late; for had they intended to yield to Annibal, it should have been before they had call'd in a Roman Garrison; with whom now they communicated all Councils, and lookt upon them to have as much interest in the City as themselves, and therefore resolv'd to run all hazards with those who were come thither for their protection. This Conference dasht Annibals hopes of gaining Nola by Treachery, therefore encompassed it round with his Forces, that he might at once storm it in all parts. But Marcellus having drawn up his Forces within the Gate, when he saw they came up near the Wall, sallies out with a mighty shout. At the first Charge some of the Enemy were beat back and cut off, but afterwards drawing together from all parts, a most fierce Fight began with equal Forces, and undoubtedly it might have prov'd memorable at the first rate, had not a violent storm of rain parted them; so that after a short bout, serving only to whet their Courage on both sides, they were forced to retreat, the Romans into the City, and the Punicks to their Camp; of the latter there were not above thirty slain, and most of them at the first irruption. The Romans lost not a man. The rain continuing all that night, and part of the next day, kept them, though eager on both sides to decide the matter within their Works. On the day following Annibal sent part of his Forces to Forage the adjacent Country belonging to the Town; which as soon as Marcellus understood,

understood, he drew out of the City, and offer'd Battel, nor did Annibal refuse it; There was about a Mile between the City and the Camp, on which they fought, for all the Country round about Nola consists of open Champain Ground. The shout set up by both sides, caused the nearest of these Troops that were sent a plundering, to return and share in the Battel; The Nolans offer'd themselves to augment the Roman Army, but Marcellus applauding their forwardness, order'd them to remain for a Reserve, and carry off the wounded men, but forbear Engaging, unless he gave them a Signal.

The Fight was doubtful, the Generals Encouraging their men, as much as 'twas possible; XLV. and the Souldiers came on as resolutely; Marcellus bids his Troops Charge home the Enemy, the very same Enemy whom they worsted but the other day, and but a while ago made run at Cumes, and who he himself, though then General of another Army, had last year beaten from before this City Nola, that at present, part of them were absent a plundering in the Country, and for those that were here, they were effeminated by Campanian Luxury, having been rioting a whole Winter together with Wine and Wenches, and all kind of Debauchery; That their former strength and vigour was gone, those stout able Bodies and courageous minds decay'd, with which they pass'd the Pyrenean Hills, and overcame the steep Cliffs of the Alps; These are but the Reliques, the outward Images of those brave Fellows, so degenerate, so enfeebled, that they can scarce support their Arms, or with fainting Limbs wield their Weapons; That Capua had been no less fatal to Annibal than Cannæ to the Romans; There his Warlike Courage was smother'd, there his Military Discipline lost; there the glory of his past actions buried, and all his hopes blasted for the future. Whilst Marcellus to raise his own mens Courage, upbraided thus the Enemy, Annibal himself reproach'd them with yet more bitter reflections; I acknowledge (says he) the same Arms, and the same Standards which I saw and had with me at Trebia, at Thrasymenus, and last of all at Cannæ, but I must avow that I brought not the same Souldiers out of Capua, that I carried in to Winter there. What? Do you now make a great business on't to Encounter a Roman Lieutenant, and hardly sustain the Charge of one Legion and petty Squadron, when two whole Consular Armies were never wont to stand before you? Can you with any patience endure, that Marcellus with a few raw new-raisd Forces, and Nolan Auxiliaries, should thus a second time brave and challenge us to a Battel? Where is that Souldier of mine, who unhors'd the Consul Flaminius, and cut off his Head? Where's that brave Fellow that nail'd their other Consul L. Paulus to the ground at Cannæ? Are your Swords blunted? Or are your strong Nerves cramp'd, and your right hands benum'd or Palsy struck? Or what other Prodigy hath befalln you? You, that though much inferior in numbers, have always been wont to cut to pieces multitudes, will you now you are much the more numerous, suffer your selves to be baffled by a few? You bound'd and talk'd high, how you would storm the Walls of Rome it self, if any would but lead you on; see now a lesser piece of service before you; here would I first make trial of your strength and Courage; Go on, make your selves Masters of this Nola, a Town situate in an open Plain, defended neither by Sea nor River; and when you have loaded your selves with the spoils of that opulent City, I will from thence lead you whither soever you please, or else follow you.

But neither his Reproaches nor his Encouragements could raise their Spirits, for being XLVI. every where beat back, and giving ground, and the Romans therewith the more animated, as well as with the Exhortations of their General, and the shouts of their Friends the Nolans, the Carthaginians in fine betook them to their Heels, and were beat into their Camp. Which the Roman Souldiers would fain have presently attack'd, but Marcellus thought it more fit to found a Retreat, and brought them back to Nola, where they were receiv'd with great Joy, and the Congratulations even of the Commons, who before were more inclinable to the Carthaginians. There were slain that day above five thousand of the Enemy, six hundred taken, with nineteen Standards, and two Elephants, besides four that were kill'd in the Fight. The Romans lost not full a thousand men. The next day was spent (as it were by consent) in burying their dead; Marcellus caused all the spoils of the Enemy to be burnt in a mighty Pile as a Sacrifice to Vulcan; The day following one thousand two hundred seventy and two Horse, part Numidians and part Spaniards (upon some disgust I believe, or in hopes of better pay) deserted Annibal and fled to Marcellus; and did the Romans very faithful and stout service afterwards in that War, and after the same was over, had for their reward large quantities of Lands in their own respective Countries given them. Annibal having sent back Hanno amongst the Bruttii, marches with his own Forces to take up Winter-Quarters in Apulia, and Encamp'd near Arpi. Of which Q. Fabius having advice, caused Provisions to be carried from Nola and Naples to the Camp above Suessula, and having strengthened the Works, and left a sufficient Force to defend it all Winter, he himself, with the gros of his Army, advanc'd nearer Capua, and wasted all the Territories thereunto belonging with Fire and Sword, so much, that the Capuans, though with no great Confidence of their strength, were enforc'd to come out of the City, and Encamp before it in the open Plain; They were in all six thousand strong, but the Foot not considerable for service, their Cavalry was better, and therefore they endeavour'd to provoke the Enemy to Horse-Skirmishes.

Amongst many noble Campanians that serv'd on Horseback, there was one Cerrinus Tubellius, Surnam'd Taurus, a very stout man, so that when he serv'd in the Roman Army, there XLVII. was

was never a Cavalier counted his match but *Claudius Asellus*. This Gallant therefore having a good while rode picqueering and surveying the Enemies Troops, at last having made silence, inquired where *Claudius Asellus* was? For (quoth he) since he was wont to contend with me in words which was the best man, let him now come out and decide it with his Arms; and either give the spoils of Honour if he be vanquish'd, or bear them away if he prove Victor? This being told *Asellus*, he only staid to ask the Consuls leave to go out to fight this Challenger; which being granted, he presently Arms and Mounts, and being advanc'd up to the Enemies Out-guards, calls upon *Taurea* by name, and bids him come forth when he durst to the Encounter. To be Spectators of this Combate, the Romans were come out of their Camp in great numbers, and the *Capuans* fill'd both the Rampire and the Wall of the City. After the Champions had interchang'd a few daring Speeches to set off the Action, they clapt Spurs to their Horses, directing at each other the deadly points of their Spears; but having open ground enough, they avoided each other, and seem'd like to protract the Combate a good while without giving or receiving any wound. Whereupon the *Capuan* told the Roman, This would be but a trial of Skill between their Horses, which was the most nimble and best manag'd; not a decision which of the Riders was the stoutest and most valiant, unless they rode off that plain ground into the hollow way that was hard by, where having no liberty to shuffle or evade, they must of necessity come to handy grips and close together. He had scarce so soon utter'd the words, but *Claudius* turn'd his Horse head, and rode into the narrow way, but *Taurea* fiercer with his Tongue than his hands, cry'd out, Of all things in the World, I care not to meddle with an Ass (alluding to his Antagonists name) in a Ditch, and so rode away, which saying thence forwards became a by-word amongst Country people; *Claudius* having rid a pretty while up and down the hollow Lane without meeting his Enemy, comes back into the Plain, and loading his Adversary with a thousand Reproaches for his Cowardize, return'd victorious with great Joy and Congratulation to the Camp. Some Annals add to this Horse-Combat a strange Circumstance, and indeed wonderful if true (as by the common opinion it is counted no less) viz. That *Claudius* pursuing after *Taurea* when he fled to the City, entred with him at one Gate standing open, and rode out clear at another, unhurt; to the great astonishment of the Enemy.

XLVIII. After this the Camps were quiet, and the Consul remov'd somewhat further off the Town, that the *Capuans* might have liberty to sow their Fields, nor did he spoil their Corn, till it was grown up in the Blade fit for his Horse; and then he cut it down and carried it away to the Camp at *Suessula*; he gave Order to *M. Claudius* the Pro-Consul, that retaining at *Nola* a Garrison sufficient to secure the place, he should dismiss the rest of his Forces, and send them home to Rome, that they might no longer be a burthen to their Allies, and a Charge to the Commonwealth. *T. Gracchus* having drawn the Legions that were at *Cumes* unto *Luceria* in *Apulia*, dispatcht them from thence for *Brundisium*, under the Conduct of *M. Valerius* the Prætor, commanding him to secure the *Salentine* Coast, and provide all things necessary against *Philip* and the *Macedonian* War. Towards the end of this Summer, arriv'd Letters from the two *Scipio's*, giving an account what great and fortunate Exploits they had perform'd in Spain, But that their Souldiers Arrears were very great, and Cloths and Corn, and indeed all things wanting both for the Army and the Fleet; as for their pay, if the Exchequer were low, they would find some course to raise it from the Spaniards, but the other necessities must be sent from Rome, for otherwise they would neither support the Army, nor retain the Province in Obedience. These Letters read, there was not one of the Senators but acknowledg'd, that both what they wrote was true, and that they desired no more than was fit and reasonable; but then again they considered, what great Forces they already had to maintain both at Land and Sea, and how a new Fleet must presently be fitted out, if the *Macedonian* War went on; That as for *Sicily* and *Sardinia*, which before the War brought in considerable Taxes to the Treasury, they were now scarce able to maintain those Souldiers that 'twas necessary to keep there in Garrison; That therefore the only way they had at present to supply the publick Charge, was by the Tribute laid upon their own Citizens and Subjects; but as the number of those that were to pay the same, was extreemly diminish'd by the late mighty slaughters at *Thrasymenus* and *Cannæ*, so those few that were left, if burthen'd by too many Exactions and payments, would perish and be undone another way; so that if the Commonwealth could not be supported by Credit, and borrowing of money, she was not like to bear up by her own Revenue; The Result was, That *Fabius* the Prætor should Assemble all the people together, and remonstrate to them the publick necessities, and earnestly press all such as were grown rich by farming the City-Revenues, that they would for a while lend part of their Estates to the publick from whence they had rais'd them, and furnish the Spanish Army with necessities out of their private Pockets, upon condition to be repaid as soon as there was Cash in the Exchequer, before any other publick Creditors. The Prætor accordingly stated the matter in the Common-Hall, and also appointed a day when he would sit to receive Proposals and Subscriptions for Cloths and Corn for the Spanish Souldiers, and other necessities for the Fleet.

XLIX. When the day came, three Societies, of nineteen persons a piece, presented themselves as Undertakers, if they might be granted these two requests; The first, That for three years

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next there might be no other Farmers of the publick Revenues but themselves; The other, That whatsoever they shipped, if taken by the Enemy, or cast away by storm, the Commonwealth should bear the loss and allow for it; both which being condescended unto, they undertook the Affair, and thus were the common concerns administred by the private moneys of particular Citizens, such were the manners of that Age, and so great the affection of all ranks of men to their Country; what they generously undertook, they faithfully provided, nor was any thing wanting, more than if the Exchequer had been as full as ever it was. When these supplies arriv'd in Spain, the Town of *Illiturgum*, because it had revolted to the Romans, was beleaguerr'd by *Asdrubal*, and *Mago*, and *Amilcar* the Son of *Bomilcar*; but between their three Camps the two *Scipio's* forc'd a passage, not without a stout opposition and great slaughter, and reliev'd the City with Corn which they much wanted, bidding the Townsmen defend their own Walls with the same Courage as they should see the Romans on their behalf attacke the Enemy; who accordingly prepared chiefly to assault that Leaguer where *Asdrubal* commanded, but the other two *Carthaginian* Generals perceiving their drift, drew thither likewise; and so altogether sallied out of their Works to Battel. They were in all sixty thousand strong, and the Romans not above sixteen thousand. Yet the latter obtain'd so clear a Victory, that they slew more of the Enemy than themselves were in number, took above three thousand men, and near a thousand Horses, together with fifty nine Standards, and kill'd five Elephants in the Fight. The same day they made themselves Masters of all the three Camps. The Siege of *Illiturgi* being thus rais'd, the *Punic* Armies march'd to Assault the Town *Incibi*, having recruited their Companies out of that Province (as being a Nation of all others most eager of War, where there is good pay or hopes of Pilage, and at that time abounding with lusty young men.) There a second Field was fought, with like Fortune as before on either side; For of the *Carthaginians* there were slain above thirteen thousand, more than three thousand taken Prisoners, with forty two Colours and nine Elephants. Then almost all the several Nations of Spain revolted to the Romans; and the Actions perform'd that Summer in Spain were far more great and glorious than those in Italy.

## DECADE III. BOOK IV.

### The E P I T O M E.

4, 5, &c. Hieronymus King of the Syracusians (whose Grandfather Hiero had been a special Friend to the Romans) revolts to the Carthaginians, and for his Pride and Cruelty is murder'd by his own Subjects. 14, &c. T. Sempronius the Pro-Consul fights Hanno and the Carthaginians, and overcomes them, chiefly by the good service of the *Bundmen*, whom thereupon he Enfranchis'd. 33, &c. Claudius Marcellus besieges Syracuse in Sicily, that Island being almost wholly revolted to the Carthaginians. 40. War Proclaim'd against the King of Macedonia, who being in a Battel by night near Apollonia, routed and put to flight, returns into his own Country, half his Army having lost their Arms, and Valerius the Prætor is sent to prosecute that War. 41, &c. The Actions of the two *Scipio's* in Spain against the Carthaginians related. 48. Syphax King of the Numidians is taken into Alliance with the Romans, but being overcome by Massaniila King of the Massylians (who took part with the Carthaginians) he pass'd over into Spain to the *Scipio's*, with considerable Forces, landing amongst the Maurusi, over against Cadiz, where the narrow Sea parts Africk and Spain. 49. A League is also made with the Celtiberians, and the Romans send to them for Auxiliaries, the first Mercenary Forces that ever appeared in a Roman Camp.

H Anno being return'd out of Campania to the *Bruttii*, and making use of them for his Assistants and Guides, attempts the Grecian Colonies in those parts, who continued the more firm to their Alliance with the Romans, because they saw the *Bruttii* (whom they both hated and feared) had already taken part with the Carthaginians. He began with *Rhegium*, where he spent several days to little purpose. In the mean time the Inhabitants of *Locri*, were getting in their Corn, Fewel, and all other necessities out of the Fields into their City, that there might be nothing left abroad to supply the Enemy; Thus daily more and more going out on that occasion, there were at last no more left within than were employ'd in repairing the Walls and Gates, and carrying Darts and all sorts of Artillery to be stor'd up in the Towers and Bullwarks. Whereupon *Amilcar* sent forth a Party of Horse against that mixt multitude of all Ranks and Ages, which were ranging about the Country for the most part unarm'd, but gave express Orders not to hurt any person, but only stop them from flying back to the City; he himself for the present Encamp'd on an high Ground, whence he could view the City and all the Country round about, and thence Commanded a Regiment of the *Bruttii* to go near the Walls, and call out some of the

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principal Inhabitants to a Parley, and by promising them *Annibal's* Friendship, perswade them to surrender the City. At first they would give no Credit to any thing the *Bruttii* said, but when they discover'd the *Punick* Army on the Hills, and understood by some few that got back, that all the rest of the multitude abroad, were in the Enemies power; then overcome with fear, they promis'd to consult their people about the overture; who being presently Assembled, the Rabble were all desirous of a Change and a new Alliance, those who had Relations abroad intercepted, had their minds bias'd as much as if they had given Hostages, some few that silently were for a constant maintaining their Fidelity, durst rather wish, than publicly plead for it, so as they all agreed in outward appearance to yield up the place to the *Carthaginians*, having first privately Embarqu'd *L. Atilius* the Captain of the Garrison, and what *Roman* Souldiers he had, on Vessels that lay in the Haven, to the end they might be transported to *Rhegium*. Then they admitted *Amilcar* and his Forces into the Town, upon Condition *That there should presently be a League concluded on terms indifferent for both Parties*. But that promise was not very well perform'd, because *Amilcar* charg'd them with having fraudulently dismiss'd and suffer'd the *Romans* to escape; which the *Locrians* endeavour'd to excuse, by alledging that they ran away, and they could not help it. And a Party of Horse was sent to pursue them, if by chance either the Tide might cause any of the Vessels to stay in the Current of the Streight, or drive them on shore; but though they did not overtake them, yet they had sight of other Ships crossing from *Messina* to *Rhegium*, being *Roman* Forces sent by *Claudius* the Prætor to secure that City with a Garrison; whereupon the Enemy presently withdrew from before *Rhegium*.

II. The *Ternis* allow'd the *Locrians* by *Annibal's* Command were these, *That they should live under their own Laws and Customs, That the City should be free for the Carthaginians to come into, but the Locrians should have the Command of the Port; and on either side they should mutually assist each other both in Peace and War*. So the *Carthaginians* retired from the Streights, the *Bruttians* being much discontented, that they had left untouched *Rhegium* and *Locri*, both which Cities they design'd to have had the plunder of. Therefore soon after they by themselves arm fifteen thousand of their own men, and march to assault *Croton*, which was also a City inhabited by *Greeks*, and a Sea-Port, imagining they should not a little encrease their wealth and power by being Masters of a well-fortified City, so conveniently situate on the Sea-side. But still they were pinch'd with a shrewd Dilemma, if they did not invite the *Carthaginians* to join with them in this Expedition, it might be counted an affront and breach of the social League between them; If they did, and they should again act the part rather of Arbitrators of Peace, than Assistants in the War, then they should fight against the Liberty of the *Crotonians*, as they had done against the *Locrians* to no purpose, and get nothing for their pains; Therefore the best expedient they thought was to send Agents to *Annibal*, and obtain his promise, *that Croton when taken, should belong to the Bruttii*. But *Annibal* told them, *That those present on the place could best advise of that matter*, and referr'd them to *Hanno*, who never would give them any positive Answer, for neither were they willing that so noble and rich a City should be plunder'd, and on the other side thought that the *Crotonians* when attack'd by the *Bruttians*, seeing that the *Carthaginians* neither approv'd nor assisted the same, might so much the sooner of their own accord, revolt to them and desire the *Punick* assistance. Nor were the people of *Croton* all of a mind, for one and the same Disease had infected almost all the Cities of *Italy*, and set the Nobles and the Commons at variance, the Senate favouring the *Romans*, and the Populace the *Carthaginians*. This dissension within the City, the *Bruttians* were made acquainted with by a Renegade; *That Aristomachus was the head of the popular Faction, and a great stickler for yielding the City to Annibal; That the City being so very vast, and the Walls in several places ruinous, the Guards and Watches of the Senators, and those of the Commons were set at the respective breaches many times a great distance from each other; and wherever the Commoners were upon duty, they might enter without resistance*. Upon this Intelligence, and with the guidance of this Fugitive, the *Bruttii* environ'd the City round about, and being let in by the Commons, at the first assault became Masters of the whole City, except the Castle, which the Nobles held in their own hands, and had well-stor'd it with all Provisions for a refuge for themselves in any such surprize; *Aristomachus* fled thither as well as the rest, as having been the Adviser to surrender the Town to the *Carthaginians*, not to the *Bruttians*.

III. The Wall of this City *Croton*, before the coming of *Pyrrhus* into *Italy*, contain'd twelve Miles in compass, but after the desolation made by that War, scarce one half part of it was inhabited; the River that formerly ran through the middle of the Town, flow'd now at a great distance from any of the Streets, and the Castle stood far from any Houses. Six Miles from this City was a noble Temple, more famous than the City it self, dedicated to *Juno Lacinia*, frequented with great Devotion by all the neighbouring Nations; There was a sacred Grove enclosed with a thick under-Wood and lofty Fir-Trees, in the midst of it were gallant delicate Pastures, wherein were fed Beasts consecrated to the Goddess of all forts without any Keeper, for as they went out to feed each kind by themselves, so at night they came home every one to his Stall or Pinfold, secure from any harm, either by the way-layings of wild Beasts, or being stoln by men, great encrease therefore and profit was made by

by these Cattel, inſomuch that out of that Income, a ſolid Pillar of gold was made and conſecrated, and the Temple renowned for its riches as well as its ſanctity. And (as generally to ſuch notable places are aſcrib'd ſome Miracles or other) the ſtory goes, That in the very Threshold of this Temple there was an Altar, the aſhes on which, no Wind, though ever ſo high or boiſterous, could blow away, or ſo much as ſtir. As for the Caſtle of *Croton*, on the one ſide it ſtands on the Sea, on the other it looks towards the Fields, in old time defended only by the natural advantages of its ſituation, afterwards fortified with a Wall on that part where *Dionyſius* the Tyrant of *Sicily*, having gain'd the Cliffs behind, ſurpriz'd and took it; This Fortreſs (ſtrong enough as they thought to ſecure them) was held by the Nobles as aforeſaid, beſieg'd not only by the *Bruttians*, but their own people too. Who at laſt finding the ſame impregnable againſt their Forces, were forc'd by neceſſity to deſire *Hanno's* aſſiſtance; but he endeavouring to draw them to a ſurrender upon Terms, offers them a Colony of the *Bruttii* to be planted amongſt them, and ſo fill up their City again to its antient frequency of Inhabitants, to which not a man would in the leaſt hearken, except it were only *Ariſtomachus*, all the reſt affirming, *That they would ſooner die, than being mixt with the Bruttians, degenerate into Foreign Rites, Manners and Laws, and in time into a ſtrange barbarous Language*. *Ariſtomachus* alone, ſeeing he could neither prevail with them to ſurrender, nor yet had any opportunity to betray the Caſtle, as he had done the City, fled away to *Hanno*. Soon after this, Embaſſadours from *Locri* by *Hanno's* permiſſion, came up to the Caſtle, and were admitted in, who perſwaded the Gentlemen there to transport themſelves to *Locri*, rather than hazard the laſt Extremities; to which purpoſe, if they pleas'd to accept it, they had already obtained for them *Annibals* paſs, by Embaſſadours ſent to him on that very Errand. So all the perſons of note of *Croton* quitted that place, went on Board and ſail'd to *Locri*. In *Apulia* the *Romans* could not be quiet for *Annibal*, though it were in the depth of Winter; *Sempronius* the Conſul Quarter'd at *Luceria*, *Annibal* near *Arpi*; between them happen'd frequent Skirmiſhes, as each party ſpy'd an opportunity, or could find an advantage; but generally the *Romans* had the better on't, and daily were rendered more wary and ſafer from Surprizes and Ambuſcades.

The Death of King *Hiero*, and that Kingdom falling into the hands of his Grandſon *Hieronimus*, had quite turn'd the Scale as to the *Romans* Inter'eſt in *Sicily*. This new King was but a Youth, ſcarce like to uſe his own Liberty with moderation, much leſs to govern the whole Realm with diſcretion; His Guardians and Friends were glad of ſuch an opportunity to attain their own ends by complying with his humours, and precipitating him into all kind of Vices, which *Hiero* foreſeeing, would ('tis ſaid) in his old Age, have left the *Syracuſans* a Free State, left by being under the Government of a Child, that Realm rais'd and ſo well ſtrengthened by Policy and Vertue, ſhould ſuddenly come to ruine by Folly and Extravagance. But his Daughters with all their Inter'eſt diſſwaded him from this Courſe, conceiving that though the Lad had the Title of King, yet the Dominion and ſway of all Affairs would be in the hands of themſelves and their Huſbands, *Andronodorus* and *Zoippus*, for they were left his prime Tutors. Nor was it an eaſy matter for one that was now ninety years of Age, and continually beſieg'd by theſe Womens Flatteries and Importunities to keep his mind ſo free as to abandon the Conſideration of his proper Family, meerly in regard to the publick State; however he appointed him no leſs than fifteen Tutors, whom he intreated as he lay a dying, *That they would religiously obſerve that Fidelity and ſtrict Alliance with the Romans which he had maintain'd full fifty years; and that they would always adviſe their young Prince to iſſiſt in his ſteps, and that Diſcipline under which he had been Educated*. With theſe commands he ſpent his laſt breath, the Tutors take upon their truſt, publiſh the Will, and ſhew the young King (who was then not full fifteen) in the general Aſſembly of the people; where ſome few that were diſpoſed on purpoſe amongſt the Crowd to make a ſhew of Joy, applauded the Will with ſhouts and clamours, but the reſt as having loſt their Father, ſtood ſilent for grief, and dreaded what the conſequences might prove to the Orphan Kingdom; The old Kings Funeral was rendered more ſolemn and ſtately by the love and good will of his Subjects, than any care or charge of his Deſcendents and Relations. Soon after *Andronodorus* diſplaces the reſt of the Tutors, alledging the King was no longer a Child, but of an Age capable to take upon him the Governace of the Kingdom, and ſo by renouncing that Tutorſhip which he had in common with divers others; got the power of them all into his own hands.

The truth is, Let a King have been never ſo good and moderate, he would not eaſily have had the favour of the *Syracuſans*, ſucceeding *Hiero*, whom they ſo extreamly lov'd and honour'd; but *Hieronimus*, as if he deſign'd on purpoſe by his Vices to make his Grandfather deſirable, at the very fiſt began to ſhow how ſad a change they were to expect. For thoſe who for ſo many years never ſaw *Hiero*, or his Son *Gelo*, either in habit of Apparel, or in any other Ornaments, Train or Port, different from the reſt of the Citizens, beheld him now in Purple Robes, a Royal Crown on his Head, and a Guard of Armed Penſioners attending him, and ſometimes riding out from his Court in a Chariot drawn with four white Steeds, after the mode of *Dionyſius* the Tyrant. This proud habit and ſtately Equipage, was accompanied with ſuitable qualities and conditions. He contemn'd and ſlighted



all men; scorn'd to give Audience to humble Suppliants, or hearken to any sound Counsel, but sent them away that made their Addressees, with reproachful Language and ill Names. Difficult of access, not only to Strangers, but even his Tutors durst not come at him. The delights and Lusts he addicted himself to were new and strange, his Cruelty outrageous and inhumane; whereby he became so terrible that some of his Guardians made away themselves, others fled out of the Country for fear of his outrages. There were but three of them that were familiarly admitted to Court; *Andronodorus* and *Zoippus* (*Hiero's* Sons-in-Law) and one *Thrafo*, nor were these so much consulted about any other affairs, as touching the Roman Alliance; for the two first being altogether for the Carthaginians, the latter as hot for the Romans, the King took a delight many times to hear them wrangle and squabble on that subject, and knew not very well which side to incline to; But it happen'd, that a Conspiracy against the Life of the King was discovered by one *Calo*, a young man much about the Kings Age, his Play-Fellow and intimate with him from his Childhood; but he could nominate no more of the Conspirators than *Theodotus*, by whom he himself was made privy to the Treason, and solicited to be a Complice therein. *Theodotus* being apprehended, and committed to *Andronodorus* to be put to the Question, presently confess'd himself Guilty, but would not reveal the rest concern'd; at last being torn and mangled with all kind of Tortures intollerable, beyond humane patience, pretending he could no longer endure the pains, but would make an ingenuous Confession, he turns the Crime from the Guilty upon the Innocent, and falsely declares, That *Thrafo* was the Contriver of the Plot, and that they durst not have attempted so grand an Enterprize, if they had not been encouraged by his power and interest at Court who put them upon't. He also impeached some others of the Kings menial Servants, as their names came into his head during his Tortures, and whose Lives he imagined might be best spared, and their Deaths least lamented. His naming of *Thrafo* was the greatest Argument with the King to credit the story, who was therefore immediately seiz'd and Executed, as were also all the rest accused, though equally innocent; As for the real Conspirators, not one of them, though their Confederate was so long under Torture, either absconded, or offer'd to run away, such confidence had they in his Vertue and Fidelity, and such a wonderful resolution and strength had he to conceal them.

VI. *Thrafo* who was the only means hitherto of the *Syracusians* holding to their Alliance with the Romans, being thus dispatcht out of the way, presently the face of Affairs tended openly to a Revolt, Embassadors being not only sent to *Annibal*, but two Agents received and entertained that came from him, viz. *Hippocrates* and *Epicides*, both descended from *Syracuse* by their Grandfather who was banisht thence, but born at *Carthage*, and *Punicus* by their Mothers side, who also brought with them a young Carthaginian Nobleman, whose name was *Annibal*; by whose Negotiation a League was clapt up between the Great *Annibal* and the Tyrant of *Syracuse*, and for continuing a good correspondence between them, *Annibal* was content his said Agents should continue at the *Syracusian* Court. *Appius Claudius* the Prætor, who had then the Government of *Sicily*, being advertiz'd of these Overtures, immediately dispatcht Embassadors to *Hieronimus*, who acquainting him, That they came to renew that ancient Society and Friendship which they had with the King his Grandfather; were not heard without making sport at them, and askt in an upbraiding kind of Joque by *Hieronimus*, What luck they had at the Battel of *Cannæ*? for *Annibals* Embassadors related incredible stories, and he would fain know the truth, that he might take his measures accordingly. The Romans only answer'd, That when he had learnt to give a serious Audience to Embassadors, they would come to him again, and so having rather admonisht than requested him, not rashly to violate the League, they departed. *Hieronimus* sends Embassadors to *Carthage* to confirm the Treaty made with *Annibal*; Wherein it was capitulated, That as soon as he had driven the Romans out of *Sicily* (which would presently be done, if they would but send some Forces and a Fleet) the *River Himera*, which divides the Island very near into equal parts, should limit both the Carthaginian and *Syracusians* Dominion. But afterwards being puffed up with some peoples flatteries who told him 'twas fit he should remember that he was not only the Grandchild of King *Hiero*, but of King *Pyrrhus* too, by the Mothers side, he sent another Embassy declaring, That he thought it but reasonable, That they should quit the whole Island of *Sicily*, and leave it to him; and that the Empire of Italy only, belonged properly to the Carthaginians to acquire and conquer, he having already a right to all *Sicily*. Which Levity and vain-glorious humour they did neither wonder at in an unbridled young man, nor would they at present stand to dispute it with him, so long as they could on any terms alienate him utterly from the Romans.

VII. But all these Courtes were but Precipices hastning his destruction; for having sent before *Hippocrates* and *Epicides* with two thousand men to sollicite those Cities to a Revolt wherein the Romans had Garrisons, he himself in person entred the Country of the *Leontines*, with all the rest of his Army consisting of about fifteen thousand Foot and Horse; the before-mentioned Conspirators (who chanc'd to be all then in Arms under him) possess'd themselves of an empty House, adjoining to a narrow Lane, through which the King used to go down to the Market place and publick Hall of the City. Where whilst the rest stood ready arm'd waiting his coming, one of them whose name was *Dinomeni*, because he waited immediately

mediately on the Kings Person, had his Cue given him, that when his Master came near the Gate, he should on some pretence stop the rest of his Attendants in that narrow passage, which was done accordingly, by holding up his Foot, and fiddling about his Shoe as if he would untie it, being too strait, whereby, keeping back the Croud, the King was stabb'd, and receiv'd several wounds before any body could come to his Rescue; but upon the Outcry and Tumult, they fell upon *Dinomeni*, who then openly appear'd to stop them, however with two slight wounds he escap'd their hands; and the Guards seeing the King lie dead, betook themselves to their heels, the Assassins went some of them into the Town-Hall, gladly received by the Rabble as Authors of their Liberty, and others hastned to *Syracuse*, to prevent *Andronodorus* and others of the Kings Favourites from taking any measures to punish them. But before this, whilst Affairs there stood in a doubtful posture, *App. Claudius* perceiving a War at hand, had advertiz'd the Senate of Rome, That *Sicily* was join'd with the Carthaginians, and used all the diligence he could to bring his Forces to the Frontiers to obviate their designs. Towards the end of the year *Q. Fabius*, by Authority from the Senate, fortified and placed a Garrison at *Puteoli*, a Mart-Town that began much to be frequented since these Wars. From whence being to come for Rome to chuse Consuls, he Ordered the Elections to be held the very next day after his Arrival, and was so intent thereupon, that he came from his Journey directly into *Mars's Field*, before he went into the City. Where the youngest Century of the *Anien* Tribe, happening by Lot, to have the Prerogative of giving their Suffrages first, they nominated *T. Otacilius* and *M. Emilius Regillus* for Consuls; Then *Q. Fabius* commanding silence, made the following Oration.

VIII. If we had either Peace in Italy, or War with such an Enemy, as failures of negligence or error might be of no great importance, or easily retriev'd, I should think, that whoever offer'd to delay or oppose the favours and free affections of this solemn Assembly, in conferring Offices and Honours upon whom you please, were justly to be blam'd as intrenching upon your Liberties and Freedom of Choice. But since in this War, and with this Enemy, never any General of ours took one false step in his Conduct, but it cost us some vast overthrow, and prov'd almost fatal to our Common-wealth: It is absolutely necessary that you should come hither to Elect Consuls, with no less care and caution, than you would use, if you were now just marching into the Field to Engage the Enemy, and every one lay his hand upon his heart and say to himself, I am this day to nominate a Consul that may be a match for General *Annibal*. This year, before *Capua*, when *Jubellius Taurea*, the bravest Cavalier of that City, defied the Romans and challeng'd to fight Man to Man, *Asellus Claudius* the stoutest Horseman amongst the Romans was chosen to Encounter him; Heretofore against a Gaul that offer'd Combat upon the Bridge over *Anio*, our Ancestors sent out *Manlius* a resolute Champion of equal Courage and strength; For the same reason many years after, upon such another occasion, the like trust was reposed in *M. Valerius*, and he had leave to fight with another braving Gaul; Therefore since we desire to have Footmen and Horsemen, superiour or at least equal to any the Enemy can boast of, and are so wary to match them even in single Rancounters, much more ought we to seek out a Commander in Chief no way inferiour to the Enemies General, since thereon the safety of the whole Army, nay of the whole Commonwealth depends. And even when we have chosen the ablest Leader we can, he will still be under great disadvantages, for as soon as he is Elected, and that too but for one years space, he must deal with an old and perpetual General, bound up by no limits of time, or formalities of Laws and superiour Orders, but free to manage all things to the utmost advantage, as opportunities shall occur. Whereas whilst we are preparing and disposing of things, and have scarce begun to put our well-laid designs in Execution, the year is wheel'd about, our Commissions expired, and our Armies fall under new Conduct. But since I have said enough to admonish you what kind of men you ought to create Consuls, it remains that I speak briefly of those Gentlemen on whom the Prerogative Century have bestow'd their favour. As for *Emilius Regillus* he is already the Flamen or High Priest to *Quirinus*, whom we can neither spare from his sacred Ministry, nor yet keep him at home to follow us, without neglecting either the service of the Gods, or the due care of the War. I confess *Otacilius* married my Sisters Daughter, and hath Children by her, but you have merited better, both at my Ancestors hands and mine, than that I should prefer my private Relations, before the regards I have to the publick utility; Any common Sailer or Passenger can steer in fair weather, but when a blustering Tempest is up, and the Ship toss'd, and every moment ready to be swallow'd by the raging Sea, a skilful hand is requir'd at Helm. We sail not now in a Calm, but have been already almost cast away, and on the very brink of destruction by several unlucky storms, and therefore are concern'd to take the greatest care and caution imaginable, whom we employ to be our Steersman. In a matter of less importance we have made trial *O T. Otacilius*! of your knowledge and diligence, nor have you yet given us any such proof thereof, as should encourage us to entrust greater affairs to your management: The Fleet whereof you were this year Admiral, we fitted out for three purposes. That it should waite the Sea Coasts of *Africk*, secure our own Italian shores, and especially to prevent any supplies of Men, Money, or Provisions being sent from *Carthage* to *Annibal*. Now with all my heart, create *T. Otacilius* if he perform'd all these particulars, or even any one of them, for the Commonwealth. But if whilst you were Admiral, all things pass'd to *Annibal* as free and secure as if we had had never a Ship out at Sea; If the Coasts of Italy have this year been much more infested with Depredations than those

those of Africk, why of all men living should we make choice of you as the only General to cope with Annibal? Nay rather, if you were already Consul, we should judge it necessary forthwith to appoint a Dictator, according to the usage of our Ancestors. Nor ought you to resent it ill, that in the whole City of Rome there is some one person esteem'd an abler Warriour than you. The truth is, 'tis no particular mans Interest more than yours, not to overload your shoulders with a burthen under which you needs must sink. I therefore repeat my advice, and earnestly intreat you, my Fellow Citizens! That you would in Electing Consuls this day, exercise that Judgment and careful Providence, as if you were standing arm'd in Battalia, and were there to chuse two Generals, under whose Conduct you were presently to venture your Lives; for 'tis to them our Children must take the Oath of Obedience, 'tis at their Edict they must Rendezvous, and to their Care and Prudence are our Armies entrusted, and all we have in the World; The Lake Thrasymenus, and the Plains before Cannæ, are sad Examples to remember, I wish they may be as useful precedents to teach us to avoid the like for the future. Come, Cryer, call the Prerogative Tribe to a new Scrutiny.

IX. T. Otacilius bawling out very fiercely, That Fabius's only drift was to continue himself in the Consulship, and growing troublesome to the Assembly by his Clamours, the Consul commanded his Lictors to seize him; and because he himself came directly out of the Country into the Field, gave Order that the Axes should be openly born before him in the Field as well as the Rods, to shew his Authority; In the mean time the Prerogative Century gave new Suffrages, and chose Q. Fabius Maximus the fourth time, and M. Marcellus the third, wherein the rest of the Centuries agreed with them without any hesitation; One Prætor was also continued Q. Fulvius Flaccus, the three others new created, viz. T. Otacilius Crassus the second time, Q. Fabius the Consul's Son who was then Curule Ædile, and P. Cornelius Lentulus. The Election of Prætors being over, the Senate pass'd a Decree, That the City Province should belong to Q. Fulvius without putting it to the Lot, and that whilst the Consuls were abroad in the Wars, he should have the principal charge of the City; This Year happen'd great Rains, and abundance of Snow, destroying many Houses, Cattel and Men. In the fifth year of the Punick War, Q. Fabius Maximus entering upon the Consulship the fourth time, and M. Claudius Marcellus the third, rais'd the minds of the City to an unusual expectation, there not having been such a famous couple of Consuls for divers years past; but those that were ancient, compar'd them with Maximus Rullus, and P. Decius against the Gallick War; Or as afterwards Papirius and Cæcilius were declared Consuls against the conjoin'd Arms of the Samnites, Brutians, Lucans and Tarentines. Marcellus was created now in his absence, being with the Army, but Fabius present, and himself holding the Election; but the present Juncture, necessity of the War, and extream danger of the Commonwealth, suffer'd none to cavil at this precedent, nor to censure Fabius of Ambition, or desire of Command, but rather applauded the greatness of his mind, who seeing there was a necessity of having the ablest Commander Rome could yield, and knowing himself to be the person, could so nobly slight the envy which he himself might contract, and undervalue it, in comparison of the service he hop'd to do for the publick.

X. The same day the Consuls entered upon their Office, they assembled the Senate in the Capitol, and the first thing they pass'd was a Decree, That the Consuls should either cast Lots, or agree between themselves which of them should stay to hold the Assemblies for chusing of Censors before he went to the Army. Then all that were employ'd abroad with any Forces were continued in their respective Commands, and Order'd to remain in their several Provinces, Ti. Gracchus at Luceria, where he was with the Army of Volunteer Slaves; C. Terentius Varro in the Picene Country, and Manius Pomponius in the Cisalpine Gaul; That of the last years Prætors, Q. Mucius in the Character of Pro-Prætor, should govern Sardinia; M. Valerius preside over Brundisium, and the adjacent Sea Coast, to observe the Motions of King Philip of Macedon; The Province of Sicily was decreed to P. Cornelius Lentulus the Prætor, and T. Otacilius to be Admiral of the same Fleet as he had last year, against the Carthaginians. This Year many Prodigies were talkt of, and as simple superstitious people grew more apt to credit them, there were daily more and more reported, As that at Lanuvium Ravens had built Nests within the Chappel of Juno Sospita; That in Apulia a green Palm-Tree was on a light fire of its own accord; At Mantua a Pool or Lake, fed by the overflowing of the River Min-cius, appear'd all Blood. That at Cales it rain'd Chalk, and Blood at Rome in the Beast-market. That in the street call'd Iltricus a Spring under ground broke forth with so much violence, that as if it had been the Torrent of a great River, it carried away several Pipes and Hogheads that were in the place. That the roof of the Capitol, the Temple of Vulcan in Mars's Field, a Nut-Tree in the Sabines Country, the high street, the Wall, and a Gate at Gabii were all blasted with Lightning and Fire from Heaven: And by and by other strange wonders were buzz'd abroad, as that the Spear of Mars at Preneste moved it self of its own accord; That a Bullock spoke in Sicily, and a Child in its Mother Belly in the Marrucines Country was heard to Cry Io Triumphe! That at Spoleto a Woman was turn'd into a Man; At Hadria there appear'd an Altar in the Sky, and the shapes of men in white Garments round about it; And at Rome it self there was a swarm of Bees seen the second time in the Market-place; some people affirming, that they discovered armed Legions on the Hill Janiculum, put all the City into an Alarm, but when they

came

came thither, there was no body to be seen but the usual Inhabitants. These Prodigies by directions from the Soothsayers were expiated with the greater Sacrifices, and solemn supplications were enjoin'd to be made to all the Gods that had Shrines at Rome.

XI. After all Complements perform'd that were requisite to appease and pacify the anger of the Gods, the Consuls consulted the Senate touching affairs of State, and the management of the War, and with what Forces, and where to be employed. The result was, That there should be in all eighteen Legions, whereof each Consul was to have two, the Provinces of Gaul, Sicily, and Sardinia were to be guarded with two more apiece. Q. Fabius the Prætor Lord Deputy of Apulia, was to have two for the security of that Province, and T. Gracchus to command two more at Luceria; That C. Terentius the Proconsul should have one Legion in the Picene Country, and M. Valerius another for the Navy about Brundisium, and the other two to remain at Rome for the Guard of the City. To compleat this number, six intire Legions were to be new rais'd, and the Consuls were order'd to muster them with all Expedition, and to get ready the Fleet, that with those Ships that lay on the Coasts of Calabria, there might this year be set forth in all a hundred and fifty Sail. The Levies being compleated, and the Navy Equip'd, Q. Fabius held the Election of Censors, and those Created were M. Atilius Regulus, and P. Furius Philus. The rumour still encreasing that Sicily was in Rebellion, T. Otacilius was Order'd thither with the Fleet, and Seamen being wanting, the Consuls by a Decree of the Senate, publisht an Edict, That all such as in the time of the Censorship of L. Æmilius and C. Flaminius, were themselves or their Fathers rated to be worth fifty thousand Ases or upwards to an hundred thousand, or who afterwards was grown to that Estate, should find one Mariner and six months pay. Those that were worth above a hundred thousand Ases unto three hundred thousand, three Mariners and a years pay; Whoever were valued in the Censors Book between three hundred thousand and a Million, five Mariners; those above a Million, seven; and every Senator eight Seamen and a years wages; By this Proclamation Seamen were supplied, arm'd and every way provided for by their Masters, and so were put on Board, having thirty days Victuals prepared before hand. This was the first time the Roman Navy was man'd at the charge of particular persons.

These preparations greater than usual, startled the Neighbour Nations, especially the people of Capua, lest the Romans should begin that years Campaign, with the Siege of that City; Therefore they sent Agents to Annibal, requesting, That he would advance nearer to Capua, for new Forces were rais'd at Rome to attacke that place, the Romans being much more enrag'd at their Revolt, than at the defection of any other people. And forasmuch as this Message was delivered in such fear, Annibal thought it necessary to use all Expedition, lest the Romans should get thither before him, therefore dislodg'd from Arpi, and Encamp'd at his old Quarters at Tifata above Capua, where leaving the Numidians and Spaniards both to Guard their own Camp and that City, he went down with the rest of his Army to the Lake Avernis, on pretence of a solemn Sacrifice he had vowed to celebrate there, but in truth to tamper with and sollicite the Town of Puteoli and the Garrison there to Revolt to him. Maximus upon advice that Annibal was gone from Arpi back into Campania, rode day and night till he came to his Army, and order'd Ti. Gracchus to advance with the Forces under his Command from Luceria to Beneventum, and that Q. Fabius the Prætor (who was the Consul's Son) should succeed him at Luceria. Two Prætors were at once dispatcht into Sicily, P. Cornelius to Command the Army, and Otacilius as Admiral at Sea; All others hastned to their several Charges, and those that were continued in Commands, kept the same Provinces as last year.

XIII. Whilst Annibal was at the Avern Lake, five young Noblemen came to him from Tarentum, who had been formerly his Prisoners, some taken at Thrasymenus, others at Cannæ, and being releas'd with that usual Clemency wherewith he treated all the Romans Allies; they to requite his Civilities bring him word, That they had so influenc'd most of the youth of Tarentum, that they were much more for joining with him than with the Romans; and that they were sent on purpose to desire him to draw his Forces that way; That as soon as his Standards should appear, as soon as his Camp should be seen from the Walls of Tarentum, that City would immediately be surrendred into his hands; For the young Fry could do what they list with the Commons, and the Commons rul'd all at Tarentum. Annibal return'd them thanks and abundance of large Promises, and wisht them to go home, and promote and prepare this design, for in convenient time he would be with them; and so they were dismiss'd. He was mighty desirous to make himself Master of Tarentum, for he saw that it was not only a noble and rich City, but also situate on the Seaside, and a most convenient Port over against Macedonia, for his Confederate King Philip to land at. (if he came over into Italy) since the Romans were in possession of Brundisium. As soon as he had perform'd his Sacrifice, and during his stay there forrag'd all the Cumane Territories, as far as Cape Misenum, on a sudden he turn'd his Army upon Puteoli to surprize that Garrison; which consisting of six thousand men, and the place strong by Nature, and much improv'd by Art, after three days assault on all sides, in vain he quitted the same, and set his Army to plunder the Territories of Naples, more for madness and revenge, than out of any hopes to gain that City; upon his advance so near, the Commons of Nola, who had long been Enemies to the Romans, and at differ-

ence

ence on that account with their own Senate, began to be very tumultuous, and sent Messengers to *Annibal* with Assurances that they would yield the Town, if he pleased to come to receive it: But *Marcellus* the Consul upon Advice from the Nobles of that City, prevented their design, for in one day he marched from *Cales* to *Suessula*, although part of the time was spent in ferrying over the River *Fulturnus*; and next night sent into *Nola* six thousand Foot and three hundred Horse for a Guard for the Senate; and as *Marcellus* used all celerity to secure *Nola*, to *Annibal* having already been twice deceived, linger'd out the time, not much crediting the *Nolans* promises.

XIV. About this time the Consul *Fabius* came before *Capilinum* where was a *Punick* Garrison; and to *Beneventum*, at one and the same time (as if they had been agreed) came *Hanno* out of the *Bruttians* Country with a strong Party of Foot and Horse on one side, and *Ti. Gracchus* from *Luceria* on the other side, who got first into the Town, and being advertiz'd that *Hanno* lay about three miles off on the River *Calores*, and plunder'd the Country, he issued out of the Gates on that side, and drew up within a mile of the Enemy, where he made a Speech to his Souldiers, who consisted chiefly of the Volunteer-Bondmen, who were willing rather to deserve their liberty by another years service silently, than to claim it with publick Clamours; yet when he parted from his Winter-Quarters, he perceived some of them murmured and complained to one another; What, shall we never serve in the Quality of Free-men? And he had wrote to the Senate, not so much what they desired, as what they deserved, assuring their Lordships, That they had performed good and faithful service all along to that very day, and wanted nothing but their freedom to pass for as good and lawful Souldiers as any in their Army; whereupon they left it to him to do as he should think best for the Commonwealth: Therefore before they went now to fight, he told them; That the happy moment they so long had wish'd for, the time of enjoying their liberty was now arriv'd. For next morning they should engage the Enemy in a pitch'd Battel in a free and open Field, where without any tricks or stratagems, the matter must be decided by pure Valour and the dint of Sword; That whoever should bring thence the Head of an Enemy, he would immediately make him free; and on the other side, whoever should fly or give ground, should, as a Bond-slave, be scourged. So that now every man had his Fortune in his own hands; and that they might be assured of their freedom, acquainted them that it was not only he himself that promised it them, but the Consul *Marcellus* and the whole Senate whom he had consulted therein. And so caused the Consuls Letter and Senates Order to be publickly read before them. Which they entertain'd with a mighty shout, and earnestly begg'd that he would presently give them leave to fall upon the Enemy; but *Gracchus* told them, next morning would be time enough, and so dismissed them, who all were exceeding joyful, especially those that hop'd on the morrow to earn their liberty, and spent the rest of that day in making ready their Arms.

XV. Next day as soon as the Trumpets began to sound, they first presented themselves before any of the rest of the Troops, at the Generals Pavilion, arm'd compleatly and ready to fight; at Sun-rising *Gracchus* drew up in Battalia; nor was the Enemy behind hand, but altogether as ready for the Encounter, they were seventeen thousand Foot, for the most part *Bruttians* and *Lucanians*, and twelve hundred Horse, of whom a very few were *Italians*, the rest almost all *Numidians* and *Moors*. The Fight was both sharp and tedious, for four long hours together none could say which had the better on't. Nor did any thing hinder the *Romans* more, than the Enemies Heads being made the price of their Liberty; for as any one stoutly slew an Enemy, he must first spend time in cutting off his Head, which was difficult to do in the crowd and tumult, and then their right hands being employ'd to hold the Heads, the most valiant were able to do no further service, and so the whole brunt lay upon the weakest and most timorous; so that the Marshals of the Field inform'd *Gracchus*, That none of his men now wounded a standing Enemy, but busied themselves in butchering the dead, and carried in their right hands mens Heads instead of Arms. He gave Orders, That they should all at once sling away the Heads, and press on upon the Enemy: That they had already given sufficient proofs of their Valour, and behaving themselves so gallantly, they need not doubt of their Liberty. Then was the Fight renew'd, and also the Horse charg'd the Enemy, whom the *Numidians* as stoutly receiv'd, and between them the Encounter was no less furious than amongst the Foot, and now again it was an even Lay to which the Victory would incline. The Generals on both sides heartned on their men. The *Roman* minding his Souldiers how oft these *Bruttians* and *Lucanians* had been subdued by their Ancestors, and the *Carthaginian* cryed out, They had to do only with a few *Roman* Bond-slaves and Varlets. And at last seeing things in an extremity, *Gracchus* declared, That not a man should hope for freedom, unless the Enemy were discomfited and put to flight.

XVI. That word set their Spirits all on fire, and as if it had transform'd them into other men, with a new shout they charg'd the Enemy so fiercely, that there was no standing before them: First, the *Punick* Van-Guard gave ground, then their Standards, and at last their main Body took their heels towards their Camp in such disorder and consternation, that they did not so much as face about at the Ports, nor endeavour to defend their Rampier; but the *Romans* following them pell-mell, continued the Fight even within the Enemies Works, where, as the Conflict was more troublesome for want of room, so the Slaughter was

was more dreadful, the same being augmented by the Prisoners that were there before in custody, who snatching up Weapons in that tumult, fell upon the Rear of the *Carthaginians*, and stop't their flight, so that of all that great Army not full two thousand, and those for the most part Horse, escaped with their General, the rest being either slain, or taken, together with eight and thirty Colours. The Conquerors lost near two thousand men. All the Booty was given to the Souldiers, except the Prisoners, and such of the Cattel as the Owners should come in and claim within thirty days. Being return'd loaded with Plunder to the Camp, about four thousand of the Volunteer-Bondmen, (who did not fight so well as the rest, nor broke in so soon into the Enemies Camp) for fear of being punish'd, withdrew themselves to a little Hill hard by; but next day being sent for by the Colonels, repaired to the Camp, where *Gracchus* at the Head of the whole Army, made a Speech. And after he had rewarded such of the old Souldiers as had signalized themselves, with particular marks of Military Honour: As to the Bondmen he told them, That he had rather commend them altogether in general, both worthy and unworthy, than to sully the Glory of that day with punishing of any; and therefore wishing it might be for the good and prosperity of the Commonwealth and themselves, he did pronounce them all Free-men. At which word they shouted with mighty alacrity, and embraced and congratulated each other, and with hands lifted up to Heaven, begg'd for a thousand Blessings on the People of *Rome*, and especially to their Noble General *Gracchus*, who then continued his Speech thus: Till I had made you all equal in the Privilege of Freedom, I was unwilling to make any difference between you for any mans stoutness or misbehaviour; but now having discharg'd the Trust committed to me by the Commonwealth, that Valour and Cowardise may not seem to be altogether equalized, I will command a Catalogue of their Names to be brought in, who conscious of their own failure, did lately withdraw themselves, and calling them over one by one, will oblige them to take a Corporal Oath, That (unless in case of sickness) as long as they continue Souldiers, they shall not sit down as others do to eat or drink, but take their refecti'on standing on their feet; which punishment I am sure you will be content to undergo, when you consider what you have deserv'd, and that it was not possible I should more gently chastise your offence. Then he gave Order to truss up their Baggage and murch, and the Souldiers carrying or driving before them their Booties, return'd to *Beneventum*, joining and frolicking all the way, as if they had come from a Banquet or some great Festival, rather than from fighting a sharp and bloody Battel: The Inhabitants of *Beneventum* ran out in multitudes to meet and welcome them, and invited them to their Houses to give them Entertainment and Lodging; They had provided Collations for them in their Court-yards, and askt leave of *Gracchus* to treat his Souldiers, who granted it on condition, that they should all dine in the open street, which was done accordingly; the Volunteers having got Caps on or Fillets of Wool about their heads in token of Liberty, and whilst those that had behaved themselves courageously sat at their Victuals, the others, according to their Oaths, waited on them and eat their meat standing. So pleasant a sight, that *Gracchus*, after he came to *Rome*, caused the Representation thereof to be curiously drawn, and the Picture put up in the Temple of the Goddess Liberty, which his Father had built and dedicated in Mount *Aventine*, with the Monies levied for certain Fines, whilst he was in Office.

Whilst these Actions pass'd at *Beneventum*, *Annibal* having harass'd all the Territories of *Naples*, came before *Nola*. On advice of whose Advance, the Consul having sent for *Pomponius* the Proprietor with the Army that lay at *Suessula*, prepares to meet and fight him without delay. In the dead of the night he sent out *Claudius Nero* with the strength of his Cavalry at a back Port, with Orders to fetch a compass and get behind the Enemy, and when he perceived them engaged, to fall upon their Rear; but whether by mistaking the way, or for want of time, I know not, he failed therein. And during his absence the two Armies encountred, wherein though the *Romans* had apparently the better, yet they miss'd of their main end, because the Horse came not up in time; nor durst *Marcellus* pursue the Enemy when they gave ground, but sound'd a Retreat to his men in the midst of their Victory; two thousand of the Enemy and upwards are reckon'd to have been slain that day, and of the *Romans* not four hundred. About Sun-set *Nero* came back, having wearied out his Horses and Men with marching all night and day, and not so much as seen the Enemy; to whom the Consul gave a sharp Reprimand, saying, 'Twas long of him and no body else that they had not that day been fully revenged on the Enemy for the loss at *Cannæ*. The next morning the *Romans* drew out again into the Field, but the *Punicks* tacitely yielding themselves beaten, kept within their Works, and the third day in the dead of the night, quitting all hopes of gaining *Nola*, an Enterprize that never had succeeded, marched away for *Tarentum* on better assurance of being let in there by Treachery.

At home at *Rome* the Civil Affairs were managed with no less Courage, than the Wars abroad in the Field. The Censors, by reason the Exchequer was empty, being at leisure from letting out and looking after publick Buildings, employed themselves to reform mens manners, and chastise those vices which in this time of War were grown up, as bodies languishing under Chronick distempers, are apt daily to breed new diseases. First, they cited those that after the Battel at *Cannæ*, would have abandoned the Commonwealth, and consulted to



go out of Italy, the chief of whom *L. Caelius Metellus* happened now to be Questor, who with the rest being commanded to plead what they could for themselves, and able to alledge nothing material, they were Convicted, of having used words and discourses tending to sedition and the destruction of the Commonwealth. In the next place, those two subtle Expounders of discharging a solemn Oath, were summon'd, who when some of the Prisoners that had sworn to return to *Annibal*, went privately on a feigned Errand back to his Camp, had Voted them thereby to be released from the obligation of their Oath; both these and the others before-mention'd, as many as serv'd on the City Horfes, had their Horfes taken from them, were degraded, and condemn'd to forfeit their Votes, and serve without pay. Nor did the Censors Care extend only to reform and punish the Crimes of Senators, and those of the Equestrian Order; but caused a Roll to be brought in of all those young men, who without being sick, or other lawful Plea, had not for four years last past serv'd in the Army, of whom above two thousand were found guilty, removed out of their Tribe, and numbred amongst the *Ararii*, to which was added a severe Decree of the Senate, That all those whom the Censors had so branded, should serve on Foot, and be sent into Sicily to the reliques of the Army defeated at Cannæ, who were not to be discharg'd from service until the Enemy was beaten out of Italy. The Censors for want of Treasure forbearing to let out the repairs of the Temples, and providing Chariot Horfes for the State and other publick works, many persons that were wont to undertake the same by the great, made Addresses to them, desiring, That they would proceed therein as formerly when the Exchequer was full, declaring, that they would not expect a penny till the War was ended. Likewise the Masters of those Slaves whom *T. Sempronius* had Enfranchiz'd at Beneventum, acquainted the Senate, that they were sent to by the Triumvirs in the Office of Bankers call'd *Mensarii*, to receive the price of their Servants, but they were content to let it alone till the War was over. So great was the inclination of the Commons to supply the publick stock, that the moneys of Orphans, and afterwards of Widows began now to be brought into the Exchequer, as believing they could no where deposite it more safely than in the publick Faith and Security; and whatsoever was disburs'd to provide any thing the Orphans or Widows needed, an account was kept thereof in the Registry; Nay, this benevolence of private persons towards their Country, extended it self from the City as far as the Camp, where not an Horseman or Centurion would receive their pay, but branded them with the reproach of mercenary Fellows, that would take a penny during the present Exigency.

XIX. *Q. Fabius* the Consul lay before *Casilinum*, defended by a Garrison of two thousand *Campanians*, and seven hundred of *Annibal's* Souldiers. The Governour was *Statius Metius*, sent thither by *Magius Atellanus*, who that year was Medixtricus of *Capua*, (so they call'd their Chief Magistrate) and had promiscuously arm'd both Commons and Servants to fall upon the *Romans* Camp, whilst they were busy in attacking *Casilinum*. But *Fabius* had advice of all their designs, and therefore sent to his Colleague at *Nola*, That there was need of another Army to curb the *Campanians* whilst he assaulted *Casilinum*, and that he should come away, leaving *Nola* with a competent Garrison, or if he thought that not safe from *Annibal*, then he should send for *T. Gracchus* the Proconsul from Beneventum. Upon this Intelligence *Marcellus* left two thousand men to secure *Nola*, and with the rest of his Forces hastned to *Casilinum*, upon whose approach the *Campanians* withdrew and were quiet. Then began *Casilinum* to be assaulted by both Consuls, and abundance of *Romans* offering to scale the Walls, being wounded and beaten off without success; *Fabius* seeing it was a place in it self inconsiderable, and yet as difficult as any to be won, was for raising the Siege, and attempting some action of greater importance; but *Marcellus* perswaded him to continue it; alledging, That as there are many things which great Warriors ought not to begin, so being once undertaken, they were not lightly to be given over, because it might either way prove of mighty consequence as to their Fame and Reputation. So the Engines of Battery of all sorts being employ'd against the Walls, those *Campanians* that were in the Town made Overtures to *Fabius* for leave to march to *Capua*, and before many of them were got forth, *Marcellus* seiz'd the Gate they came out at, and then cut to pieces first all that were near the Gate, and afterwards making an irruption into the City, kill'd the Enemy as fast there; Fifty *Campanians* that got out first, flying to *Fabius* were by him sent with a Convoy to *Capua*; and *Casilinum*, whilst they were parlying and insisting upon terms was occasionally taken; The Prisoners both *Campanians* and those belonging to *Annibal*, were sent to *Rome*, and there shut up in Prison, the Inhabitants were divided amongst the Neighbouring Nations to be kept in Custody.

XX. At the same time that the Consuls with this success retired from *Casilinum*, *Gracchus* sent some new-raisd Troops out of the *Lucanes* Country, under the Command of one of their own Officers, to Forage in the Enemies Quarters, who being stragling negligently, and out of Order, *Hanno* fell upon them, and gave the *Romans* well nigh as great an overthrow there, as his own Party had receiv'd at *Casilinum*, and so retreated in an hurry into the *Brutians* Country, lest *Gracchus* should have pursued him. The Consul *Marcellus* went back to *Nola* whence he came; and *Fabius* advanc'd into *Samnium* both to Forage their Fields and reduce those Cities that had revolted; above all, the *Samnites* about *Candium* were grievously harraisd,

harraisd, their Villages all burnt, their Lands all destroyed, and both Cattel and people carried away Captive; The Towns *Completaria*, *Thelesia*, *Compsa*, *Mela*, *Fulula*, and *Orbitanium*, all taken by storm, as also *Blanda* a City belonging to the *Lucanians*, and *Acce* a Town in *Apulia*. In these places were kill'd and taken Prisoners five and twenty thousand of the Enemy, and three hundred and seventy Deserters recovered, who being sent to *Rome*, were first publicly whipt, and then thrown down headlong from the Rock *Tarpeia*; These were the Achievements of *Fabius* in a few days space; but *Marcellus* was taken ill at *Nola* and disabled for action; The Prætor *Fabius* who Commanded about *Luceria*, took the Town call'd *Accua* by storm, and fortified a standing Camp at *Ardonea*. And in the mean time *Annibal* was come to *Tarentum*, making wonderful havock and devastation wherever he came; but within the Lands belonging to *Tarentum*, kept in his Souldiers from all plunder and violence, not out of good Nature, but only to wheedle with the *Tarentines* and insinuate into their Affections; but when he came before their Walls, there was no commotion within as he expected, and so he Encamp'd about a mile off; For indeed *T. Valerius* the Lieutenant General dispatcht from *M. Valerius* the Proprætor, was arriv'd there two days before *Annibal* appear'd, who having muster'd all the youth, and bestow'd them at the several Gates, and on the Walls where need was, being always night and day very vigilant, gave no opportunity either to the Enemy without, or the treacherous Inhabitants within, to effect any thing to the prejudice of the Garrison. So *Annibal* having spent several days before it in vain, seeing none that had been with him at the Lake *Avernus*, now appear, or any tidings from them, but finding plainly, that he had rashly follow'd vain Promises, remov'd from thence; but then too, left the Lands of *Tarentum* untouched, hoping that disssembled kindness might in time work upon them, though it had not yet prevail'd, and went to *Salapia*; where he stor'd up all sorts of Grain from *Metapontum* and *Heraclia* (for now Summer was pretty well over, and he lik'd that place for Winter Quarters.) Thence he sent abroad his *Numidians* and *Moors* to Forage the Country of *Salentinum*, and the bordering Forests of *Apulia*, whence they brought no great Booty, except it were Horfes, of which they got great numbers, and no less than four thousand were put out to the Troopers to be back'd and manag'd against the Spring.

The *Romans*, observing the prospect of a War not to be slighted, arising in Sicily, and that the murder of the late King, had rather given the *Syracusians* the advantage of better Generals, than any way alter'd either the Cause or their Inclinations, order'd *M. Marcellus* one of the Consuls to take charge of that Province. Upon the first noise of the Assassination of *Hieronimus*, the Souldiers made a Tumult at *Leontinum*, and bawld out fiercely, That they would Sacrifice the Blood of the Conspirators to the Ghost of the King. But hearing often the sweet sound of their Liberties restored, being in hopes a Largess would be bestow'd on them out of the Royal Treasury, and that they should have better Commanders, and withal amused with prodigious stories of the Tyrants lewd actions, and lewder Lusts, their minds were so far chang'd, that they let the Corpse of their King whom but now they seem'd so fond of, to lye unburied. Whilst others of the Conspirators staid behind to secure the Army, *Theodotus* and *Sosis* ride Post to *Syracuse* on the Kings Horfes, to surprize the Royalists before they should know any thing of the matter, but not only Fame (the swiftest thing in the World in such Cases) but a Currier one of the Kings Servants was got before them; whereupon *Andronodorus* had set Guards, both in the Isle, and the Castle, and all other advantageous Posts. *Theodotus* and *Sosis* in the Dusk of the Evening came riding into that Quarter of the City call'd *Hexapylum*, and exposing the Kings bloody Vest and his Crown, pass'd through the street *Tycha*, calling out to the people to take Arms, and for recovery of their Liberties, to Assemble in the *Acradine*. The Rabble, some ran out into the streets, others stood at their Doors, others looking out from the tops of their Houses and Windows, inquir'd what the matter was? The Town was full of Lights, Flambeaus and Clamour; Those that had Arms got together in open places, and those that wanted pull'd down the Weapons that were hung up in the Temple of *Jupiter Olympius*, taken from the *Gauls* and *Illyrians*, and bestow'd as a Present on King *Hiero* by the *Romans*, beseeching *Jupiter*, that he would willingly and propitiously afford his sacred Arms to those that were to use them only for their Country, for the Temples of the Gods and their own Liberties. This multitude join'd themselves with the Guards placed in the principal places of the City; and whereas in the Isles, *Andronodorus* had amongst other things secured the publick Granaries, a place enclosed round with four-square stone like a Fortrefs, those that were appointed to keep guard there, sent Messengers into the *Acradine*, that themselves and all the Corn there should be at the disposal of the Senate.

By break of day all the people arm'd and unarm'd, were Conven'd in the *Acradine* before the Altar of Concord, there situate, where one of the chief men of the City, named *Polyenus*, made a Speech to them free enough, and yet temper'd with a discreet moderation as follows, Those that have endur'd servitude and suffer'd indignities, 'tis no wonder if they rise up in fury against the Authors thereof as known Evils, but what the mischiefs are which attend civil discords, you can only know by hearsay from your Ancestors, having not hitherto been so unhappy as to have smarted under them your selves. I applaud your Courage in taking up Arms so valiantly,

but shall more commend you, if you will not make use of them, till inforc'd thereunto by the last necessity. At present my Advice is, that we send to Andronodorus, requiring him to submit himself to the Senate and People, to open the Gates of the Isle and dismiss his Guards, and to let him know, that if under pretence of securing the Kingdom for another, he shall go about to usurp it for himself, we are resolv'd much more sharply to vindicate our Liberties against him, than against Hieronymus. Accordingly Messengers were sent, and then the Senate met, which as in Hiero's time it was the publick Council of the Kingdom, so from the time of his Death till that very day, it had scarce ever been convened or consulted with. Andronodorus was not a little startled both with the unanimous Consent of the People against him, and several parts of the City already seized, and especially because the most fortified part of the Isle and of greatest importance, was revolted; but when the Messengers called him forth, his Wife Demarata, the Daughter of Hiero, retaining still the Spirit of a Princess and the Ambition of a Woman, dissuaded him, putting him often in mind of that common Saying of Dionysius the Tyrant, That a man ought to be led leisurely on foot, and not gallop on Horse-back, when he is to quit his Dignity and be deposed from Power; That it was an easie matter for a man when he list, to relinquish the possession of a mighty Fortune, but to gain such a point was rare and difficult, therefore he would do well to require time to consider in a matter of such importance, and in the mean time might send for the Souldiers from Leontinum, to whom if he would but promise the late Kings Treasure, he might rule and order all things at his pleasure. These feminine Counsels Andronodorus did neither wholly slight, nor for the present follow, thinking it more easie to attain his Ends, if he gave place a while to the humours of the people; therefore he order'd the Messengers to carry back word, That he would entirely submit to the Senate and People. Accordingly next morning by break of day, he caused the Gates of the Isle to be flung open, and came into the Market-place of the Acradine, and getting up on the Altar of Concord, whence Polyneus the day before made his Speech, he began an Oration, wherein first he excused his not coming sooner, telling them, That he had hitherto kept the Gates shut, not that he meant ever to set up any Interest of his own different from that of the whole City, but when once Swords were drawn, he was apprehensive where they would hold their hands, or when put a stop to Execution and Slaughters? Whether they would be satisfied with the Death of the Tyrant, which was sufficient for regaining their Liberties, or might not in a wild fury knock all those o'th head that were any way related to him by Blood or Affinity, or enjoy'd any Office in the Court, whereby the innocent might lose their lives for another's Crimes. But since I now perceive, that those who have deliver'd their Country, are willing also to preserve its Liberty, and manage things by publick Council and Advice, I no longer doubted to yield up my person, and restore to my Country all that I had in Charge, since he that committed the same to me, is by his own folly and madness brought to destruction. Then turning to those that kill'd the late King, and calling unto Theodotus and Sosis by name, You have done (says he) a gallant Action and worthy to be recorded, but believe me, your Glory is yet but begun, not perfected, and there is yet mighty danger behind, unless by consulting the common Peace and Concord, you prevent the Commonwealth, now it has obtain'd its liberty, from falling into licentiousness and unruly insolence.

XXIII. With which words he laid the Keys both of the Gates and of the Kings Treasure at their feet; and so the multitude was for that day dismiss'd very joyful, and went with their Wives and Children in Procession to the Shrines of all their Gods. The next day they chose Prætors, of whom Andronodorus was the first Created, the rest for the most part were the Kings Murderers, and two of them, viz. Sopater and Dinomenes, though they were absent: Who being advertiz'd how matters pass'd at Syracuse, deliver'd what Treasure of the King's was at Leontinum to the Questors created for that purpose, to carry it back to Syracuse, as also that which in the Isle and in the Acradine was committed to their custody. That part of the Wall which divided the Isle from the rest of the City with too strong a Fortification, was order'd to be dismantled and thrown down by common Consent, and every thing was transacted suitable to those inclinations they had to maintain their liberty. Hippocrates and Epicides, upon news of the Kings Death, (which Hippocrates endeavour'd to conceal so far, that he kill'd the Messenger that brought the first tidings) being deserted by the Souldiers, return'd to Syracuse, thinking that for the present to be their safest course; where to prevent all suspicions of their seeking any occasion to raise disturbances, they first address'd themselves to the Prætors, and by their means had Audience of the whole Senate; To whom they remonstrated, That they were sent by Annibal to Hieronymus as his Friend and Ally, and had yielded Obedience unto him according to the Instructions and Orders receiv'd from their aforesaid Commander. That they now were desirous to return again to Annibal; but since their Journey was not like to be with safety to their persons, the Roman Forces being so frequent up and down all Sicily, they request'd they might be allow'd a Convoy as far as Locri in Italy, which small Courtessie Annibal would take very kindly, and be ready to reward the same with great thanks and favours whenever there should be an opportunity. Their Suit was easily obtain'd, for the Senate were very willing to be rid of several of the Kings Commanders, men skilful in Arms, but of desperate Fortunes, and withal extremely bold and ready to engage in any Villany; yet they did not hasten to put such their desires in execution so soon as they ought to have done: For these Embassadors delaying their departure, being them-

selves

felves Martial young men, and very intimate with the Souldiery, sometimes to them, and sometimes amongst the Renegades (who for the most part were Roman Sea-men) and now and then to the Rabble and meanest sort of people, whisper'd lies and calumnies against the Senate and Noblemen, accusing them, That they secretly carried on a design, under colour of renewing the League to betray Syracuse into the hands of the Romans, that so their own Faction might be Lords, and tyrannize over the rest.

By this means there flocked multitudes every day more than other to Syracuse, whose ears were tickled with these stories, and apt enough to give credit thereunto, and consequently gave not only Hippocrates and Epicides, but also Andronodorus too, good hopes of changing the Government, and effecting their several Designs. Andronodorus's Wife was perpetually baiting him, That now was the time to take upon him the Government whilst all things were in an hurry and kind of confusion by their new and yet unsettled Liberty, whilst the Souldiers were at hand to assist him, daily maintain'd and fed out of the Kings Exchequer, and whilst these Captains sent from Annibal were here, who by their acquaintance with the Souldiers, might not a little assist and promote his Interest. Overcome with her importunities, what had hitherto been concerted only between him and Themistius (that married Gelo's Daughter) he soon after unadvisedly communicated to one Aristo an Actor of Tragedies, whom he was wont to intrust with other Secrets. This Aristo was both well descended, and a man of a good Estate, nor did his Profession scandalize him, (for amongst the Greeks no such thing is matter of dishonour) who preferring his Duty to his Country before private Friendship, discovers the business to the Prætors; who finding by several good Evidences, that the matter was no forged Information, having consulted some of the most ancient Senators, by their Authority planted a Guard at the door, and as soon as Themistius and Andronodorus came into the Court, slew them; and when there began some uproar upon this Fact, which seem'd horrible to those that were ignorant of the Cause, they commanded silence, and brought forth the Discoverer into the open Court, where before them all he related in order the whole Conspiracy, That it took its rise from the Marriage of Harmonia, Gelo's Daughter, with Themistius. That divers Auxiliary Souldiers, both Africans and Spaniards, were prepared to murder the Prætors and other principal Citizens, whose Goods were promis'd as a reward to the Assassins. That there was a Band of mercenary Souldiers that had long been at the devotion of Andronodorus, appointed once more to seize the Isle, and so proceeded to set before their eyes all the whole Plot, by whom to be managed, what Forces to be employ'd, and all other Circumstances. On hearing of which the Senate was satisfied, That these men were no less justly put to death than Hieronymus: But abroad before the Senate-house door there was a mighty Clamour of the Multitude, not certainly knowing what the matter was; and though they twagger'd and threatened, yet at the sight of the dead Bodies of the Conspirators, when thrown out into the Lobby, they were affrighted and so hush'd, that in great silence they followed the whole Body of the Commons to the Common Hall, where Sopater by Order of the Senate and his Fellow-Prætors made a Speech unto them.

He began with Invectives against Andronodorus and Themistius, as if he had been accusing them at the Bar; and ripp'd up all their past life, charging them with all the Injustice, Oppressions, Impieties and Villanies that had been acted ever since the Decease of King Hiero: For alas! (quoth he) what did Hieronymus do of his own accord? Or indeed what could he do, being but yet a Child? It was his Officers, and these his Tutors that ruled all, and managed the Kingdom at their pleasure, but laid all the envy and the blame upon him; and therefore they well deserved to have perish'd either before Hieronymus, or at least together with him: But though themselves then well deserved to have been cut to pieces, yet nothing deterr'd with his punishment, they afterwards became more active to hatch and contrive new mischiefs, first openly, whilst Andronodorus shut up the Gates of the Island, and pretended to usurp the Kingdom, as if it were his Inheritance, and what he was intrusted with during the Princes Nonage, would have held in his own Right; but being deserted by those in the Isle, and besieged by the whole City, who had possession of the Acradine, seeing he could not get the Kingdom by open Force, endeavours to obtain it by Address and Treachery: Nor could he by any obligations of Honour or Advantage be diverted from this horrid Design, even although he was nominated a Prætor amongst the Restorers of our Liberties, at the same time when he plotting to subvert and betray them; but no wonder these men had such haughty Spirits and longed to be Kings, since they had married into the Royal Stock a couple of Princely Dames, one the Daughter of King Hiero, and the other of his Son Gelo, and own Sister to the late Tyrant. At this word the whole Multitude on every side set up an out-cry, That neither of them ought to live, nor one of the Kings Lineage be left on the face of the Earth. Behold! the right natural disposition of the Rabble, they either servilely truckle, or insolently domineer; and as for Liberty which is the mean between those extremes, they can neither endure to be without it with patience, nor enjoy it with discretion; and commonly there want not some who for private ends of their own, add fuel to such popular Combinations, and irritate people to blood and slaughter when they see them already too much set upon such disorders; As here the Prætors put it to the Vote, and it was carried almost sooner than it could be heard, That all that were of the Royal Family should be put to death. In pursuance of which, certain Officers were sent by the Prætors, who immediately dispatcht

Demarata

*Demarata and Harmonia, Daughters of Hiero and Gelo, and Wives of Andronodorus and Themistius.*

XXVI. There was another Daughter of Hiero, named *Heraclea*, the Wife of *Zoippus*, who having been sent as Embassadour by *Hieronimus* to King *Ptolemy*, chose to continue there in voluntary Exile; This Lady understanding that the Murtherers were coming to her, fled with two young Virgins her Daughters into a private Oratory to their Household Gods, with their hair about their Ears, and in wretched habit, the more to move compassion; To which, when they came within sight, she added the most affecting Entreaties that could be used; Beseeching them by the dear memory of her Father Hiero, and Brother Gelo, that she altogether innocent might not suffer for the hatred that Hieronymus had justly contracted; As for me (quoth she) I got nothing by his Reign, but the banishment of my Husband, and as during the life of Hieronymus my Fortune was not like my Sisters, so since his Death is not my Cause the same; If Andronodorus had succeeded in his designs, she was to have been a Queen, but I still a Subject and Servant with the rest. Should any one tell Zoippus that Hieronymus was slain, and Syracuse set free, there is no doubt but he would presently get on board to return into his Country, but how strangely do mens hopes deceive them! Little does he think, whilst his Country is set free, his own Wife and Children are in danger of their Lives; wherein do we hinder the common Liberty, or the Course of the Laws? What danger can any person imagine to himself from me living alone as a Widow, or from two poor Girls little better than Orphans? If it be said 'tis not for any harm they apprehend we can do them, but because all the late Kings Kindred are odious to the people, Let us then be banisht far enough from Syracuse and Sicily, and sent to Alexandria, I to my Husband, my Children to their Father. But finding them deaf to her Prayers, and averse to all compassion, that she might not spend time in vain (for already she saw some of them drawing their Swords) she gave over all Entreaties for her self, and only begg'd them to spare her Daughters, whose Age and Sex, even Enemies in the heat of War were wont to pity and forbear, and that whilst they were taking vengeance on Tyrants, they would not commit the greatest Tyranny in the World, and imitate those Cruelties which they pretended to punish. Whilst she was thus speaking they pull'd her out from the inner part of the Chappel and cut her Throat, and then fell upon the Girls besprinkled with their Mothers blood, who being out of their senses, what with grief, and what with fear, like people quite distracted, ran out of the Room, and if they could have got into the street had undoubtedly set all the City in an uproar; and though the House was not large, yet for a good while they shifted for themselves, and escaped the hands of so many armed men, until at last having received abundance of Wounds, and fill'd every place with Blood, they fainted and expired; which murther, though of it self very sad and pitteous to behold, was rendred yet more lamentable by an accident, for immediately came an Express from the Magistrates, whose minds on second thoughts were inclin'd to more merciful proceedings, to spare these Ladies and not kill them. But when the people found they had so precipitated the Execution, that there was no room for Repentance and milder thoughts, their pity turn'd into rage and fury, and the multitude began to murmur and mutter, and call for an Election of Prætors in the room of *Andronodorus* and *Themistius* (for they were both Prætors) which new choice was not like to be to the content of those already in being.

XXVII. At the day appointed for that purpose, it happen'd, that beyond all mens expectations, some body at the farther end of the Croud, nominated *Epicides*, and another by and by *Hippocrates*, and straight the Votes came thick and threefold for these two, so that it plainly appear'd they would carry it; For indeed it was a confused kind of Assembly, consisting not only of Citizens, but Souldiers and Fugitives mingled amongst them, who were all for an alteration; the Prætors at first seem'd to take no notice on't, and then would have adjourn'd the Choice to another day, but at last over-born with the consent and common cry of the people, were forc'd to declare the two Gentlemen beforenamed to be Prætors. Nor did they presently discover what they would be at, although they were vext, both that Agents were sent to *App. Claudius* to desire ten days Truce; and when that was granted, other Embassadours to treat about renewing the antient League. The said *Claudius* the Roman Admiral at that time lay at *Murgantia*, with a Fleet of an hundred Sail, waiting what the event might be of these new stirs in Sicily, upon their killing the Tyrant, and what measures they would take in this unwonted Liberty; and to gain time he had order'd their Embassadours to attend *Marcellus* the Consul, who was now coming into Sicily, who having heard the terms by them propos'd, hoping the matter in time might be brought to an accommodation, dispatcht Embassadours of his own to Syracuse to treat with the Prætors in person; but there they found all things in an hurly-burly, for upon the news of the Carthaginian Navy's being arriv'd in the Bay of *Pachynus*, *Hippocrates* and *Epicides*, confidently and without all fear, buzz'd into the Ears of the mercenary Souldiers and Renegades, that Syracuse was betray'd to the Romans, but when *Appius* brought his Ships to an Anchor in the mouth of the Haven, listning to know what heart the contrary Faction were in that favour'd the Romans, those vain but specious rumours were much more credited than before, inso much that at first the multitude ran down tumultuously to keep them off from Landing.

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In this disturbance it was thought fit to summon the People to a general Assembly, where one being for one side, and another for the contrary, they were like to fall together by the ears amongst themselves, till *Apollonides* a Person of the first Quality, made a very wholesome and seasonable Speech to this purpose; That never was there any City so near beset with hopes of Safety, and fears of undoubted Ruine; whereas if they would but be all of a mind, and join either with the Romans or with the Carthaginians, no City could be more fortunate and secure; but if they continued thus distracted, some for one, some for another, the Wars between the Punicks and Romans would not be more fierce, than the feuds shortly between the Syracusians themselves, where within the same Walls each Party are like to have their Forces and their Arms and their distinct Leaders and Captains; Therefore the great business was to bring all to be of the same mind, and unanimously close with one of these potent Nations, for which of them it was best to accept of, was a consideration nothing so important, though yet he did conceive in making choice of Allies, it would be better to follow the Authority of Hiero than of Hieronymus, and safer to prefer a Friendship, which they had happily tryed for fifty years, before that which at present was unknown, and heretofore had proved unfaithful: That moreover it was a thing not a little to be regarded in this Debate, That they might with fair words so decline, making a Peace with the Carthaginians, that yet they need not presently be at Wars with them, whereas they must immediately conclude a Peace with the Romans, or make ready to fight them. This Speech carried with it the more authority, in that it seemed not at all to proceed from self-interest or Faction. Besides the Advice of the Prætors and Senate, the Martial men and chief Commanders were consulted with upon this Affair; and after it had been long bandied to and fro with great heats and earnestness, finding themselves not in a posture able to wage War with the Romans, they thought it best to make Peace with them, and sent Embassadours to ratifie the same.

Not many days after, the *Leontines* sent to desire a Garrison, which seemed a good opportunity to discharge Syracuse of her tumultuous Souldiery, and dispatch their factious Leaders thither out of the way; *Hippocrates* the Prætor was commanded to march thither with the Renegades, and so many of the mercenary Auxiliaries followed him, as made up four thousand men. This Expedition was very pleasing both to the Senders and those sent; for hereby the latter thought they should have the opportunity which they had long desired, to make some Insurrection, and the former reckon'd they had purged their City of a dangerous mass of ill humours: But, like Empericks, they had only given ease for the present to the sick body of the State, which soon after relapsed into a more dangerous distemper; for *Hippocrates* first began to make Inroads by stealth into the Borders of the Roman Province, and afterwards when *Appius* had sent a Garrison to secure his Allies, fell upon that Guard with all his Forces, and kill'd many of them. Of which *Marcellus* having Advice, presently dispatch'd Envoys to Syracuse to expostulate upon this violation of the League, and roundly to tell them, That there would never be wanting some occasions or other of quarrel, until *Hippocrates* and *Epicides* were not only remov'd from Syracuse, but banish'd Sicily. *Epicides* also fearing, lest if he staid, he might be question'd for his Brothers Crime; or that he might not be wanting for his own part in stirring up a new War, got away into the *Leontines* Country, and finding them forward enough against the Romans, blew the coals, and alienated their affections from the Syracusians, by suggesting, That they had capitulated in their League with the Romans, That all those Nations and People that had been under the Kings, should still remain under the Dominion of their State; so that they were not now content with their own liberty, but would needs be domineering over others; Therefore it was but fit to send them word that the *Leontines* thought it reasonable to enjoy their own freedoms, both in regard the Tyrant was cut off within their City, and that the first Cry for Liberty began there, and thence proceeded to Syracuse; Therefore that Clause ought to be expunged the League, or a Peace not at all to be accepted on such Conditions. The Mobile was easily perswaded, so that when Commissioners from Syracuse complain'd to them of the killing the Roman Guard, and also commanded *Hippocrates* and *Epicides* to be gone either to Locri, or where else they pleas'd, so they left Sicily: A stout Answer was return'd, That they neither gave the Syracusians Commission to treat with the Romans in their Names, nor did they think themselves oblig'd by Leagues of other peoples making. The Syracusians gave the Romans an Account hereof, and disown'd the *Leontines* to be their Subjects; therefore notwithstanding the League, the Romans might carve out their own satisfaction upon them, and they would assist them in the War, provided when they were reduc'd, they might be under their Government, according to the Articles of the Peace.

*Marcellus* advanc'd with his whole Army against the *Leontines*, sending also for *Appius* to fall upon them on the other side, and so enrag'd were the Souldiers for their Comrades being basely kill'd on the Guard whilst they were on Terms of Peace, that at the first Attack they made themselves Masters of the City. *Hippocrates* and *Epicides* seeing the Walls mounted and the Gates broke open, betook themselves with some few others to the Fort, and from thence in the night escap'd to *Herbesus*. The Syracusians who march'd out from home eight thousand strong, being come as far as the River *Myla*, met a Messenger who acquainted them, That the City was taken; but mixing several Lyes with that Truth, added, That Souldiers and Inhabitants were promiscuously put to the Sword, and he believ'd there was not one of any competent years left alive, That the City was plunder'd and the Estates of all the Rich men



men given away. At this grievous News the Army made an Halt, and being much troubled, the Generals (who were *Sofis* and *Dinomenes*) call'd a Council of War to consider what was to be done: That which gave this false story some colour, was the Execution of Renegades, for there were scourged and beheaded near two thousand *Engitives* retaken in that City, but none either of the Inhabitants or Souldiers had any violence offer'd them after once the City was taken, but had all their Goods restored, except what were destroy'd in the first Assault; However upon this bare report the *Syracusan* Army loudly exclaiming, that their Fellow-Souldiers were betray'd to slaughter and destruction, could neither be induced to go forwards to the *Leontines*, nor stay there where they were, till more certain Intelligence should arrive. The Prætors seeing them ready to mutiny, yet hoping the fit would not hold long, if once the Ring-Leaders of their fury were remov'd, march'd the Army to *Megara*; Themselves with a small Party of Horse went to *Herbessus*, hoping to have surpriz'd that Town whilst they were yet in a Consternation, but missing their Expectations therein, resolv'd to attacke it by force, and therefore next day brought their whole Army towards it; *Hippocrates* and *Epicides* thought it not so much the safest, as the only way they had left at present to cast themselves upon the Souldiers, as being both their old Acquaintance, and now discontented on the news of the slaughter of their Comrades, so out they go to meet them, there happen'd to be six hundred *Cretans* in the Van, who had serv'd under *Hieronymus*, and being formerly taken amongst other *Roman* Auxiliaries at *Thasymenus*, were by *Annibals* kindness releas'd; *Hippocrates* and *Epicides* knowing them both by their Colours and Armour, held out Olive-Branches and other tokens of Suppliants, entreating them, to entertain and protect them, and not to betray them to the *Syracusians*, who would presently deliver them up to be butcher'd by the *Romans*; The *Cretans* with one accord cry'd out, That they should be of good cheer, for they should fare no worse than themselves.

XXXI. Whilst these Conferences pass'd, the Standards stood still, and thereby the Army behind was stop't in their march, but the Generals did not yet know the reason of it; by and by, it being reported that *Hippocrates* and *Epicides* were come, and a bustle through the whole Army, plainly shewing that they were not unwelcome, the Prætors gallop'd up to the foremost Standards, crying out, What fashion's this? How dare these *Cretans* be so bold as to parley with Enemies, and entertain them without the Prætors leave? and withal commanded *Hippocrates* to be seiz'd and put in Chains; but at that word, there was such a Clamour begun, first by the *Cretans*, but taken from them and continued by others, that it plainly appear'd the Prætors themselves would be in danger, if they persisted therein, therefore in great perplexity, and scarce knowing what to do, they commanded the Standards to be turn'd and march back to *Megara* from whence they came, and thence dispatcht Messengers to *Syracuse* to signify in what terms they stood. *Hippocrates* finding the Souldiers given to suspitions, and apt to believe any thing, that he might the more enflame them, after he had sent out some to beset the road between them and *Syracuse*, pretended they had intercepted certain Letters, which he publicly read, being indeed forg'd by himself; in the terms following. The Prætors of *Syracuse* to their Friend *Marcellus* the Consul greeting, &c. You have done well, and pursuant to our Order, in sparing none of the *Leontines*. But all other mercenary Souldiers are equally dangerous to our state, nor will *Syracuse* ever enjoy a settled Peace, as long as we have any Foreign Auxiliaries either in our City or Army, therefore our advice and desire is that you would use your endeavours to get into your power those who are now Encamp'd with the Prætors at *Megara*, and by cutting them off compleat the freedom of *Syracuse*; Upon reading of this, there was such an Outcry, and every one catching up his Arms, that the Prætors were glad to ride away with all the speed they could to *Syracuse*, nor was the Mutiny appeas'd by their absence, but they had fallen upon the *Syracusan* Souldiers, and not left one of them alive, if *Epicides* and *Hippocrates* had not stop't the fury of the multitude, not so much out of their own merciful inclinations, or regard to common humanity, but because they would not cut themselves off from all hopes of return, and thereby might both oblige the Souldiers to be faithful to them, and keep them as Hostages, and besides gain the favour of all their Relations and Friends. The Experience they had, how easily the Rabble were to be turn'd any way, made them fear lest their heats should be abated, if the false news from *Leontinum* were not kept up, and therefore they suborn a Souldier of that Garrison, to go to *Syracuse* and second the story just as it was told at *Myla*, and to aver the same confidently upon his own knowledge, as being what he himself had seen, and thereby excite the people to further indignation.

XXXII. This stratagem prevail'd not only upon the common people, but being brought into Court he told his Tale with that assurance, that some persons of good Quality believ'd it, and said, 'Twas well the Avarice and Cruelty of the *Romans* was thus timely discovered amongst the *Leontines*; for had they got into *Syracuse* they would have committed the like outrages, or rather much worse, since there was a greater booty for their rapine; Therefore they resolv'd to shut up all the Gates, and stand upon their Guard; But neither did all their fears proceed from the same grounds, nor was their hatred bent against the same persons; The Souldiers of Fortune, and a great part of the Commons could not endure the very name of the *Romans*; but the Prætors and some few of the Nobles, thoughterrified with this false Intelligence, yet were

were most intent to obviate a mischief more near and imminent; for by this time *Hippocrates* and *Epicides* were come before that Quarter of the City call'd *Hexapylus*, and within the Town the Kindred of those that were in the Army, began to hold Conferences about opening the Gates to them, and suffer their common Country to be defend'd with their joint Forces against the *Romans*; but just as the Wicket was open'd and they were ready to enter, the Prætors came thither, and first commanded and threatned, then endeavour'd by their Authority to terrify them, but seeing it was all in vain, at last laying aside the majesty of their places, they descend'd so far as to pray and beseech them, not to betray their Country to those who formerly were the Instruments and upholders of the late Tyrant, and now made it their business to seduce and debauch the Army; but so deaf was the *Mobile* to all remonstrances of reason, That they within were as violent to break open the Gates as those without, and so the whole Army, without any opposition, was admitted within the *Hexapylus*; whilst the Prætors with the principal youth fled for refuge into the *Acradine*; the mercenary Souldiers, Fugitives and what Forces of the late Kings, were left in *Syracuse*, join'd with this new few that in the tumult made their escape, nor did the Massacre cease till night put a period to it; next day all Bondslaves were made free, the Gaols broke open, and Prisoners and Malefactors set at large, and by this confus'd Rabble *Hippocrates* and *Epicides* were declared Prætors: Thus *Syracuse* after a short Glimpse of Liberty, precipitated it self into a worse slavery than before.

The *Romans* upon advice of these transactions, marcht presently towards *Syracuse*; To which City *Appius* had much about the same time sent Embassadors by Sea in a Galley of five Rows of Oars, but another smaller Galley that attended them, was no sooner entred the mouth of the Haven, but it was assaulted and taken, and the Embassadors themselves had much ado to escape; so that now not only the Civilities of Peace, but even the Laws of War were violated; The *Roman* Army Encamp'd at *Olympium* the Temple of *Jupiter* about a Mile and an half from the City; and from thence too, it was thought meet to send some Embassadors before they proceeded to Hostility, but to prevent their coming into the City, *Hippocrates* and *Epicides* went forth to meet them without the Gate; The *Roman* Agents told them, They came not to assault the *Syracusians*, but to assist and succour as well those, who having escap'd out of the midst of the slaughter, were repair'd to the *Roman* Camp for shelter; as the rest, who being yet kept under by fear, endure a thralldom more miserable than banishment, or even death it self; Nor could the *Romans* tamely suffer these Butcheries to be committed on their Allies; Therefore if those persons that had fled to them for Sanctuary, might with safety return to their Country, and the Murderers be delivered up to Justice, and the *Syracusians* Laws and Liberties restored, there would be no need of Arms; but otherwise they would prosecute with the highest severity all that should go about to hinder these just demands; *Epicides* replied, That if they had any Message to himself and his Brother, they should have given them such Answer as they thought fit, but in the mean time they were best be gone, and return again when the Government of *Syracuse* should be in their hands, to whom they were sent; And as for War, if the *Romans* were resolv'd to take that course they would find a vast difference between the subduing of *Leontinum*, and the Mastering of *Syracuse*. And so left the Embassadors, shutting the Gates against them. Thenceforwards the City *Syracuse* was beleaguerr'd and assaulted, both on the Landside at *Hexapylus*, and by Sea towards the *Acradine*, whose Walls are wash't with the Tide; and not doubting but as they storm'd *Leontinum* at the first approach, so this being a City so vast and scatteringly built, they should on one part or other, force their Entrance, they brought up all their Engines of Battery against the Walls.

Which fierce Attacque had probably succeeded had it not been for one man that was then in *Syracuse*; This was *Archimedes* an excellent Astronomer, but more famous for framing of wonderful Engines of War, whereby he easily frustrated all the tedious preparations of the Enemy; for on the Curteen of the Wall, which stood on several unequal Hills, in some places high and difficult of access, and elsewhere lower and easy to come at, he had planted Engines of all sorts, as for each was most proper and necessary. The Wall of the *Acradine* standing as aforesaid just by the Sea side, was batter'd from *Marcellus's* Gallies, and from the rest of his Ships the Archers, Slingers, and light-arm'd Darters, (whose Javelins were of that fashion, that they could not easily be lanc'd back again by such as were not us'd to them) plaid so thick and fast that scarce a man could appear upon the Wall but he was either kill'd or wounded; These Vessels lay at some distance that they might have convenient room to Dart their Weapons, but to every great Galley there were two smaller ones join'd, with their Oars within taken away, that they might close Larbord to Starbord, and so coupled together and row'd as one intire Vessel by the outermost Oars, they carried lofty Piles of Timber built with Bords several stories high, and divers other Fabricks to shock the Walls; against which Naval preparations *Archimedes* planted Counter-Engines of several sizes all along the Wall; From which he could hurl vast great stones at the Vessels that lay farthest off, and pelted those nearer hand with smaller but more frequent showres of such like Artillery; And at last that his people might incommode the Enemy without exposing themselves to danger, he caused Loop-holes to be made through the Wall, almost from the bot-

tom to the top, out at which holes some shot Arrows, and others flung small Scorpions: As for the Gallies that came nearer, to get under the Wall, and consequently out of the reach of that kind of shot, he contrived a kind of a Crane to be planted aloft upon the Wall, having at the one end, that hung over the Sea, a sharp Drag or Grappling-hook of Iron like an hand or Crows bill fastned thereunto with a strong Chain, which would take hold of the Prow of a Galley, and then with an heavy Counterpoise of Lead at the other end, lift it up in the Air, so that the Vessel should stand as it were an-end on the Poop, and then letting the Machine go again with a mighty swing, it would dash it down into the Sea (to the unpeackable consternation of the Mariners) as if the Galley had fain from the top of the Wall, and though it descended not side-long, but should happen to come down with a direct Keel, yet 'twas sure to be fill'd with water and sunk. Thus their attempts by Sea were defeated, and now they turn'd their whole Force to attacque it by Land, but on that part too it was extraordinarily fortified with Machines of all sorts, provided for many years together by the care and charges of *Hiero*, but framed by the singular Art of *Archimedes*. Besides, the natural situation of the ground was a great help; the Rock on which the Wall was built, being in most places so steep, that not only the shot level'd out of an Engine, but any thing only tumbled down with its own very poise, came with great force upon the Enemy, who had difficult climbing up, and no certain foot-hold. At last a Council of War being call'd, finding all their attempts thus eluded by the Enemy, they resolv'd to desist from storming and battering, and only continue a Blockade upon the City both by Sea and Land, and so starve them out.

XXXV. In the mean time *Marcellus* went with part of the Forces to reduce those Cities, which during these disturbances had fain off to the *Carthaginians*. *Pelorus* and *Herbesus* surrendred of their own accord; *Megara* he took by storm, plunder'd and utterly destroy'd it for a terror to the rest, especially those of *Syracuse*. About the same time *Himilco*, who had long lain at the Cape *Pachynus* with a Fleet, landed twenty five thousand Foot, three thousand Horse, and twelve Elephants at *Heraclea*, which they call *Minoa*. Not that he had so many on Board before at *Pachynus*, but after *Hippocrates* had seiz'd *Syracuse*, he went to *Carthage*, where being seconded both with Messengers from *Hippocrates* and Letters from *Annibal*, affirming, That now was the only time to recover Sicily with the greatest Honour imaginable, and being himself present in person, no ill Orator to promote the business, he got them to transport these Forces in all speed to Sicily; soon after his Arrival he took *Agrigentum*, and the other Cities that took part with the *Carthaginians*, were so flusht with hopes of expelling the Romans out of the Island, that even the besieged *Syracusians* took heart, and thought they could defend the Town well enough with part of their Forces, and so divided themselves, *Epicides* to guard the City, and *Hippocrates* to join *Himilco*, and carry on the War against the Roman Consul; In order thereto one night he march'd out with ten thousand Foot and five hundred Horse, and pass'd unperceiv'd between the Roman Guards at places where no Sentinels were set, and encamp'd near the Town *Acerre*. *Marcellus* had march'd in great haste, hoping to have got to *Agrigentum* before the Enemy; but failing therein, was now coming back that way, not in the least dreaming to meet an Army of *Syracusians*, however for fear of *Himilco* and his *Carthaginians* (who were superiour to him in numbers) he march'd very warily and in good order to encounter any sudden accident.

XXXVI. This care and diligence against the *Punicks* turn'd to good account against these *Syracusians*: For coming upon them as they were pitching their Tents and out of Array and for the most part unarm'd, the Foot were hemm'd in and cut to pieces, the Horse after a small Skirmish fled with *Hippocrates* to *Aere*. This Defeat having somewhat restrain'd the *Sicilians* that before were all for revolting from the Romans, *Marcellus* return'd to *Syracuse*, and within few days *Himilco* having join'd *Hippocrates*, encamp'd about eight miles from thence upon the River *Anatis*. About the same time there arriv'd in the great Port of *Syracuse* Admiral *Bomilcar* with a Fleet of fifty five Sail from *Carthage*, and the Roman Navy consisting of thirty Sail, put on shore the first Legion at *Panormus*, so that now the War seem'd diverted from Italy, and both Nations intent only upon the gaining of Sicily. This Roman Legion *Himilco* doubted not but to intercept in their passage to *Syracuse*, but he mistook the way, marching high up in the Land, whilst they went along the shore, the Navy sailing by them all the way, and so came to *Pachynus* where *App. Clandius* met them with part of his Souldiers. Nor did the *Carthaginian* Fleet continue at *Syracuse*; for *Bomilcar* neither thought himself able to engage the Romans at Sea, nor could do his Friends any good, but rather impoverish them and waste their Provisions, therefore he hoisted Sail back again for *Africk*. And *Himilco* having dogg'd *Marcellus* as far as *Syracuse*, hoping to have met with some advantage to have fought him before he had join'd the rest of his Forces, finding no such opportunity, and that before *Syracuse* the Enemy was too strong both by their Works and their Numbers, that he might not vainly spend time in looking upon his besieged Friends whom he could not help, he march'd thence to see what places he could by his presence or Force, withdraw from the Roman Obedience, and first of all he was receiv'd at *Marguntia*, whose Inhabitants betray'd the Roman Garrison, there he got abundance of Provisions of all sorts stor'd up by the Romans.

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This encourag'd other Towns to the like Revolt, and the Roman Garrisons were every where driven out by Force, or circumvented and cut off by Fraud. The City *Enna* situate on a Hill every way very steep, was not only impregnable by Nature, but secur'd by a strong Garrison under a Captain not easie to be wheedled, viz. *L. Pinarus* a sharp man, and one who confided more in his own caution, than the *Sicilians* fidelity, especially since he was now every day alarm'd with so many treacherous pranks play'd round about him. Therefore night and day he kept strict Guards and Watches, his Souldiers were always in Arms, nor durst any depart from his Post, which the chief Burghers perceiving, (who already had bargain'd with *Himilco* to betray the Garrison) they thought it best to play above board, and by open means effect their design; they therefore tell the Governour, That both the City and Castle ought to be in their own hands and disposal, since they entred into League with the Romans as Freemen, and yielded up themselves not as Slaves and Vassals to be kept under, per duress, and as it were in a prison; therefore they thought it but just and fit, that the Keys of the Gates should be restor'd unto them. Amongst good Allies there is no greater obligation than their own fidelity, and the People and Senate of Rome would no doubt have the greater kindness for them when they should see them continue firm and steadfast to their Friendship, not by constraint, but of their own free inclinations. The Governour answers, That he was placed there in Garrison by his General, and from him receiv'd both the Keys of the Gates and the Custody of the Castle, and held the same neither at his own disposal, nor at the pleasure of the *Enneans*, but of his who committed them unto him. That for a Captain to quit his Post, was amongst the Romans punish'd with certain death, wherein their Ancestors had been so strict, as even Parents had not spared their own Children when guilty therein. And seeing the Consul *Marcellus* was but hard by, they might if they pleas'd send to him about it, who only had the proper Right and Authority to gratifie them in this matter. They flatly told him, That they would not stand sending after *Marcellus*, but if fair words would not prevail, were resolv'd to take other measures to redeem their Liberties. *Pinarus* replied, If you think much to address your Messengers to the Consul, yet do me this favour as to call a Common Hall for my satisfaction, that I may know whether these Demands proceed only from some few mens humours, or be the sentiments of the whole body of the City. Which they granted, and appointed a general Assembly on the morrow.

Alloon as he parted from them, and was got into the Castle, he calls a Council of War, and thus harangues them; I believe, Fellow-Souldiers, you have heard in how miserable a manner the Roman Garrisons abroad are of late betray'd and destroy'd by these *Sicilians*; which Treachery you have hitherto avoided, first and principally through the goodness of the Gods, and in the next place by your own Valour and vigilance in standing night and day to your Arms; and I wish we might as well pass the time that is to come, without either suffering or acting any horrible violence. We must still exercise the same Caution as we have done hitherto, against their secret fraud, which because it has not yet succeeded, they now openly and publicly demand the Keys of the Gates, which we shall no sooner surrender, but the *Carthaginians* will be Masters of *Enna*, and we shall be more basely butcher'd than the Garrison at *Murguntia*. 'Twas not without difficulty that I obtained this one nights respite to consider on't, that I might advertize you of this imminent danger. To morrow morning they purpose to hold a solemn Assembly, where no doubt there will be Speeches to render me odious, and heat the people against you. To morrow is the day that the streets of *Enna* will be overflowed either with your blood or that of the Inhabitants. And as you shall certainly lose all you have, if they surprize you; so if you prevent them and strike first, you avoid all danger: That Party that first draw their Swords will be sure of the Victory. Therefore be all ready in your Arms, and watch for the signal; I will be amongst them in the Town-Hall, and spin out time with arguing and debating till all things are ripe, and when I give you such a sign with my Gown, then do you all round about me set up a shout and fall upon the Crowd, kill all you meet, and be sure let not one escape, from whom you may fear any harm either by fraud or force. And you, O Goddesses, *Dame Ceres* and your Daughter *Proserpina*, and all other superiour and Infernal Deities, that inhabit this City, these holy Lakes and consecrated Groves, vouchsafe to be so and not otherwise propitious to us and favour us in this Enterprize, as we enter into it enforced, and meerly to avoid being betray'd our selves, and not with any premeditated design to betray others. I would use more words to encourage you, Fellow-Souldiers, if you were to deal with men in Arms, but since they will be both unwarn'd and unarm'd, you may without any hazard kill them till you are weary: Nor need you fear any thing from *Himilco* and his *Carthaginians*, since your own Consul lies encamp'd so near to protect you. Then were they dismiss'd to refresh and rest themselves, that they might be ready for the Design.

The next day they were planted in several parts of the City, some to beset the chief streets, others to stop the ways and avenues, that the Townsmen might not escape; but most of them stood upon and about the Theatre, and were not at all suspected, because they were wont so to do. The Roman Captain was by the Magistrates presented to the People, to whom he alledg'd, That the matter lay not in his power, but was altogether at the pleasure of the Council, and used the same Arguments as he had done the day before. At first they began gently here and there to demand the Keys, one, by and by more, and at last all together with one Voice they commanded him to deliver them, and when he delay'd to do it, threatned him fiercely, and were just ready to proceed to the extremity of violence,

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when he gave the signal with his Gown according to agreement, upon which, the Souldiers who had a good while watcht for it, immediately set up a shout, and with their drawn Swords ran down upon the multitude that stood before them, others seize the passages and stop them from getting out. Thus the men of *Enna*, shut up as it were in a Pound, were cut to pieces, and lay tumbled one upon another, not only with the slaughter but also by endeavouring to fly, some running over others heads, and the sound falling upon the wounded, and the quick upon the dead, all in heaps one amongst the other. Then was there running to and fro every way, just as if the Town had been taken by storm, and nothing but murdering and flying away in all places, the Souldiers being no less furious in the Execution of this unarm'd multitude (whom they thought they had just provocation to slay) than if they had been engaged in the heat of a Battel. By this exploit whether we shall call it evil or necessary, the City *Enna* was retain'd in the Romans possession; and so far was *Marcellus* from disallowing the Act, that he bestow'd the Goods of the Inhabitants amongst the Souldiers, thinking by this Example to terrify the *Sicilians* from betraying any more Roman Garrisons. But it fell out quite contrary, for as the noise hereof was almost in one days time spread throughout all *Sicily*, as being a City not only situate near the middle of the Isle, but renowned for the strength of its situation, and also accounted as it were sacred, in reverence to *Proserpina*, who there in days of old had left the prints of her Divine Feet when she was stoln away and raviht by *Pluto*, so it being therefore generally thought that this detestable Massacre had polluted the Seat of the Gods, as well as the Habitations of men, even those of the *Sicilians* that stood Neuters before, now turn'd from the Romans and sided with the *Carthaginians*. After this *Hippocrates* retreated to *Murgantia*, and *Hamilco* to *Agrigentum*, having both before drawn their Forces towards *Enna*, upon the Invitation of those that should have betray'd it. *Marcellus* also drew back into the *Leontines* County, and having furnisht his Camp with Corn and other necessaries, and left there a competent Guard, return'd to the Siege of *Syracuse*, whence he dispatcht *App. Claudius* to Rome, he being one of the Candidates for the Consulship; and in his room made *T. Quintus Crispinus* Admiral of the Fleet, and Commander in Chief of the old Leaguer, whilst he himself built and fortified Winter-Quarters five miles from *Hexapylus*, at a place they call *Leon*. Thus went affairs of *Sicily* till the beginning of Winter.

XL. The same Summer the War which before was suspected broke out with King *Philip*; For *M. Valerius* the Prætor Admiral of the Fleet that lay at *Brundisium* for defence of the Coasts of *Calabria*, receiv'd intelligence by an Express from *Oric*, That *Philip* having first attempted the City *Apollonia*, and to that purpose tow'd up one hundred and twenty Gallies against the stream, finding that would take up too much time, marcht away privately by night to *Oric*, which being a City situate on a Plain, and nothing strong either in Walls, or Forces, or Arms, at the first onset he made himself Master thereof; and therefore the Inhabitants desir'd *Valerius* to assist them, and make head against this undoubted Enemy of the Romans, either by Land, or Forces at Sea, and to drive him away from them, who for no other reason were assaulted, but because they were near Neighbours to Italy, and lay in his way thither. *M. Valerius*, leaving the Guard of *Brundisium* to *T. Valerius* his Lieutenant, puts to Sea with a stout Fleet, those Souldiers that could not conveniently be bestow'd in the men of War, being put aboard some Merchant Ships of Burthen, and on the second day arriv'd at *Oric*, and easily recover'd that City from a small Garrison which *Philip* had left there. Thither repair'd to him Agents from *Apollonia*, shewing, How they were under a Siege because they would not revolt from the Romans, nor were they able much longer to bear up against the Macedonian Force, unless a Roman Garrison were sent them. Which he promised them, and in order thereunto dispatcht two thousand choice men to the mouth of the River that runs from thence, under the Command of *Q. Nevius Crissa*, a diligent man and excellent Souldier, who having Landed his men, and sent back his Ships to *Oric*, march'd at a great distance from the River, by a way not at all guarded by the Kings Forces, and so in the night got into the City without being perceiv'd; The next day he rested his men, and spent his own time in mustering the youth of the City, and surveying their Arms and the strength of the place; with which being well satisfied and encouraged, and withal inform'd by his Scouts how secure and negligent the Enemy was, he makes a Sally in the dead of the night, and with a still march entred the Enemies Camp, who lay so naked and horrible careless, that 'tis certain above a thousand of his men were got over their Rampier, before one of them took the Alarm, and if they had forborn falling upon them, they might have gone up to the Kings Tent before any notice taken; but the killing of some near the Ports awaken'd the Enemy, who were all in such a fright and consternation, that not a man took Arms to oppose them, nay the King himself as he started out of sleep, half naked, and in an habit scarce fit for a common Souldier, much less a Prince, fled to the River and got on board his Fleet; whither his people follow'd after him in heaps. There were well near three thousand in all taken and slain, but the greater number taken. The Camp was plundered, the *Apollonians* got all his Capults, Balists, and other Battering Engines, which they carried home to secure their own Walls whenever there should happen the like occasion; all the rest of the Booty fell to the share of the Roman Souldiers. As soon as news of this defeat came to

to *Oric*, *Valerius* presently set Sail with his Fleet to the mouth of the River to prevent the Kings Escape by Sea; whereupon *Philip* distrustful his power on Sea as well as on shore to be too weak to cope with the Romans, sunk and burnt his Ships, and so march'd by Land to *Macedonia*, his Forces having lost all their Baggage and most part of their Arms; the Roman Navy continued all Winter with *Valerius* at *Oric*.

Variety of Action happen'd this year in Spain; for before the Romans could get over the River *Iberus*, *Mago* and *Asdrubal* had routed a mighty Host of Spaniards, so as all the further part of Spain had revolted, if *P. Cornelius* had not with great Expedition transported his Army, and seasonably come up to assure the minds of his wavering Allies. He first encamp'd at a place call'd *High Castle*, famous for the death of the great *Amilcar*. It was a place well fortified, and they had already stor'd up their Corn there; yet because it was in the midst of the Enemies Quarters, whose Cavalry had several times fallen upon the Roman Fort, and got off again clear. In which Incursions they had slain at least two thousand men, either loitering behind the rest, or carelessly straggling about the Country, it was thought fit to remove from thence into places more quiet and secure, and so encamped on Mount *Vitoria*; thither came *Cn. Scipio* with all his Forces, and also *Asdrubal* the Son of *Gisco*, (the third in renown and quality of all the *Punic* Generals) with a compleat Army; and both these sat down on the other side the River, over against the first mentioned Camp of the Romans. *P. Scipio* riding out with a few light Horse to take a view of the ground, the Enemy discover'd him, and in that open Champain Country had undoubtedly cut him off, but that he got to an Hill of advantage hard by, where he was encompass'd for some time, but by the coming up of his Brother with a Party to his Rescue, got off without much loss. *Castulo* a strong and noble City of Spain, and so strictly allied to the *Carthaginians*, that *Anibal* married his Wife from thence, did yet notwithstanding now quit their Party, and join with the Romans. The *Carthaginians* began to assault *Illiturgis*, where there lay a Roman Garrison, whom they hoped to master the sooner, because they understood they were already in great want of Provisions. *Cn. Scipio* to relieve his Confederates and his own Souldiers that were there, march'd with a Legion of Souldiers lightly arm'd, between the Enemies two Camps, skirmishing with them all the way not without great slaughter, and so entred the City, and the next day made a Sally no less fortunate: For in those two Conflicts he kill'd above twelve thousand of the Enemy, took more than ten thousand Prisoners with six and thirty Colours. Thus was the Siege of *Illiturgis* raised, and in the next place the *Carthaginians* laid Siege to *Bigerra*, which was also in Amity with the Romans; but *Cn. Scipio* advancing thither, they quitted the same without fighting.

After which the *Punic* Camp lying at *Munda*, the Romans followed hard at their heels, where they fought a pitch'd Battel for four hours space; but the Romans having much the better of the day, were on a sudden call'd off by a Retreat sounded, because *Cn. Scipio* was hurt in the Thigh with a barbed Javelin, and the Souldiers about him were in some disorder, fearing the wound was mortal. If that accident had not stopt them, 'tis certain they had that day taken the Enemies Camp; for they had already driven not only the Souldiers, but the Elephants too up to the French, and as they stood there as it were at Bay, no less than thirty nine Elephants were kill'd and wounded with Darts and Javelins. In this Battel likewise were kill'd by report twelve thousand, almost three thousand taken Prisoners, and fifty seven Colours won. The Enemy retreated from thence to the City *Aurinx*, and the Romans, to give them no breathing time after their late Overthrows, pursued hard after them. There again *Scipio*, though carried into the Field in an Horle-litter, fought them, and had the Victory clear, though not half so many of the Enemy kill'd as before, because there were not now so many left to fight. But being amongst a people naturally addicted to Wars, *Mago* sent forth by his Brother *Asdrubal* to make new Levies, soon recruited the Army, and then they had the heart to venture another Battel. As most of their men were thus new-raisd, and the rest such as had been so often cow'd before, so their success was according, eight thousand kill'd, not less than two thousand taken Prisoners, and fifty eight Colours, together with abundance of Gallick Spoils, Gold Rings, Chains and Bracelets, likewise two Princes of the Gauls, whose names were *Menicapo* and *Civismaro*, lost their lives in this Battel, eight Elephants taken and three kill'd. And now after all these successes in Spain, the Romans began to be aham'd, that they had suffer'd the City of *Saguntum* (the original Cause of the whole War) to remain now eight years in the Enemies hands; therefore having by Force beat out the *Punic* Garrison that was there, they recover'd the Town, and restor'd it to such of the Inhabitants as yet surviv'd the fury of the War: Also they reduc'd the *Turdetanes* who had revolted to the *Carthaginians*, and for Example sake, sold them for Slaves, and utterly destroy'd their City. These were the occurrences in Spain whilst *Q. Fabius* and *M. Claudius* were Consuls.

At Rome no sooner were the new Tribunes of the Commons entred into their Office, but *L. Metellus* who was one of them, summon'd the Censors, *P. Furius* and *M. Atilius*, to answer before the People, for having the last year, when he was Treasurer, taken away his Horse of service allow'd by the State, degraded him of his Tribe, and depriv'd him of his Vote, for the Conspiracy he and others entred into at *Canna* about abandoning Italy: But the

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the other nine Tribunes stop the prosecution, would not allow the Censors to be sued whilst they were in their Office, and so they were dismissed; soon after *P. Furius* died, by means whereof they could not complete the assessing and numbering of the people which they had began, and the other *M. Atilius* sung up his place. *Q. Fabius Maximus* the Consul held the Elections, and his Son of the same name, together with *T. Sempronius Gracchus*, the second time (both absent) were Created Consuls for the year ensuing. The Prætors were *M. Atilius* and *P. Sempronius Tuditanus*, *Cn. Fulvius Centumalus*, and *M. Aemilius Lepidus*, which three last were at the same time Ædiles of State, and that year exhibited first of all the solemn Stage-Plays, which continued for four days together. This *Tuditanus* the Ædile was he, who after the Defeat at *Cannæ*, when all the rest were astonished with fear, bravely broke through the midst of the Enemy. The Elections being finished *Q. Fabius* the Father sent for the Consuls Elect to Rome to take upon them their Office, and consult the Senate touching the War, and where each of them and the Prætors should act, and what Forces they should have to Command; Accordingly the Provinces and Armies were divided amongst them.

XLIV. The War with *Annibal* in all places was committed to the Consuls with one Army which *Sempronius* himself had already under his Command, and another that then belong'd to old *Fabius*, consisting of two Legions apiece. *M. Aemilius* the Prætor whose Lot it was to have Jurisdiction over the Foreigners, assign'd over that civil Charge to his Brother *Atilius* the City Prætor, that he might the better attend his Province of *Luceria*, where he was to have the Conduct of those two Legions that serv'd under the now Consul *Q. Fabius* when he was Prætor. To *T. Sempronius* the Prætor was appointed the Government of *Ariminum*; to *Cn. Fulvius* that of *Suessula*, each with two Legions, viz. the latter to have those of the City, and the former to receive those that had been under *M. Pomponius*; the Foreign Provinces were continued in the same hands. *M. Claudius* over so much of *Sicily* as had been under King *Hiero*, and *Lentulus* the Pro-Prætor over the rest, and *T. Otacilius* to remain Admiral without any new recruits; *M. Valerius* was to look after *Greece* and *Macedonia* with the same Legion and Fleet that he had; *Q. Mucius* with the old Army (who were two Legions) was to secure *Sardinia*, and *G. Terentius* the Country of *Picenum*, with that one Legion that had long been under his Conduct; also Order was given that there should be two more Legions rais'd in the City, and twenty thousand amongst the Allies. With these Generals and these Forces they provided for the defence of the Empire of Rome against the many several Wars which at once they were either already involved in, or shortly apprehended. The Consuls having levied two new City-Legions, and compleated the old ones, before they marcht into the Field, expiated those Prodigies that were reported; for not only part of the Wall and Gates of Rome, and the Temple of *Jupiter at Aricia*, were blasted with Lightning, but many vain illusions which people fancied they saw or heard, were believ'd for certain truths, as that there appeared the resemblance of divers Gallies in the River of *Tarracina*, where indeed there was none; That in the Temple of *Jupiter Vicilinus* which stands in the Territories of *Compsa*, there was heard the Clattering of Armour, and the River of *Amitemus* seem'd to be turn'd into Blood; satisfaction being made for these strange Tokens, and the Gods well-appeas'd according to the Orders of the Pontiffs, the Consuls began their march, *Sempronius* to *Lucania*, *Fabius* into *Apulia*; At *Suessula* *Fabius* the Father came to the Camp to be Lieutenant and assistant to his Son; who going out to meet him, the Lictors marching before him had such a reverence for the old man, that they did not as was usual stop him, but turn'd aside without saying any thing, and so eleven of them pass'd by him and let him ride on, but then the young man spoke to the Lictor that went next him to mind his duty, who presently cry'd out to the Father and bid him alight, who dismounting said, *I did it, Son! to try whether you would not forget you were a Consul, and knew how to require the honour due to that high dignity.*

XLV. As they lay there Encamp'd, *Dafius Altimus* a great and rich Citizen of *Arpi*, came secretly with three Servants in the Night, and offer'd the Consul, That if he might have a good reward for his pains, he would betray that City into his hands; which overture being debated in a Council of War, some were of opinion, That he ought to be severely scourg'd and then Executed as a Renegade and common Enemy, a Fellow true to no side, nor by any to be trusted, who after the Defeat at *Cannæ*, as if his Fidelity were to wait on Fortune, revolted to *Annibal*, and drew over the City *Arpos* with him, and now since the Roman Affairs, contrary to his hopes and wishes seem somewhat to revive; he comes to offer a new treachery to those whom he hath already betray'd; a deceitful Villain that is never of that side which he pretends to own, a Friend not to be trusted, and an Enemy contemptible and vain, and therefore ought to have the same reward as the Traitor of the *Falerii*, or that other of King *Pyrrhus*, and be made a third Example to all treacherous Runnagates. On the other side, old *Fabius* (the Consul's Father) said, That men should not forget to distinguish times and seasons, nor give their opinions of things or persons in the heat and confusions of a War, as they would do during a calm and open Peace; They should rather consider and endeavour how to keep all our Friends from falling off from us, than talk of making Examples of those that repent of their defection, and desire to return to their ancient Amity; But if we cannot help but some or other will always be revolting, and shall make it unlawful for any

to return again to us, who sees not but in a little time we shall be without any Allies at all, and all the States of *Italy* will be associated with the *Carthaginians*; not that he thought fit to repose any trust in this *Altimus*, but rather to take a middle course with him, and treat him at present neither as a Friend, nor yet as an absolute Enemy, that is, to keep him as a Prisoner at large in some faithful City not far from the Camp during the War, and afterwards they would have leisure to determine, whether his former Revolt deserved punishment more than this his Return did pardon. This Advice was well approved of, so they bound *Altimus* and his Servants in Chains, and a great Summ of Gold which he brought with him, was order'd to be laid up and secured for him; he continued at *Cales* where Keepers walked with him abroad in the day time, and in the nights he was lock'd up. In the mean time, when he was first miss'd at home, and could not be heard of, all *Arpos* was in an hurly-burly for the loss of so principal a Man, and for fear of some mischief that might follow, sent an Account thereof to *Annibal*; who was not much displeased in his heart, both because he had a good while been suspicious of him as a Turn-Coach, and besides had by this means a fair occasion to seize his Estate, which was very great; yet that he might seem to act more out of resentments of Anger than Covetousness, he added a Gravity of Judicial proceedings to the most barbarous Cruelty in the world; for having apprehended his Wife and Children, he first strictly examined them touching his Flight, and also what Gold and Silver he had left behind him at home, and having fully discovered all particulars, he caused them to be burnt alive.

*Fabius* marching from *Suessula*, designed in the first place to besiege *Arpos*, and having encamped almost a mile off, and taken a view at a distance of the situation of the Town and its Walls; where he saw the Works were strongest, and therefore the least Guards, there he resolv'd to storm it. After he had prepared all things requisite for such an Enterprize, he chose out the bravest of all his Centurions and the stoutest Colonels for their Leaders, to whom he added 600 select Souldiers, (which was thought enow for the work) his Orders were, that in the night when the Trumpet sounded to the third Watch, they should carry their scaling Ladders to that place. The Gate there was low and narrow, the street little frequented, being the most desert part of the City, that those who first got up with their Ladders, should go along the Wall, and on the inside break open the said Gate, and when they were in possession of that part of the City, to wind a Horn as a Signal for the rest of the Forces to advance, and he would have all things in readiness to second them. All this was gallantly performed, and that which seem'd an impediment proved a great advantage to their design, I mean a violent showre that began at midnight, and caus'd the Guards and Watchmen to retire from their Posts into the Houses for shelter, and with the noise of the Rain dashing on the stones, hindred them from hearing the Gate broke open, and afterwards the more gentle droppings like Musick charmed many of them to sleep. After this Party was got in, they began to wind their Horns placed at fit distances to give notice from one to another to the Consul, who presently caus'd the Standards to advance, and a little before day entred the City at the Gate broke open, as aforesaid.

Then at last the Enemy took the Alarm, the showre being over, and day-light appearing, *Annibal's* Garrison in the Town consisted of almost five thousand men, and there were besides three thousand of the Burghers in Arms, whom the *Carthaginians* put in the Van for fear of Treachery, if they should have been behind them. They fought at first before it was full light and in narrow streets, and the Romans had not only secured the streets, but the Houses too that were next the Gate, that they might not be pelted and wounded from above. The *Arpins* and the Romans knew one another, and began to parley, the Romans asking them what they meant? What injury had the Romans done them? Or what mighty obligations had they to the Punicks, that they being natural Italians should wage War for a parcel of Strangers and Barbarians against their old Neighbours and Friends? and help to bring Italy into slavery, and make it Tributary to *Africk*? The *Arpins* excus'd themselves as being ignorant and innocent of these matters, betray'd and sold by some of their Grandees to the *Carthaginians*, and so over-reach'd and oppress'd by a few. Upon this beginning more and more of them began to confer together, and at last the Prætor of *Arpos* went up to the Consul, and having agreed and pass'd their promises one to another amongst the Standards and Forces drawn up ready to charge each other, the *Arpins* on a sudden turn'd o'th Romans side against the *Carthaginians*; likewise very near a thousand *Spaniards* came over to the Consul, making no other Terms than only this, That the Punick Garrison should march away with safety, and accordingly the Gates were open'd for them, and they went without any violence offer'd them to *Annibal* at *Salapia*. Thus was *Arpos* restor'd to the Romans without any loss, except of one old Traitor and new Fugitive. These *Spaniards* that came in were order'd to have double Provisions allow'd, and afterwards did brave and faithful Service. One of the Consuls being in *Apulia*, the other in *Lucania*, an hundred and twelve young Noblemen of *Campania* having got leave of the Magistrates of *Capua* to go forth to forrage the Enemies Country, came to-rights to the Roman Camp at *Suessula*, and told the Sentinels they would speak with the Prætor, for *Cn. Fulvius* was there Commander in Chief, who being made acquainted, order'd ten of them unarm'd to be brought before him; They only desired, that

when *Capua* should be retaken, they might be restored to their Estates, which was promised, and so all of them taken into protection. The other Prætor *Sempronius Judicanus* took the Town *Aternum*, and in it above seven thousand people, and a pretty quantity of ready Money. At *Rome* happen'd a sad Fire, that continued two nights and one day, and laid all in ashes from the Salt-Market to the Gate called *Carmenta*, with the streets, *Æquimelius* and *Jugarius*, the Fire spreading it self even into the Temples of Fortune, and Mother *Matuta*, and Hope, without the Gate, and consumed all things sacred and profane.

XLVIII. In *Spain* the two Brothers, *P.* and *Cn. Cornelius*, having had great success, recovered many of their old Allies, and made not a few new ones, began to extend their hopes even into *Africk*; for understanding that *Syphax*, one of the *Numidian* Kings, was lately fallen out with the *Carthaginians*, they sent three Captains to make an Alliance with him, assuring him, That if he would persist in the War against them, he would do a very acceptable kindness to the Romans, who would in due time amply requite him for the same. The Barbarian was very glad of this Overture; and having talk'd with the Embassadors touching the Art of War, understood from the Discourses of those old Souldiers, how ignorant he was of many things in comparison of that more regular Discipline which they described. Therefore the first thing he requested was, That as they were good and faithful Friends, two of them would go back to their Generals, and the other remain with him to instruct his people in the Art Military. For the *Numidians* were hitherto altogether unacquainted with Foot-service, and useful only on Horse-back; their Forefathers having ever since they were a Nation managed their Wars that way, to which only they were accustomed from their youth; but their present Enemy was strong in Infantry, and he should never be able to match them, unless he had store of Foot-Souldiers, and though his Kingdom afforded men enow for that purpose, yet they had not the Art to arm and train them, but did all things rashly and in disorder as the multitude happen'd to come together. The Embassadors consented, upon Security given, that their Companion should presently be sent after them, if their Generals should not approve of his staying there. His name that stay'd with the King was *Q. Statorius*, and with the other two went back *Numidian* Embassadors to receive the Ratification of the League from the Roman Generals, who had Instructions to wheedle away all the *Numidians* they could that were in *Annibal's* Army or Garrisons. *Statorius* out of the multitude of young men wherewith that Country abounded, levied and muster'd Foot for the King, and exercising them after the Roman mode, cast them into Regiments and Bands, taught them to follow their proper Colours, and to keep in their Ranks and Files, and all other kinds of Military Discipline, so that in a little time the King confided as much in his Infantry as Cavalry, and in a pitch'd Battel on even hand defeated the *Carthaginians*: Nor were his Embassadors of small advantage to the Romans in *Spain*; for upon the News of their Arrival, abundance of the *Numidians* daily deserted the Enemy. Thus a firm League of Friendship was settled between the Romans and *Syphax*, which when the *Carthaginians* understood, presently they dispatch'd away Envoys to *Gala*, a Prince of the other part of *Numidia*, over the people called *Massilians*.

XLIX. This *Gala* had a Son named *Masanissa*, but seventeen years of Age, yet of such hopes as fairly promised that he would render his Kingdom much more large and powerful than he found it. To him these Envoys remonstrated, That since *Syphax* to render himself more powerful against the rest of the Kings of *Africk*, had Confederated with the Romans, it would be the interest of *Gala* to join as soon as he could with the *Carthaginians*, before *Syphax* went over into *Spain*, or the Romans invaded *Africk*; and as for *Syphax* he might now easily be subdued whilst he had yet gain'd nothing by the Roman League but a bare name of having such remote Friends. The Son being altogether for War, *Gala* was easily persuaded to send forth an Army, who, with the *Carthaginian* Auxiliaries defeated *Syphax* in a mighty Battel, wherein 'tis said there were thirty thousand slain. *Syphax* himself with a few Horse fled to the *Maurusians*, a sort of *Numidians* that border'd upon the Ocean over against *Cadiz*, and having by his great renown drawn many of the Barbarians to him, arm'd in a little time vast Forces, but before he could carry them over the streight into *Spain*: *Masanissa* came into those parts with his Victorious Army, and alone with his own Troops, and no help of the *Carthaginians*, gave *Syphax* Battel, to his great Honour. In *Spain* nothing memorable happen'd, save that the Roman Generals drew all the *Celtiberians* that were fit to bear Arms into their service for the same stipend that they had bargain'd for with the *Carthaginians*; and sent above three hundred Spanish Gentlemen into *Italy* to solicit their Countrymen that were under *Annibal* to desert him and serve the Romans. This only touching the Affairs of *Spain*. In this Year may be noted, That the Romans had never any Mercenaries in their Army till now they hired the aforesaid *Celtiberians*.

## DECADE

## DECADE III. BOOK V.

## The Epitome.

2. *P. Cornelius Scipio*, afterwards surnamed *Africanus*, made *Ædile*, though under Age. 8. *Annibal* takes the City *Tarentum* (all but the Castle) by the Treachery of some young men of that City, who pretended to go out a Hunting. 12. The solemn Games in Honour of *Apollo*, were now first instituted upon occasion of certain Prophetical Verses of *Marcus*, wherein the Overthrow at *Cannæ* had been foretold. 13. *Q. Fulvius* and *App. Claudius* the Consuls, fight *Hanno* the *Carthaginian* General with success. 16. *T. Sempronius Gracchus* the Proconsul, was by a *Lucanian*, at whose House he Quarter'd, train'd into an Ambuscade and slain by *Mago*. 19. *Centenius Penula*, who had served in the Wars but in quality of a Centurion, importuning the Senate to have the Conduct of an Army, assuring them, that if they would grant him that Honour, he would certainly beat *Annibal* out of *Italy*, obtains the Command of eight thousand men, and with them fights *Annibal*, but both himself and his Army are cut to pieces. 21. *Cn. Fulvius* the Prætor engaging with *Annibal*, lost the Field and sixteen thousand men, and himself escaped but with two hundred Horse. 22. The two Consuls, *Q. Fulvius* and *App. Claudius*, besiege *Capua*. 23. &c. *Claudius Marcellus* in the third year of the Siege takes *Syracuse*, having most gallantly and prudently behaved himself in all that Service. In the Tumult at storming the City, *Archimedes*, lustre about Geometrical Figures which he had drawn in the dust, is by a common Souldier knockt o'th head. 32. &c. The two *Scipio's*, *Publius* and *Cornelius*, after so many brave Actions and great successes in *Spain*, come to a disastrous end, being kill'd with the loss of almost both their whole Armies in the eighth year after their going into *Spain*. 37. That Province had utterly been lost, had it not been for the Courage and Industry of *L. Marcus* a Roman Knight, who rallied together the scatter'd Reliques of the said Armies, and by his Conduct and Encouragement, routed the Enemy, drove them out of two several places where they were encamped, slew seven and thirty thousand of them, took eighteen hundred and thirty Prisoners, and a mighty Booty, wherupon he was called General *Marcus*.

W Hilst these things were a doing in *Africk* and *Spain*, *Annibal* had spent the Summer in the *Tarentine* Territories, in hopes of gaining that City by Treachery; during which time several obscure Towns of the *Salutines* revolted to him; but of the twelve Clans of the *Bruttians*, two of them called the *Consentines* and the *Thurines* return'd to their old Alliance with the Romans, and more had followed their Example, had it not been for *L. Pomponius Vientanus*, a Captain of the Allies; who having made some lucky Incursions into the *Bruttians* Country, would needs take upon him as a General, and having raised a tumultuary Army, fought with *Hanno*, and lost abundance of men, either killed or taken Prisoners, but they were for the most part a Rabble of Country Clowns and Bond-slaves, and the least loss of all was the Captain himself, being a Fellow that as he was the Cause of this Loss by his rashness, so he had been a Publican (or Farmer of the Publick Revenues) guilty of several Misdemeanours and ill Arts, whereby he had wrong'd both the State, and those private persons he happen'd to be concerned with. *Sempronius* the Consul lying in the *Lucans* Country, made divers small Skirmishes, but nothing memorable, and also took some small Towns belonging to those people. The long continuance of the War sometimes with success, and by and by with great disasters, had not only changed the Fortunes, but also the Minds of men, and the City was so strangely possess'd with Superstitions and Ceremonies, for the most part introduced from Foreign Countries, as if either its Inhabitants or its Gods were not the same as formerly: Nor were the ancient Roman Rites out of request only in private Devotions, but even in the streets, the Market place and Capitol it self; you should see multitudes of Women praying and sacrificing after quite different modes from those of their native Country. Abundance of old Priests and blind Wizards having inveigled peoples Consciences, whose number was the greater, by reason of so many flocking out of the Country, either for fear or poverty, not being able to till their Lands, or at least not to enjoy any benefit by the Crops; whereupon they resorted to the City, where finding it easie to advantage themselves by others Superstitions, they followed the trick of abusing their zealous Credulity, as if it had been a lawful occupation. At these Innovations, good men being grieved and scandalized, first sigh'd out their complaints in private, but at last it growing a publick Grievance, was brought before the Senate, who gave a severe Reprimand to the *Ædiles* and Capital Triumvirs, because they had not prohibited these disorders. But when they came to turn this Crowd of Devoto's out of the Forum, and sling away their Sacred Implements and Oblations which they had prepared, they went in danger of their lives from the Rabble; so that the mischief appearing too far gone to be suppress'd by inferiour Magistrates, the Senate left it to the care of *M. Æmilius* the City-Prætor to rid the Town of these Superstitions, who having in a general Assembly recited that Act of the Senate, set forth a Proclamation, That whoever had any Books of Divination or Prayers or Treatises of the Art of Sacrificing, should bring them all in to him before the first day of April; and that no person should presume to sacrifice in any place publick or sacred, with any new or outlandish Rites or Ceremonies.

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I.

II.

This Year died several publick Priests, viz. *L. Cornelius Lentulus* the supream Pontiff, and *C. Papirius Maffo*, the Son of *Caius* of that name, an ordinary Pontiff, and *P. Furius Philus* an Augur, and *C. Papirius Maffo* the Son of *Lucius*, one of the Decemvirs for looking after the Holy Mysteries; In the room of *Lentulus* was chosen *Marcus Cornelius Cethegus*, and *Cn. Servilius Cæpio* in the stead of *Papirius* the Pontiff; The new Augur was *L. Quintus Flaminius*, and the Decemvir, another *L. Cornelius Lentulus*. The time of Electing Consuls coming on, because both the present Consuls were busy abroad in the War, and could not well be call'd home, *C. Claudius Cento* was nominated Dictator for that purpose, whose Master of the Horse *Q. Fulvius Flaccus*, was Created one of the Consuls, and *Appius Claudius Pulcher* (who was Governour of Sicily whilst he was Prætor) the other. Then Prætors were chosen, *Cn. Fulvius Flaccus*, *C. Claudius Nero*, *M. Junius Silanus*, and *P. Cornelius Sulla*. The Elections being concluded, the Dictator quitted his Office. The Ædile of State with *M. Cornelius Cethegus*, was *P. Cornelius Scipio*, afterwards surnam'd *Africanus*, whom, when he put in for that Office, the Tribunes of the Commons oppos'd him, alledging, That he ought not to be put in nomination, because he was not yet arrived to the Age \* required by Law. To which he answer'd, If all the Quirites and people of Rome have a mind to make me Ædile, then I hope I am old enough. And indeed all the Tribes ran so fast to give their Votes in his favour, that the Tribunes presently ceased their endeavours of hindering him. The Largesse bestow'd by these Ædiles, was to exhibit the Roman Games (very magnificently for those times) and continued a day longer than ordinary; and also they gave to every street in the City a Congius (about a Wine Gallon) of Oyl. *L. Villius Tapulus*, and *M. Fundanius Fundulus*, accus'd several Matrons before the people of dishonest and incontinent living, of whom some were condemn'd and banish'd; The Plebeian Games were celebrated, and by reason thereof a great Feast in honour of Jupiter.

\* By the Annal Law none were to be Ædiles but such as were at least 37 years of Age; As Prætors were to be 40. and Consuls 43. or upwards.

III.

*Q. Fulvius Flaccus* the third time, and *App. Claudius*, enter upon their Consulship; and the Prætors chose their Provinces by Lot; *P. Cornelius Sulla* had both the Jurisdiction over Citizens and over Foreigners, which before were two mens Offices. To *Cn. Fulvius Flaccus* fell *Apulia*, to *C. Claudius Nero*, *Suessula*, and *Marcus Junius Silanus* happen'd to have the Government of *Tuscany*; both Consuls were appointed by an express Decree of the Senate to manage the War with *Annibal*, and to have under their Command two Legions apiece, which one of them should receive from *Q. Fabius* last years Consul, and the other from *Fulvius Centumalus*; As for the Prætors, *F. Flaccus* was to have the Conduct of the Forces that were at *Luseria* under *Æmilius* the late Prætor, and *Nero Claudius* those under *C. Terentius* in *Picenum*, each of them to levy what recruits they thought fit. To *Marcus Junius* were assign'd the City Legions of the former year. *T. Sempronius Gracchus*, and *P. Sempronius Tuditanus*, had their Commands continued over their respective Armies and Provinces of *Lucania* and *Gallia*; The like to *Publius Lentulus* over the old Province of *Sicily*, and to *M. Marcellus* for *Syracuse*, and so much as had been the Dominion of *Hiero*; *T. Otacilius* remain'd Admiral; *M. Valerius* had charge of *Greece*, *Q. Mutius Scaevola* of *Sardinia*, and the two *Cornelii* of *Spain*; Besides the old Forces the Consuls were to raise two more City Legions, so that in all the Armies that year consisted of three and twenty Legions. The Consuls Leavies were much hindred by means of one *M. Posthumius Pyrgensis*, who was like to have caused a dangerous disturbance; He was a Publican by profession, and for many years for Covetousness and Cheating had not his Fellow in the whole City, except *L. Pomponius Veientanus*, taken Prisoner last year by *Hanno* in the *Lucans* Country as afore said. These two and some of their Confederates of the same Trade, because the State was to answer all Casualties of the Seas, as for any Provisions sent to the Armies, feigned abundance of Shipwracks, and those which they brought to account that were really cast away, were occasioned by their own Fraud and Knavery, not by any Accident; for their Course was to lade old Weather-beaten Vessels with a few Goods of little value, and when the same were sunk in the Sea, having Boats in readines to save the Mariners, they would falsely pretend and crave allowance for abundance of Goods of great value as lost thereby. This Fraud of theirs was discovered last year to *M. Æmilius* the Prætor, who acquainted the Senate therewith, but it was not then taken notice of or punish'd, because the Fathers at that Juncture were not willing to disoblige the Publicans, whom they then stood so much in need of; but when 'twas brought before the people, they were resolved severely to chastise this horrid Cheat: And the *Carvillii*, two Prætors of the Commons, justly moved with the indignity and scandalousness of the thing, lay a Fine of two hundred thousand Asses (about six hundred twenty five pounds sterling) upon his Head. And when the day came, that the same should be confirmed by the people, or else either increased or mitigated, the Assembly of the Commons was so full, that all the Court of the Capitol could scarce contain the multitude. The Defendant pleaded largely for himself, but his only hope seem'd to be, that a Kinsman of his, *C. Servilius Casca*, one of the Tribunes of the Commons, would interpose in his behalf, before the Tribes were called forth to give their Suffrages. The Witnesses being heard, the Tribunes commanded the Crowd to withdraw to a convenient distance, and the Lottery-Box was brought out to determine in which Tribe the Free Latines that were in Town should give their Votes; In the mean time the Publicans

cans baited *Casca*, that he would dissolve the Court, and the people cry'd out as fast on the contrary to proceed; and as it fell out, *Casca* sat full in view, the formost man on the Tribunes Bench, and though he would fain have done his Relation a kindness, yet he knew not how for fear and shame to appear in such a dirty business, seeing no likelihood of assistance from him, the Publicans to make a disturbance, and hinder the proceedings, came in a forceable manner through the void space that was between the people and the Court, and thrust in rudely amongst them, till they got upon an high place, where they fell a quarrelling and brawling with the Tribunes on one side, and the people on the other, insomuch that they were like to go together by the Ears, whereupon *Fulvius* said to the Tribunes, 'Do not you see that your Authority is contemn'd? and that there is danger of a Riot and Mutiny, unless you presently adjourn the Assembly?'

Which being done, a Senate is call'd to whom the Consuls represent how the common Hall was disturb'd by the impudence and violence of the Publicans. That Court (quoth they) wherein the great *M. Furius Camillus* (on whose banishment ensued the ruine of the City) calmly suffer'd himself to be condemn'd by ungrateful Citizens; wherein before him, the Decemvirs (by whose Laws we live to this day) and many other persons of the first quality in all Ages, have submitted to the Judgment of the People; But now comes this *Posthumius Pyrgensis*, and by force does wrest from the Commons the Liberty of their Votes, hath subverted the Commons Judicature, affronted and contemn'd the Tribunes, came as in a Warlike manner against the people of Rome, seiz'd a place by violence to keep the Tribunes from coming to the Commons, or the Commons to their Tribunes, and hinder the Tribes from being call'd to their Suffrages; nor was there anything that prevented blows and murder but the patience of the Magistrates giving way for the present to the insolence and fury of these few seditious Mutineers, and suffering themselves and the people of Rome to be overcome so far, That seeing the Criminals went about with Force and Arms to hinder their proceedings, they dissolv'd the Court by their own Authority, that there might be no occasion given to those who sought nothing so much as some colour for a combustion. All good men resenting this as a very heinous offence, and the Senate having declared, That this violence and breach of the Peace tended to the hazard of the State, and would be a precedent of most pernicious consequence, if not severely punish'd, presently the two *Carvillii*, the Tribunes, laying aside the Debate about their Fine, Indict'd *Posthumius* of Treason, and commanded one of the principal Serjeants to attack him, and carry him to Gaol, unless he found very good Bail; he did accordingly give Sureties, but left them in the lurch, and appear'd not at the day; whereupon the Tribunes prefer'd a Bill to the people, who ratified the same, That if *M. Posthumius* should not surrender himself before the first day of May, and when he was call'd on that day, did not appear and answer, nor any lawful excuse be alledged for his absence, they adjudg'd him to be banish'd, his Estate to be forfeited and sold, and they did forbid him fire and water, or that he should lose the benefit of his Country for ever. After which all the rest concern'd in stirring up the Riot and Tumult, were capitally prosecuted and required to give Sureties; first only those that could not get Bail were Imprison'd, but afterwards those that offer'd pledges were notwithstanding secured; To avoid which danger divers went voluntarily into banishment; This was the upshot of these Publicans fraudulent dealings, and of their impudence in defending the same.

After this, the Assembly was held for Creation of an High Priest by *M. Cornelius Cethegus* a Pontiff lately Elect'd; Three Competitors there were who vy'd all their Interests for the place, viz. *Q. Fulvius Flaccus* the Consul, who had twice before been Consul and Cenfor; and *T. Manlius Torquatus* dignified also with two Consulships and a Censorship besides, and *P. Licinius Crassus* who as yet had not serv'd Ædile, yet this young man carried it from both the said antient and honourable Candidates; nor had there in a hundred and twenty years before been any one (except *P. Cornelius Calussa*) made supream Pontiff till after he had been Ædile of State. The Consuls finding much difficulty to compleat their Levies, because there were not able men enough to be found in the Town both to furnish out the two new Legions of Citizens that were order'd, and at the same time to recruit the old; The Senate Order'd them to cease their trouble, and commanded two Committees of *Triumvirs* should be Created, one for places within fifty miles of the City, the other beyond, whose business should be to survey all Villages, thorough Fares, Market-Towns and places of resort, and take notice what numbers there were of men of free condition, and such as they found able to bear Arms, though not of lawful Age, they were to press for Souldiers. Also that the Tribunes of the Commons, if they thought fit, should present a Bill to the People, That those who should Lift themselves under seventeen years of Age, should have as good pay as if they were above; In pursuance of which Decree the said *Triumvirs* made diligent Inquisition all over the Countreys for Free-born persons fit to serve the State, and so compleated the Levies. At the same time arriv'd Letters out of *Sicily*, which were read in the Senate, from *M. Marcellus*, containing the requests of the Souldiers that serv'd under *P. Lentulus*; This Army was the remnant of the overthrow at *Canna*, sent into *Sicily* as is before-mentioned, with Orders to be confin'd to that Island, and not return into *Italy*, whilst the *Carthaginians* continued there.

These having obtained leave of *Lentulus*, sent some of their Horsemen and Centurions

IV.

V.

VI.



of the best Quality, as also certain select Foot-Souldiers as Agitators, to *M. Marcellus* at his Winter-Quarters; where being admitted to Audience, one of them spake as follows: We had addressed our selves to you, Noble *Marcellus*, in Italy whilst you were Consul, immediately after that (though not unjust, certainly) sad and rigorous Decree was pass'd against us in the Senate, but that being order'd for this Province, all in confusion by the Death of the King, we well hoped we had been sent to be employed in a smart War both against the Sicilians and Punicks, where with our blood and wounds we might have satisfied and appeased the displeasure which the Fathers had conceived against us: As but in the last Age, those who were taken by *Pyrrhus* at *Heraclea*, made amends for their fault by their good service against the same *Pyrrhus*; yet are we still ignorant, O Conscript Fathers, wherein we have offended or deserved your displeasure? Suffer us so to speak as if they were all present; for methinks I see both the Consuls and the whole Senate, when I behold your face, O *Marcellus*, whom if we had had for our Consul at *Cannæ*, both the Fortune of the Commonwealth had been much better, and our own. Give us leave, we beseech you, before we sigh out our complaints for our present miserable condition, to clear our selves of the Crime which we are charged with; if it were neither by the special Vengeance of the Gods, nor by the Decrees of Destiny, (on whose Laws the unavoidable Course of Humane Affairs depends) but by some default, that we were at *Cannæ* overthrown: Then, I beseech you, by whose was it? the Souldiers, or the Generals? For my own part I remember I am a Souldier, and will never speak any thing but well of my General, of him especially to whom I know the Senate rendred thanks, because he despair'd not of the Commonwealth, and who every year, since his flight from *Cannæ*, has been continued in Command; as also we hear the Colonels that there escaped, do daily put in for, and obtain Honours and Offices, and even the Government of whole Provinces. And can you, my Lords of the Senate, so easily forgive those of your own Rank and their Children? and yet at the same time be so very severe against us poor Wretches of the Commonalty? Or was it no dishonour for the Consul and other Chief Commanders to fly when the Case was grown desperate? And were the wretched Souldiers sent into the Field on purpose, that come what would, they must needs die, and not offer to escape? At *Allia* almost the whole Army ran away; at the Streights of *Caudium* without so much as venturing a Battel, they surrendered their Arms to the Enemy (not to mention other shameful Defeats of our Armies) yet so far were those Armies from being branded with any mark of reproach, that the City of Rome it self was recovered by the Forces who had fled from *Allia* to *Veii*. And the *Caudine* Legions, though they return'd home without Arms, yet being arm'd and sent back, subdu'd the very same Enemy, and made them pass under the like shameful yoke, which before they had insultingly imposed on them: Nor need we these Examples; for indeed who can justly tax the Army before *Cannæ* either with Flight or Cowardise, where there were above fifty thousand men slain upon the spot? From whence the Consul retreated but with seventy Horse? Where none survived but such as the Enemy for meer weariness could not kill? When the Prisoners there taken were denied to be ransom'd, we were every where cry'd up and commended for reserving our selves against another day to serve our Country, for returning into *Venusia* to the Consul, and thereby keeping up still the shew of a competent Army. But now are we in a worse condition, than those who in our Forefathers days suffer'd themselves to be taken Prisoners; for they only had their Armour and Weapons changed for worse, and were put in a more dishonourable place both on a March and in the Camp, and even all this disgrace they could wipe off with one brave Service for their Country, or prosperous Battel, none of them was banish'd, none put out of hopes of being discharged from bearing Arms after he had served his full Term by Law appointed, and besides they were set to fight with some Enemy where they might once for all either put a period to their lives, or their dishonour. But we, against whom nothing can be objected (unless we be guilty in being a means that some few Roman Souldiers are yet alive after the slaughter at *Cannæ*) are not only sent like banish'd persons far from our Country and from Italy, but also from all Enemies, where we may grow old in Exile, where we have neither hope nor opportunity of cancelling our disgrace, no means to mitigate the resentments of our Fellow-Citizens against us, no, nor so much as any possibility left of dying with Honour; 'tis neither a period of our shame that we request, nor a reward of our Valour, all we desire is, that we may have leave to make proof of our Courage, and give some Specimen of our Mettle; 'tis toil and dangers we petition for, that we may shew our selves Men and Souldiers. There has all last year been War in Sicily sharply managed, some Cities the Punicks, some the Romans have taken by pure force; both Foot and Horse have been engaged in pitch'd Battels, *Syracuse* is attacked as well by Sea as Land, and we hear the shouts of those that are fighting, and the clattering of their Arms, and yet all the while are our selves kept idle and do nothing, as if we had neither hands nor weapons. The Legions of Bond-slaves under *T. Sempronius* have often already fought the Enemy with Banners display'd, and for their reward have obtained first their Liberty, and next their Freedom of the City: Let us too, if it be but in quality of Slaves redeem'd for these Wars, have leave to cope with the Enemy, as they have done, and endeavour by our manhood to regain our liberty as well as they: Will you be pleased to make an Experiment of our Courage by Sea or by Land, in a pitch'd Battel, in storming a Town, or entring a Breach? We challenge and sue for some Services of the greatest difficulty and danger, that we may the sooner make up whatever we were wanting in at *Cannæ*, seeing all the time we have lived since has but served to augment our disgrace.

VII. Saying this, they flung themselves down at *Marcellus's* feet, who told them, That he  
had

had neither Power of himself, nor Commission otherwise to relieve them, but he would represent their desires to the Senate, and readily do for them whatever the Fathers should order. These Letters being brought to the new Consuls, and by them communicated to the Senate: Their Lordships after some Debate thereupon, declar'd, That they saw no reason why the Affairs of the Commonwealth should be intrusted to those who deserted their Fellow-Souldiers fighting before *Cannæ*; however if *M. Claudius* the Proconsul should judge otherwise, they left it to him to do therein what he thought might stand with the safety of the State and his own Honour; provided that no one of them should be discharged from the Service, nor rewarded with any Military token of Honour for his Valour, nor suffer'd to come home as long as the Enemy continued within Italy. After this, by Authority of the Senate confirm'd by an Act of the Commons, the City-Prætor held a Common Hall, where there was a Committee of Five chosen to look after the repairing of the Walls and Forts; and two Committees of Triumvirs, the one to survey and inventory all Sacred things and Oblations; the other to rebuild the Temples of Fortune, and *Dame Matuta* within the Gate *Carmentalis*, as also that of the Goddess *Spes* without the Gate, which had all been demolish'd by the Fire last year. At this time happen'd great Tempests that did much harm. At Mount *Alban* it rain'd stones two days one after another; many places were blasted with Lightning, viz. two Chappels in the Capitol, the Rampier in the Camp at *Suessula* in several places, and two Sentinels struck dead, the Wall and some Towers at *Cumes* not only struck with Thunderbolts, but quite thrown down. At *Reate* a mighty Stone or Rock seen to fly in the Air; the Sun redder than ordinary, and almost like Blood. To expiate these Prodigies solemn Supplications were held one whole day, and the Consuls spent divers days in attending the Affairs of Religion, and during that time Sacrifices were offer'd for nine days together. Whereas *Annibal* had long been in hopes, and the Romans in doubt, of the *Tarentines* Revolt, there happen'd now an Accident abroad, which not a little accelerated the same. There was one *Phileas* a *Tarentine* that had long remain'd at Rome as a Lieger Embassadours, who being a bulie-headed man, and quite weary with lying so long at quiet, found means to get access to the Hostages, which his Country had given to the Romans for their fidelity; who were kept in an Apartment belonging to the Temple of Liberty, and the less strictly guarded, because 'twas neither their own nor their Cities interest that they should offer to escape; but this Embassadour with his frequent discourses inveigled them, and having brib'd two Sextons or Wardens of the said Temple, at the beginning of the Evening got them out of Custody, and so away both he and they fled secretly out of Town homewards. Next Morning early the News was all about Town, and Messengers dispatch'd to pursue them, who seized them on this side *Tarracina*, and brought them all back, and being led into the Common Hall, they were by the Votes of the People first scourged, and then thrown headlong from the Cliff of the Rock *Tarpeia*.

VIII. The severity of this punishment enraged two of the noblest Cities of the Grecians in Italy, as being not only generally toucht in Honour, but fill'd with particular resentments of Grief and Indignation, as every one was related by Blood or Friendship to those that were thus basely put to death; amongst the rest there were about thirteen *Tarentine* Noblemen, of whom *Nico* and *Philemenus* were the principal, that entred into a Conspiracy to revenge it; but before they entred into any Action, thought fit in the first place to have some Conference with *Annibal*, and under pretence of going out a Hunting a nights, go to him; when they were got near his Camp, the rest hid themselves in the Woods, *Nico* and *Philemenus* advanced to the Out-guards, offer'd themselves to be taken, and desired to be brought before *Annibal*, to whom they relate their design, the grounds thereof, and what progress they had made in it; He thanked them, and gave them large promises of reward, enjoining them, That the better to bubble the rest of their Country-men, and avoid suspicion of Correspondence, that when they came abroad to hunt, they should drive away some of the *Carthaginians* Cattel which were abroad at pasture, promising they should do it safely and without opposition. The Booty brought in by these young Gentlemen was much taken notice of, but when they had done so several times, their Courage in attempting it was the less wondred at, and nothing suspected. At another Meeting with *Annibal* they concluded, That the Inhabitants of *Tarentum* should remain free, enjoy their own Laws and Customs and all things belonging to them, and neither pay Tribute to the Punicks, nor receive a Garrison without their own consent, but the spoil of the Roman Garrison, whom they were to deliver up and betray, should belong to the *Carthaginians*. These Articles being concluded, *Philemenus* used much oftner to go out and come in a nights, and as he was known to be a great Hunter, so he had always his Hounds with him, and other Furniture for the Sport; and generally something that he brought home either caught by his Dogs, or got from the Enemy, being ready offered to his hands, he would bestow upon the Captain of the Guard or the Sentinels. He was believed to chuse to go out in the night for fear of being met with by the Enemy, and the thing was now grown so customary, that at any time of night, if he did but whistle, the Gate was presently open'd; therefore *Annibal* thought it high time to proceed to Execution: he was three days march off, where that it might not be wondred at that he lay so long at one place, he gave out that he was sick, and the Roman Garrison in *Tarentum* were now out of all apprehensions of danger from his staying there.

But after he resolv'd to go for *Tarentum*, chusing ten thousand Horse and Foot, such as were fittest for Expedition, both by the nimbleness of their Bodies and lightness of their Arms; about the fourth Watch of the Night, he began to advance; sending before about fourscore *Numidian* Horse to scour the Roads, and have their Eyes about them that no Countrymen should spy the Army on their march, or be able to give notice of it; therefore those they overtook they were to carry back, and those they met to kill, that the people might think they were a Gang of Thieves and Highway-men, rather than part of an Army. He himself made a long march, and Encamp'd next Night not above fifteen miles from *Tarentum*, and even there would not discover where his design lay, only calling his Souldiers together charg'd them, *That not a man should straggle out of the Road, or quit his rank, That they should diligently wait for the words of Command, but attempt nothing without Orders, and in due time he would acquaint them what was to be done.* About the same instant news came to *Tarentum*, That the *Numidian* Horse were abroad a plundering, and put the Countrymen far and near into great fright and consternation; yet upon this Intelligence the *Roman* Governour concern'd himself no further than to Order a Party of Horse to go at break of day next Morning to beat them back from Forraging, but as to any preparations for his Security, was altogether remiss, and took this Excursion of the *Numidians* as an Argument that *Annibal* with his Army was not dislodg'd but still continued at their old Leaguer. *Annibal* as soon as it was dark set forwards again, *Philemenus* went before and led them, loaded with his Hunting Game as he used to be, the rest of the Conspirators waited their time to execute their several Charges, as was before agreed amongst them; which was, that *Philemenus* carrying in his Venison at the Wicket, should get in a parcel of armed men, and *Annibal* on the other part should march up to the Gate call'd *Temenis*, which situate on the Landside was towards the East, a little within the Wall as it were in a nook; when *Annibal* approach'd pretty near that Gate, he gave a signal by a blaze of Fire, which was answer'd in like manner by *Nico* that Commanded a Forlorn Hope, and presently both extinguish'd again that the City might take no notice on't. *Annibal* march'd up silently towards the Gate, whilst *Nico* seizing the Watchmen unawares, and killing them as they lay half asleep, opens the Port, *Annibal* enters with the Foot, but Orders his Horse to stay without, that on open ground they might be ready where there should be most occasion. *Philemenus* by this time was come near the Wicket on the other side which he was wont to go in at, and raising the Watchman with his usual Whistle and Voice well known, bidding him make haste, for they had got such a prize as they could hardly stand under it; the Portal was flung open, two lusty Fellows carrying in a vast Wild Boar between them, himself follow'd with one of the Huntsmen lightly-arm'd, and whilst the Fellow was staring upon and admiring the greatness of the Beast, thrust him through with an Hunting Spear; presently thirty more armed get in, and cut to pieces the rest of the Watch, fling open the great Gate, and the whole Party enter with Banners display'd, and so being silently led to the Market place, join *Annibal*, who then dividing two thousand *Gauls* into three Squadrons sent them to secure several parts of the City, and the *Tarentines* and *Africans* to seize those streets that were most populous, with Orders to kill all the *Romans* they met, but spare the *Inhabitants*; and that the same might be observ'd, directed some of the *Tarentines* to go in the head of each Party, to bid each of their Townsmen they should see at a distance, be quiet, keep out of the way, and fear nothing.

- X. By this time all places were full of tumult and clamour, as is wont to be in a City taken, but what the matter was, no body certainly understood; The *Tarentines* suspected the *Romans* were going to plunder their City; the *Romans* imagin'd the Townsmen were up to cut their Throats by Treachery. The Governour awaken'd at the first hubbub, fled to the Haven, and thence in a Skiff to the Castle. That which added to the terrour was a Trumpet heard from the Theatre, for it was a *Roman* Trumpet provided by the Conspirators for this purpose, and being unskilfully sounded by a *Grecian* not at all used to such Instruments, it was doubtful whose side it was of, or what signal was thereby meant to be given: but when it grew somewhat light, and the *Romans* saw the *Punick* and *Gallick* Arms, there was no more doubting in the Case, and the *Grecians* seeing the *Romans* every where lie kill'd were satisfied the City was taken by *Annibal*. After 'twas grown perfect day, and those *Romans* that surviv'd were fled into the Castle, and the hurry was pretty well over; *Annibal* Commanded the *Tarentines* to assemble at the Common Hall without Weapons, which they did accordingly (except those that accompanied the *Romans* to the Castle resolv'd to run the same Fortune with them.) *Annibal* made a winning Speech to the *Tarentines*, putting them in mind how courteous he had been to their Citizens taken either at *Thrasymenus* or *Cannæ*, withal inveighing against the proud domineering humour and oppressions of the *Romans*; and then required them all to depart every one to his own dwelling, and write his name upon his door, and that those Houses which should not be so written upon he would forthwith give his Souldiers a signal to plunder; and if any should presume to write a name on any House wherein the *Romans* were Quarter'd (which were all empty Houses) he would punish them as Enemies. The Assembly being dismiss'd and the Houses by that token distinguish'd which were to be treated as Friends, and which as Enemies, the Signal was given and the Souldiers fell to plundering as fast as they could, and got some parcel of Pillage. Next

Next day he march'd to attack the Castle, but seeing it so advantageously situate, defended by the Sea, (which washes the greatest part of it as a *Peninsula*.) and with vast high and steep Rocks, and towards the City fortified with a gallant Wall and mighty Ditch, and that it was neither to be won by Scalado nor Battery, that he might not by securing the *Tarentines*, lose opportunities for greater affairs, nor yet leave them exposed to the Excursions of the *Romans* at their pleasure from the Castle, he appointed a Rampier to be raised between the City and the Castle, not without hopes, That the *Romans* to hinder the same would come out, and so he might have an opportunity to fight them, and if they rashly adventur'd too far, might by a notable slaughter so weaken the Garrison, that the *Tarentines* themselves might thenceforwards easily defend their City against them. His hopes prov'd propheticall, for no sooner was the work began, but out came the *Romans* falling full drive upon the Pioneers, and the Guard set for their defence retreated on purpose, that seeming success might encrease their confidence, and they might follow them in greater numbers and further; but upon a signal given, the *Punicks* start up on every side of them, being before planted for that purpose; nor were the *Romans* able to stand before them, and yet could not well run away, the straightness of the street, and the work begun, and materials provided for it, being in their way and hindering them, so that many tumbled headlong into the Trench, and more were kill'd flying than fighting. Thenceforwards the work went on without opposition. A very deep and large Trench, and a Rampier within it, and at a little distance behind that, he gave Order to build a Wall, so that even without a Garrison they might well enough keep off the *Romans*; however he left a small Garrison, not only to secure them, but help to build the Wall. Himself with the rest of his Forces march'd to the River *Gelesus* five miles off the City, and there Encamp'd. Whence after some time he return'd to view the Work, and finding that it went forward better than he look'd for, he began to entertain hopes that the Citadel also might be won by Assault; for though strong in other respects, yet it did not stand high, but upon plain even ground divided from the City only by a Wall and a Trench; now when 'twas assaulted with all sorts of Engines of Battery and undermining recruits happening to arrive from *Metapont*, so rais'd the Courage of the Besieg'd *Romans*, that in the night on a sudden they sallied unexpectedly and seiz'd the Enemies works, some they flung down and the rest they burnt, and so put an end to *Annibal's* attacking the Fort that way; and now all his hopes were to weary them out with a lingering Siege, but that too was unlikely, for those in the Castle had the Sea open, and on the contrary the City was by them cut off from any provisions by water, so that the Besiegers were like sooner to be reduc'd to want than the Besieged. *Annibal* having summon'd the principal Citizens of *Tarentum*, lays before them all the present difficulties, that he could see no way how to win the Castle by force, so strong and fortified as it was; nor had any hopes to reduce it by a Siege as long as they were Masters of the Sea; but if once there were Ships before them to hinder relief from being carried in, they would soon be obliged either to quit the place, or surrender both it and themselves. The *Tarentines* were all of the same opinion, and added, That he only that gave the Counsel was able to find means to execute it; For a few Carthaginian Ships sent for from Sicily would do the work, for as for their own they lay shut up in a little Creek, and considering the Enemy commands the mouth of the Haven, how was it possible they should get out into the open Sea? Yes, yes (replies *Annibal*) they shall get out well enough I'll warrant you, many things that in their own nature are cumbersome, and seem almost impossible, yet by policy are brought to pass, and dispatch'd with a sleight; your City is situate upon a plain Champian ground, the ways on every side even and broad enough, I will chuse the high street that leads from the Haven quite cross the City to the Sea, and carry the Ships upon Wains with no great trouble; Then shall the Sea be ours, and we will attack them on that side by water as well as on this by Land, and doubt not but in a little time we shall either take the Fort, or make them abandon it. This Discourse not only gave them hopes of effecting the business, but also set them in great admiration of *Annibal's* prudence and parts; so out of hand all the Wains and Carts that could be got, were brought together and coupled one with another, Cranes and other Engines employ'd to hoist up the Vessels out of the Dock, and the way all levell'd, that they might pass with less difficulty, Cartel for Draught, and Labourers were hired, and all hands at work so industriously, that within few dayes, the Fleet was brought about over Land, and well rigg'd and man'd came and rode at Anchor on the other side the Castle before the mouth of the Haven; In these terms stood *Tarentum* when *Annibal* left it, and went to his Winter Quarters. Authors do not altogether agree whether this revolt of *Tarentum* happen'd in this year, or the year before, but the most and those that lived nearest those times assign it to this year.

The Consuls and Prætors remain'd at Rome till the seven and twentieth of April, on Account of solemnizing the Latine Holy-Days, and then having performed the Religious Ceremonies on the Alban Hill, set forwards every one towards his Province. About this time a new fit of Religion invaded the peoples minds, occasion'd by certain Verses of one *Marcianus*. This *Marcianus* whilst he liv'd, was counted a notable Prophet, and when last year Inquisition was made after such Books by Decree of the Senate, this happen'd to fall into the hands of *M. Atilius* the City-Prætor who had charge of that affair; and he deliver'd it

XI.

XII.

it to the new Prætor Sulla. There were two passages in this *Marcian's* Verses much taken notice of, of which one being not made publick till the Event was past, and found exactly verified, gave credit to the other which related to what was to come. In the first, the Romans Overthrow at Canne was predicted in these words,

You Romans sprang from Troy, forbear  
River of Canne to come near,  
Lest a strange Foe enforce your rage  
In Diomed's Field to engage.  
But I forewarn, I know, in vain,  
Your Blood shall dye that fatal Plain,  
And thousand Carcasses of slain  
From fruitful ground, shall floating be  
Along that stream to the vast Sea.  
Your Men to Fish and Fowls and Beasts of prey,  
Believe this true; Jove dictates what I say.

Now all that had served in those Wars knew and remembered *Diomed's* Field and the River of Canne as perfectly as they did the Defeat it self. Then was the other Prophecy likewise read, the obscurer of the two, both as being yet to be fulfilled, (and future things are always most dark) as also because it was delivered in a more intricate Stile and perplexed Phrase, thus

If you Invaders would expel by War,  
And 'scape the Plague-sore threatned from afar,  
To great Apollo, Romans, I advise  
That you vow annual Plays in solemn wise  
From publick Stock part of the Charge defray,  
The rest for him and his, let each man pay.  
The Sovereign Prætor must these Games perform,  
Who sits in Judgment, and does wrongs reform,  
And let the Decemvirs take special heed  
The Offerings do with Grecian Rites proceed.  
If this be duly done, banish your fears,  
Your State shall thenceforth thrive for many years,  
Phœbus will save you, and your Foes subdue,  
Who now do waste your Fields, and slaughter you.

The Senate took one days time to consider of the Explanation of this Prophecy, and next day pass'd an Act, That the Decemvirs should inspect the Sibylline Books touching Games to be instituted to the Honour of Apollo, and the manner of Celebrating the necessary Sacrifices: Who having viewed the same, and made Report, the Fathers Order'd, That solemn Games and Pastimes in Honour of Apollo should be Celebrated; and that when the same were held, twelve thousand Asses [37 l. 10 s. sterling] should be allow'd the Prætor towards the Expences thereof, and of two greater Beasts for Sacrifices. And by another Ordinance the Decemvirs were required in all their Sacrifices and Divine Service of that day to observe the Grecian Rites and Ceremonies, and to offer up these Beasts following, viz. an Ox and two white she-Goats, all having their Horns gilt with Gold, to Apollo, and to *Madam Latona* his Sister, a Cow with like gilded Horns. The Prætor, before he exhibited the Show in the great Circus, made Proclamation, That the people during those Solemnities should contribute money for an Offering to Apollo, every one according to his ability. This was the Original of these *Apollinarian* Games instituted for obtaining Victory, and not for recovering of Health, as most people imagine. When they were celebrated, the people stood to behold them crown'd with Garlands, the Matrons went in Procession; every bodies door was set open, and they feasted throughout the City in the open street, and an high Holyday it was observed with all kind of sacred Ceremonies suitable to the occasion.

XIII. In the mean time *Annibal* continued about *Tarentum*, and both the Consuls for the present quarter'd in *Samnium*, but 'tis thought had a design to invest *Capua*, the rather for that the same Calamity which usually attends long Sieges, did already pinch that City, viz. scarcity of Corn, because the Roman Troops had either hindred their season, or eat up their Crop. The *Capuans* therefore dispatch'd Messengers to *Annibal*, intreating, That before the Consuls advanced into their Territories, and all ways were beset by the Enemy, he would cause store of Corn to be convey'd to them out of the adjacent Countries. Accordingly *Annibal* gave Orders to *Hanno* to march from amongst the *Bruttians* into *Campania*, and supply *Capua* with Grain; *Hanno*, to avoid the Romans that lay in *Samnium*, march'd by the way of *Beneventum*, and encamp'd on an Ascent three miles from that City, whither he order'd Corn should be brought out of all the associate Cities thereabouts, in which it had been laid up last Harvest, and

and sent out strong Parties to convoy the same. After which he sent an Express to *Capua*, appointing a certain day when they should come and receive their Corn, and against that time to provide all the Carts, Pack-horses, and Beasts of burden they could get together out of the Country. But the *Capuans* managed this important Affair with the same sloth and negligence as they were wont to use in all their other Concerns, and sent not above four hundred Carts and very few Beasts of Carriage besides; for which *Hanno* gave them a severe Reprimand, saying, He saw that even hunger it self which causes brute beasts to look out sharp, was not able to excite them to a due care and diligence for their own preservation. So another day was prefixt when they should come better provided for the rest of the Grain. But the people of *Beneventum* having notice of all these Transactions as they happen'd, sent with all speed ten Messengers to the Roman Consuls (who lay encamp'd near *Bovianum*) to advertize them thereof. Who after due consideration, resolv'd that one of them should advance presently into *Campania*, and accordingly *Fulvius*, who undertook that Charge, march'd by night to *Beneventum*, and put himself within the Walls of the Town; where he was inform'd by those that dwelt nigh, That *Hanno* with part of his Army was gone abroad to get in more Corn; And the Treasurer was left behind to deliver out to the *Capuans* the Corn appointed for them; of whom there was now come to the Camp about two thousand Carriages, with a rude disorderly multitude of people besides, but unarm'd; That they did all things in an hurry and afright; That the Camp was quite out of order, and all Military Discipline overthrown by this Rabble of so many Country-Clowns intermingled amongst them. All which being well assur'd of, the Consul gave notice to make ready against the next night nothing but their Ensigns and Arms, for they should attacke the *Punic* Camp. At the Relief of the fourth Watch, they march'd forth, leaving all their Baggage and Artillery at *Beneventum*, and coming up to the Camp a little before day, struck such a terrour into the Enemy, that had it been situate upon plain ground, it had undoubtedly been won at the very first Assault. But the height of the ground no way accessible, but up a very steep Ascent, together with their Works, secured them for the present. Allsoon as 'twas light an hot Skirmish began, and the *Carthaginians* not only defend their Rampier, but having the advantage of the ground, tumble the Assaultants headlong down the Hill.

But so obstinate was the Romans Courage, that it surmounted all difficulties, and in several places they were got up to the Banks and Trenches, but it not being without a great slaughter of his men and abundance wounded, the Consul acquainted the Field-Officers, That he thought it safer to retire for that day back to *Beneventum*, and on the morrow encamp before the Enemy, and so prevent both the *Capuans* from getting out, and *Hanno* from returning; which the easier to effect, he would send for his Colleague and his Army, and turn the whole brunt of the War this way: But these Counsels of the General the fury of the Souldiers disappointed; for when he caus'd a Retreat to be sounded, they set up a shout as in disdain of such a lazy Command, and put the Consul besides his measures. Next the Enemies Gate, there was a Regiment of the *Peligni*, whose Commander *Vibius* snatching up the Standard, flung it over the Enemies Rampier, cursing and devoting himself and all that Regiment to the Infernal Gods, if they suffer'd the Enemies to enjoy that Ensign, and therewith himself formost leaped after it into their Camp, whilst the *Pelignians* were following him, and already fought upon the Rampier; at another place *Valerius Flaccus*, a Colonel of the third Legion, upbraiding the Romans with Cowardise for suffering a Company of their Allies to go away with the Honour of storming the Enemies Camp, *T. Pedantius*, the Prime Centurion of that Squadron, took likewise an Ensign from him that carried it; Now presently (quoth he) shall this Ensign and this Centurion (meaning himself) be in the Enemies Camp, and those that would not have it to be taken, let them follow it. His own Band followed him first, clambering over the Rampier, and afterwards the whole Legion, which the Consul seeing, changed his resolution, and now was as earnest to encourage them to go on, as before he was for having them retreat, shewing them what extreme hazard a most valiant Regiment of their Allies, and a whole Legion of their Fellow-Citizens, were in, if not speedily seconded; therefore they all, every one for himself, strain'd to the utmost, and though showers of Darts and Javelins were darted at them, and the Enemy oppos'd both their Arms and their bodies to oppose their passage; yet they press'd on with undaunted resolution, and failed not to attempt every place, high or low, easie or difficult, till they had broke through and got in. In which Service great numbers were wounded, but even they that bled till they fainted, were ambitious of dying within the Enemies Trenches, so that the Camp was taken in a moment, as if it had been situate on plain ground, and nothing fortified. Thenceforwards 'twas not a Fight, but a Slaughter pell-mell throughout the Camp, above six thousand of the Enemy slain, and more than that number taken Prisoners, together with all the *Capuans* that came for Corn, and their Carts and Cattel; besides a very rich Booty, which *Hanno* had plunder'd from all the Romans Allies. The Works being dismantled, the victorious Romans return to *Beneventum*, and there both Consuls (for *App. Claudius* came thither within few days) sold and divided the Spoil, giving rewards to those who first mounted the Enemies Rampier, especially to *Vibius* the *Pelignian*, and *T. Pedantius* eldest Captain of the third Legion. *Hanno* being at *Cominium Ceritum* when he received Intelligence of the loss of his

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Camp, hastned thence with some few Forragers whom he had with him, into the *Bruttians* Country, more like one that fled in a Rout, than with an orderly Retreat.

XV. The *Campanians* upon advice of this utter overthrow, both of their Confederates and loss of their own people, sent Agents to inform *Annibal*, That the two *Consuls* lay at *Beneventum*, but one days march from *Capua*, so that the War was but a step from the very Walls and Gates of their City, and if he made not Expedition to relieve them, *Capua* would sooner fall into the Enemies hands than *Arpos* did; that certainly they hop'd he would not think the whole City of *Tarentum*, much less the Castle only, of such importance, that he should for the sake thereof suffer *Capua*, forsaken and undefended, to be exposed to the Romans, even that *Capua* which he was wont to compare with *Carthage* it self. *Annibal* promising that he would take their safety into his care, sends back with the Messengers two thousand Horse at present to prevent the plundering of the Country. The Romans in the mean time, amongst their other affairs, neglected not the preservation of the Castle of *Tarentum*, and the Garrison there beleaguere'd. The *Prætor* *P. Cornelius*, by the Senates Order, sent *C. Servilius* his Lieutenant General into *Tuscany* to buy up Corn, who with several Ships laden therewith, arriv'd at *Tarentum*, passing through all the Guards of the Enemy. Whose Arrival so heartned the Souldiers, that whereas before, being well near hopeles, the Enemy would often, by way of Parley, tempt them to desert the service, and come over to them, now on the contrary, they were as busy to induce the Townsmen to revolt to them. And indeed the Garrison was pretty strong, the Souldiers that Quarter'd at *Metapont* being brought to their assistance, and the *Metapontines* were no sooner rid of them, but they fell off to *Annibal*; as did also the *Thurines* who inhabited not far off on the same Sea-Coast, being instigated therunto, as well by the Example of the *Metapontines* to whom they were related, being all descended from *Achaia*, as out of spight and revenge against the Romans for having lately put to Death the Hostages, of whom some were of their City. Whose Friends and Kindred sent Letters to *Hanno* and *Mago*, who Quarter'd not far off in the *Bruttians* Country, That if they would but bring their Forces before the Walls, they would surrender the City into their hands. The Governor there was *M. Atinius* with a small Garrison, but 'twas thought he might be drawn rashly to hazard a Battel, not so much on confidence of his own Souldiers, who were but few, as relying upon the *Thurine* Youth, whom he had caused to be all Muster'd and Train'd to Arms against such an Exigency; The *Punick* Generals divided their Forces, and so came into the *Thurines* Country, *Hanno* with a Squadron of Foot advanc'd with Banners display'd directly towards the City; *Mago* staid with the Cavalry behind the Hills which lay between him and the Town, very convenient to conceal an Ambuscade. *Atinius* being inform'd by his Scouts, that there was only a Body of Foot and no Horse amongst them, draws out his Forces into the Field to fight them, being equally ignorant of the Treachery within, and the Enemies stratagem abroad; The Foot Skirmish was but faint and slow, for on one side only a few Romans in the Vanguard charg'd the Enemy, for the *Thurines* stood rather waiting the event, than willing to hazard themselves; and on the other side the *Carthaginians* did purpose by giving ground to drill the Romans so far, that the Horse from behind the Hills might conveniently fall upon their Rear; who when they saw a convenience with a great shout charg'd on full drive behind them, and the *Thurines* as soon as they saw them, betook themselves to their heels, being but a raw undisciplin'd rabble, and besides not hearty to the side they were engag'd in; The Romans though encompass'd and charg'd behind with the Cavalry and before with the Infantry, yet for some time maintain'd the Conflict, but at last being over-power'd, they too began to fly to the City, where the Conspirators being gather'd together in heaps, after by opening the Gates they had receiv'd in their own Townsmen, when they saw the Romans come running apace in disarray, cry'd out, The *Carthaginians* were at their heels, and intermixt with them, would seize the City, unless immediately the Gates were clapt to; so the Romans were shut out and expos'd to be cut to pieces by the Enemy; only *Atinius* and some few more got in; after this there was Debate for a while amongst the Townsmen themselves, some being for standing on their Guard and defending the place, others for a present yielding to the Conquerors, but in the end Fortune and design together prevail'd, and having brought *Atinius* and his Souldiers to the Haven, and put them on Board (more out of affection to his person for his civil and gentle Government, than out of respect to the Romans) they admitted the *Carthaginians* into the City. The *Consuls* march their Legions from *Beneventum* into *Campania*, not only to destroy their Granaries of Corn laid up for Winter, but to assault *Capua* it self, thinking they should illustrate their Consulship by the destruction of so rich a City, and besides wipe off that dishonour and scandal from the Roman Empire, in suffering a place so near, to continue now the third year in Rebellion, without chastizing them for their perfidiousness. But that *Beneventum* might not be without a Guard, nor expos'd to sudden accidents of War, if *Annibal* should come that way to relieve his Confederates (which they doubted not but he would endeavour.) That there might be a sufficient Body of Horse to oppose him, *T. Gracchus* was Commanded to march with the Cavalry and light-arm'd Foot, out of *Lucania* to *Beneventum*, deputing some other to command in Chief during his absence, and govern the Legions and standing Camp left there for the *Lucans* Defence.

But

But before *Gracchus* could remove out of *Lucania*, one day as he was sacrificing, a terrible Prodigy happen'd; for after the Sacrifice was perform'd, two Snakes creeping out of some private hole, got to the Entrails, and eat part of the Liver, and as soon as they were espied, scrabled away immediately out of sight; and when by the *Aruspices* Advice, a new Sacrifice was kill'd, and the Bowels more narrowly watcht, yet they came again, and so the third time, and having bitten a piece of the Liver, vanisht. And though the Sooth-sayers declar'd that this was an Ill omen to the General, and forewarn'd him to take heed of treacherous persons and private Conspiracies, yet the imminent danger could by no foresight be prevented. There was one *Flavius* a *Lucan*, the Head of that Party, which when some of their Countrymen revolted to *Annibal*, continued firm to the Romans, and being by them Created *Prætor*, had continued a year in that Office; but now of a sudden, the Romans himself, and draw the rest of the *Lucans* to the same defection, unless he ratified his Alliance with the Enemy with the Blood of the Roman General, who was also his Guest, and Quarter'd in his House; In order to which he found means to hold a private Conference with *Mago*, who then presidet over the *Bruttians*, and having receiv'd assurances, That if he would betray the Roman General, and deliver him into his hands, the *Lucanians* should be received into Friendship upon even Terms, and enjoy all their old Laws as before; He leads the *Carthaginian* to a place, to which he would bring *Gracchus* under colour of a Treaty of Peace with others, and advises *Mago* to plant Horse and Foot there in Ambuscade, there being room enough to hide as many as he pleas'd. The place being thoroughly view'd and search'd, a day was agreed upon for putting the design in Execution. Then comes *Flavius* to the Roman General, tells him; That he had begun an Enterprize of great consequence, but to compleat it, should need his Excellencies helping hand; That he had prevail'd with all the *Prætors* and Governours of the several Nations, who in that general conturbation of Italy, had revolted to *Annibal*, to abandon his Interest, and return to their old Friendship with the Romans, seeing the Roman State and power which by the blow at *Cannæ* seem'd to be at the lowest ebb, had of late began to flourish again, and every day grew more strong and formidable; whereas *Annibal's* dwindled away, and was like to come to nothing. That there was no reason, they should apprehend the Romans would prove implacable for their former offence, since there was not on the face of the Earth a Nation better-natur'd, more ready to be reconcil'd, and pass by Injuries; for how oft (to go no further for Examples) have they forgiven the open Rebellions of your own Forefathers; These Arguments (says he) I have used to them, but they were desirous to have the same confirm'd from *Gracchus's* own mouth, and that he would be pleas'd to ratify the Agreement with them in person with his own right hand, than which they desired no better pledge. That he had assign'd them a place for this congress, not far from the Roman Camp, but out of sight, where the Treaty might be dispatcht in very few words, which would reduce all the several Nations of the *Lucans* to the obedience and alliance of the people of Rome. *Gracchus* not in the least suspecting any Treachery either in his Discourse, or the matter it self propos'd, both the one and the other being highly probable, and proceeding from an old try'd friend as he thought, suffers himself, only attended with his *Lictors* and one Troop of Horse, to be plunged headlong by the Villany of his Host into the prepared Snarcs of the Enemy; who on a sudden start out upon them, and to put him out of doubt that it was not accident but design, *Flavius* joins himself to their Party, who let fly Arrows, Darts and Javelyns against *Gracchus* and his Troop on every side; whereupon *Gracchus* alights, and commands the rest to do so too, exhorting them. That they would by their valour render honourable the only course which fortune had left; for what can we few circumvented here by a multitude in a Valley, encompass'd with Woods and Hills, expect but certain Death? This only is left to our choice whether in a stupid amazement we shall cheaply part with our Lives, and like Beasts suffer our Throats to be cut without opposition and revenge; or whether turning wholly our timorous expectations of death into a gallant fury, we shall acquit our selves like men, and bathing our hands in the blood of our Enemies, fall dead upon heaps of their Bodies lying gasping under us; But especially aim all of you at the heart of that Traiterous Renegado *Lucanian*; whoever shall send his Soul to the Devil before he is kill'd himself, shall certainly have his own death attended both with Comfort and Honour; Saying this he wrapt his Robe of State about his left Arm (for they had not so much as brought their Shields along with them) and charg'd with admirable Gallantry upon the Enemy. The Fight was much fiercer on their part than could be expected from such an handful of men; but as the Romans being naked without their Armour were the more liable to the Enemies Darts, so they were under the disadvantage of receiving them from the higher ground, whereby they were soon pierc'd through and destroy'd. *Gracchus* surviving now as it were alone, and his Guard dead at his Feet, the *Punicks* endeavour to take him alive, but he discovering his *Lucan* Host amongst them, flew in through the thickest of them, with such fury, that they could not spare his Life, without many of them losing their own. He was no sooner dead, but *Mago* sent his Corpse to *Annibal*, and order'd the same together with the Rods (Ensigns of his Magistracy) taken with him, to be presented before the Generals Tribunal; This is the most certain Relation of the end of *Gracchus*, and that he lost his Life in *Lucania* about the Plains which are call'd, *The old Downs*.

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XVII. Not but there are some report it otherwise, viz. That going out of the Camp with his Liſtors and three Servants to waſh himſelf in the River *Calore*, a Party of the Enemies lurking amongſt the Willows that grew on the Banks, ſeiz'd him naked and unarm'd, and that having nothing to defend himſelf with but the ſtones which the River afforded, he was ſlain. Others ſay, That by advice of the *Arufpices* he went half a mile from the Camp, into a void ſolitary place, to expiate the aforeſaid Prodigies, and there was accidentally ſurpriz'd by two Troops of *Numidian* Horſe. Such different ſtories there go both of the place and manner of this Illuſtrious Hero's death; nay, his Funeral is not agreed upon; ſome ſay he was buried in the *Roman* Camp by his own men; others (which is the moſt received Tradition) aſſert that *Annibal* cauſed at the entrance of his Camp a ſtately Funeral Pile to be rais'd whiſt the whole Army in compleat Armour perform'd Military Exerciſes, that the *Spaniards* uſed their Martial Dances, and each Nation according to their mode paid Honours to his Obſequies both by the motion of their Arms and their Bodies, and particularly that *Annibal* himſelf was no ways, either in words or deeds, wanting to expreſs his high Eſteem for his Memory. This they deliver who make *Lucania* the Scene of his Tragedy; but if you credit thoſe that ſay he was kill'd at the River *Calore*, the Enemy got nothing but his Head, which being carried to *Annibal*, he ſent it preſently to *Carthago*, who cauſed it to be return'd to *C. Cornelius* the Quæſtor, and that he celebrated his Funeral Rites in the *Roman* Camp, the Inhabitants of *Beneventum* joining with the Army therein.

XVIII. The Conſuls having entred the Fields of *Capua*, as they were careleſſy foraging, a ſudden Sally of the Citizens and *Mago's* Horſe put them into a fright; ſo that in an hurry they were glad to recal their wandring Souldiers to their Colours, and having ſcarce well drawn them up in Battalia, were routed and loſt above fifteen hundred men. This ſet the Enemy Cock-a-hoop, being a Nation naturally proud, and now they daily challenge the *Romans* with Bravado's and Skirmiſhes, but one Engagement raſhly and unadviſedly entred upon, had made the Conſuls more intent to avoid the like for the future. And a certain occurrence happen'd which both animated them, and daunted the Enemy, a ſmall accident I would call it, but that in War there is nothing ſo ſmall or light, but ſometimes it happens to be of great moment in the conſequence. There was one *Badius* a *Campanian*, heretofore an intimate Friend to *T. Quintius Crispinus*, and their familiarity increaſed; for that being ſick at *Rome*, he was very liberally entertain'd Gueſt-wife by *Crispinus* before the Revolt of *Capua*, and courteouſly taken care of till he was cured. This *Badius* coming up to the outward Guard before the Port of the Camp, deſir'd *Crispinus* to be call'd out, who imagining it was for ſome kind and familiar Conference, as not having forgot their private friendship, though engaged on oppoſite ſides by National Feuds, went forwards ſomewhat before the reſt of his Fellows to meet him; but no ſooner were they within ſight of each other, but *Badius* cries out, *I challenge thee O Crispinus to fight, let us mount our Horſes, and try it out between us two, which is the ſtoutest man at Arms*; *Crispinus* answer'd, *That neither of them both need want Enemies againſt whom they might experiment their prowess; but for his own part he was ſo far from entring into a Duel with him, that if he had unluckily encounter'd him in a pitch'd Field, he ſhould have declin'd him, leſt he ſhould ſtain his hand with the blood and ſlaughter of his Gueſt and Friend*. This made the *Capuan* more insolently upbraid him with Effeminacy and Cowardiſe, and all thoſe reproaches which himſelf better deſerv'd, telling him, That he call'd his Enemy his Gueſt, and pretended to ſpare him on that account, when the true reaſon was, becauſe he was not able to cope with him. But leſt he ſhould think that private obligations were not cancell'd by the publick Breach of Friendſhip between their Countries, he deſired all the World to take notice, *That Badius a Capuan did there publickly in the preſence of the two Armies, renounce all Hoſpitality with Crispinus a Roman; That he would have no friendſhip, no ſociety, no rights of Hoſpitality with one that was come in hoſtile manner to invade his native Country, and violate all things ſacred and profane, publick and private therein; therefore if he were a man, he ſhould prepare for the Combate*. *Crispinus* was loth to chaſtize his folly, but at laſt his Comrades of the ſame Troop prevail'd with him not to ſuffer the *Capuan* to inſult thus with impunity; ſo having ask'd and obtained the Conſuls leave, he arm'd himſelf, mounted, and ſummon'd *Badius* out by name to make good his Challenge; nor did he delay to answer him, and fiercely they charged each other, *Crispinus* with his Lance pierc'd *Badius* (above his Shield) through the ſhoulder, and therewith diſmounted him, and as he lay tumbled on the ground, leap'd off his own Horſe to diſpatch him. But before he could come at him, *Badius* got upon his feet, and leaving his Horſe and Target behind, ran away to his own Party; *Crispinus* carrying back his Enemies Horſe and Arms, ſufficient Trophies of Victory, was with great Applauſe and Congratulations of the Souldiers preſented to the Conſuls, who highly commended his Valour, and honourably rewarded him.

XIX. *Annibal* having diſlodged out of the Territories of *Beneventum*, and advanced near *Capua*, within three days after he came thither, drew up in Battalia, not doubting, ſince the *Capuans* of themſelves in his abſence, had lately fought the *Romans* with ſucceſs, but they would be much leſs able to ſtand before him and his Army, to whom Victory was almoſt become habitual. And indeed when the Conflict was begun, the *Roman* Battalions of Infantry were

were hard put to't, eſpecially by the Incuſions of the Horſe who pelted them mightily with their Darts and Javelins, until Order was given to bring up their own Cavalry to encounter thoſe of the Enemy, who being ſmartly engaged one againſt the other, it happen'd that the Troops of *Sempronius Gracchus* lately ſlain, were deſcried at a diſtance, under the Conduct of *Cn. Cornelius* the Quæſtor, which put both Parties in ſuch fear that they were freſh Forces advancing againſt them, that at once they founded a Retreat on either ſide, as if it had been by mutual conſent, and making a drawn Game on't, retired to their ſeveral Camps; yet the *Romans* loſt the moſt men by reaſon of the firſt furious Charge of the Horſe upon them. Next Night the Conſuls to divert *Annibal* from *Capua* divided their Armies, and march'd ſeveral ways; *Fulvius* into the Territories of *Cumes*, and *Claudius* into *Lucania*, which *Annibal* on the Morning having notice of, was at firſt in a Quandary which of them he ſhould follow, but at laſt reſolv'd to march after the latter, who having led the Enemy about as far as he pleaſed, on a ſudden return'd another way to *Capua*. But in the mean time *Annibal* had a new occaſion offer'd him of ſucceſs in thoſe parts; There was one *M. Centenius* ſirnam'd *Penula*, one of the Chief Centurions of the Forces call'd *Pilani*, and eminent, as well for Stature and ſtrength of Body, as for Courage and Gallantry of mind, who having ſerv'd out his ten years time preſcrib'd by Law, in the Wars, was by *P. Cornelius Sulla* the Prætor introduced into the Senate-Houſe, where he requeſted the Fathers, *That they would be pleaſed to allow him the Command but of five thouſand men, with whom he did not doubt but within a few days to do eminent ſervice. For as he was well acquainted both with the Enemy and all thoſe parts where the War is manag'd, ſo he no leſs underſtood by what Arts and Stratagems both our Generals and Armies to this day had been over-reach'd and trepan'd, and would turn thoſe very Policies upon the Enemy to their deſtruction*. I know not whether he were more conceitedly fooliſh in promiſing this, or their Lordſhips more raſhly indiſcreet in crediting him, as if to be a ſtout Souldier, and a judicious Commander were the ſame thing, and one required no more brains than the other; but ſo it was, that inſtead of five, they committed eight thouſand men to his Conduct, one half *Romans*, the reſt Auxiliaries; and he himſelf in his march in the Country, levied a good many Volunteers, ſo that he came into *Lucania* near ſixteen thouſand ſtrong, where *Annibal* having followed *Claudius* to no purpoſe, was at that time Quarter'd; A man with half an Eye might have foreſeen the ſucceſs which ſhould overcome *Annibal* or a Centurion? one Army old experienc'd Souldiers, the other all raw and new rais'd, and a great part of them both undisciplin'd and ſcarce half arm'd? yet as ſoon as they got ſight of each other, neither ſide avoiding the Combate, they both drew up in Battalia, and though there was ſuch mighty odds, the *Romans* maintain'd the Fight for above two hours, and did not ſlinch as long as their General was alive to encourage them, but when he (conſidering the former reputation he had gain'd, and aſham'd to ſurvive the preſent defeat) hurling himſelf amongſt the thickeſt of the Enemy, was ſlain, immediately all his Army was routed, but ſo beſet were all the paſſages with Horſe, that there was ſcarce any flying away, inſomuch that of all that multitude ſcarce a thouſand eſcaped, the reſt ſome one by one means, and ſome by another, were all deſtroyed.

*Capua* in the interim is vigorously attack'd by the Conſuls, and all neceſſaries provided for carrying on the Siege. Corn was convey'd to *Casilinum*, and there laid up in ſtore; at the mouth of the River *Fulturnus*, where now the City ſtands, the Caſtle which *Fabius Maximus* built, was ſtrongly Garrison'd, to Command both the Sea and the River. And into theſe two Fortreſſes, both ſtanding on the Sea ſide, as well the Corn lately ſent from *Sicily*, as what *Mucius* the Prætor had bought up in *Etruria*, was tranſported from *Oſtia*, that the Leaguer might not want proviſion all the Winter. Upon the late loſs ſuſtain'd in *Lucania*, the Army of Volunteers who as long as *Gracchus* liv'd, had done moſt faithful ſervice, as if they had been diſbanded by their Generals Death, ran from their Colours, and diſperſed themſelves. *Annibal* had *Capua* ſtill in his thoughts, and was not willing to abandon his Associates that were in ſo much danger, but from the ſucceſs he had had over one *Roman* Captains raſhneſs, he was encouraged to be dealing with another, and fought occaſion to ruine both the General and his Army. For ſome *Apulians* brought him word, That *Cn. Fulvius* the Prætor, when he came firſt into thoſe parts, and attack'd the revolted Cities, was very diligent in his buſineſs, but afterwards, what with too much ſucceſs elevating him, and too much plunder debauching his Souldiers, both they and he were fallen into ſo much negligence and licentiouſneſs, that there remained no good Government or Discipline amongſt them.

Hereupon *Annibal*, who often before, as well as but the other day, had experience how inſignificant any Army was under an unſkilful Commander, remov'd his Forces into *Apulia*. The *Roman* Legions and the Prætor *Fulvius* lay encamp'd near *Herdonia*; and upon advice of the Enemies approach, they were all ready without any Orders to run out to fight them; nor did any conſideration ſo much retain them, as an undoubted hope, that they might do it at their own pleaſure whenever they liſt. *Annibal* having notice what a buſſe was in their Camp, and that moſt of the Souldiers were mad for the Signal of Battel, concluded he had an opportunity to do their buſineſs; and therefore the night following plants three thouſand light-arm'd Souldiers in ſome Villages adjacent, and amongſt the Woods and Thickets

Thickets thereabouts, who at a certain Watch-word were all to start out of their Coverts; and also dispatch'd *Mago* with almost two thousand Horse to beset all the ways, by which he thought they would endeavour to escape when put to flight. Matters thus prepared, by break of day he draws his Forces into the Field; nor did *Fulvius* delay to meet him, not so much out of any hope himself had of success, as enforced to it by the importunity of his Souldiers. As they went out to fight inconsiderately, so they were drawn up as disorderly, just as the Souldiers list, they took their ground, and as any *Capricio* or fear induc'd them, left it again, and posted themselves elsewhere. The first Legion was marshall'd in the Front, and its Horse on the left Wing, being spread out in a vast length, though the Field-Marshals oppos'd it, remonstrating, That behind there was no force at all, but so shallow, that the least impression of the Enemy would break through them; but so far were they from considering any wholesom counsel, that they would not so much as give it the hearing. On the other side *Annibal* a General, of parts vastly superiour, came on with an Army like himself, so that the *Romans* stood not their very first Charge; and their Commander, though for folly and rashness he equalled *Centenius*, yet for Courage no way comparable, when he saw the Field like to be lost, and his men in a consternation, gets on Horse-back and fled away, attended with less than two hundred Troopers. The rest of his Army being routed in the Front, and charged by those in Ambuscade both on the Rear and either Flank, were so miserably cut to pieces, that of two and twenty thousand men scarce two thousand escaped; so the Enemy easily possessed themselves of his Camp and what there was to be had.

XXII. When Intelligence of these Overthrows, one upon the neck of another, arriv'd at *Rome*, it fill'd the City with fear and lamentation, but somewhat alleviated when they considered, that the Consuls on whom the main Chance lay, had hitherto gone on with success; to whom *C. Latorius* and *M. Metellius* were dispatch'd with Orders, That they should diligently rally the reliques of those scatter'd Armies, and endeavour that they should not through despair yield themselves to the Enemy, as happen'd after the defeat at *Canne*; as also to make strict search after those Volunteers that had abandon'd their Colours. The same Commands were issued to *P. Cornelius*, and likewise that he should make new Levies, who set forth Proclamation in all Market-Towns and places of resort, That Enquiry should be made after the said Volunteers, requiring them forthwith to repair to their Ensigns. All which directions were executed with the greatest care imaginable. *Appius Claudius* the Consul, after he had constituted *D. Junius* Captain of the Sconce erected at the mouth of the River *Vulturius*, and *M. Aurelius Cotta* Governour of *Puteoli*, with Orders to them both, That as fast as any Ships arriv'd with Corn from *Etruria* or *Sardinia*, they should convey the same to the Camp, went back himself to *Capua*, where he found his Colleague *Q. Fulvius* busie in carrying Provisions thither from *Castellum*, and making all possible Preparations for assaulting that City; which thenceforwards was invested by both Consuls, who besides sent for *Claudius Nero* the Prætor with his Army from *Suessula*, who leaving there a small Guard to secure the place, march'd with the rest of his Forces to join them; so that now *Capua* was furrounded with three distinct Armies, who falling to work in several places, endeavour'd to draw a Line of Circumvallation about it, and in divers Quarters at once they skirmish'd with the men of *Capua*, whenever they fallied out to hinder their Fortifications, with such success, that at last the Townsmen were glad to keep within their Walls; but before the Line was fully finish'd, the *Capuans* sent Messengers to *Annibal*, complaining, That he had abandon'd their City, and as bad as yielded it up to the fury of the *Romans*, withal beseeching him, That now at least he would relieve them, being not only besieg'd, but shut up by Retrenchments on every side. *P. Cornelius* advis'd the Consuls by Letters, That before they had fully invested *Capua* with their Works, they should offer as many of them as thought fit, liberty to come out, and carry their Goods with them; That all should pass free until the fifteenth of *March*, but whoever stay'd longer, must expect to be treated as Enemies. These Overtures were made to the *Capuans*, but entertain'd only with scorn, revilings and menaces; *Annibal* by this time had advanced from *Herdonia* to *Tarentum*, as hoping by force or fraud to gain the Castle there, but meeting with a disappointment, turned his March to *Brundisium*, supposing that Town would be betray'd into his hands. Whilst there he spent his time in vain, the before-mentioned Messengers from *Capua* accosted him both with Complaints and Entreaties; to whom he magnificently answer'd, That he had once already rais'd that Siege, and was sure the Consuls would never abide his second coming. Thus fed with hopes, those Messengers return'd, but could scarce get into *Capua*, it was so inclosed round by this time with a double Trench and Rampier.

XXIII. Whilst *Capua* was thus closely beleaguerr'd, an end was put to the tedious Siege of *Syracuse*, promoted not only by the Skill of the General and Valour of the Army that assailed it, but also by Intestine Treachery: For *Marcellus* at the beginning of the Spring not knowing whether he were best bend all his Forces towards *Agirgentum* against *Himilco* and *Hippocrates*, or continue before *Syracuse*, which he found could not be taken by Storm, being impregnable both by Sea and Land, nor yet starved out, since the passage in a manner lay open, for *Carthage* to send them in all kinds of Provisions; yet to leave no stone unturn'd, he order'd

order'd some Deserters (for there were several of the *Syracusan* Nobles with the *Romans*, being expell'd from home, because they would not consent to the Revolt) to sound the minds of those that had been of their Faction, and to assure them, That if *Syracuse* were deliver'd into his possession by their means, they should remain free, and live at their own discretion; but they could get no opportunity of Conference: For many in the Town being suspected to be that way inclined, all eyes were fix'd upon them, that they should hold no Correspondence with the Enemy. At last a Servant of one of the Exiles being admitted into the City as a Defetter, to a few confiding men propos'd somewhat of the business, who thereupon in a Fisher-boat cover'd with Nets got to the *Roman* Camp, and discours'd with their Country-men that were there. In the same manner others, one after another, to the number of eighty in all, consulted them. But when all things were adjust'd for betraying the City, one *Antalus* taking snuff that he was not sooner intrusted with the Intrigue, discover'd it to *Epicles*, and so they were every one put to death with cruel Tortures. This design thus blasted, a while after another probable one was offer'd: One *Damippus* a *Lacedemonian* sent from *Syracuse* to King *Philip*, being intercepted by the *Romans*, *Epicles* was wonderful solicitous to ransom him, nor was *Marcellus* unwilling to grant the same, the *Romans* for some time having courted the Friendship of the *Atolians*, with whom the *Lacedemonians* were allied. The fittest place for the Commissioners on both sides to meet for settling that Affair, was at the Wharf *Trogili* hard by the Tower which they call *Galeatra*. It happen'd as they repaired thither several times about this business, one of the *Roman* Commissioners, viewing seriously the Wall, counting the stones that appeared in Front, and reckoning with himself their proportion, whereby he was pretty well able to give a good guess at its whole height, and found it not so high as he and others heretofore had imagined it, so that now he made no doubt but ordinary scaling Ladders might reach it. This he communicates to *Marcellus*, who look'd upon it as a thing not to be slighted; but forasmuch as there was no coming at that place at present, because by reason of its lowness, it was kept with a stronger Guard than any other part of the Wall, it was thought fit to wait some opportunity; which, as Luck would have it, soon offer'd it self by means of a Fugitive, who gave Intelligence, That there was a solemn Feast held within the City in Honour of *Diana* for three days together, and what good Cheer they wanted by reason of the Siege, was abundantly supplied with plenty of Wine, of which not only *Epicles* had bestow'd a great quantity on the Commons, but the great men in every Ward allow'd a proportion besides at their own Charges for their poorer Neighbours to make merry with. Upon this Intimation *Marcellus* calls a Council of War, and caused his Chief Officers to chuse out fit Captains and Souldiers for such a difficult piece of Service, and privately provided their scaling Ladders, ordering them to refresh themselves and go to sleep, for at night they were to be employ'd in an Expedition. Then when he thought the Enemy after their Feasting and Carousing were got into their first sleep, he commanded one Company of Souldiers to carry Ladders, and near a thousand well-arm'd, to follow them with a silent March to the place, where the foremost mounting the Wall without any noise or opposition, encourag'd the rest to follow them.

By this time the thousand select Souldiers had made themselves Masters of one part of the City, and the rest of the Forces advanced, and with a multitude of Ladders scaled the Wall, a Sign being given them for that purpose by those within from the Gate *Hexapylus*, for so far they march'd without any opposition, most of the Garrison being either feasting in the Forts, and already drunk and asleep, or else drinking on still, and so drowsie, that they minded nothing; and some few found in their Hutts, were kill'd. The Wicket at *Hexapylus* they began to break open with great violence, and the Trumpet according to agreement sounded from the Wall, to let them know they were there ready to second them. No longer was the matter carried closely, but with open force, and they made it their business to daunt and terrifie the Enemy, rather than steal upon them unawares, being come as far as *Epipole*, a place full of Watchmen and Guards; and indeed terrified they were, for assoon as they heard the Trumpets sounding, and the shouts of those that had got possession of part of the Wall and City, the Guards imagining all lost, fled as hard as they could drive along the Wall, or endeavour'd to leap down from it, and in that fright precipitated one another. But still the greater part wholly ignorant of any danger, lay drown'd in wine and sleep, and besides the City was of so vast an extent and scatteringly built, that those in one part were not sensible of what was a doing in the other. But when *Marcellus* came in with all his Forces, he rouzed them all, and every one was in an hurry to take Arms and defend if they could the City, which was almost taken already; *Epicles* made haste (from the Island which they call *Nasos*) at the Head of a Company of Souldiers, making full account to drive the Enemy out again with ease, as supposing they were but some few, who by the negligence of the Sentinels, were got over the Wall, and therefore those of the Town, whom he met running away in a fright, he severely chid, telling them, They themselves increased the tumult, by being afraid of Bugbears, making the matter worse and more terrible than it was. But when he saw all that part of the City called *Epipole* was seized and full of armed men, after a small Skirmish with Darts at a distance, whereby he only provok'd the Enemy, rather than much hurt them, he march'd back into the *Acradine*, not so



so much for fear of the Enemies force or numbers, as lest some Treachery should happen within by occasion of his absence, and in that confusion he might find the Gates of the *Acradine* and Island shut against him. *Marcellus* after he was come within the Walls, from the highest places took a view of the whole City, one of the fairest at that time in the World; at which sight, 'tis said that Great Conquerour could not refrain weeping, whether they were tears of Joy at his having atchiev'd so mighty a Service, or rather of pity condoling the uncertainty of all humane Grandeur, when he call'd to mind the antient Glories of this Town, how they destroyed the *Athenian* Fleets, and cut to pieces two vast Armies of theirs together with their Generals, how gallantly they waged War a long time with the *Carthaginians*; How many rich and potent Princes had there held their Royal Courts, amongst whom he could not but with a more peculiar passion remember the late King *Hiero*, a Prince illustrious for abundance of excellent Endowments which Fortune conferr'd upon him, or his own Virtue acquir'd, but for nothing more famous than his constant inviolable Friendship, and repeated good Offices towards the people of *Rome*; when all these things at once occur'd to his mind, and withal he consider'd, That all that Beauty and Glory within one hours space was like to be on a light Fire, and reduc'd to rubbish and ashes, it could not but make strange Emotions in so generous a Breast, therefore to make the overthrow as gentle as he could, before he advanc'd his Ensigns against the *Acradine*, he sent before such *Syracusians* as were in his Camp to perswade their Countrymen to surrender, and not push on things to the last Extremity.

XXV. But the Gates and Walls of the *Acradine* were guarded for the most part by *Renegades*, who having no hopes of saving themselves by a Treaty, would not suffer any others to come near the Walls, or hold any Parley; therefore *Marcellus* seeing that overture had not success, marcht back unto *Euryalus*, which was a small Fort on the farther part of the City remote from the Sea, and commanding the Highway that leads into the Fields, and the very heart of the whole Island, a place very convenient for the taking up of provisions; The Governour of this Sconce was one *Philodemus* an *Argive*, placed there by *Epicides*, to whom *Marcellus* sent *Sofis*, (one of the Killers of the late Tyrant) to capitulate with him touching yielding up the said place, but after a long Conference could bring him to nothing, but return'd word to *Marcellus*, That he would take time to consider of it, and so drill'd out the time from day to day whilst *Hippocrates* and *Himilco* were advancing with their Troops, not doubting but after their Arrival, they might be able to cut off the whole *Roman* Army being enclosed on each side within the Walls; *Marcellus* perceiving that *Euryalus* was neither like to be surrendred nor easily taken, Encamp'd between *Neapolis* and *Tyche* (two parts of the City so named, which for their bigness might pass for intire Cities of themselves) fearing that if he should go into streets well inhabited, his Souldiers greedy of Booty, would not be kept together, but be apt to straggle abroad for plunder; thither came to him, both from *Neapolis* and *Tyche*, Agents, with Olive Branches and sacred Fillets about their Heads and Veils, after the manner of Suppliants, beseeching him, To forbear putting the Inhabitants to the Sword, or firing the City; which entreaties (for so they were rather than Propositions or demands) being considered, Proclamation was made throughout the Camp, That no Souldiers should presume to offer the least violence to the persons of any people of Free born condition, but for all goods whatsoever, they should take them for booty. *Marcellus*'s Camp was defended on both sides with Housing, as with a Wall, and he bestow'd a strong Guard at the Gates thereof facing the ends of the streets, lest it should be attack'd, whilst his Souldiers were a pillaging; For as soon as the Signal was given, they every where broke open the Doors and fell a rummaging in every Corner, filling all places with tumult and terrour, but refrain'd from bloodshed, nor was there any end of their rifling and ransacking, till they had seiz'd and carried away every thing of value, and utterly emptied the place of all those riches which the Inhabitants had so long in their prosperity been heaping together. Amidst these firs, *Philodemus* seeing no hopes of being reliev'd, upon Articles that he should march away safely to *Epicides*, drew out his Garrison and yielded the Fort to the *Romans*; whose Souldiers being generally busy in that part of the City which they had already taken, *Bomilcar* taking the advantage thereof, and of a tempestuous night, wherein the *Roman* Fleet, by reason of the rough weather, could not ride at Anchor in the main Sea, got out of the Haven of *Syracuse* with thirty five Ships, and set Sail for *Carthage*, leaving fifty five Sail still behind with *Epicides* and the *Syracusians*, and having inform'd the *Carthaginians* in what extrem danger the affairs of *Syracuse* were at that Juncture, return'd again thither reinforc'd with an hundred Sail, for which ('tis reported) he was richly rewarded with Presents made him by *Epicides* out of King *Hiero*'s Treasury.

XXVI. *Marcellus* having gain'd *Euryalus*, and planted there a Garrison, was rid of one of his former fears, viz. Lest some new Forces of the Enemy abroad should get into that Fortrefs behind him, where they might greatly have annoy'd his men, being then as it were enclosed within the Walls. Thence-forwards he began to besiege the *Acradine*, having posted his Forces at convenient places in three distinct Camps, and was in good hopes in short time to reduce those within to extrem want and scarcity; The Guards on either side had for

some

some days been pretty quiet, when on a sudden the Arrival of *Hippocrates* and *Himilco*, so incourag'd the Enemy, that on all parts they of themselves began to attacke the *Romans*; for both *Hippocrates* having Encamp'd and strongly fortified himself by the great Key, and given a Signal to those in *Acradine*, fell upon the old Quarters of the *Romans* where *Crispinus* Commanded in Chief, and at the same time *Epicides* sallied out upon *Marcellus*'s Guards, and the *Carthaginian* Fleet came and lay close by the shore that was between the City and the *Roman* Camp, to hinder *Crispinus*'s having any succour sent him from *Marcellus*; and yet after all this ado, the noise and tumultuous Alarm was greater than the Execution; For *Crispinus* did not only repulse *Hippocrates* from his Works, but pursued him as he fled, and *Marcellus* as easily beat back *Epicides* into the City; so as they seem'd now sufficiently provided against the like sudden Sallies or Irruptions for the future. Besides there happen'd a Calamity common to them both, viz. a grievous Plague, which much took off their minds on either side from prosecuting the War. It being now Autumn, the place it self naturally unwholsome and a bad Air, and the weather intolerable hot, mightily distemper'd their Bodies by the distemperature of the Season, and noisomness of the place; so afterwards by visiting and tending one another when sick, the Disease was spread and became infectious; so that those that were taken ill, either perisht for want of help and looking to, or else they that went to assist and tend them, were seiz'd with the same violence of the distemper; so that continually there were Coarces carrying to their Graves, nothing to be met with but Spe-dying groans. But at last being continually used to this misery, their hearts were so hardened, that they not only gave over to mourn for the dead, but even so much as to carry them forth or inter them, so that the dead Bodies lay scatter'd all about on the ground, in the sight of those, who every moment look'd for the like miserable death themselves; Thus the dead kill'd the sick, and the sick infected the sound, partly with fear, and partly with corruption and pestiferous stench; Insomuch that some chusing rather to die on the Swords point, would venture alone to invade the Enemies Guards, on purpose that they might be kill'd out of the way. However the Plague was hotter by far in the *Carthaginian* Camp than in the *Romans*, by reason of bad water, the tedious Siege they had endured, and the great slaughter there committed; Therefore the *Sicilians* when once they saw the sickness spread so fast, got away, and stole every man home to the Cities near adjoining; but the *Carthaginians* having no place to retire to, were generally swept away by the raging Pestilence, together with both their Generals, *Hippocrates* and *Himilco*, and indeed there was scarce a man of them escaped. *Marcellus* when he found the Mortality encreased so sorely, drew his men into the City where the Houses and shadowy places yielded some refreshment to the sick, yet still a great many of the *Roman* Army were by this Pestilence destroyed.

XXVII. The *Carthaginian* Land Army being thus totally consumed, those *Sicilians* who had served under *Hippocrates* withdrew themselves into two Towns which were not great but strong and well fortified, one but three Miles from *Syracuse*, the other fifteen Miles; and thither they convey'd all manner of Victuals from their own Cities adjoining, and sent abroad for recruits of men. In the mean time *Bomilcar* was return'd (as we told you, with a greater Fleet) from *Carthage*, for he gave account of the *Syracusians* condition in such terms, as gave hopes, not only that he might come time enough to relieve them, but also, that the *Romans*, notwithstanding they had in a manner taken the City, might be surprized and taken therein themselves, by which suggestions he prevail'd so with the Senate, That they granted him abundance of Ships of Burthen, laden with all sorts of necessary Provisions, but also encreas'd the number of his Men of War, so that with one hundred and thirty Sail of tall Ships, and seventy Merchant-men, he put out to Sea, with a Gale fair enough to waft him over to *Sicily*, but the same Wind did not serve him to double the point of the Cape *Pachymus*. The Report of *Bomilcar*'s arrival first, and then his delay beyond expectation, wrought diversly in the minds of the *Romans* and *Syracusians*, administering matter sometimes of fear and sometimes of joy unto them both. At last *Epicides* apprehending, That if the same Easterly Winds should long continue, the Navy might possibly sail back for *Carthage*, he, leaving the Guard of the *Acradine* to the Commanders of the hired Souldiers, goes down by water to *Bomilcar*, riding still with his Fleet in the Road that looks towards *Africk*, and fearing to venture an Engagement at Sea, not that he was inferior in strength or number of Ships (for he had considerably more than the Enemy) but because that Wind far more favourably for the *Romans* Fleet than for his; However *Epicides* was so importunate, that he in fine prevail'd with him to hazard the Fortune of a Sea-fight. On the other side *Marcellus* seeing the *Sicilian* Forces gathering together against him from all parts of the Island, and understanding that this *Punic* Fleet brought vast quantities of provisions, that he might not be blockt up by Sea and Land in an Enemies City, resolv'd to hinder *Bomilcar* from coming into the Bay of *Syracuse*. Thus rid the two Armado's affronting each other about the head of *Pachymus*, ready to Engage as soon as calm weather would give them leave to get out into the open Sea. When the East Wind which had blown strong for

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several

several days, was pretty well down, Bomilcar first weigh'd Anchor, and his headmost Ships seem'd to put out to Sea, only as it was thought that they might more easily gain the Cape and Promontory before-mentioned; but so it was, that as soon as he saw the Roman Fleet make towards him, affrighted by I know not what sudden accident, he made all the Sail he could possible out to Sea in earnest, and sending Orders to *Heraclea* that the Ships of Burthen should return for *Africk*, himself Coasted all along *Sicily*, and shaped his Course for *Tarentum*. And *Epicides* thus strangely disappointed of his hopes, resolv'd not to go back to be coop'd up in a City for the most part already lost, and therefore Sail'd to *Agrigentum*, rather there to expect the Issue, than troubling himself how to furnish them with any assistance from thence.

XXVIII. When these Tidings were brought to the Sicilian Forces, That *Epicides* was gone from *Syracuse*, that the *Carthaginians* had abandon'd the Isle, and in effect yielded it again to the Romans; they, having first consulted the minds of those that were in *Syracuse*, thought it high time to send Commissioners to *Marcellus* to treat of Terms for surrendring the City: Who being in a manner come to an Agreement, That the Romans should have the Seigniorie and all that properly belonged to the Kings; but for private persons Rights, Estates and Liberties, the Sicilians should enjoy the same, and their ancient Laws as before. The said Commissioners sent to those who were intrusted by *Epicides* to come to a Parley, and pretended to them, That they were sent from him as well to the Sicilian Army as to *Marcellus*, That all in general, as well those besieged, as those that were abroad, should be comprized in the Treaty, and none capitulate or enter into any Agreement apart for themselves without all the rest.

XXIX. Hereupon these Commissioners were admitted into that part of the City to visit their Relations and Friends, and did privately acquaint them what Terms they had made with *Marcellus*, and by giving them good hopes of safety, prevailed with them to join in cutting off *Polycletus*, *Philistion* and *Sydon*, who were *Epicides*'s Deputies there; and accordingly they being assassinated, the people were summon'd to a Common Hall, where, as they were wont before privately to grumble for the want and scarcity of all things, so now they made publick Complaints on that account, till one of the wisest stood up and spoke to this purpose: *Although we are beset with so many miseries, yet we have no reason to blame Fortune, since it is in our power to put an end to them when we our selves please. 'Tis well known, the Cause that induced the Romans to besiege Syracuse, was not any spite or ill will, but they did it purely out of kindness to the Inhabitants; for understanding that the Government was usurped by those two Creatures, first of Annibal, and afterwards of Hieronymus, I mean Hippocrates and Epicides, they then and not before began the War, and prepar'd to besiege the City, not intending any harm to the City it self, but only to suppress those haughty Tyrants, and rescue it from slavery; and now since Hippocrates is dead, Epicides departed, and his Deputies dispatch'd out of the way. As also the Carthaginians both by Sea and Land beat out of all possession in Sicily, what reason can the Romans have, why they should not desire Syracuse to be as safe and happy as in good King Hiero's days, their special Friend and Ally? There is therefore no danger at all to be feared either to our City or its Inhabitants, but from our selves, that is, if we slip this opportunity of reconciling our selves to the Romans. For never shall we have the like again, as at this moment, if we now embrace it, as soon as we appear delivered from those insolent Tyrants.*

XXX. This Speech was entertain'd with general Applause; however 'twas thought fit to create Prætors before they sent Commissioners, and then out of the Prætors some were chosen to go Commissioners to *Marcellus*, of whom the Chief when admitted to Audience, spake as follows; *Neither did we the Inhabitants of Syracuse at first revolt from you. But Hieronymus, a Person no less injurious to us than unfaithful to you; nor after when the Peace was re-establish'd after the death of that Tyrant, was it any Syracusan that violated it, but the infractions thereof were made by these Royal Minions, Hippocrates and Epicides, whilst we were oppressed and kept under what with Fraud on one side, and Force on the other; nor can any one truly say, That we were ever at our own liberty, and did not faithfully maintain our Alliance with you. At this instant, as soon as by the Execution of those who held Syracuse in Bondage, we came to be at our own free dispose, immediately behold, we come to deliver up our Arms, surrender our selves, our City and all its Walls and Works, ready to refuse no Conditions that you shall think fit to impose upon us. The Gods have given you, most Noble *Marcellus*, the Glory of subduing the most illustrious and fairest City of the Greeks; whatever brave Exploits we have heretofore achieved either at Sea, all makes to the advancement of your Honour, and serve but as so many Labels to adorn your Triumph. Desire not therefore by our destruction to have it known only by Report and the Testimony of Fame, what a brave and mighty place it was which you have master'd, but let it remain to Posterity a glorious Monument at once both of your Valour and your Clemency; That whoever henceforward shall come hither by Land, or arrive here from Sea, it may present to their memories both the Trophies of our former Victories over the Athenians and Carthaginians, and also those of yours over us, the bravest Conquest of all the rest; suffer the City Syracuse undemolish'd to do Homage for ever hereafter to your Family, and remain under the Protection of the Marcelline Name. Let not your resentments against Hieronymus have more influence upon you, than your kind respects to the memory of King Hiero, who was abundance longer your Friend than the other your Enemy; his good Offices you were often sensible of, but the folly and madness of his Grandson could not reach you, it only*

only centred in his own destruction. There was nothing but they might have obtain'd of the Romans, all was safe there; They were more at Daggers-drawing amongst themselves, and at home was all the danger. For the Renegade's fearing they should be delivered back to the Romans, and not comprized in the Composition, possess the Auxiliaries that were hired Souldiers, that they too would be left in the same predicament; What do they therefore but joining together, snatch up their Arms, and first cut off the heads of the Prætors, and afterwards ran all about to Maffacre the *Syracusians*, whoever came next in this rage they butcher'd, and rifled all that they could lay their hands on. And because these Rascallions would not be without Commanders, they chose from amongst themselves six Provosts or Captains, three to govern the *Acradine*, and the other three, *Nafos*, or that quarter of the City call'd *The Isle*. But after the uproar was somewhat appeased, the mercenary Auxiliaries, inquiring more strictly what the Articles agreed with the Romans really were? found themselves abus'd with mis-information, and that their condition, and that of the Fugitives, was very different.

To confirm which, the Commissioners seasonably return'd from *Marcellus*, assuring them, that they were carried away with a false surmise, and that the Romans did not pretend any cause they had to punish them. One of the three Provosts of *Acradine* was a Spaniard named *Merio*, to whom amongst the Commissioners Attendants there was purposely sent one of the Spanish Auxiliaries, who having got *Merio* to a private Conference, first acquainted him in what condition he left Spain (for he was newly come from thence.) That the Roman Arms there carried all before them, That he had an opportunity, if he would do a piece of good service, to make himself a great man, chuse whether he list either to serve under the Romans, or return into his own Country: on the other side if he persisted in that course he was in, and would still be besieged, what hopes could he have being shut up both by Land and Sea? *Merio* influenc'd with these reasons, when 'twas agreed that new Embassadors should be address'd to *Marcellus*, sent his own Brother for one, who by the before mentioned Spaniard was introduc'd by himself, unknown to all the rest, unto *Marcellus*, and after assurance of Protection given, and the manner adjusted how the Intrigue should be mannag'd, return'd to the *Acradine*. *Merio* to prevent all suspicion of foul play, declares, That he did not like this perpetual trotting to and fro of Embassadors, he thought it safer neither to send or receive any for fear of some surprize, and to the end the Guards might be more strictly kept, he advised, that the several Quarters of the City should be conveniently divided amongst the Provosts, That each might answer for the Post committed to his Charge. This the rest of the Provosts readily assented unto, and he happen'd to have that part which extended from the Fountain call'd *Arcthusa*, to the mouth of the great Haven; Of which he gave the Romans notice. Therefore in the night *Marcellus* caused a Merchant Ship fill'd with armed men, to be towed with a Galley to the *Acradine*, and landed the Souldiers over against the Gate that was hard by the said Fountain, about the relief of the fourth Watch, and *Merio* according to Agreement receiv'd them in at the Gate. *Marcellus* at the very dawning of the day brings up all his Forces before the Walls of *Acradine* as if he would presently storm, whereby he not only held those in play who were particularly order'd to guard that place; but also drew the Souldiers out of the other part call'd *Nafos*; who leaving their Guards hastned in Troops to relieve their Fellows and repulse the Romans. During this Tumult several Barges prepared and man'd before, were brought about to *Nafos*, and there set other Souldiers ashore, who coming unawares upon the Corps du-Guards left weak and thin, and finding the Gates left open by those who were just before gone through them to the *Acradine*, easily made themselves Masters of *Nafos*, deserted by the fear and flight of those that should have secured it; nor did any of them use less means to defend themselves, or more eagerness to be gone, than the Fugitives, who durst not well trust their own Fellows, and therefore in the hottest of the Skirmish made their escape. *Marcellus* being advertiz'd that *Nafos* was wholly taken, and some part of *Acradine*, founded a Retreat to his men, lest the Kings Treasure (which was noised to be much greater than it was) should if the rest of the place were taken by storm, happen to be rifled and embezel'd.

The fury of the Souldiers being a little allay'd, and time and opportunity given to those Fugitives that were in *Acradine*, to run away, The *Syracusians* eased of their fears set open their Gates, and send Agents to *Marcellus*, begging nothing else but their own and their Childrens Lives. *Marcellus* having call'd a Council, where those *Syracusians* who during these civil dissensions had been forc'd to forsake their dwellings, and take shelter amongst the Roman Garrisons, were likewise admitted to be present, return'd Answer to the said Agents in these words. There were not more good Offices for the space of fifty years received at the hands of King Hiero by the people of Rome, than injuries offered and mischiefs intended against them within these few years past by those that have had the Government of *Syracuse*; but most of those mischiefs have in the end deservedly lighted upon their own heads, and the breakers of the League have brought upon themselves more grievous punishments than the Romans would ever be willing to inflict; For my own part this is now the third year since I have lain before *Syracuse*, not with any design to enslave that City to the Romans, but to rescue it from the Tyranny and Oppressions of Rebels and Fugitives; What fair Quarter the *Syracusians* might have had from me, appears.

pears by the Example of those of that City, who were amongst the Roman Garrisons; by the usage of the Spanish Captain Meric, who delivered up his Garrison; yea by the free resolute surrender of the Syracusians at last, though somewhat at the latest, and their Treatment shall testify the same mild inclinations, for after all my toils and hazards which I have thus long undergone both by Land and Sea before the Walls of Syracuse, I shall count no advantage that might be made of its spoils so sweet and desirable a reward for all my services, as the glory of being able at last to conquer it. Then was the Treasurer sent with a Guard to *Najos* to receive and secure the Kings Treasure, and the Souldiers had leave to plunder the City, except only their Houses, who had been amongst the Roman Garrisons, at whose Doors Centinels were set to secure them. Amongst many lewd instances of rage and avarice then acted; 'Tis recorded that the great *Archimedes*, in such a mighty tumult as must be supposed in a City taken by an incensed Enemy, and Souldiers every where running to and fro to rifle it, was so unconcern'd, as to be busy in beholding certain Schemes and Mathematical Figures which he had drawn in the dust, and in that posture was knockt o' th' Head by a rude Souldier not knowing who he was; whereat *Marcellus* being much griev'd and offended, took care to have him honourably buried; and inquiring out his Relations, not only preserv'd them from all violence, but made very much of them, meerly in respect to his Name and Memory. Thus have you heard by what means *Syracuse* was won; In which there was as much or more rich Booty got, as if *Carthage* it self had at that time been taken, with whom it had long vy'd for Wealth and Power. A few dayes before *Syracuse* was taken, *T. Oracilius* with eighty Gallies cross'd over from *Lilybaeum* to *Urica*, and entring the Port before day, surpriz'd a great Fleet of Merchant-men laden with Corn, and Landing forrag'd all the Country thereabouts, carrying a mighty booty of all sorts aboard, so that he return'd to *Lilybaeum* the third day after he sail'd from thence with no less than one hundred and thirty Ships of Burthen freighted with Corn and Pillage, which Corn he forthwith sent to *Syracuse*; where if the same had not so seasonably arriv'd, as well the Victors as the Conquered had smarted under a grievous Famine.

XXXIII. In *Spain* for these last two years no memorable action had happen'd, and the War was carried on more by Treaties and strengthening Alliances, than by Arms, but this Summer the Roman Generals quitting their Winter Quarters join'd all their Forces, where a Council of War being held, it was unanimously concluded, That whereas hitherto they had only stoppt *Asdrubal's* intended Expedition into Italy, 'twas now high time to endeavour that an end might be put to the War in *Spain*; To effect which, they thought they were strong enough, thirty thousand *Celtiberians* having that Winter been rais'd and put in Arms. The Enemy had three Armies, *Asdrubal* the Son of *Gisgo*, and *Mago*, lay Encamp'd together about five dayes march from the Romans; But *Asdrubal* the Son of *Amilcar*, (that old Commander in *Spain*) was with his Army nearer, at a City call'd *Anatorgis*; Him the Roman Generals were desirous to attacque first, and hop'd they had strength more than enough to defeat him, and therefore all their care was left after he was routed, the other two should for fear retreat into the Woods and Mountains where they could not become at, and so spin out the War; Therefore it was thought best to divide their Forces into two distinct Bodies, and so at once to compass the whole War of *Spain*. And thus they parted them, That *P. Cornelius* with two thirds of the Roman Army and Allies should go against *Mago* and *Gisgo-Asdrubal*; *Cn. Cornelius* with the other third part of the old Army, and all the new-raised *Celtiberians* to engage the other *Asdrubal* of the *Barchine* Family. Both Generals and Armies advancing together, the *Celtiberians* leading the Van came to the City *Anatorgis* in sight of the Enemy, but having a River between, where they encamp't. And *Cn. Scipio* with the Forces before-mentioned continued there, but *P. Scipio* marcht on to manage that part of the War assign'd unto him.

XXXIV. *Asdrubal* after he understood, That there were but a few Romans (comparatively) in the Camp, but that their main hopes must depend on the *Celtiberian* Auxiliaries, knowing well the natural fallens of all barbarous people, and especially of those Nations amongst whom he had so many years been a Souldier, he found means, by the easy Commerce of the same Language (his Camp as well as the Romans abounding in *Spaniards*) to have secret Conferences, wherein he made a Bargain with the Chiefs of the *Celtiberians*, for a considerable sum of money, that they should withdraw their Forces and give the Romans the slip. Nor did this to them seem any heinous buliness, or very ill practice, as long as it was not required, That they should turn their Arms against the Romans; and they had as much pay for being quiet, as they should have had for fighting; And as Peace it self, so to return home, and see their goods and Lands, being very grateful and pleasing inducements to every body; that the multitude were as easily perswaded as their Leaders; nor was there any fear of the Romans, for they were so few, that they were not able to retain them by force. Which ought to be a Caveat for all future Roman Generals, and these bad Examples to be used as good Lessons, So far only to trust Foreign Auxiliaries as always to have a greater number of their own natural Souldiers Encamp'd with them. The *Celtiberians* all on a sudden pluck up their Standards and march off, and when the Romans inquir'd the reason and intreated them to stay; would give no other Answer but that they were call'd away by a War at home; *Scipio* seeing that he was neither able to retain them by request nor force, nor without them to fight the Enemy,

Enemy, nor yet could now join his Brother, knowing not what to do, nor seeing any prospect of safety, resolv'd to retreat as far as he could, taking the greatest care in the World not to engage the Enemy in plain Field, or without some advantage, who now was pass'd the River, and traced him hard at heels in his dismarch.

About the same time his Brother *P. Scipio* was in no less fear, and greater danger by means of the approach of a new Enemy; This was *Masimissa* at that time confederated with the *Carthaginians*, but afterwards mighty and renowned for his amity with the Romans; He with his *Numidian* Horse encounter'd *P. Scipio* in his march, and afterwards continually day and night did so infect them, that he did not seize Straglers, and such as went forth for Wood and Forage remote from the Camp, but would often in a braving manner ride to and fro in view of the Romans Works, and by night alarm'd them with sudden Incurfions up to their very Ports and Ramparts, nor would he at any time or place suffer them to be quiet or free from the fear of his charging in upon them; Thus being compell'd to keep within their Trenches, and cut off from the benefit of all things abroad, they lay in a manner as bad as Belieged, and 'twas plain, That they would be much more straitned, if once *Indibilis* (who was reported to be upon his march with seven thousand five hundred *Suessetanes*) should join the *Carthaginians*; whereupon *Scipio*, otherwise a wary and prudent Captain, overcome with the necessities he labour'd under, entred into an inconsiderate resolution, to advance in the night to meet *Indibilis* and give him Battel wherever he should find him. Leaving therefore a competent Guard under the Conduct of Lieutenant General *T. Fonteius* to secure his Camp, himself in person about midnight drew out his Forces, met the Enemy and engag'd them, but the conflict was rather by loose Companies in their march, than with their whole Forces drawn up in Battalia; wherein the Romans had as much the better on't, as could be expected in such a tumultuary fight, until such time as the *Numidian* Horse (whom *Scipio* thought he was secure of, and that they had known nothing of his march that way) all on a sudden flank'd them, which put them into great Consternation; and to encrease their terrour, they had no sooner put themselves in a posture to entertain these *Numidians*, but a third Enemy appears; viz. The *Carthaginian* Forces, who by this time whilst the others were in Fight, hastening to assist their Allies, were got up thither, and charg'd the Romans in the Rear, who being every way beset, knew not against which first to make head, or on which side they were best with a close pointed Battalion endeavour to break through. The General in this extremity was not wanting either in Valour, or to encourage his men both with his words and Example, but exposing himself wherever he saw most danger, happen'd to be ran through the right side of his Body with a Lance, and that stout Troop of the Enemy that charg'd him, seeing him fall from his Horse, set up a shout and cry'd out, The Roman General was slain! This Voice once spread, caus'd the Enemy to take themselves undoubtedly for Victors, and the Romans to make no other account but they were vanquished; Therefore having lost their Leader they began forthwith to fly out of the Field; but as it was no hard matter to force their passage through the *Numidians* and other Auxiliaries lightly-arm'd, so to get clear away from so many Horse, and Foot almost as swift as the Horse themselves, was almost impossible, more being kill'd in the pursuit than in the Field, nor had scarce any surviv'd, but that it drawing towards Evening the night shelter'd their escape.

The *Punick* Generals were not wanting to improve this good Fortune, for as soon as the Battel was over, scarce allowing their Souldiers necessary rest, they marcht with all Expedition to *Asdrubal* the Son of *Amilcar*, not doubting but when they had join'd their Forces, to put an end to the War. There was mighty Joy and Congratulation at their meeting between the Generals and Armies for the late Victory, and the cutting off so great a Commander with his whole Army, nor did they in the like doubt but shortly to obtain another Conquest no less considerable. The Romans had yet no tidings of this overthrow, yet were stricken into a sad dumpish silence, or secret prefaging of bad news, as commonly mens minds are wont to fore-give them when some sad disaster is at hand. The General himself seeing not only that he was abandon'd by his Mercenary Allies, but also the Enemy so mightily reforc'd, by good Conjectures, and reason, was rather inclin'd to suspect some misfortune had already happen'd, than to hope for any good success to himself: for how was it possible that *Asdrubal* and *Mago* should come hither with their Armies without fighting, if his Brother were yet alive? why had not his Brother either stoppt their march, or at least pursued them in the Rear? Or if he could not hinder the Enemies Generals and Forces from uniting, he would certainly have made halt to join his Brother likewise to withstand them. Distracted with these thoughts he thought the only safe course he could take at present was to get away as far from them as he could, and therefore one night, unknown to the Enemy, and so without any interruption, he dislodg'd and got a pretty deal of ground of them. But as soon as they found him gone in the Morning they dispatcht the *Numidian* Horse after, who pursued him so violently, that before night they came up with him, and sometimes charg'd him in the Rear, and sometimes on the Flank; obliging them to an halt to defend themselves, though *Scipio* encouraged them (as the safest course they could take) to continue their march, and yet maintain their Skirmishes with the Enemy, as long as their Foot was not yet come up. But



XXXVII. But sometimes fighting and sometimes standing still, they rid but little ground in their March, and night approaching, *Scipio* drew his men off from fighting, and posted himself on a rising Bank, a place not able to secure an Army, especially already disheartened, but the best and highest he could meet with thereabouts. Here inclosing his Baggage and Horse in the middle, and drawing his Foot about them in a Ring, they made no difficult matter of repulsing the *Numidians* Incursions; but when all the three Generals with their compleat Armies were come up, 'twas plain they could never maintain the place against them without fortifying it, and therefore *Scipio* searched every way how he might strengthen it with a Trench and Rampart; but the Hill was so naked of wood, and the Soil so hard and stony, that he could neither find Stakes for Palisado's, nor Turfs for a Bank, nor was able to dig a Trench, nothing being there fit for his purpose; neither was any part so high or steep, but the Enemy might easily ascend and mount it, the Hill on every side having a gentle and equal rising up to the top. However to make some shew of a Rampart, they took their Pack Saddles with their Luggage fastned to them, and piled them up round about to the height of a Mure; and where they wanted Pack-Saddles, they heaped together all sorts of Fardles and Baggage. The *Punick* Armies easily advanced up the Hill, but the sight of such a strange new-fashion'd Fortification put them to a stand, as wondering what it should be. But their Captains on all sides cry'd out, and ask'd them, what they stood still for? and why they did not advance and pull to pieces that pitiful Bauble, which even Women and Children would be asham'd to be kept off by? Did they not know that the Enemy already taken as in a Pin-fold, lay lurking behind those Fardles? Thus the Officers swagger'd, but in truth it was no such easie matter either to get over that Barricado of Packs, or to remove them as they lay so close piled up, however after a great deal of pains they did rid them out of the way, and made room for the armed men to enter at several places at once, then with no difficulty did they make themselves Masters of the Camp; for what else could be expected when an handful of men, and those already discouraged and terrified, were to deal with vast multitudes, and those too flusht with late success? Yet a great part of the Souldiers flying into the next Woods, escaped thence to *P. Scipio's* Camp, where *T. Fonteius* his Lieutenant commanded in Chief. As for *Cn. Scipio* the Roman General in this Battel, some Authors write, That he was kill'd on the Hill in the first Charge; others, that he with a few others fled into a certain Fort hard by, and that the Enemy not being able to break open its Gates, set fire to them, and so burnt them down and got in, and put both him and all that were with him to the Sword. Thus fell *Cn. Scipio* in the seventh year after he went into *Spain*, and the nine and twentieth day after his Brother lost his life; nor was the Mourning less for their Deaths throughout all *Spain*, than at *Rome* it self: For the sorrow here was aggravated in part both for the loss of their Armies, and of that Province and the publick Overthrow; but the *Spaniards* lamented only for their Governours themselves, especially for *Cneus*, as having been longer amongst them, and was both the first that gained their Affections, and gave them a Specimen of the Roman Justice and Moderation.

XXXVIII. Whilst thus the Armies seemed utterly routed, and both *Spains* lost, one man recovered all again. There happen'd to be in the Army one *L. Marcus* the Son of *Septimus*, a Roman Knight, a forward young Man, and both for Courage and Discretion beyond the Quality he was born in; this excellent natural Disposition was mightily promoted by the Discipline of *Cn. Scipio*, under whom he had so many years been educated in all sorts of Military Skill. This Gentleman rallying the scatter'd Souldiers that fled, and drawing out some from several Garrisons, had formed no contemptible Army, and join'd with *T. Fonteius*, *P. Scipio's* Lieutenant, and so much Authority and Esteem had he gain'd, though in Quality only a Knight, that when they had fortified a Camp within the River *Iberus*, and resolv'd out of themselves to chuse a General, going by turns to keep Guard at the Rampier till all had given their Suffrages, they unanimously conferr'd the chief Command on him: That little time he had was employ'd in strengthening their Fortifications, and bringing in necessary Provisions; and the Souldiers not only diligently executed all his Commands, but with great chearfulness, and seem'd no longer dejected with their past misfortunes. But after News came that *Asdrubal* the Son of *Gisco* had pass'd the *Iberus* to exterminate all the reliques of the War, and was advanced very near them, and that they saw the Signal of Battel given by this new Captain, calling to mind what famous Generals they had but the other day, and under what experienced Leaders and with what numerous Forces they were wont to go into the Field, they all on a sudden fell a weeping and shaking their heads, and some lifting up their hands to Heaven, seem'd to accuse the Gods, others flinging themselves on the ground, every one invoking his own late General by name. Nor could this Lamentation be stoppt, though each Captain endeavour'd what they could to encourage their respective Companies, and *Marcus* both threatned and reproached them all, for giving themselves up, like women, to such a vain puleing humour, at a time when they ought rather to rouse up their Spirits to defend both themselves and the Commonwealth, and not to suffer their brave Commanders to lye dead unrevenged, till suddenly the Enemies shout and their Trumpets were heard, being got near the Rampier; then grief turning into fury, they all ran to their Arms, and like mad-men flew to the Ports, and sallied out upon

upon the Enemy who came on negligently and out of Order; this amazed the *Punicks*, whence so many new Enemies should arise, when both their Armies were but the other day cut to pieces? How they that were so lately defeated and put to flight, came to have so much Courage and Confidence? What Commander in Chief they could have now the two *Scipio's* were slain? Who should be the General, or give the Signal of Battel? Marvelling at these so many unexpected Occurrences, they at first gave ground, and being then briskly charged betook them to their heels, and a foul slaughter had been made of them as they ran; or else the fury of the Pursuers might by their rashness have prov'd of dangerous consequence, if *Marcus* had not presently founded a Retreat, and himself in person stopping the foremost Ensigns, and forced to hold back some of his men with his hands, had not restrained the eagerness of the Army, whom he led back into their Camp, greedy still of more blood and slaughter. The *Carthaginians* as at first they fled trembling from the Rampier, seeing none pursue them, imagining that fear made them forbear, with a slow March as it were in contempt retreated to their own Works, where they were altogether as negligent; for though they saw the Enemy near, yet they looked upon them but as the inconsiderable reliques of two late defeated Armies, of which *Marcus* having notice, resolv'd upon an Enterprize, which at first seem'd not only courageous, but Fool-hardy, viz. to attacke them even in their Camp; but he well consider'd both that it would be easier to master *Asdrubal's* Camp whilst he was yet alone, than to defend his own against three several Armies, when all their Generals should be join'd; as also, That if it succeeded, he should restore the afflicted state of the Roman Affairs in those parts, or at worst, if he were repulsed, he should however, by so daring an Attempt, vindicate his Forces from contempt and reproach.

But lest so sudden a Design, and the terrour of Night-service, should hinder an Undertaking, the success whereof depended on Fortune, he thought it best in the first place to make a Speech to his Souldiers, and encourage them; therefore having called them together, he thus discourst them: *Either the Reverence and affectionate Love which I had for our late Noble Generals, both whilst living and after their death, or that present hazardous condition wherein we all stand, may easily (my Follow-Souldiers) perswade any one to believe, that this Command wherein you have placed me, as from you it was a very great mark of Honour, so in it self is an uneasy task, and full of care and trouble: For at a time when (but that fear took away the sense of sorrow) I was not so much Master of my own Reason, as to be able to find out any comfort for my own pensive and dejected Soul, I am forced all alone (which is a most difficult thing to do under such mournful circumstances) to seek out means to alleviate the common Calamity of you all. And yet even then when I am to consider by what means I may be able to preserve these poor remainders of two Armies, for the service of our Country, cannot I divert my mind from continual grief? The bitter remembrance of our losses perpetually disquiets me, and both the *Scipio's* seem to haunt me day and night, and fill my head with cares and terrible dreams, they make me often start out of my sleep, charging me, that I will neither suffer them, nor their Souldiers (who for eight years were your Companions in Arms, and always victorious till now) nor the Commonwealth to be unrevenged, and withal warning me to pursue their Discipline and good Instructions; and as never any one paid a more ready and punctual obedience to their Commands whilst living, so now they are dead; whatever we can most reasonably conceive, they themselves would especially have done in any occurrences, the same I would have you, my Fellow Souldiers, to think the best course and approve, not with vain lamentations and womanish tears to bewail them, as if they were extinct and utterly lost for ever (for they live still, and shall always flourish in the Glory and Renown of their mighty Achievements) but as often as you think of them, think also, that you see them encouraging and leading you on to Battel, and so go into the Field to avenge their blood. Nor was it any thing else but such a kind of sight that was yesterday presented to your eyes and minds, and effected so gallant a piece of service, whereby you taught the Enemy, That the Roman Prowess dyed not with the two *Scipio's*, and that the vigour and courage of that People, which the Overthrow at *Cannæ* could not extinguish, will easily struggle through all other storms of adverse Fortune. Since therefore you have shew'd such Valour and daring forwardness of your own accord, I would gladly see how bravely you will behave your selves in an Exploit which your General puts you upon; for yesterday when I founded the Retreat, when you pursued so freely the disorder'd Enemy, I was far from intending to baulk your generous Courage, but only to defer it to a better opportunity and greater harvest of Glory, that a while after, you being prepar'd and arm'd, might fall upon them unprovided, unarm'd, and also asleep. Nor have I, Gentlemen, rashly entertain'd the hope of such an opportunity, but ground on good Reason and Experience; for certainly if any one shall demand of you, by what means you that were so few, and lately defeated too, could defend your Camp against such a multitude, and those likewise rampant with their Victories? You can only answer, That it was because you expecting and fearing their Assault, had both strongly entrenched your selves, and were all prepared and ready in Arms to receive them. Turn the Tables, and the Case will be the same here: men are never less secure than when flattering Fortune seems to have left them nothing to fear; for then growing negligent, they lye exposed to all dangers. Now certain it is, That the Enemy at this instant apprehends nothing less, than that we, whom they come to besiege and assault, should venture to be the Aggressors, and attacke them in their Works? Let us therefore*

therefore but dare attempt that, which it cannot be believ'd we durst enterprize, and that self same cause which seems to make it most difficult, shall render it most easie and soonest effected. About the third Watch of the night I will lead you on with a silent march. I have a certain account that their Centinels observe no Order, nor have they any Corps du-Ginard abroad, a shout set up at their Ports, and your first Charge, shall make you Masters of their Camp. Then let me see you perform that slaughter and execution amongst them heavy and dead with sleep, trembling at an unexpected Alarm, and taken napping, from which yesterday you thought much that you were call'd away and reclaimed. I know, this seems a very daring undertaking, but let me tell you, when people are in extremity, and their condition next to desperate, the most resolute Counsels are always the safest; for if when the lucky nick is offer'd, you delay never so little, the opportunity will be past, and never to be retriev'd. One Army is here just by us, two others not far off; now if we venture presently upon the first, our opportunity and advantage is as good as theirs, and you have already made trial of their Forces, and your own. But if we linger till another day, and leave off, contented with the honour of our Yesterday's fally, 'tis forty to one but all the Enemies Generals and united Forces will by that time be upon our Tackets, and will you be able to stand before those three Generals, and three Armies, whom Cn. Scipio when his Troops were fresh and in good plight, was nothing able to cope with? As our Captains by dividing their Forces were overthrown, so the Enemy whilst they are separated may be routed; This and no other is the way to manage at present the War. Therefore let's wait no longer than the opportunity of this very night. Go then a Gods blessing, make much of your selves, take your repast and repose, that being fresh and lusty you may with the same undaunted Courage, break into the Enemies Camp, wherewith you defended your own.

XL.

The Souldiers joyfully entertain'd this new Counsel from their new General, and the more daring it was, the more it pleased them. The rest of the day was spent in furbishing up their Armour and Weapons, and cherishing their Bodies, and the most part of the night they slept quietly. But at the beginning of the fourth Watch they advanc'd. Beyond this next Camp of the Enemy, at six Miles distance, lay other Carthaginians Forces; and between them was an hollow Valley full of Trees; about the middle of which Wood, Marcius imitating Punick subtlety, had privately drawn round and posted a Regiment of Foot, and some Troops of Horse; so having cut off all Retreat, he march'd very still to the foremost Enemy, where he found no Out-guards at the Ports, nor Centinels on the Rampier, but entred the same without any resistance as quietly as if it had been his own. Then they found their Trumpets, and set up a shout, some cut to pieces the Enemy half asleep, some sling fire and dry straw upon their Tents and Huts, some seize the Ports to prevent their Flight; who being thus terrified all at once with Clamour, Fire and Sword, were like men deprived of their Wits, and were neither capable of hearing any Orders, nor to provide in the least for their own defence, so they stumbled by heaps unarm'd, upon Troops of the Armed Assailants, and were hewn to pieces, some run headlong to the Ports, others finding all passages shut, leap over the Rampier, and as many as got away fled with full speed towards the other Camp, where falling into the hands of the aforesaid Ambuscade, not a man escap'd. Yet had any one got clear away, the Romans after they had taken the first, flew with such Expedition to the other Camp, that no tidings of the slaughter could have got thither before them. There they found all things in a more negligent and disolute posture than in the former, as being further from any Enemy, and besides divers of them just at break of day, were rambled abroad to get Corn, and Wood, and other Booty; Their Weapons only stood rear'd up in their Corps-du-Guard, but the Souldiers unarm'd were either lying and sitting on the ground, or carelessly walking before their Trenches. With these thus secure and disorderly, the Romans yet reaking with the Blood of their Comrades, and on the Train of a fresh Victory, began to Skirmish, but the Carthaginians were not able to keep them out of the Gates; but within, upon the first Alarm, the Souldiers flocking together that way from all parts of the Camp, made a very stout resistance; and as the fight was fierce, so 'tis like, much longer it had continued, but that the Blood on the Romans Targets gave notice to the Carthaginians of the former Execution, and the Defeat of their Companions, which daunted them quite, and made them take their heels, and so as many of them as escaped killing, got away as well as they could, and were all turn'd out of their Camp. So that in one night and days time, by the Conduct of Marcius, two fortified Camps were won from the Enemy, and thirty seven thousand of them slain (as Claudius affirms, who translated the Annals of Acilius out of Greek into Latine) eighteen hundred and thirty taken Prisoners, a mighty Booty got, and amongst the rest a silver Shield weighing a hundred thirty eight pound, with the Figure of Asdrubal the Barchine thereon. Valerius Antias mentions only Mago's Camp to have been taken, and there seven thousand kill'd, and that in another Battel with Asdrubal upon a Sally there were slain ten thousand, and four thousand three hundred and thirty taken, and Piso writes that whilst Mago was pursuing our men who gave ground, he fell into an Ambuscade, and so lost five thousand men; but all Authors agree in applauding and celebrating the Courage and Conduct of General Marcius, and to his true glory they also add Miracles, viz. That as he was making the Speech to his Souldiers, there was seen a flame of fire about his head, to the great terror of all that stood round him, though he himself perceiv'd it not. For a memorial of this Victory

Victory over the Punicks there remain'd until the Capitol was burnt, the aforesaid Shield with the Picture of Asdrubal, and it was commonly call'd Marcius's Shield. Hence-forwards things were quiet a good while in Spain, after such mighty overthrows mutually given, either side declining further hazards.

Whilst these Tragedies were acting in Spain, Marcellus having taken Syracuse, and settled all the affairs of Sicily with such faithfulness and integrity as not only increas'd his own glory, but also the majesty and honour of the people of Rome; he brought away the Ornaments of the City, as rare Statues and curious pieces of Painting (wherein Syracuse abounded) to Rome. And well might he do so, being the spoils of the Enemy, and gallantly gotten by right of Conquest, yet it must be confess'd, That this first set us to admire and dote so much upon the rare Workmanship of Grecian Artifts, and from hence came afterwards that common licentiousness and outrage of robbing and spoiling all places sacred or profane where those Curiosities were to be had; which proceeded so far that at length it turn'd to the spoiling of the Roman Gods themselves, and defacing of that very Temple which by Marcellus himself was first of all so richly beautified with these Ornaments, that Strangers were wont to visit the same out of curiosity, meerly to have a sight of those excellent rarities of all kinds, of which at this day there is scarce any thing left to be seen. To Marcellus came Agents from almost all the several Cities of Sicily to make their Peace; but as their circumstances were not all one, so neither were they all allowed the same terms and conditions; Those who either had not at all revolted, or before the taking of Syracuse had reconciled themselves, were treated and respected as faithful Friends and Allies, but such as submitted afterwards for fear, were regarded no better than vanquish'd Enemies, and to receive Laws from the Conqueror. The Romans had still no small reliques of the War to dispatch about Agrigentum, for there were yet Epicles and Hanno the surviving Captains of the former War, to whom Annibal had dispatcht a third in the room of Hippocrates, viz. a certain Citizen of Hippo, descended from the Libyphoenicians, called by his Countrymen Mutines, a man of action, and educated under Annibal in all the Arts of War. Unto whose Charge Epicles and Hanno committed the charge of the Numidian Auxiliaries, with whom he so foraged the Enemies Territories, and so nimbly reforted unto all the Confederates to engage them to continue their Fidelity, and to assist them on any occasion, that in a short time all Sicily rang with his Fame, and those that favour'd the Carthaginian Faction began to make him the chief Anchor of their Hopes. And therefore both Captains, as well Hanno the Carthaginian, as Epicles the Syracusan, who for a time had been pent up within the Walls of Agrigentum, now not so much by the advice of Mutines, as on the confidence they repos'd in him, came forth and pitcht their Tents at the River Himera. Of which Marcellus being advis'd, presently advanc'd, and sat down but four miles distant from them, waiting to see what they would do; but Mutines gave him neither place to rest in, nor time to consult, but passing the River, with mighty violence fell upon their Outguards, and the next day gave them a fair Battel, and forc'd them to retire within their Trenches. But being called from thence by occasion of a Mutiny of Numidians (who to the number of almost three hundred were departed to Heraclea Minoa) whilst he went to pacify and reclaim them, 'tis said, he was very importunate with the other Captains not to fight in his absence; which they both took in dudgeon, especially Hanno, who now began to be jealous of his own Honour; What, says he, shall Mutines prescribe Laws to us? and a degenerate African over-rule a Carthaginian General, commissioned by the Senate and People? He therefore perswaded Epicles (who was somewhat backward) to pass the River, for if they should wait for Mutines, and win the Field, he would undoubtedly go away with the glory of it.

Marcellus thinking it a foul indignity, If he who repuls'd Annibal himself from Nola, even when he was in his highest Pride for the Victory, should now retreat from these Fellows whom he had already routed both at Sea and Land, gave Orders in all hast for his Souldiers to arm, and advance their Ensigns; whilst he was drawing up in Battalia, ten Numidians came riding to him full speed from the Enemies Host, who inform'd him, That their Countrymen who were first disgusted in that Mutiny which occasion'd three hundred of them to retreat to Heraclea, being now further affronted by seeing their own Commander, by the subtlety of the other two Captains, envying his glory, sent out of the way, just on the day when they were to engage, were resolv'd not to strike a stroke. Though that people be naturally deceitful, yet here they kept their words; nor was this a small Encouragement to the Romans, special Messengers being dispatcht through the whole Army to assure them the Enemy was destitute of Horse, which most of all they stood in fear of; nor were the Enemy less disheartned as not only seeing themselves deserted by their main strength, but fearing they should also be charg'd by their own Horse. So that the Conflict was not difficult, the first push determin'd the fate of the day, the Numidians standing quietly on the Wings when they saw their men ran, accompanied them but a little, for perceiving they all made for Agrigentum, fearing they should there be shut up with a Siege, slipt away into several Neighbouring Cities. Many thousands were here slain, and eight Elephants taken. This was the last Battel Marcellus fought in Sicily, who return'd victorious to Syracuse. By this

XLI.

XLII.

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time, the year was almost expired. Therefore the Roman Senate decreed, That *P. Cornelius* the Prætor should write to the Consuls at *Capua*, That whilst now *Annibal* was remote, and no great matter of consequence like in the interim to be perform'd at their Leaguer, one of them, if they thought fit, should repair to *Rome*, for chusing new Magistrates. Upon the receipt of which Letters the Consuls agreed between themselves, That *Claudius* should manage the Elections, and *Fulvius* remain before *Capua*; The new Consuls created by *Claudius* were *Cn. Fulvius Centimalus*, and *P. Sulpicius Galba* the Son of *Servius*, a man that had never born any Curule Office of State before. The Prætors were *L. Cornelius Lentulus*, *M. Cornelius Cethegus*, *C. Sulpicius*, and *C. Calpurnius Piso*. This last had the City-Jurisdiction, *Sulpicius* the Government of *Sicily*, *Cethegus* of *Apulia*, and *Lentulus* of *Sardinia*. The Consuls had their Commands over the Armies continued for another year.

### DECADE III. BOOK VI.

#### The E P I T O M E.

10. *Annibal* Encamps on the River *Anio*, but three miles from *Rome*; himself in person with two thousand Horse rode up to the Gate *Capena*, to take a view of the Cities situation. 11. The Armies on both sides two dayes together facing each other in *Battalia*, stormy weather each time hindered them from an Engagement, though as soon as ever they were retreated to their respective Camps, it prov'd fair. 14. *Capua* is taken by *Q. Fulvius* and *App. Claudius* the Consuls, and the chief men of that City, hasten their own deaths by poison. 15. The Senators of *Capua* being tied up for Execution, *Q. Fulvius* the Consul receiving Letters from the Senate, containing a Pardon as to their Lives, pockets them up unread, and proceeds to put them to Death. 18, 19. A Common-Hall being Assembled to chuse a Governor for *Spain*, and none being willing to accept that Charge, *P. Scipio*, the Son of him of the same name that was lately slain there, offers himself; and with a general consent is dispatcht thither; who being but a young man not twenty four years old, in one day took the City call'd *New Carthage*; and was supposed to be of some Divine Descent, both because always after he came to Mans Estate, he constantly frequented the Capitol, as also, because a strange Snake was wont to be seen in his Mothers Bed-Chamber. 21. This Book likewise contains the Actions perform'd in *Sicily*, the League with the *Ætolians*, and the wars against the *Acarnanians*, and *Philip King* of *Macedonia*.

V. C. 342. 1. **C**N. *Fulvius Centimalus* and *P. Sulpicius Galba* the Consuls, entring upon their Office on the fifteenth of *March*, summon'd a Senate and consulted the Fathers touching the management of the War and the disposal of the Provinces and the Armies: *Q. Fulvius* and *App. Claudius*, last years Consuls, were continued in their Commands over the same forces, and besides had Orders, Not to depart from *Capua*, which they were then besieging, until the same was taken: For above all other Affairs, the Romans at that time were most intent upon that; not so much out of anger and revenge, (though they had never juster cause given them by any City) as out of interest; For being a City so rich and illustrious, as by its Revolt it drew away with it several of the Allies, so by its being again reduced to Obedience, it was like to incline many of their minds to the same awful respect as they had formerly for the Roman Empire. The last years Prætors also had their Commands continued, *M. Junius* in *Etruria*, and *P. Sempronius* in *Gallia*, with two Legions apiece; and so *Marcellus* remained as Pro-consul in *Sicily*, to dispatch what remained of the War there, with the same Army he had; and if he wanted any Recruits, was to be re-inforced out of those Troops which were under the Conduct of *P. Cornelius* the Proprætor in the same Island, provided that he should chuse none of those Souldiers that escaped at *Cannæ*, whom the Senate had refused to dismiss or suffer to return home before the end of the War. Unto *C. Sulpicius*, whose Lot it was to have the Government of *Sicily*, were assign'd those two Legions which *P. Cornelius* had before, with a fresh Supply out of the Army of *Cn. Fulvius*, which the last year was so shamefully routed in *Apulia*; which Souldiers, by a Decree of the Senate, were not to be dismissed the Service sooner than those of *Cannæ*; and for a further disgrace to them both, it was Order'd, That they should lye all the Winter abroad in the Field, and their Camp not to be within ten miles of any City. *L. Cornelius* in *Sardinia* had those two Legions that *Q. Mucius* had commanded, and if they wanted any Recruits, the Consuls were to make new Levies; *T. Otacilius* and *M. Valerius* with the same Forces and Ships which they had already, were appointed to secure the Sea-Coasts of *Sicily* and *Greece*. The Greeks had fifty Sail in their Fleet man'd with one Legion: The *Sicilians* an hundred Ships and two Legions to furnish them; so that the Romans this year maintain'd three and twenty Legions to carry on the War by Sea and Land.

II. In the beginning of the year Letters from the before-mentioned *L. Marcius* being taken into Consideration by the Senate, the Contents thereof were very acceptable, and all agreed he had perform'd excellent Service; but most of their Lordships were offended, in that he had assumed to himself a Title of Honour, and wrote in this Stile [*L. Marcius* the Proprætor

Proprætor to the Senate, Greeting] when neither the People nor Senate had bestow'd that Character upon him. 'Twas alledged, It would be a very ill Precedent to have Generals of the Field chosen by Armies and the Solemnity of Elections, always hitherto celebrated in the Name of the Gods and with Religious Auspices, now transferr'd into Camps and Provinces, far from Laws and Magistrates, and committed to the Capricio's of the rash inconsiderate Souldiery. But when some urged to bring that matter presently to a Judicial Hearing, it was thought better to defer it, until those Gentlemen whom *Marcius* had sent, were gone back: As touching the Corn and Cloaths which he desired, it was Order'd to return Answer, That the Senate would take care to supply him. But they would by no means direct their Letter to him with the Title of Prætor, lest they might seem to approve and confirm his Pretensions, which were left to be determined of afterwards: And indeed after his Messengers were departed, the first thing the Consuls did, was to propound that Affair, and it was unanimously agreed, That the Tribunes of the Commons should with all expedition assemble them, and put it to the Vote, Who they would please to send into *Spain* to command that Army, which lately was under the Conduct of *Cn. Scipio*? The Tribunes were made acquainted herewith, and a Bill prefer'd to the Commons. But all mens minds were taken up with another more important Controversie then on Foot; for *C. Sempronius Blasius* had commenc'd a Criminal Process against *Cn. Fulvius* for the loss of the Army in *Apulia*, and ceased not in all the Assemblies of the People to inveigh against him, That by ignorance and rashness many Generals had precipitated their Forces into danger, but never any but *Cn. Fulvius* had so industriously debauch'd his Legions with all kind of vices before he betray'd them; so that it might truly be said, they were undone before ever they saw the Enemy, and were not so much overcome and spoiled by *Annibal* as by their own Commander. Such small care do people take, now a-days, in their Elections, who or what kind of person it is that they chuse for a General, and to whom they commit that most important Charge of an Army. What a vast difference there is between this mans Conduct and that of *T. Sempronius*? The latter having the Leading of an Army of Bond-slaves, by Discipline and good Government in a little time brought them to that pass, that none of them when they came into the Field seem'd to be of that blood and condition, but behaved themselves so, as to be a sure defence to their Friends, and a dread to their Enemies: having recovered *Cumes*, *Beneventum*, and other Cities as it were out of the very jaws of *Annibal*, and restor'd them to the People of *Rome*. Whereas on the contrary, *Cn. Fulvius* having receiv'd an Army of Roman Citizens, well-born and liberally educated, has taught them vices that Slaves would be ashamed of, and so train'd them up, that amongst their Allies they were insolent and unruly; to their Enemies Hen-hearted and meer Cowards: for so far were they from sustaining the *Carthaginians* Charge, that they could not endure their sight, but ran away for fear of their shout at a distance; nor indeed was it any wonder, that the Souldiers should stand to't, when their General himself was the first man that took his heels; 'tis rather to be admir'd that any of them kept their ground and died in the Field, that they were not all as timorous as he, and did not accompany their Leader in his shameful Flight. *C. Flaminius*, *L. Paulus*, *L. Posthumus*, and both the *Scipio's* chose rather to die in the Bed of Honour bravely fighting, than to desert their Armies, though environ'd round with their Enemies: But *Cn. Fulvius* thought it better to reserve himself to be in a manner the only Messenger that should carry the Tidings of his Armies being overthrow'n. How shamefully partial will our proceedings be accounted, if when those Souldiers that fled out of the Field at *Cannæ*, should be sentenc'd to be transported into *Sicily* without hopes of return till the Enemy be beat out of Italy, and the same punishment inflict'd by a late Decree on the Legions under *Cn. Fulvius*; and yet this *Cn. Fulvius* their General, who set them the Example of Cowardise, and ran forsooth out of that Battel which his own rashness had engaged them in, shall himself scape scot-free and without any publick Brand of Infamy? If he shall be suffered here at liberty to spend his old Age, as he did his Youth in Taverns and Brothel-houses, whilst his poor Souldiers guilty of no other Crime but being too like their General, are sent away as into Exile, and condemn'd to an ignominious and unlimited Warfare; so unequally managed are our Liberties at *Rome* between the Rich and the Poor, the Nobles and the Commons. The Defendant shifted off all the blame from himself, and laid it on his Souldiers; That they with impatience bawl'd for the Signal of Battel, and he would not let them go on so soon as they required it, because then it was late, but the next day at a convenient place and on equal ground, he orderly drew them up in Battalia, but when they came to engage, for all their eagerness before, they were not able to stand the shock of the Enemy, whether it were only their Fame that daunted them, or their Force that overpower'd them; That when they all confusedly fled, he himself was carried away in the throng of the Rout, as *Varro* at the Battel of *Cannæ*, and many other Generals have been; And what good could he have done the Commonwealth, if he had stay'd behind all alone? Unless his death could have prevented such publick Losses for the future? That he lost not his Army for want of providing them Victuals and Necessaries; That he did not rashly lead them into any places of disadvantage; nor was circumvented by the Enemy for want of diligence in sending out his Scouts before him, but was fairly beaten in the open Field by dint of Sword; and have not the bravest Commanders in the World had the like misfortunes? The Courage of his own men, or of the Enemy, was a thing not in his power either to give or take away, since every one is stout or faint-hearted from his own Nature and Constitution.

Two several dayes he was judicially accus'd, and referr'd to the people to set a Fine on his

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his head, the third day the Witnesses were Examined, where after he had been loaded with all kind of reproaches, Evidence was given by many upon Oath, That the consternation and flight took its beginning from the Prator himself, and that the Souldiers finding he had deserted them, and concluding that their General had certainly some good grounds of fear, they thereupon turn'd their backs and fled. Upon this Testimony the whole Court was so incensed, That they cry'd out he ought to be proceeded against Capitally. But about this a new contest arose, for whereas the Tribune had twice refer'd it to the people for a pecuniary mulct, and now seem'd to wave that, and willing to make it a matter of Life or Death, the Defendant appeal'd to the other Tribunes, but they refus'd to interpose, saying, they would not hinder but he might proceed, according to the antient manner used by their Forefathers, either at common Law, or upon the Statute; and bring him, being but a private person, to a Trial, either for his Life, or for a Misdemeanour; Then *Sempronius* charg'd him point blank with High Treason, and desired *C. Capurnius* the City Prator to assign a day for a Common Hall, to determine the matter. Then the Defendant endeavour'd to try another expedient to bring him off, which was to get his Brother *Q. Fabius* (a person for his services and merits high in the affections of the people, and especially for the near hopes he was in of taking *Capua*) to be present at the Trial, and make an Interest in his behalf; but when the said *Q. Fulvius* had requested so much, by Letters indited as affectionately as he could devise to move Commiseration towards his Brother, and the Fathers had denied it, and voted, That it was not for the service of the Commonwealth that he should stir from *Capua*; thereupon before the day appointed for the Common-Hall, *C. Fulvius* the Criminal, withdrew into the Country of the *Tarquinius*, and the Commons by an Act decreed, That the same should be accounted a just and legal Banishment.

IV. All this while the whole Force of the War was bent against *Capua*, and yet it was rather faintly beleaguerr'd than violently assaulted. The Servants and common people could no longer endure the Famine, nor yet were able to send any Messengers to *Annibal*, all Avenues were so strictly guarded. At last there was a *Numidian* that offer'd to get clear to him with Letters, and perform'd his word, escaping in the night through all the *Roman* Camp; which encouraged the Besieged so far as to attempt a sally on all sides of the City whilst yet they had some competent strength left them. And in divers irruptions of their Horse they had generally the better on't, but in Foot-Skirmishes were always worsted, but the *Romans* were not so glad of their Victories, as vex'd in any sort to be overcome by a belieged and in a manner vanquish'd Enemy; so at length they found out a device to supply by policy what they wanted in strength; a draught was made out of all the Legions of young men that were of the most vigorous, light, and nimble Bodies, whom they arm'd with shorter Targets than Horsemen commonly use, and seven Javelins apiece, each about four Foot long, with Iron Spikes at one end, such as are in the Javelins of those light arm'd Souldiers appointed to begin Skirmishes. Each Horseman mounted one of these behind him, and us'd them both to sit the Horse and ride behind them, and on a signal given, to jump down with wonderful agility. After by daily practice they could readily, and without any fear, perform these Exercises, the Horse advanc'd into the Plain between their Camp and the Town-Wall, to encounter the *Capuan* Cavalry, who there stood in a Body, and as soon as they were come within a Darts cast of each other, these Javelineers, at a sign given, all dismount in an instant, and so form a Body of Foot, and charge the Enemies with their new-fashion'd Weapons, wounding many both men and Horses; yet the surprize and fright of such an unexpected and novel Encounter, was worse than the real damage, till the *Roman* Horse finding the Enemy daunted and amaz'd, broke in amongst them, put them to flight, and had the killing of them up to the Gates of the City. Hence forwards the *Romans* were too hard for them in Horse-Service, and it was Order'd, That there should be some of these light-arm'd Javelineers in every Legion. The first Inventor of this intermingling Foot amongst the Horse, is reported to have been *Q. Navius* a Centurion, and that he was highly honour'd by the General for the same.

V. Whilst affairs at *Capua* were in this posture, *Annibal's* thoughts were distracted, whether he should presently advance thither to preserve that City, or stay to recover the Castle of *Tarentum*? but the regard of *Capua* prevail'd, as being a place on which he saw the Eyes of all his Allies were fixt, and like to give a Specimen what would be the Issue of all other Revolters from the *Romans*; Therefore leaving a great part of his Baggage and all his heavy-harnes'd Souldiers amongst the *Bruttians*, he hastens into *Campania*, with a select Body of Horse and Foot; such as were most fit for Expedition; yet as fast as he march'd, there followed him thirty three Elephants; He sat down in a Valley behind the Mountain *Tifata*, which overlooks *Capua*, and having at his first coming taken the Castle *Galatia*, and drove the Garrison out of it by force, he turn'd his Forces against those that were besieging *Capua*; having first sent private advice to that City, at what hour he would attack the *Roman* Camp, that they being ready might at the same instant sally out at all their Gates. The *Romans* having no notice by their Scouts of his advance, were so much the more terrified: for he set upon them in one place, and the *Capuans* at another, with all their Horse and Foot, together with the *Punic* Garrison commanded by *Bostar* and *Hanno*: The *Romans* left in so doubtful Case running

running all to any one part, they should leave another undefended, did thus divide their Forces, *App. Claudius* was to grapple with the *Capuans*; *Fulvius* to encounter *Annibal*; *Claudius Nero* the Pro-Prator, with the Horse of the sixth Legion to secure the road which leads to *Suessula*; and *C. Fulvius Flaccus* the Lieutenant General, with the associate Cavalry, was posted along the Bank of the River *Vulturinus*; The Battel began not after the usual manner, only with Shouts and Out cries, but besides all other clamours of Souldiers, neighings of their Horses, and rattlings of Armour, there was a multitude of *Capuans* unfit for military service, placed upon the Walls, who with the tinkling of Basons, and beating upon Brazen Vessels (as the manner is in the dead time of night when the Moon is in Eclipse) made such an hideous noise as amus'd and diverted their minds who were engag'd. *Appius* easily repuls'd the *Capuans* from the Rampier; but *Fulvius* had a harder task, *Annibal* and the *Carthaginians* charging so fiercely upon him, that the sixth Legion gave ground, who being beat back, a Regiment of *Spaniards* with three Elephants advanc'd as far as the Entrenchments, and had broke through the Main Battel of the *Romans*, but that they were afraid of being hemm'd in, and excluded from the rest of their Companies. *Fulvius* perceiving this consternation of that Legion, and the danger his Camp was in, encourag'd *Q. Navius* and other prime Centurions, to attack and cut to pieces that Regiment of the Enemy who were now fighting under the Rampier, telling them, That now all was at stake, and they must either give way to the Enemies, who would then more easily enter the Camp than they had already pierc'd through the thick Squadrons of the main body, or else they must dispatch them, before they got further; which would be no difficult service, considering they were but an handful of men, separated and shut out from any succours from their Fellows, and the same Roman Battalions, which now whilst they are affrighted, seem open and interrupted, if they would but make head, and turn on both sides upon the Enemy, were able to environ and cut them off in the midst; *Navius* upon these words of the General snatcht the Standard of the second Band of the *Hastati* out of the hands of the Ensign-Bearer, display'd it in the face of the Enemy, threatening to fling it into the midst of them unless his Souldiers made better hast to follow him, and take their share in the Conflict; He was a man of an huge bulk and promising preface, set off the more with his gallant Armour, and withal his advancing the Ensign aloft, attracted the Eyes both of his own Party and of the Enemy, but after he was come up as far as the *Spaniards* Standard, their barbed Javelins were lanced at him on every side, and the whole shock of the Battel seem'd turn'd upon one single man, yet neither their multitude, nor all that storm of Darts, was able to resist his fury.

At the same time *M. Atilius*, a Lieutenant General, caused the Standard of the first Band of the *Principes* to charge this *Spanish* Regiment. And *L. Porcius Licinus* and *T. Popilius*, who had the Guard of the Camp, fought desperately from the Works, and killed the Elephants on the very Rampier, just as they were getting over; whose bodies falling back into the Trench, served as a Bridge for the Enemy to get over upon; so as there upon the Carcasses of the Elephants happen'd a very great slaughter of men. On the other side of the Camp the *Capuans* and *Punic* Garrison were long since beat back, and in the pursuit the Conflict was hot at the very Gate of *Capua* which opens to the River *Vulturinus*; nor was it so much the Valour of the Defendants that hinder'd the *Romans* from breaking into the City, as the Balists and Scorpions and other Engines placed there, which gaul'd them at a distance; but especially that brave Attacke of the *Romans* was dasht by the hurt of their General *Appius Claudius*, who as he was encouraging his men at the head of them, happen'd to be wounded with a Dart above his breast in the left shoulder. However a great number of the Enemy were slain before the Gate, and the rest in confusion beat into the City. And *Annibal* perceiving the slaughter that was made of the *Spanish* Regiment, and how valiantly the Camp was defended, despairing of success, gave over the Assault, founded a Retreat to his Foot, and to secure them, placed his Horse in the Rear, lest the Enemy should fall upon them as they march'd off; which the *Roman* Legions were wondrous eager to have done, but *Flaccus* thought it better to forbear, judging they had done well enough already in effecting two such signal Services in one day, viz. to let both the *Capuans*, and *Annibal* himself see how little he was able to contribute to their Relief. Those that write the story of this Battel relate, that there were kill'd eight thousand of *Annibal's* Army, and three thousand *Capuans*, fifteen Colours taken from the former, and eighteen from the latter. But in others I do not find the Fight so considerable, but that the Fright was far greater than the Conflict; for they say, That the *Numidians* and *Spaniards* unexpectedly broke into the *Roman* Camp, and that their Elephants passing through the midst thereof, overthrew abundance of their Tents with an horrid noise, which made the Sumpter-Horses break their bridles and run straggling to and fro, bearing down all before them; and that besides this Confusion, *Annibal* added a Stratagem, by sending in certain persons that could speak the Latine Tongue very well (for some such he had with him) who in the Confusion Names commanded the Souldiers, That since the Camp was lost, every one should shift for himself to the adjacent Mountains. But this fraud was soon discovered, and revenged by a great slaughter of his men; and that the Elephants were driven out of the Camp with fire. 'Tis certain, this (however it began or ended) was the last that was fought before the Surrender of *Capua*, whose chief Magistrate (whom

(whom they call, *Medixtutichus*) for that year, was one *Seppius Lefius*, a person of mean obscure Birth; 'Tis reported that his Mother upon a time being to expiate some domestical ill Omen that happen'd in her House, on his behalf being (then an Orphan) the Southsayer told her, *That Boy should one day arrive to the chief place of dignity in Capua*; who not believing any such matter, replied, *Truly, Sir, Capua must be in a sad condition when my Child comes to be the most honourable person there*; which words spoken in jest, prov'd true in sad earnest. For the City being straitned with Sword and Famine, and its case desperate, all persons of Quality declining Offices, *Lefius* by complaining, *That Capua was abandon'd and betray'd by the great men*, prevail'd with the people to Elect him, and was the last of the *Capuans* that there bore Rule.

VII.

*Annibal* finding that he could neither tempt the *Romans* to venture a pitch Field, nor was able to break through their Leaguer to relieve the Town, was forc'd, without effecting his design, to dislodge from thence, lest the new Consuls should blockade him up and intercept his provisions. As he was studying what course to take next, a freak took him in the head, to march to rights to *Rome*, and strike at the very Root of the War, which as he had always desired, so both others commonly grumbled, and himself could not deny, *That he had slip't a fair opportunity for that purpose after the Victory at Cannæ*; nor did he despair, but that by surprize and the unexpected terrour of an assault, he might make himself Master at least of some part of the City; Besides if *Rome* were once in danger, he believ'd one or both the *Roman* Generals would quit *Capua*, and hasten to its rescue, whose Forces being divided, and consequently weakned, might give either him or the *Capuans* an opportunity of some good Fortune against them. The only thing that troubled him, was the fear, lest upon notice of his retreat, the *Capuans* in despair should yield to a surrender; To prevent which he hires a *Numidian* (a bold Fellow fit for any desperate undertaking) for a large reward to fly unto the *Roman* Camp as a Deforter, and thence to get into the City, with Letters, privately bestow'd about him, the tenour of which was full of encouragement. *That his marching from thence was for their good and safety, whereby he doubted not but to draw the Roman Forces from assaulting Capua, to defend their own City of Rome; and therefore they should not despond, but hold out a few days longer, and he would warrant them the Siege should be raised.* Then he caus'd all the Vessels taken in the River *Vulturius*, to be brought up to the Fort, which he had before erected there for his security, and understanding there were enow of them to transport his whole Army in one night, he drew down his Legions thither in the dark, and before Morning had ferried them all over.

Before this was accomplish'd, *Fulvius Flaccus* by some Renegado's got an inkling of the design, and sent an Express to *Rome* to advertize the Senate; which news variously affected mens minds according to their several fancies and dispositions, and as so important an occurrence required, the Senate was immediately Assembled to consult what was to be done? *P. Cornelius* surnamed *Asina*, was of Opinion, *That without regard of Capua, or any thing else, all the Generals and Forces throughout Italy should be forthwith sent for to secure the City*; But *Fabius Maximus* thought it the most dishonourable thing in the World to raise the Siege of *Capua*, and be terrified, and hurry to and fro at every beck and vain Menace of *Annibal*; He that when he was Victorious at *Cannæ*, durst not yet approach the City, is it likely he can have any hopes of taking *Rome*, when he was soundly beat but the other day from *Capua*? If he were marching that way, it was not to besiege *Rome*, but only to raise the Siege of *Capua*, which otherwise he knew not how to relieve; That there was no doubt but Jove the witness to those Leagues which *Annibal* had violated, and the other Gods, would with that Army which was at present in and about the City, sufficiently defend them against his violence and outrages; Between these differing Opinions, *P. Valerius Flaccus* propos'd a middle Expedient, approved of by the Body of the Senate, for having a due regard to the importance of both Affairs, he advis'd, *That an Express should be sent to the Commanders that lay before Capua, to acquaint them, what Guards the City had already, and as for the strength of Annibals Army, or how many Forces would be necessary to continue the Siege of Capua, they themselves could best judge; and therefore if one of the Generals, and part of the Army could be spared, without any hazard of interrupting the Siege, then Claudius and Fulvius should agree between themselves, which should continue there, and which should come with all Expedition to Rome to keep their Native City from being invested by the Enemy.* A Decree of the Senate to this purpose being brought to the Leaguer at *Capua*, *Q. Fulvius* the Pro-Consul undertook the Expedition for *Rome*, (because his Collegue was not yet able to march by reason of the wound he lately received;) out of the three Armies he made a Draught of fifteen thousand Foot, and a thousand Horse, and with them pass'd the River *Vulturius*. And having intelligence, *That Annibal* would march along the road call'd, *The Latine Street*; he took the other way call'd *Via Appia*, and sent Curriers before unto *Seria*, *Sora*, and *Lavinium*, which are situate near thereunto, not only to provide and lay up Necessaries for him in their Towns, but to cause the Country to bring in their provisions to the said road, and to assemble what Forces they could into their Towns for their defence, and all to be in Arms and stand upon their Guard.

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*Annibal* that day he pass'd *Vulturius*, encamp'd not far from the River. The next day arrived near *Cales* in the *Sidicines* Country, where he spent one day in foraging, and so led his

his Army along the *Latine Way* by *Suessula*, *Allifanum*, and the Territories of *Casinum*, where he remain'd two days encamp'd, and made great spoil in the neighbouring Country. From thence, leaving *Interramna* and *Aquinum*, he came near *Fregella*, as far as the River *Liris*; where he found the Bridge beat down by the *Fregellanes*, to interrupt his March. *Fulvius* was likewise stay'd at the River *Vulturius* (for *Annibal* having burnt all the Barges and Lighters) he was forc'd to make Rafts and Punts to set over his men, and found not a little difficulty therein, by reason of the great scarcity of Wood in those parts. But when he was once got over there, met with no obstruction in the rest of his March, but was plentifully furnish'd with all sorts of Provisions not only in the Towns, but on the Road, and the Souldiers were very chearful, and to encourage one another would cry, *Come let's mend our pace, remembering that we go to defend our Country.* A Post from *Fregella* that rode night and day, arriving at *Rome* with the News of *Annibals* advance to that Town, put the City into great consternation; and the concourse of people, adding vain fictions of their own to the News they heard, made a greater hurry than the Messenger, and set the whole City in an uproar. The Women fill'd not only their private houses with their lamentations, but you should see multitudes of Matrons running about streets with their hair about their Ears, and sweeping the Altars of the Gods with their lovely Locks, kneeling on the bare ground, and with hands lifted up to Heaven, beseeching the Divine Powers, *That they would vouchsafe to keep the City of Rome out of the hands of the Enemy, and preserve the Roman Matrons and their Children and little ones from all violence and abuse.* The Body of the Senate were ready in the Common Hall to give their Advice whenever the Magistrates desired it, some having receiv'd their necessary Orders, depart every one to his Charge: Others offer themselves to be employ'd in any Service where-ever there was occasion; Guards are set in the Castle, in the Capitol, and upon the Walls; all places about the City were well man'd, the *Alban Mount* and Castle of *Tusculum* furnish'd with strong Garrisons. But during this Alarm News came, that *Fulvius* the Pro-consul was upon his March with an Army from *Capua*; and because he should not (according to the common course) be abridg'd of his Authority when he came into the City, the Senate pass'd a special Vote, *That he should have equal Command with the Consuls themselves.* *Annibal* having most severely plunder'd and wast'd the *Fregellanes* Country, in revenge for their breaking down the Bridges, march'd through the *Frusinat*, *Ferentinat* and *Anagnine* Territories unto those of the *Labici*, and so by *Algidum*, advanc'd towards *Tusculum*; but being there denied Entrance within their Walls, he went a little below it on the right hand to *Gabii*, and so into *Pupinia*, and encamp'd within eight miles of *Rome*. The nearer the Enemy approach'd, the more dreadful havock they made, and the greater slaughter of the Peasants that fled before them, abundance of all Conditions and Ages being taken by his *Numidian* Horse who scour'd the Country before his Army.

In this distress and tumult *Fulvius Flaccus* entred *Rome* with his Army at the Gate *Capena*, and march'd through the midst of the City along the street *Carina* unto Port *Esquiline*, and going forth thereat, encamp'd between that and the other Gate called *Collina*: The *Ædiles* of the Commons conveying Provisions, and the Consuls and whole body of the Senate likewise repairing thither, where they sat in Council about the State of the Commonwealth. And agreed it was, *That the Consuls should also lye encamp'd not far from the same Gates*; That *C. Calpurnius Prator* of the City should be Governour of the Castle and the Capitol, and the Senators be always ready in the Forum to be advis'd with upon any sudden Accidents. In the mean time *Annibal* was come forwards as far as the River *Anio*, and kept a standing Leaguer but three miles off the City, whence he himself in person with two thousand Horse advanc'd up towards the Gate *Collina*, as far as *Hercules's* Temple, and rode all about as near as he could to take a view of the Walls and Situation of the City. *Flaccus* could not without indignation behold him take this liberty to brave them at his pleasure, and therefore sent out a body of Horse to beat off the Enemy, and send them back to their Camp. Whilst they were skirmishing, the Consuls gave Order, That a Squadron of *Numidian* Horse to the number of twelve hundred, who some time before revolted from the Enemy, and at that time lay upon the *Aventine Hill*, should hasten through the City and out at the *Esquiline* to engage the Enemy, as knowing that none were so fit for that Service, seeing the ground where they fought was very uneven, full of Banks and Vallies, Garden-Houses, Sepulchres and hollow Ways; but when the people at a distance saw them riding from the Castle and Capitol down the open brow of the Hill, an Out-cry was set up, *That the Aventine was taken*, which caus'd such a general terrour and running, that if the *Carthaginian* Tents had not been without the other side of the City, the timorous multitude had undoubtedly fled clear away and abandon'd the Town; but instead thereof they now betook them to their Houses, and thence with weapons and stones pelted their Friends as they march'd through the streets instead of their Enemies; nor was there any means to suppress the Tumult, or make them sensible of their mistake, the streets were so crowded with Troops of Country-people and Cattel, which the sudden fright, occasion'd by *Annibals* approach, had driven into the City. In the Skirmish between the Horse, the *Romans* had the better on't, and repuls'd the Enemy. And because there was continual need to appease Disorders and Tumults that were apt to arise upon small occasions in several places at once, it was decreed, *That all that had been Disturbers,*

Etators, Consuls, or Censors, should have as much power as if they were still in those Offices, till such time as the Enemy was gone from before the Walls. By which means divers vain and rash Tumults occasion'd by false Alarms in the remaining part of that day and the night following, were happily pacified.

XI. Next morning, *Annibal* passing the River *Anio*, drew up all his Forces in Battalia, nor did *Flaccus* and the Consuls decline the Field, but when both Armies were ready for an Engagement (on the issue whereof depended no less than the whole Fortunes of *Rome*) there happen'd a mighty showre of Rain intermingled with Hail, which so incommoded both Hosts, that they could scarce hold their Weapons, but were forc'd to retreat into their respective Camps, though on each side fearing nothing less than the Enemy: The morrow after likewise, when they stood in the same place in Battel-array, a like Tempest separated them; and yet each time, they were no sooner retired into their Camps, but the weather presently prov'd fair and calm. These odd accidents the *Carthaginians* look'd upon as an ominous Prefage to them of ill Luck, and *Annibal* is reported to have said, *That one while his mind, and another while his Fortune, would not give him leave to make himself Master of Rome.* There were other occurrences besides as well small as great, which discouraged him. That of most importance was, *That whilst he lay with his Host before the Walls of Rome, he understood, there were several Regiments with Banners display'd sent away to reinforce the Armies in Spain.* Of less reckoning and yet considerable was this, that he was advertiz'd by certain Prisoners, *That the very same plot of ground whereon his Army lay encamp'd, happening in that juncture to be sold, was bought at the full rate, and nothing abated.* This he counted such a presumptuous and scornful affront, that *Rome* should afford a Chapman for that piece of Land which he was possess'd of; That to retaliate the Bravado, he caused a publick Cryer by sound of Trumpet to offer to Sale all the Goldsmiths Shops about the Market-place in *Rome*, [but met with none that would purchase them.] Not a little affected with these discouragements, he dislodg'd and retreated to the River *Tutia*, six miles from the City, and from thence to the Grove of *Feronia*, where stood a Temple in those days famous for its Riches; for the *Capenates* inhabiting thereabouts, paying their First-fruits and other Gifts there in great abundance, had adorn'd it with great store of Gold and Silver. All which they rifled and took away, only great heaps of Brass there were found there after *Annibal* was gone, because his Souldiers smote with a kind of remorse of Conscience, thinking, it seems, Exchange no Robbery, had for the Gold and Silver left their Brass-money in the stead of it. The sacking of this Temple all Writers agree in. But *Celins* saith, *That Annibal* as he went towards *Rome* from *Eretum* turned thither, and sets down his Gifts, or Marches thus, first from *Reate*, *Cutilia*, and *Amiternum*, and that out of *Campania* he came into *Samnium*, then amongst the *Pelignians*, by the Town *Sulmo*, to the *Marrucines*, thence by *Alba* to the *Marsians*, so to the Village *Foruli*: nor is there any doubt but he pass'd that way, for the footsteps of so great an Army could not in so small a time be worn out. The only Controversie is, Whether he came that way to the City, or returned back by those places into *Campania*?

XII. Nor was *Annibal* so resolutely bent to raise the Siege of *Capua*, as the *Romans* to continue and re-inforce it; for he in his return hastened another way, first out of the *Lucans* Country to the *Bruttians*, and thence to the Streights towards *Sicily*, so that he was got to *Rhegium* before they were aware, and had almost taken them napping. Though *Capua* during *Flaccus's* absence was not dully attack'd, yet it was more sensible of his return, and much they wondred why *Annibal* came not back thither as well as he? But afterwards by some Intelligence from abroad they perceiv'd, that they were abandon'd and forsaken, and that the *Carthaginians* despair'd of retaining that City. Besides, the Proconsul by Order of the Senate, set forth a Proclamation which was spread in the Town, *That all Citizens of Capua who should surrender themselves to him by a certain day, should be receiv'd and have Quarter.* But none laid hold of that Overture, being kept in rather by Fear than Loyalty, as apprehending that by their Revolt they had offended beyond all hopes of Pardon. But as none by private discretion came over to the Enemy, so neither was there by publick Council, any good course taken for their preservation; the Nobility had quitted all Care of the Commonwealth, nor could they be got to appear in the Senate. He that held the chief place in their Government was one who thereby gain'd himself no Honour, but by the baseness of his Quality, lost that Dignity and Reverence which was due to his Office. Not one of the chief Citizens would appear in the Common Hall or any publick Meeting, but hugging themselves up in their private Houses, expected daily their own ruine with that of the State. The whole weight and care of Affairs lay upon *Bostar* and *Hanno*, Commanders of the *Punic* Garrison, who were solicitous not so much for the Cities preservation, as their own safety. They wrote Letters to *Annibal* with expressions not only free, but sharp and upbraiding, taxing him, *That he had not only relinquish'd Capua to the Enemy, but betray'd them and the Garrison to the Roman Cruelty to be butcher'd with all kind of Tortures; That he was slunk away amongst the Bruttians, as one that turn'd his face on purpose that he might not with his own eyes behold Capua taken; whereas on the contrary, the Romans could not be withdrawn from thence, even when their Metropolis Rome it self was in danger, so much more constant were they in their Enmity, than the Carthaginians in their Friendship.* That if he would draw his Forces, and turn

turn the War that way, both they and the *Capuans* were ready to make a resolute sally; *That sure he did not surmount the Alps merely to quarrel with the little people of Rhegium and Tarentum; but where the Roman Legions were, there too ought the Carthaginian Armies to be; Thus were his former glories achiev'd, thus at Cannæ, thus at Thrafymenus were Victories won, by confronting the Enemy by joining Camp to Camp, and hazarding the Fortune of a Battel.* Letters to this effect were given to certain *Numidians*, who for a good reward had offered their service and promised safely to deliver them; and in order thereunto under colour of being Deserters they came to *Flaccus* and were entertain'd in his Camp, waiting an opportunity to get thence upon their Errand, nor were they suspected, since the grievous Famine in the City gave such probable grounds for them to quit it, but it happen'd that one of these Renegado's Wenches came on a sudden from *Capua* into the *Roman* Camp, and gave the General notice, *That these Numidians were sent out on purpose to carry Letters to Annibal, as she was ready to justify against one of them, who had acquainted her with the intrigue;* being brought Face to Face, the Fellow at first stoutly denied that he knew her; but by little and little he was convicted by the power of truth; when he saw himself like to be tortur'd, and that the Rack was making ready, he made an ingenuous Confession, produc'd the Letters, and made some further discoveries of other *Numidians* that were lurking in the Camp under pretence of being Revolters; of whom above seventy were apprehended, and together with these new Run-aways, were first scourged, and then had their hands cut off, and so were driven back into *Capua*.

The sight of this terrible Execution quite daunted the *Capuans*; The people ran in heaps to the Town-Hall, and forc'd *Lesius* to assemble the Senate, threatening the great men who for a long time had absented themselves from publick Consultations, *That unless they now made their appearance, they would go to their respective Houses, and pull them out by the Ears,* so that for fear the Senate was very full; where whilst several of them propos'd the sending of Embassadors to the *Roman* Generals, *Vibius Virius* (who had been the principal Author of their revolt at first from the *Romans*) being demanded his advice, spake as follows. "Certainly those that talk of Embassadors, and making of Peace, and surrendering our selves, do neither consider what they themselves would do, if they had the *Romans* at their mercy, nor what they must suffer since it falls out otherwise; Do you imagine that our surrender now will be as acceptable as that of old, when to get assistance against the *Samnites*, we yielded up our selves and all we had in the World? Have you already forgot in what a Juncture of time it was that we revolted from the *Romans*? and what condition both they and we were then in? How we did not barely turn to the Enemy, but also cruelly and ignominiously butcher'd their Garrison which we had amongst us, and whom we might as well have turn'd out as kill'd? How often have we with all the spight and fury imaginable sallied out against them? How often attack'd their Camp? How frequently and earnestly have we sollicit'd *Annibal* to fall upon them? and (which sure is too late for them to forget) did not we but the other day lend him from hence to storm *Rome* it self? On the other side reflect a little what they have done against us, how fiercely and maliciously they have prosecuted us, and then you will easily perceive the vanity of your hopes, and what you have to trust to; whilst a Foreign Enemy was yet in *Italy*, when they had no less a Foe to deal with than *Annibal* himself, whilst yet the War was so violent that all their Country seem'd in a blaze; they pass'd by all other Affairs, nay they let *Annibal* himself alone, and sent both their Consuls with two compleat Armies, to Assault *Capua*; This is now the second year that they have blockt us up, and with Lines of Circumvallation endeavour'd to starve us, during all which time, as well they as we, have endured the extremities of toil and dangers, oft-times cut them to pieces upon their Rampier and about their Trenches, and at last very near beaten them out of their Camp, and all their Fortifications. But to omit these ordinary matters, since 'tis usual for Enemies when they besiege a Town to take pains and run hazards, this I am sure is extraordinary, and a manifest sign of their deadly feud and implacable hatred against us, That when *Annibal* with a formidable Army of Foot and Horse attack'd their Camp, and had got possession of some part of it, all that danger could not make them one jot withdraw from the Siege. He pass'd *Vulturius*, and lays desolate all the Territories of *Cales* with Fire and Sword, yet for all that Calamity and damage of their Allies they would not stir a Foot; He marches forwards with Banners display'd towards *Rome* it self, but they make as little reckoning of that threatned tempest, as of all the rest. Going over the River *Anio*, he sits down but three miles from the City, nay advances up to the very Walls, and braves them at their Gates, threatening that he would make *Rome* too hot for them, if they would not abandon *Capua*, and yet they would not give over, but beleagu'd us still; wild Beasts and the Savages of the Desert, be they never so much enraged and violent, yet if you go to their Dens, and offer to take away their Whelps, they will turn back from their prey to succour their young ones; But these *Romans* are yet more fierce and eager, for though their City *Rome* was besieged, neither their Wives nor Children (whose Cries and Lamentations were heard almost even hither) nor their Altars or private hearths, the publick Temples of their Gods, nor the Monuments of their



"their Ancestors, though all in danger to be violated, nor any other consideration whatsoever could once divert them from the ruin of *Capua*; so greedy they are of Revenge, so thirsty of our Blood, so fond of glutting their Eyes with our destruction. Nor, perhaps, can we blame them, for undoubtedly we should have treated them at the very same rate, had Fortune given us an opportunity; Therefore since the pleasure of the Immortal Gods is otherwise, and that I ought not to refuse to die, yet whilst I am at liberty and Master of my self, it is in my power to avoid those tortures and reproaches which the Enemy hopes to inflict, by chusing a death that shall be both honourable and gentle; never will I endure to see *Ap. Claudius*, and *Q. Fulvius* insolently vapouring and pluming themselves with our Conquest; never will I be haled along the streets of *Rome* in Chains for a show to set off the Pageantry of their Triumph, and then in a dismal Dungeon, or tyed to a Stake, be first scourged as a Slave, and afterwards submit my Neck to a *Roman* Hatchet? These Eyes of mine shall not be Spectators of the ruins of my Country, nor look on, whilst this Noble City is laid in Ashes, our chaste Matrons and modest Virgins, and ingenuous Youths, deslour'd and ravish'd, and by force abused with unnatural Lusts. These cruel *Romans* who heretofore rased utterly to the very foundations, the City *Alba*, from whence themselves were descended, that there might be no memorial left of their Original, shall we believe they will now spare *Capua*, which they hate no less mortally than they do *Carthage* it self? Therefore as many of you as resolve to quit the World before you see these so many and intolerable Calamities, go home with me, where I have a plentiful Supper provided for you all, and when with good Chear and store of Wine you have solac'd your selves, I'll begin a Cup of deliverance to you, which going round, shall soon free our Bodies from tortures, our minds from anguish and the disgraces of insulting Infamy, and rescue our Eyes from beholding, our Ears from hearing, those Cruelties which must certainly attend the Conquered. And to put a full period to our unhappiness, and prevent future indignities, some Servants shall be ready to set fire to a Funeral Pile in the open Yard, and cast our Bodies thereinto; This is the only honest way left us now to death, and becoming Gentlemen; wherein both our Enemies shall with amazement applaud our Courage, and *Annibal* repent himself for having deserted and betray'd such stout and magnanimous Allies.

XIV. There were more present that could give this Oration of *Virius*'s the hearing, and seem'd to applaud it, than could find in their hearts to put that in Execution which they so recommended. The greater part of the Senate, having in several Wars experienc'd the *Roman* Clemency, could not despair, but that they might be prevail'd with to extend mercy to them also, notwithstanding all past provocations, and therefore Decreed, and sent Embassadors with Commission to yield up *Capua* into their hands. In the mean time about twenty seven Senators went home with *Virius*, and suppd with him, and after they had done what they could by free-taking off their Cups to drown their sorrows, and make themselves insensible of the imminent miseries, did all carouze to one another out of a poison'd Bowl; and then rising from Table, shook hands, and took their last farewell with Embraces, bemoaning their own misfortune and the miserable state of their own Country, some continued there to be burnt in the same Pile, others departed home to their respective Houses. But by reason their Veins were so fill'd with good Chear and Wine, the operation of the Venome was very slow, so that most of them liv'd all that night, and part of next day before they expi'd, but all were dead before the Gates were set open to the Enemy; of whom next day one Legion of Foot and two Squadrons of Horse under the Command of *C. Fulvius* the Lieutenant General entred at *Jupiter's* Gate. He first took care to have all the Arms and Ammunition that was in *Capua* brought in to him, and then planting Guards at all the Gates and Avenues, that none might escape out of the City, secured the *Punic* Garrison, and Commanded all the Senators to be sent into the *Roman* Camp, where they were loaded with Irons, and Order'd to deliver what Gold and Silver they had, into the Treasurers hands; the Gold amounted to seventy pounds weight, and three thousand two hundred pounds weight of silver; of the Senators twenty five were sent to *Cales* to be kept in safe Custody, and twenty eight to *Theanum*, being all such as were known to have had a principal hand in causing the Revolt from the *Romans*.

XV. Touching the punishment of these Senators, *Fulvius* and *Claudius* could not agree, the latter being more inclined to favour them, the former rigorously bent to chastize them with the utmost severity. *Appius* therefore referr'd the whole matter to the judgment of the Senate, alledging, that it would be fit their Lordships should take their Examinations, whereby they would have an opportunity to inquire, whether they had held correspondence with any of the Free-Towns of the *Latine* State that were in alliance with the *Romans*? Or had from them received any assistance during the War? But *Fulvius* affirm'd, That was not to be suffer'd, That the minds of faithful Sociates should be disquieted with jealousies and vain suspicions of Crimes; or to be call'd in Question upon the Information of a parcel of people, that made no Conscience of anything they either did or said; and therefore he would for ever crush and suppress all such kind of Inquisitions. Upon this Discourse they parted, and *Appius*, though he heard his Colleague talk high, did not doubt but he would wait till the Letters arriv'd from *Rome* to signify the Senates pleasure

sure in an affair of that moment; But *Fulvius*, fearing the same might hinder his purpose, as soon as the Council of War was dismiss'd, Commanded the Colonels and Captains of the Allies to get ready two thousand selected Horse to march at a third sound of the Trumpet; with this Body of Cavalry he set forwards in the night towards *Theanum*, and by break of day came into that Town, riding forwards directly to the Market-place, the people running together from all parts, amaz'd at the sight of such a power of Horse, then he order'd the Chief Magistrate, a *Sedice*, to be call'd, and Commanded to bring forth those *Capuans* he had in Custody; who being all produc'd were first scourg'd with Rods, and then Beheaded. From thence with the same Party, he rode upon the Spur to *Cales*, where having seated himself on the Tribunal, as the *Capuans* there Prisoners, were brought before him, and stood bound to the Stakes; a Currier arriv'd from *Rome*, and delivered to him Letters from *C. Calpurnius* the Prætor, together with a Decree of the Senate, and presently there ran a rumour through the whole Assembly, That the hearing and sentence of the *Capuans* was reserved intirely to the Fathers. But *Fulvius*, suspecting no less, having receiv'd the Letters, clapt them up in his bosom without breaking them open, and bid the Cryer command the Lictor to proceed to Execution according to Law, and so the Prisoners were all put to Death. Then were the Letters and Decree of the Senate read, but too late to hinder what was already done. As *Fulvius* was rising from the Bench, *Taurica* *Jubellius* a *Capuan*, walking along the City crouded through the multitude, and call'd upon him by Name, and when *Fulvius* wondring what he would have, was sat down again. Command me too, quoth he, to be murder'd that thou maist boast another day of having kill'd a far better man and much more valiant than thy self. *Flaccus* told him, That he was mad, and that if he had a mind to put him to Death, he had now no power, being restrain'd by the Senates Order; To which *Jubellius* replied, Since after my Country is over-run, my Relations and Friends destroyed, and that with my own hands I have dispatcht my Wife and Children, because they should suffer no Villainous Indignities, I my self cannot obtain so much as to die the same Death which my Country-men have here suffer'd before my face; Let me by my own Courage revenge my self of this Life which is so odious to me; At which words, drawing forth a Sword which he had hid under his Vest, he ran himself through the Breast, and fell down gasping at the Generals Feet.

But forasmuch as the *Capuans* Execution, and most other affairs there, were transacted by *Flaccus* alone, and without the consent of his Colleague, some Authors write, that *App. Claudius* died about the time of that Cities surrender; as also that this *Taurica* neither came of his own accord to *Cales*, nor fell by his own hand, but that being with the rest bound to a Stake, and the noise of the people hindring the hearing of what he said, silence was commanded, and that then he spake the before-mention'd words, viz. That he was basely put to death by a fellow nothing comparable to himself for Courage and Vertue; whereupon by the Pro-Consuls Order, the Cryer said to the Executioner; Go, Lictor, and see you let this valiant man have the preeminence; begin with him first, and let him have a greater share of your pains than his fellows. Likewise there are some Authors that say, the Senates Ordinance was read before they were Beheaded, but because the same run, That if he thought good he should refer the whole matter to the Senate; he interpreted it, That he was notwithstanding at liberty to act as he thought most for the Interest of the Commonwealth. From *Cales* he return'd to *Capua*, having by the way taken the Towns, *Atella* and *Calatia*, upon submission, where the principal persons suffer'd the like punishment. Thus there were about fourscore Senators of *Capua* put to death, and near three hundred Noblemen of *Campania*, shut up close Prisoners; others committed to the Custody of several associate Cities of the *Latines*, came to sundry unhappy ends; and as for the main multitude of the vulgar Inhabitants, they were sold for Slaves. Touching the City it self and Territories, there was great Debate, some were for having a City so strong, so near, so dangerous and mortal an Enemy to *Rome*, to be utterly rased and destroyed; but the consideration of present advantage prevailed; For in regard of the Country lying round it, which is well known to be the most fertile in all *Italy*; the City was preserv'd, to furnish the Husbandmen both with convenient Dwellings and a Market; Therefore to inhabit it, a multitude of the meaner Inhabitants as enfranchiz'd Bondmen, ordinary Shop Keepers and Mechanicks, were suffer'd to continue there; but all the Land belonging to the City, and the publick Buildings, the *Romans* reserv'd in their own hands as forfeited; Besides, though *Capua* was inhabited like a City, yet it was Ordered, That there should be no Corporation, no Senate, no Common-Hall nor Magistrates; without which the Rabble could never be able to combine together to recover their Liberties; and for giving them Laws and administering Justice amongst them, a Provoist was every year to be sent from *Rome*. Thus were the affairs of *Capua* settled, by a course every way commendable; for as the guilty were severely and speedily punish'd, and the vast number of Citizens dispers'd several ways, without any hopes of return, so the City it self was spared, the innocent Houses not destroy'd with fire, nor pull'd down with violence, whereby the *Romans*, besides their own profit, gain'd the reputation of Clemency amongst their Allies, in preserving such a most rich and antient City, whose ruins not only all *Campania*, but the neighbouring Nations round about, would very sensibly have bemoan'd and lamented; In the mean time, the same was a sufficient Monument to all the

World; both how able the Romans were to chastize their faithless Allies, and how vain Annibal's Protection was like to prove to any that he should undertake to secure.

XVII. The Senate of Rome having dispatcht what was necessary touching Capua, assign'd unto Claudius Nero six thousand Foot out of those Legions which he had at Capua, and three hundred Horse which himself had levied; as also a like number of Foot, and eight hundred Horse out of the associate Latine Forces, which Army he Embark'd at Puteoli, and transported into Spain; landed them at Tarracon, and having laid up his Ships in the Dock, to augment his Forces, put all the Mariners in Arms, and so marching to the River Iberus, received the Army there, from the hands of T. Fonteius, and L. Marcins; and from thence advanc'd towards the Enemy. Asdrubal the Son of Amilcar lay Encamp'd at a place call'd The Black Stones in Ausetania, between the Towns Illiturgis and Mentissa; and Nero had possess'd himself of the mouth of the passage into that Forrest; whereupon Asdrubal that he might not be so closely pent up, and at last reduc'd to some great extremity, sent an Herald, offering, *That if he might be permitted freely to march from thence, he would withdraw all his Forces out of Spain*; The Roman General was overjoy'd at this overture, and Asdrubal desired there might be a Conference held the next day, where the Romans might set down Conditions and Articles in writing, touching the Surrender of the Fortresses in every City, and appointing the respective days when the Garrisons should be drawn out, and that the Carthaginians might carry away all their Bag and Baggage without any fraud or interruption. Which being consented to, as soon as 'twas dark, and all the night long afterwards, Asdrubal caused the heaviest part of his Army to be getting forth of the Straits by the best ways they could find; but gave special directions that no great number should go that night, because a few would better pass undiscover'd, and more easily get through those Thickets and narrow By-paths. Next Morning the Parley was begun, but by long Conferences and drawing up Articles in writing, and making exceptions, and other designed delays, the whole day was spent, and adjourn'd till the morrow. That night gave the Carthaginians opportunity to send off more of their Forces; nor was the matter brought to a conclusion the day following, but several days wasted in adjusting the Articles, and the nights in privately emptying the Enemies Camp; who having got away the greatest part of their men, began now to wrangle, and would not stand to things which before they themselves had voluntarily offer'd, so that they were still further and further from agreement, for their fears being over, so was their Faith. By this time, almost all his Foot were got out of the pound, when at break of day happen'd a mighty thick Fog, that cover'd the whole Forrest and Plains adjacent; which Asdrubal perceiving, sent a Message to Nero, desiring to put off the Conference till the morrow, because that was an Holy-Day amongst the Carthaginians, on which they made a scruple of Conscience to do any serious business. The Cheat was not yet suspected, the meeting is deferr'd by consent, and immediately Asdrubal with his Horse and Elephants quitted their Camp, and without any noise or opposition escaped, and recovered a place of better security. About ten a Clock it clear'd up, and the Sun breaking out, both chac'd away the mist, and discovered to the Romans that the Enemy had plaid them a Carthaginian Trick, for they saw their Camp empty and forsaken, whereupon Claudius vext to be thus bubbled, hasten'd after, and offer'd them Battel, but they were too wise to Engage, only some Skirmishes happen'd between their Rear, and the Romans Forlorn-Hope and Van-Courriers.

XVIII. Amidst these affairs, neither those States of Spain, who fell off from the Romans upon their late Overthrows, made any application to be reconcil'd, nor were there any new ones that revolted; after the recovery of Capua the Senate and people of Rome were no less careful of Spain than of Italy it self, and resolv'd both to re-inforce the Army there, and to send over a Governour to command that Province in Chief; but who should be the Man was the difficulty, for it seem'd to require an extraordinary caution into whose hands they intrusted a place where two most excellent Generals had been both cut off within thirty days space; Or to find out one fit to succeed in the room of two such grand Masters in the Art of War. Whilst one nominated one, and another, another, the matter at last was referred to the people, that they should meet in Common-Hall for creating a Pro-Consul to be sent into Spain. The day being appointed it was at first expected, That several would have put in for so great a Command, but finding their expectations therein frustrated, it renew'd the lamentation for the loss received, and they began more sensibly than ever to find the want of two such gallant Commanders. However the sad Citizens almost at their Wits end, and not knowing whom to propose, assembled at the time prefixt in Mars's Field; where every mans Eye was upon the Magistrates and great men, to see how they look'd one upon another, and much grumbling and repining there was, *That the State should be lookt upon as at so low an ebb, and in such a forlorn desperate Case, that no man durst accept the Government of Spain*. When on a sudden P. Cornelius (the Son of the General of that name that was lately slain in Spain) a young Gentleman not full four and twenty years of Age, rose up, and stepping into an higher place where he might be seen, declared, *That he was ready to take that Charge upon him*; The whole Assembly presently had their Eyes fixt upon him, and with a general Shout, wisht him an happy Government; being required

quired to give their Suffrages, not only all the Centuries voted for him, but there was not so much as one man found that did not give his Voice to have him go General into Spain. Yet after the Choice was pass'd, and the first heat of their minds somewhat cool'd, they began silently to reflect what an odd unpresidented thing they had done, guided by Affection rather than Reason, or a due Consideration of his unripe years, which most of all made them repent their Election; though some also dreaded the ill fortune of his Family, and lookt upon it as ominous for him to be sent into the same Province which was already died with the Blood of two of the same Name, and where he must fight over the Tombs of his Father and his Uncle. Scipio perceived this trouble of their minds by the change of their Countenances, soon after the Choice; and therefore causing them to be again assembled, made an Oration, wherein he discours'd both of his own Youth, and of the Government committed unto him, and the future War he was to manage, with such a grandeur of Spirit, and solidity of Judgment, that he re-kindled in every Breast the former zeal they had for him, and fill'd them with more assured hopes than the credit of other mens promises, or the confidence of former achievements are wont usually to create; For the truth is, This Scipio was not only a man rare and wonderful for those many noble Vertues and accomplishments which were really inherent in him, but from his youth he had by artificial means endeavour'd to set off those good Qualities, making shew before the multitude as if most things he did, were either represented to him in nocturnal Visions, or immediately suggest'd to his mind by divine inspiration, whether it were that he himself was tainted with Superstition, and fancied those Enthusiasms, or that he politickly pretended it to accomplish the more easily his designs, and have all his Orders as readily obey'd as if they were Oracles; 'Tis certain, he had from the very beginning prepared mens minds to have extraordinary conceits of him, for from the time that he put on his Toga Virilis [a Garment assum'd by young-men when they came to the Age of discretion] there was not a day pass'd over his head but before he undertook any private or publick affair, he retired into the Capitol, and when he was entred into the Temple, sat him down in a close Isle or Corner, and spent some time in Contemplation alone by himself. This Custom which he observ'd all his Life long, whether by chance or out of design, made many people believe that to be a real truth which was vulgarly reported of him, That he was a person of a Divine Descent, and renew'd a like report of him, as formerly had been spread of Alexander the Great (and one altogether as true as t'other) That he was begot by a mighty Serpent, such a prodigious shape having frequently been seen in his Mothers Bed Chamber, but upon any Bodies coming in, it would scuttle away and disappear. Nor would he ever disavow these Miracles, but seem'd rather to encourage the belief of them, by neither denying nor openly affirming them. Many other devices of like sort, some true, some counterfeit, had conciliated him a wonderful esteem amongst the Mobile, and upon those strong presumptions, the City was easily induced to commit to great a Government, and the Conduct of the most important affairs to his management, though his years and experience seem'd altogether disproportionate. To the old Army in Spain, and those Forces which Cl. Nero had lately transported thither from Puteoli, there were added ten thousand Foot, and a thousand Horse; and M. Junius Silanus the Pro Praetor was order'd to go along with him as his Adjutant General. So with a Fleet of thirty Sail (all of five Banks of Oars a-picce) he set Sail from the mouth of Tiber, and coasting along the Tuscan Sea, under the Alps, and through the Gulph of Lyons doubled the point of Pyrene, and landed at Emporia (a City of Greeks, for the Inhabitants were descended from Phocaea.) Thence ordering his Ships to Coast about after him, he march'd by land to Tarracon, appointing there a General Diet or Assembly of all the Allies; for upon the report of his Arrival, Ambassadors were dispatcht to meet him from all parts of the Province. There he commanded his Ships to be laid up in Harbour, save only three Gallies that came in Complement to wait upon him from Marseilles, whom he sent home. To the several Embassies (doubtfully suspended by the strange variety of successes that had lately happen'd) he gave Audience and return'd Answers, with such a grandeur of Spirit, grounded upon the assurance of his own Vertues, that though he let not fall one word that favour'd of rigour or rhodomontade, yet all his Discourses carried with them both an awful Majesty and an undoubted Credit.

Marching from Tarracon, he visited both the States of the Allies, and the standing Camp of the Army, where he highly commended the Souldiers, *That notwithstanding two such terrible Defeats one on the neck of the other, they yet kept the Field, nor suffer'd the Enemy to reap the fruit of their Victories, but had drove them beyond the River Iberus, and bravely defended their Allies according to the trust reposed in them*; as for Marcins, he made so much of him, as easily shew'd he was not subject to so impotent a passion as Envy, nor in the least feared any other persons Merits should eclipse his own Glory. Silanus then succeeded Nero in his Command, and the new Souldiers took up their Winter Quarters with the rest, whilst Scipio having seasonably given the necessary Orders in all parts, return'd to Tarracon; his reputation was no less amongst the Enemy than with his own Citizens and Confederates, and it was lookt upon as a good Omen of future success that they should dread him so much, when no probable account could be given for their extraordinary fears. They had now in several places

places betaken themselves to Winter Quarters, *Asdrubal* the Son of *Gisgo* as far as *Gales* on the Coast of the Ocean; *Mago* in the middle of the Land, about the Forest of *Casfulo*, and *Asdrubal Amilcar* upon the River *Iberus* not far from *Saguntum*.

XX. Towards the end of this Summer wherein *Capua* was taken, and *Scipio* arriv'd in *Spain*, the *Carthaginian* Armado sent for out of *Sicily* to *Tarentum*, to intercept all Provisions that should be sent to the Roman Garrison in the Cittadel there, had indeed shut up all intercourse by Sea with the said Castle, but by continuing there so long, made Corn more scarce amongst their Friends than with the Enemy; for there was not so much brought in by the Ports being open to supply the Townsmen, as was consumed by such a Rabble of Seamen composed of several Nations, whilst the Garrison being but few, subsisted well enough on their old stores. So that at length the Navy was dismissed with as much joy, as it was entertain'd when it first arriv'd, and yet Victuals was never the cheaper, for after they were gone, no Provisions at all could be brought in from parts abroad.

XXI. At the latter end of the same Summer *M. Marcellus* arriving at *Rome* from *Sicily*, *C. Calpurnius* the Prætor call'd a Senate for his sake in the Temple of *Bellona*; where having given an Account of his Actions, and modestly expressed his grief for his own unhappiness, as well as his Souldiers, That when he had reduc'd that Province, he could not have leave to bring home his Army with him, he desired, That he might enter the City in Triumph; but the same was not granted: For the matter being long debated, Which was less convenient, either to refuse him a Triumph being present, in whose name being absent, publick Thanksgivings and Honours had been decreed to the Immortal Gods for the Successes and gallant Actions achieved by his Conduct? Or to admit him to Triumph, as if he had finish'd the War, whom they had order'd to resign his Forces to a Successour, (which was never decreed but when the War remained) and especially when the Army the best Witness, whether he deserved the Honour of a Triumph or not, was absent? A middle Course was at last agreed on, viz. That he should come into the City with that lesser sort of victorious Solemnity call'd Ovation; and the Tribunes of the Commons by Authority from the Senate preferr'd a Bill to the People, qualifying the said *Marcellus* to retain his Command and Authority that day he should in Ouant manner enter into *Rome*: But he the day before celebrated a Triumph of his own head without the Walls, on the *Alban Hill*, and next morning in Ouant-wife came into Town with a rich Booty taken in the Wars carried before him; for in his Pomp he had the Draught of the City *Syracuse* curiously painted, as also the *Catapulta*, the *Balista*, and other wonderful Engines of War, with the Ornaments and Curiosities of a long Peace and Royal Opulency, a power of Plate, Silver and Brads curiously wrought, and other Furniture, rich Tapistry-Hangings and sumptuous Robes, and abundance of exquisite Pictures and Statues with which *Syracuse* was garnish'd beyond most Cities of *Greece*; and for a token of his Victory over the *Carthaginians*, eight Elephants were led along; but one of the most taking parts of the Show, was to see *Sosis* the *Syracusan* and *Meris* the *Spaniard* marching before him with Crowns of Gold on their Heads, of whom one was the Guide that led them into *Syracuse* by night, and the other surrendered the *Nasos*. They were both made free Denizens of *Rome*, and had five hundred Acres of Land apiece bestow'd on them and their Heirs for ever, which *Sosis* was to chuse in the *Syracusan* Territories out of the Lands formerly belonging to the Kings, or any other Enemies of the People of *Rome*, and also to take any one of their Houses at *Syracuse* that had been put to death for their Delinquency. *Meris* and the *Spaniards* that came in with him, were allotted Dwellings and Lands in *Sicily* forfeited by such as had revolted; and *M. Cornelius* was appointed to set out and assign the same; and in the same Country *Belligines* (who brought over *Meris* to the Roman Interest) had four hundred Acres allow'd him. After *Marcellus* had left *Sicily*, the *Carthaginian* Navy landed there eight thousand Foot and three thousand *Numidian* Horse, unto whom revolted the Inhabitants of *Marguntum*, *Hibla*, *Macella*, and some other Towns of small note. The *Numidians* commanded by *Mutines* ranged all over *Sicily*, and destroy'd with fire the Fields and Villages of such as adhered to the Romans, whilst the Roman Army made but a slow defence, being much discontented, partly because they had not leave to return home with their General, and partly vext because they were forbidden to take up their Winter-Quarters in any Towns, but forc'd to lye in the Field, and had there been any to head them, they wanted not an heart to mutiny and rebel; but *M. Cornelius* the Prætor sometimes with good words, and sometimes with chastisements, made shift both to keep them quiet, and recovered again all the revolted Towns, amongst which that of *Murgantia* with all its Territories, he gave to the *Spanish* Souldiers, pursuant to the before-mentioned Decree of the Senate.

XXII. Both Consuls holding hitherto the Government of *Apulia* between them, seeing now there was no great fear of *Annibal* and his *Carthaginians* were commanded to divide that Province and *Macedonia* between them by Lot, which latter happen'd to *Sulpicius*, and he succeeded *Levinus* therein. *Fulvius* being call'd home to hold the Election for Consuls at the day appointed, the Century of the young men of the Tribe call'd *Veturia*, happening to have the Prerogative or first Vote, nominated *T. Manlius Torquatus* and *T. Otacilius*; *Manlius* being present, a multitude flockt about him to congratulate his new Honour, (for 'twas not doubted but the rest of the people would consent) but he follow'd with a great Troop, comes to

to the Consuls Tribunal, desiring to be heard a few words, and that the Century which had given their Suffrage, might be order'd to be recall'd; All people were full of expectation what it was he would demand? He desired to be excused by reason of the weakness of his sight. For sure, quoth he, shameless must that Pilot of a Ship be counted, and as impudent a General of an Army, who when he must do all by other mens Eyes, shall yet desire peoples Lives and Fortunes to be committed to his Conduct and Guidance, who is scarce able to guide himself; Therefore may it please you to Command this young Century to give their Voices anew; and in their chusing of Consuls to consider the War that is at present in the Bowels of Italy, and the dangerous condition of the Commonwealth, our Ears still in a manner resounding with that dreadful noise and alarm which the Enemy rais'd but a few months ago under the very Walls of *Rome*; But the Century with unanimous Shouts declaring, that they would persist in their former Choice? *Torquatus* again stands up and says, If I were Consul neither should I bear with your insolent manners, nor would you endure the strictness of my Government; To the Scrutiny therefore once again, I bid you, and consider there is a Punick War in Italy, and the Enemies General is no less a person than *Annibal*. Then the Century being moved, both by his Authority and the Reverence they had for him, as by the Applauses of all the people, admiring his modesty and other Vertues, desired the Consul, That the Century of Seniors of their *Veturian* Tribe might be call'd, for they had a mind to consult with those of more Age and Experience about this Affair, and by their sage advice and directions nominate Consuls. Who being called, and some time allow'd for them to consult together privately in the Apartment call'd *Ovile*; These Elders told them there were, as they conceiv'd, but three persons fit to be put in nomination at this juncture, of whom two already were full of all honourable Offices that could be born in the Commonwealth, viz. *Q. Fabius* and *M. Marcellus*, but if they had a mind to Create any new Consul against the *Carthaginians*, there was *M. Valerius* *Levinus*, who had perform'd most excellent service against *King Philip*, both by Sea and Land. Accordingly after the Consultation, and the old Century dismiss'd, the young ones went again to the Ballotting Box, and declared for Consuls *M. Claudius Marcellus* (glittering then in the prime of his Glory for the late Conquest of *Sicily*) and *M. Valerius*, who was absent, in which choice all the rest of the Tribes did readily concur. Let who will laugh at those that prefer and applaud ancient times, for my own part, if there were any City to be found, all whose Inhabitants were Philosophers and wise men (a thing some learned persons have fancied rather than either found or expected) I cannot think we should even there meet with a Nobility of greater Gravity and less Ambition, or a common people better manner'd and instructed. But such is the depravity of this Age, wherein even Children think scorn to follow the directions and authority of their own Parents, that to us it seems incredible that a whole Precinct of young men should have so much deference for their Elders, as not without their advice to make use of their free Liberties in giving their Votes for Election of Magistrates.

Then they proceeded to the Election of Prætors, and the persons created to that Office were *P. Manlius* *Volso*, and *L. Manlius* *Acidinus*, and *C. Lætorius*, and *L. Cnecius* *Alimentus*. No sooner was this Choice over, but news arriv'd, that *T. Otacilius* (whom the people would have set up for Consul with *T. Manlius Torquatus* as aforesaid) was dead in *Sicily*. The Apollinarian Games exhibited last year, were again renew'd, and a Law made by the Interest of *Calpurnius* the Prætor, that the same should from time to time be for ever continued. The same year several Prodiges were seen, or talk'd of, as that in the Temple of Concord, the Image Victory which stood on the top thereof, being smitten with lightning and beat down from its own place, fell upon those other Statues of Victory that were fixt on the Front of the said Temple, and there rested without falling further; That at *Anagnia* and *Fregelle* the Walls and Gates were blasted with fire from Heaven; That in the Market place of *Sudortum* there ran streams of Blood for a whole day together; That at *Eretum* it rain'd Stones, and at *Reate* a Mule brought forth a Foal; These ill tokens were expiated by the bigger sort of Sacrifices, and by a solemn day of Humiliation, and a nine dayes Sacrifice. Also this year died some publick Priests, and others chosen in their room, as instead of *M. Æmilius* *Nuvida* one of the sacred *Decemvirs*, *M. Æmilius* *Lepidus*; In place of *M. Pomponius* *Matho* the Pontiff, *C. Livius*; For *Sp. Carvilius* the chief Augur, *M. Servilius*. As for *T. Otacilius Crassus* the Pontiff, because he died just as his year was out, there was no need of electing any other in his Room; *C. Claudius* the Flamen or chief Priest of *Jupiter* forfeited his Office, by committing an error in his sacrificing, and not dividing the Inwards of the Beasts aright.

About this time *M. Valerius* *Levinus*, having first sounded the minds of the *Ætolian* Princes, came with a small Fleet of Ships, nimble Sailers, to their General Diet, before summoned for that purpose; where having acquainted them how *Syracuse* and *Capua* were both taken and subdued, and in what a prosperous condition the affairs of Italy were, he added, That it was always the Custom of the Romans received from their Ancestors, to treat their Allies with the highest respect and kindness, sometimes making them Free Denizens of *Rome*, and equal sharers in all those Priviledges which they themselves enjoy'd, and with others dealing so liberally, that they chose to continue free Allies rather than Citizens; but above all the rest, they had a peculiar Honour for the *Ætolians*, since they were the first of all foreign Transmarine Nations that entred into Amity with them. As for their bad Neighbours, *King Philip* and the *Macedonians*,



cedonians, he had so broken their Spirits and weakened their Forces, that they were not only glad to quit those Cities they had formerly by force taken from the Ætolians, but found work enough to defend their own native Country Macedonia: And whereas the Ætolians were much discontented, because the Acarnanians were dismembred from the Body of their State, he did assure them, he would reduce and unite them again under their ancient Government and Jurisdiction. These promises of the Roman General were confirmed and assured to the People by Scopas (at that time Head-Magistrate of that State) and Dorimachus a Prince of the Ætolians, who with less modesty and greater asseverations magnified the Grandeur, Power and Majesty of the People of Rome; but the main Motive was their hope of recovering Acarnania; therefore Articles were drawn and signed, containing the Conditions on which these entered into Alliance with the Romans, wherein a Clause was added, That if they pleased and should like well thereof, the Eleans, Lacedemonians, together with Attalus, and Pleuratus, and Scerdiletus (Attalus was a King of Asia, the other two Princes of Scythia) might be comprized and included. The Articles were these, That the Ætolians should forthwith enter into a War with King Philip by Land, and the Romans assist them with a Fleet by Sea consisting of not less than twenty Sail of Gallies, each of five banks of Oars apiece; That all Cities and Towns that should be conquer'd from Ætolia as far Corcyra, should as to the Soil, Edifices, Walls and Lands thereto belonging, be for ever enjoy'd by the Ætolians; but all their moveable Goods and Plunder fall to the Romans share; That the Romans should use their endeavours that the Ætolians might again possess Acarnania; That if at any time the Ætolians made a Peace with Philip, they should insert a Clause, that the same should be of no force until such time as Philip should have withdrawn his Forces and Arms employ'd against the Romans or any of their Allies and Territories. And in the same manner, if the Romans happen'd to treat with him, they should make the like provision for the security of the Ætolians and their Allies. This Agreement being reduced into Writing, was two years afterwards publicly hung up by the Ætolians in Olympia, and by the Romans in the Capitol, to remain amongst their other Records for a Memorial to Posterity; and the reason why the same was not done sooner, was because of the Ætolian Embassadour's long stay at Rome, which yet was no hindrance at all to their proceedings in the Wars. For both the Ætolians presently began to wage War with Philip, and Levinus by force of Arms took Zant (a small Isle near Ætolia, having but one City of the same Name) all but the Castle, and also Oeniada and Nasus, two Towns of the Acarnanians, which he restor'd to the Ætolians; and looking upon Philip to have his hands too full of fighting with his Neighbours at home, to be able to look after Italy, or perform his Covenants with Annibal, he retired himself to Corcyra.

XXV. The News of the Ætolians Revolt was brought to King Philip as he lay in his Winter-Quarters at Pella; therefore because he had resolv'd in the beginning of the Spring to invade Greece, that Macedonia and its neighbouring Cities might not be molested by the Illyrians, to frighten them from stirring, by the desolations he brought upon others, he made a sudden Inroad upon the Oricinians and Apollonians, and with great terrour coopt them up within their Walls. And having thus spoiled the Illyrians Neighbours, he turn'd his Forces with the like celerity into Pelagonia, and took by storm a City of the Dardanians lying on the Frontiers of Macedonia, and a convenient Pass into that Country. Having in great haste performed these Exploits, he forgot not the War he had with the Ætolians and Romans joining with them, but through Pelagonia, Lynceus and Boticea came down into Thessaly, as verily believing that the people of those Countries would be easily excited to assist him against the Ætolians. Leaving there Persens with a Body of four thousand men to guard the Pass into Thessaly against the Enemy, himself in person, before he should be more embarrassed with greater Affairs, leads his Army into Macedonia, and so into Thrace against the Medes, a People that inhabited a small Province there (not the Medes of Asia) and were wont to make Incursions upon the Macedonians as oft as they perceiv'd that King engaged in a foreign War, and the Realm to be left without a sufficient Guard. To weaken them therefore he plunder'd and laid waste all the Country about Phragranda, and laid Siege to Amphorina the principal City and chief strength of the Median Territories. Scopas having Advice that the King was gone into Thrace, and busie there with his Arms, musters all the Ætolians fit to bear Arms, and prepares to invade the Acarnanians, who, though too weak to cope with him, especially since they had already lost their best fortified Cities, Oeniades and Nasus, and moreover saw the Roman Forces ready also to fall upon them, did rather with rage and despair, than sober Counsel resolve to engage him; for sending away their Wives and Children and all Old people above sixty into Epirus for security, the rest from fifteen to sixty years of Age did all enter into a solemn Oath, That they would never return unless with Victory; and laid an heavy Curse upon those of their own Nation that should entertain within their doors, or relieve with provisions any of them that were vanquish'd and fled out of the Field, earnestly intreating all other people also not to allow them any harbour or accommodations; withal they besought their Neighbours the Epirots, that they would gather all together in an heap such of their dead bodies as should fall in the Battel, and interr them in one Grave, and erect a Tomb or Monument over them with this Epitaph;

Here

Here lie the Acarnanians, who manfully fighting lost their Lives to Defend their Country against the Violence and Injuries of the Ætolians.

Their Courages being heated by these resolutions, they Encamp'd on the Frontiers, expecting the Enemy. But withal dispatch'd Agents to Philip to acquaint him what imminent danger they were in, which caus'd him to give over that War he had in hand, having first made himself Master of Amphormia, and prosper'd in several other undertakings in those parts. The Ætolians upon the news of that solemn Oath the Acarnanians had taken, were grown somewhat cooler, but understanding that Philip was coming that way, were glad to wholly quit the Expedition, and keep within their own Confines. Philip took vast long Marches, as long as the Acarnanians were in Jeopardy, but before he was past the City Dius, being advertiz'd, that the Ætolians were gone back, he himself also returned unto Pella.

Levinus early in the Spring put to Sea with the Fleet from Corcyra, and having doubled the Cape Leucates, sail'd as far as Naupactum, and thence for Anticyra, where he had appointed Scopas and the Ætolians to expect his Arrival. This Anticyra is situate in Locris on the left hand as you enter the Gulph of Corinth. 'Tis but a small Journey by Land from Naupactum thither, and as short a Cutt by Sea; so within three days after they began to Assault that City on both sides; but the fiercest Attacque was from the Water, being manag'd by the Romans, whose Ships were full of all sorts of Artillery and Engines of Battery. The Defendants in few days were forc'd to surrender, and the City delivered into the Ætolians hands, and the Pillage to the Romans, according to the before-mentioned Articles between them. Here Levinus receiv'd Letters, That he was declared Consul in his absence, and that P. Sulpicius was coming to succeed him, but being long detained there by a tedious Disease, his return to Rome was much later than was expected. M. Marcellus entering on his Consulship the fifteenth of March, holding a Senate that day according to Custom, declared, That in his Collegues absence he would meddle with no publick affairs, nor dispose of any of the Provinces. That he knew full well there were many Sicilians that came to complain against him, lurking in the Country Farms of certain of his Enemies and detractors, whom for his own part he should be so far from hindering to publish openly in Rome those Crimes which were devised and charged against him by his Adversaries, That were it not that they pretended to be afraid (forsooth) to bring in their accusation in the absence of the other Consul, he would presently desire the Senate to give them Audience; but as soon as his Colleague arriv'd, he did assure them, this should be the first matter debated, adding, That he was not insensible how industrious M. Cornelius had been, making as it were an Hue and Cry all over Sicily for persons to come in and complain against him, and how the same Gentleman by his Letters full of untruths, endeavour'd to make the City believe, That the War yet continued in Sicily, which was, all out of envy to diminish his glory. Then did the Consul dismiss the Senate, having won that day the reputation of being a person that could notably govern his Passions, and now it seem'd as if there would be a general Vacation, not only of proceedings at Law, but almost all other affairs until the other Consul should come home. This rest and idleness (as commonly it happens) set the Commons (having nothing else to do) a talking, and rumours, murmurs and complaints are every where spread, That by this tedious War, not only all the Country about Rome (especially where Annibal had march'd with his Barbarous Army) was spoil'd and wasted, but all Italy in a manner dispeopled and laid desolate by continual Levies and slaughters, as particularly at Cannæ, where two whole Armies were cut to pieces at once; and now they had got two fierce Martial Men Created Consuls, such as in Peace would be apt enough to kindle a War on some pretences or other, so little was any accommodation of the present bloody differences to be expected at their hands, or that they would seek Peace, that the City might have some breathing time after these Calamities.

But this prattle was interrupted by a dreadful Fire that broke out in several places at once about the Market-place, on the Eve of Minerva's Festival called Quinquatrus. At one and the same time the seven Taverns (which were afterwards reduc'd to five) and the Goldsmiths-Row, (now call'd the new Shops) were all on a light Fire; which soon caught hold of private Houses (for the publick Halls and Palaces were not built there in those days;) as also of the common Gaol, the Fish Market, and the Royal Gallery: The Temple of Vesta, with much difficulty was preserv'd, chiefly by the pains of thirteen Bondmen, who for that service were bought from their Masters at the publick Charge, and made Free. The Fire continued all that night and the next day; nor was there any doubt but it was carried on by humane Treachery, for that the Fires began in several places at once, and those far distant. Therefore the Consul by Authority of the Senate made Proclamation, That whoever should discover the Authors and Fomenters of this Conflagration, should be rewarded; if he were a Freeman, with a good Summ of money, or if a Bond-man, with his Freedom. Which prevail'd upon one Mannus a Slave belonging to the Calavii of Capua, to come in and declare, That his Masters and five other young Capuan Noblemen, whose Parents Q. Fulvius had Beheaded, had kindled this Fire, and were resolv'd frequently to cause the like if they were not apprehended. Being seiz'd, and all their Families, they first endeavour'd to blast the credit of

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the Witness and his Evidence, alledging, *That being scourg'd by his Masters the day before for his Rogneries, he ran away, and to be reveng'd took the advantage of this sad accident to accuse them.* But he justifying his Information to their Faces, and some other of their Servants that had an hand in promoting the Fire, being put to the Rack in the middle of the Forum, they confess'd the whole matter, and both Masters and Servants were Executed; The Discoverer had his Liberty given him, and twenty thousand Asles [about sixty two pounds ten shillings sterling] for his pains. As the Consul *Levinus* pass'd through *Capua*, the Inhabitants flockt about him, and with Tears begg'd leave to go to *Rome*, *That they might implore the Senates Mercy, to take some Commiseration, and not destroy them utterly, nor suffer the Campanian name to be wholly extinguish'd by the Cruelty of Q. Flaccus.* On the other side *Flaccus* protested, he had no particular spleen against the *Capuans*, but only he hated them as publick Enemies to the State, and so he would always do as long as he knew them so ill affected as they were to the People of *Rome*, who had not more desperate and mortal Enemies on the Face of the Earth than they. Therefore he thought it best to keep them up within the Walls, for if at any time they chanc'd to get out, they would range the Country like Savage Beasts, and tear and worry all that come in their way. That some of them were already ran away to *Annibal*, others gone to *Rome* to burn that City, and treacherously lay it in ashes; That the Consul when he arriv'd there would behold the fresh prints of *Capuan Villany* in the ruins of the half-consumed Market-place; Nay they aim'd at the Temple of *Vesta*, to have quench'd those Eternal Fires, and utterly to have defac'd and destroy'd the *Palladium*, that sacred pledge on which depends the Fate of the Roman Empire, there reposit'd; and therefore he could not at all think it safe to admit any *Campanians* within the Walls of *Rome*. However *Levinus* taking an Oath of the *Capuans* selected Agents, That within five days after they should have received the Senates Answer, they would return home again, Order'd them to follow him to *Rome*; and when he was come pretty nigh the City, both the *Sicilians* and *Aetolians* went out to meet him, and attended with this multitude he entred the City at the Head of several vanquisht Nations, who came to accuse two most renowned Generals, *Marcellus* and *Fulvius*, of whom the former had lately taken *Syracuse*, and the latter *Capua*, two of the bravest Cities in the World.

XXVIII.

Both Consuls in the first place consulted with the Senate about the State of the Commonwealth and the Government of the Provinces. *Levinus* giving an account in what posture he had left *Macedonia*, *Greece*, the *Aetolians*, *Acarnanians* and *Locrians*, and what actions he had perform'd both by Sea and Land, how he had beat back *Philip* when he offer'd to invade the *Aetolians*, and had sent him packing to the further parts of his own Kingdom, so that the Legion that was there might very well be recall'd, for the Fleet would be enough to keep off that King from making any attempt on Italy. Thus much he spake particularly of himself and that Province he had presid'd over; As to the other Provinces both Consuls jointly propos'd the same to the Senates consideration, who decreed, That one of the Consuls should have the charge of *Italy*, and the War with *Annibal*, the other to command the Fleet, whereof *T. Oracilius* was lately Admiral, and together with *L. Cincius* the Praetor govern *Sicily*. They were Order'd to have two Armies to be kept on Foot in *Tuscany* and the *Cisalpine Gaul*, consisting of four Legions; and that the two City Legions rais'd last year, should be sent into *Tuscany*; and the other two, commanded by *Sulpicius* the Consul, into *Gaul*, which latter were to be commanded by such person as the Consul to whose Lot *Italy* fell, should appoint; And into *Tuscany* was sent *C. Calpurnius*, being continued in his Command a year longer, after the expiration of his Praetorship. The main standing Army, as well of Citizens as Allies, was to be reduc'd, so that of two Legions there should be made but one, consisting of five thousand Foot, and three hundred Horse compleat; and those that had serv'd longest to be discharg'd. That of the Allies there should be continued seven thousand Foot and three hundred Horse, with the same respect and consideration of past service in dismissing the oldest Souldiers. As for *Cn. Fulvius* last years Consul, he ruled the same Province of *Apulia*, his Command being continued another year, without any alteration of his Forces. But *P. Sulpicius* his Colleague was commanded to send away all his Army, except Mariners; Likewise it was Ordered, That as soon as the new Consul arriv'd in *Sicily*, the Army there under *M. Cornelius*, should be sent out of that Island, only the Souldiers that escap'd at *Canna*, being as good as two Legions, were to be assign'd over to *L. Cincius* the Praetor, to keep *Sicily* in Order. Two other Legions that serv'd under *Cornelius* the year before, were to go into *Sardinia* to *P. Manlius Volsus* the Praetor. The Consuls were enjoin'd in their Levies to compleat the City Legions, not to prefs any that had serv'd in the Armies of *M. Claudius*, or *M. Valerius*, or *Fulvius*, nor in the whole that year to exceed the number of one and twenty Legions of Romans.

XXXIX.

These Acts of the Senate being pass'd, the Consuls proceeded to divide their Provinces by Lot, *Sicily* and the Fleet fell to *Marcellus*; *Italy* and the War with *Annibal* to *Levinus*; which no less daunted the *Sicilians* that stood by, with great impatience expecting how the chance would fall, than if *Syracuse* had again been taken; They set up such a lamentable Cry, as for the present turn'd all mens Eyes upon them, and occasion'd much Discourse in the Town for a long time afterwards; for they went about to all the Senators, one by one, in vile despicable Garments, protesting, *That if Marcellus came again amongst them, as Lord Deputy,*

Deputy, they would not only quit their respective Habitations, but abandon the whole Island; for since without any shadow of offence given on their part, he was already their implacable Enemy, what but the highest Cruelties could they expect from him, now they had incens'd him by coming to *Rome* to complain of him for his former rigours? That it were better for that unfortunate Island to be set all on a light Fire by *Aetna's* Flames, or to be drown'd in the Sea, than thus to be expos'd as a Prey to a mortal Enemy. These Complaints of the *Sicilians* first spread amongst the Houses of the Nobles and chief Citizens, by people that either pitied them, or envied *Marcellus*, came at last to be matter of a publick Debate; and the Consuls were moved to desire the Senates leave to change their Provinces; whereupon *Marcellus* stood up and said, That in case Audience had already been given to the *Sicilians* by the Senate, he should, 'tis like, have been of another opinion, but now left any should clamour that they were restrain'd by fear from making their Complaints freely against him, who was immediately to be their Governour, he was content, if his Colleague would consent to exchange Provinces with him; only he requested their Lordships that the same may be no prejudice unto him; for if it had been unjust to give his Colleague the choice of what Province he pleas'd, without putting it to the Lot, a much greater injury and reproach it would be, to transfer what fell to his share by the Lot unto another? So the Senate rather intimating what they would be pleas'd to have done, than making any Order in the Case, broke up, and the two Consuls by consent between themselves, shifted their Provinces; for so destiny would have it, That the same *Marcellus*, who when affairs were at worst, was the first that had the glory of beating of *Annibal*, should now in the height of success, (to make him amends) be the last of the Roman Generals, that fell by *Annibal's* Arms.

The Provinces thus chang'd, the *Sicilians* were admitted into the Senate, where in a long XXXI Harangue to ingratiate themselves, They magnified the perpetual fidelity of King *Hiero* towards the Romans; And that as for *Hieronimus*, and afterwards *Hippocrates* and *Epicides*, one main reason why they were so much hated by the people of *Syracuse*, was for their rebellion against the Romans; That for that cause *Hieronimus* was cut to pieces by divers of their principal young Noblemen, as it were by publick consent and approbation; and that there was a Conspiracy of no fewer than seventy like noble youths to cut off *Epicides* and *Hippocrates*, who being held in hand, and delay'd by *Marcellus*, that had not brought up his Army to *Syracuse* at the time appointed, the business took wind, and they were all put to death by the Tyrants. Nay, that *Marcellus* had been the occasion of setting up those very Tyrants, by sucking and plundering *Leontium* so cruelly; That yet notwithstanding the chief persons of *Syracuse* fail'd not daily afterwards to make applications to *Marcellus*, offering to deliver the City when he pleas'd into his hands, but he from the very beginning was rather willing to take it by storm; and at last, when having in vain try'd all Efforts both by Sea and Land, he found he could not by force accomplish his purpose, he rather chose to accept of two mean Fellows, *Solis* a Blacksmith, and *Meric* a Spaniard, to be Authors of betraying the Town, than of the chief men of *Syracuse*, who had so often freely offer'd their service therein, which he did on purpose that he might with the better colour of Justice, butcher, massacre and plunder the most antient and faithful Allies of the people of *Rome*. If it had been the people and Senate of *Syracuse* that revolted to *Annibal*, and not *Hieronimus* a Tyrant; If the *Syracusians* by common consent, had shut their Gates against *Marcellus*, and the same had not been done (when they had no power to oppose) by their insulting Oppressors *Hippocrates* and *Epicides*, if they had wag'd War with the Romans with as much spirit and animosity as the Carthaginians, what more could *Marcellus* have done? or wherein given greater instances of Hostile rage, than in utterly destroying (as he has done) the whole City of *Syracuse*? For 'tis certain he hath left the Inhabitants nothing but the bare Walls and empty Houses, and Temples of the Gods violated and ransackt, the divine powers as well as the Citizens being robb'd of their Ornaments; and such havoc he hath every where made, that they have nothing to maintain themselves, their Wives and Children, but hard stones and the bare ground; therefore they did humbly request their Lordships, that restitution might be made, though not of all (which was impossible) yet at least of such things as could be found and rightfully claim'd by the Owners. Having thus made their Complaint, *Levinus* order'd them to withdraw, that the Fathers might debate thereon; Nay rather let them stay, quoth *Marcellus*, that I may answer to their Faces, since, most worthy Fathers, We are reduc'd to that pass, that whilst we fight for you abroad, those we subdue in the Field are admitted to be our Accusers in the Senate-House; and that the taking of two Cities hath made both my self and *Fulvius* Criminals, the one only guilty of subduing *Syracuse*, the other *Capua*.

The *Syracusians* being brought again into the Senate-House, the Consul proceeded thus: XXXI I do not, Venerable Fathers, so far forget the Dignity of the People of *Rome* and my own Quality and present Command, as to think that I your Consul am bound to plead for my self, or answer the Accusation of these Greeks, in case the Question were of any default or misdemeanour of my own; but the business is not, what I have done (for howsoever I have treated Enemies, the Law of War will justify it) but what they ought to suffer: For if in truth they were not Enemies, 'tis all one as if I had invaded *Syracuse* whilst King *Hiero* was living, but if they had not only revolted, but attack'd our very Embassadors with their Arms, and put them to the Sword, If they had shut up their Gates, and fortified their City against us, and entertain'd a Garrison of Carthaginians for their defence, who can complain that they suffer as Enemies, who committed all sorts of Hostility? But they

they say, I refused to accept of the Offer of the principal Syracusians to surrender the City, and chose to make use of Solis and Meric the Spaniard in so great an Affair? I suppose these Gentlemen present are none of the meanest of the Syracusians, since they upbraid others with the poverty of their condition; tell us therefore which of you it was that promised me to open the Gates, or receive into the City my armed Souldiers? Nay on the contrary, you hate and revile those that did it, and cannot even here forbear reproaching them, so far were you your selves from offering any such matter. The meanness of those persons, O Conscrip Fathers, which they object, is a mighty Argument that I refused not the Overtures of any people whatsoever that were willing to serve our Commonwealth. Before ever I invested Syracuse, I endeavoured all means of Peace, both by sending Embassadors, and offering my self to hold a personal Conference with them; but after I found them so impudent, as to offer violence to my Embassadors, and that when I my self gave their Chiefs a Meeting at the Gates, they would vouchsafe me no Answer, having taking a world of pains, and run infinite hazards both by Sea and Land, I made you Masters of Syracuse. What hardships they met with after the City taken, they ought to complain of to Annibal, and his Carthaginians vanquish as well as themselves, rather than before the Senate of the People of Rome who conquer'd them: For certainly, most Reverend Fathers, if I intended to deny that I plunder'd Syracuse, or thought I could not justify it, I would never have adorn'd the City of Rome with their Spoils. And what I have as Conquerour given or taken away from any particular persons, I may justly avow both by the Law of Arms, or their respective Merits, which whether you will please to allow of and ratifie, and now it imports the State, that by reversing my Actions you do not render your Generals for the future more remiss in the like Employments. In fine, my Lords, since you have heard both the Sicilians Complaint and my Defence face to face, we will, with your good leave, all withdraw, that in my absence your Honours may more freely debate the Point, and determine as you shall judge fit. So the Sicilians being dismissed, he went away to the Capitol to muster his Souldiers.

XXXII. In the mean time the other Consul put the matter to the Question in the Senate, where for a long time with hard tugging, it was debated. Many of the Senators following the Opinion of T. Manlius Torquatus, the Head of that Faction, alledged; That the War was waged with the Tyrants equally Enemies to the Syracusians and Romans, the City was to be recovered not taken, and being regain'd after it had so long been languishing under a domestick slavery, 'twas pity it should be exposed to all the Calamities of War. But between the Tyrants on one side, and the Roman Armies on the other, here was a most fair and Noble City (as if it had been the Prize of the Conquerour) ruin'd, a City that had been the Granary and Exchequer heretofore of the People of Rome, by whose Bounty and frequent Assurances in difficulty Exigencies heretofore, and even during the present Punick War this Commonwealth had been seasonably aided and honoured. Should King Hiero arise from the dead, he that had been so true and faithful a Friend to the Romans, with what face could we shew him either Syracuse or Rome? When he must on the one side behold his own dear native Country halfrazed and wholly ruinated by our hands, and on the other, could no sooner enter Rome, but even at the very Gates, he must see it deckt and adorn'd with his own Spoils? But though these and the like Speeches were made to move Compassion towards the Sicilians, and Envy against the Consul, yet the Majority of the Senate in favour of Marcellus passed an Act, That what he had done, either during the War, or after he had conquer'd the Town, should be ratified, and for the future the Senate would take care for the good of the Syracusians, and give particular Orders to the Consul Lævinus to have regard to the welfare of that City, as far as it would consist with the publick safety. Then sending two Senators into the Capitol to the Consul, to desire him to return into the Senate, and the Sicilians being likewise called in, the aforesaid Vote was openly read. The Embassadors had good words given them, and so were dismissed, who sung themselves at the feet of Marcellus, begging, That he would forget and forgive all they had said, either by way of deploring, or in order to alleviate their misery, and henceforwards receive both themselves and their City into his favour and protection: who answer'd them very kindly, and so they went home.

XXXIII. In the next place the Campanians were call'd before the Senate, who as they told a more dismal Tale, so their Cause was nothing so good or plausible: for they could not deny but they had deserv'd the usage they had met with, nor had they any Tyrants on whom to cast their Crimes, only they hop'd they had already suffer'd enough for their faults, since so many of their Senators, by Poison and the Hatchet were taken off; some few of their Nobility only remaining alive, who as they were not conscious to themselves of any such delinquency as to run the same desperate course with the rest, so neither did the Conqueror in all his fury adjudge them worthy of death, in whose behalf they were humble Petitioners to the people of Rome to grant them liberty for themselves, their Wives and Children, together with restitution of some part of their Estates, the rather, as being most of them either in blood or affinity long since allied to the Romans. They being order'd to withdraw, there arose for a while some dispute, whether Q. Fulvius should be sent for from Capua (for the other General Claudius died quickly after the taking of the Town) that the matter might be argued in his presence, as it was between Marcellus and the Syracusians; but when it was observ'd that M. Atilius, and C. Fulvius the Brother of Flaccus (both his Lieute-

Lieutenants) and Q. Minucius and L. Veturius Philo, that were Lieutenants likewise to Claudius, who had been present in the whole action, were all now here in Court, it was resolv'd neither to recal Fulvius, nor put off the Capuans to a further day. But M. Atilius Regulus, a person of the greatest Authority of those that had been concern'd in the Siege of Capua, being required to deliver what he had to say to the point, he spoke to this purpose: "I was, as I remember, one of the Council of War that was call'd by the Consuls upon the taking of Capua, and when enquiry was then made, whether any of the Campanians had deserv'd well of our Common-wealth? there were only two Women found capable of that Character, viz. Vesta Oppia, born at Atella, but dwelling then at Capua, and Fancula Cluvia, formerly an Hackney Strumpet; of whom the former daily said Prayers, and offered Sacrifices for the Romans success, the other did privately relieve such of our men as were taken Prisoners; as for the rest of the Capuans there was not one but was as maliciously bent against us, as the Carthaginians themselves; and those whom Q. Fulvius Beheaded, suffer'd death as being more eminent for their Quality, not but that the rest were full as guilty, and deserv'd the same punishment. Yet do I not understand how this House can decide the cause of any Campanians that are Free Denizons of Rome, without consulting the people; as was done by our Ancestors in the Case of the Satri-cans when they rebell'd; for then M. Anistius, a Tribune of the Commons, prefer'd a Bill, and the Commons Voted, That the Lords of the Senate should have jurisdiction of the matter to order therein as they should think fit. Therefore I am of opinion, that we were best in like manner now to refer it to the Tribunes of the Commons, That one or more of them make a Rogation to the people, whereby we may be authoriz'd to proceed; Accordingly L. Atilius, a Tribune of the Commons, by Order from the Senate, did prefer a Bill in these words, "Whereas all the Campanians, Atellanes, Calatines and Subatines, have surrendred themselves, their Territories, Cities, Utensils, and all other things whatsoever, sacred or profane, unto Fulvius the Pro-Consul, to be at the devotion and dispose of the people of Rome, I demand, O Quirites, your will and pleasure, what shall be done with the premisses? The Commons Voted, That what the major part of the Senate present in Council should determine therein, they would hold good and firm.

By vertue of this Ordinance of the Commons, a Decree of the Senate was made, To restore in the first place to Oppia and Cluvia, all their Goods and Liberty, and if they expected any further reward, that they should repair to Rome. For each Family of the Campanians particular Decrees were made too tedious to recite. Some had their Estates Confiscated, and were themselves to be sold for Slaves, together with their Wives and Children, except such of their Daughters as were married before they were reduced to the Roman Government; some were to be continued close Prisoners till further consideration: Others were distinguish'd by the value of their Estates, whether their Goods should be forfeited, or not; All their Cattel taken (except Horses) and all their Bond-slaves (except Males above fourteen years old) and all their goods not affix to the Freehold, were to some to be restored. All the rest of the Campanians, Calatines and Sabatines, but such, who either themselves or their Parents sided with the Enemy, were to pass as free people, provided none of them were a Free Denizon of Rome or Latium. It was also Enacted, That none of those that were within Capua, after the Gates were shut, should after a certain day prefixt, remain either in that City, or any of its Territories, but should have a place allotted for them to dwell in on the other side of Tyberis, so that it were not too near the Bank of that River. Those that during the War were neither in Capua, nor any other City of Campania, revolted from the Romans; should inhabit on this side the River Liris, viz. between it and Rome. Such as came over to the Romans before Annibal came to Capua, were to be removed on the hither side of Vulturnus, provided none of them should possess either House or Land within fifteen miles of the Sea. That such of them as were removed beyond Tiberis, they nor their Posterity should ever purchase or hold any Lands, but either in the Territories of Veii, Sutrium, or Nepesum, and withal none of them even there to exceed the flint of five hundred Acres of ground. That the Goods and Chattels of all those that had been Senators, or born any publick Offices at Capua, Atella, or Calatia, should be exposed to sale at Capua; As for such Free born persons whose Bodies were to be sold, they should be sent to Rome. And finally, the Images and Statues of Brass said to be taken from the Enemy, whether sacred or profane, the same were refer'd to the Colledge of Pontiffs, to dispose thereof at their pleasure. With these Decrees the Campanians were dismiss'd, more aggriev'd than when they came to Rome; no longer complaining of Fulvius's rigours, but blaming the severities of the Gods, and cursing their own bad Fortune.

The Sicilians and Campanians thus dispatcht, the Consuls proceeded in their Levies, and having complicated their Armies, they were at some loss to supply the Fleet with Mariners, for neither could they raise enow to Man the Ships, nor was there money in the Chamber of the City to pay them. Whereupon the Consuls set out a Proclamation; That private men according to their Estates rated in the Subsidy-Book, and respective Qualities, should, as heretofore provide Seamen at their own Charges, and furnish them with provision and money for thirty dayes. This Edict caused a general murmur and discontent, to that degree, that there seem'd



seem'd rather to want one to head them, than inclination to a publick Mutiny and Insurrection, complaining, "That the Consuls took a course to ruine the Commons of Rome just as they had done the People of *Sicily* and *Campania*; That for so many years together they had been exhausted with Taxes, that now they had nothing left but the bare ground, and that wasted and untill'd; for as the Enemy had burnt their Houses, so the State had drawn away all their Servants that should manure their Land, partly by hiring them for some pitiful Pay to go for Souldiers, and at other times pressing them for Gally-slaves. "A man could no sooner get a Brass Farthing, but presently it went for Ship-Money or yearly Tribute; but none of their Lordly Edicts could make them pay what they had not. They might, if they pleas'd, not only distrain their Goods, but seize their persons too, for they had nothing left wherewith to redeem themselves. Nor did they mutter thus in private only, but openly in the *Forum*, and multitudes together in the hearing of the Consuls themselves, who neither by foul means nor by fair were able to appease them, but forced to declare, *That they would take three days time longer to consider of it*; which they spent in contriving Expedients, and the next day called a Senate to debate the matter. Where after long arguing, how just the peoples refusal was, the result of the House seem'd to terminate in this, "That whether right or wrong, private men must bear the burden, seeing there was no other remedy; for since there was no Money in the Exchequer, how else should the Fleet be set forth? And without a stout Fleet at Sea, how should *Sicily* be secured, or *Philip* be kept off, or indeed any of the Sea-Coasts of *Italy* be preserv'd from Invasion and Spoil?

XXXVI. The whole Senate being perplext with these difficulties, and every mans wits almost lost and unable to extricate themselves, *Levinus* the Consul stood up, and made a Speech to this purpose: "As Chief Magistrates precede Senators in Honour, and Senators the Commons in Dignity, so ought both the one and the other to be Examples to them in all cases of Charge and difficulty. For if a man would enjoin his Inferiours to undertake some burthen, the best way is for himself to take as much as he can of it on his own shoulders, and then will they be the more ready to obey and bear a part with him. Nor will it be thought heavy or grievous when every one fees his Superiours go more than equal shares with him; therefore that the People of *Rome* may have such a gallant Fleet equipped as we desire and have need of, and that private persons may not think much to furnish the same with Mariners, let us that are here in the first place begin the work: I mean let, all us Senators to-morrow bring into the publick Treasury all the Gold, Silver and Brass Coin that we have in our possession, reserving only Rings for himself, his Wife and Children, and a small Tablet for his Son to hang about his Neck, and such as have a Wife and Daughters, for each, one ounce of Gold. And for such as have pass'd the Curule Chair, let them retain the Trappings of their Horse, and a pound weight of Silver apiece, that they may have a Salt of Plate and a Taster to use in their Sacrifices; let the rest of the Senators have only one pound of Silver left, and 5000 Asles (15 l. 12 s. 6 d. sterling) in coined Brasses money for every Family. All the rest of our Gold, Silver, or Brass-money let us presently send in to the Triumvirs, that are the publick Bankers, without making any Ordinance of the Senate for it, that so our voluntary Contribution, and vying as it were one with another to help the Commonwealth, may first provoke those that are of the Quality of Knights, and afterwards the rest of the people to imitate us. This is the only Expedient that we the Consuls, after long Consideration and Conference between our selves, can propose, which we desire you would take, and doubt not of the Blessing of Heaven on it; for when the Publick is safe, our private Fortunes may easily be made good, but by neglecting that, we are sure to ruine each of our selves in the end. This Proposal was so heartily embraced, that the Thanks of the House were return'd to the Consuls for offering it. And the Senate was no sooner risen, but every one sent in his Plate and Treasure to the publick Stock, so eagerly, that they might have their Names entred formost in the Roll, that the Treasurers could not receive, nor the Clerks enter the Quantities fast enough. The Equestrian Order, with no less zeal followed this Example of the Senate, and the Commons, them, as fast, so that (without any Edict, or pressing Oration of the Magistrates) in a trice they had both Seamen enow, and Money enough to pay them, and all the necessary Preparations being compleated, the Consuls advanc'd to their respective Provinces.

XXXVII. Never was there any juncture, during all this War, wherein the state of affairs seem'd more equally balanced between the Romans and Carthaginians, for the Romans both in the Provinces had intermingled joys and sorrows by overthrows in *Spain*, and success in *Sicily*; and in *Italy*, as the loss of *Tarentum* was grievous, so the keeping still of the Fort there, even beyond their hopes, was matter of comfort; and the late dreadful terrour of *Rome*'s being besieg'd, was soon blown over by the taking of *Capua*. The affairs also beyond Sea, were chequer'd with interchangeable Fortune; King *Philip* in a very ill time became their Enemy, but then the *Atolians*, and *Attalus* King of the lesser *Asia*, did voluntarily offer to be their new Allies, Fate even then by that Overture seeming to promise them the Empire of the East. In like sort the Carthaginians, as they lost *Capua*, so they had won *Tarentum*; and as they gloried not a little, because without any opposition they had come up to

to the very Walls of *Rome*, so they were pretty well mortified to find nothing at all gain'd in the end by that Expedition; and that they should be so much slighted, as whilst they sat before one Gate of *Rome*, an Army of Romans was led forth at another, and sent away into *Spain*. And even in *Spain* also, the greater hopes they had, were, that upon the death of two such renowned Generals, and both their Armies routed, the War would be at an end, and the Romans driven from thence for ever, the greater was their vexation to see those Victories rendred vain and of no use to them by the Valour of *L. Marcius*, an unexpected Captain chosen in haste, and performing such mighty Acts when they thought themselves sure enough that there was no body to make head against them. Thus Fortune poizing their affairs in equal Scales, all things were on both sides in a kind of wavering suspense, and as well their hopes as their fears ran as high as at the very first moment that the War began.

But that which most of all gaul'd *Annibal*, was that the seeing *Capua* more vigorously attacked by the Romans, than by him defended, had quite alienated the affections of many of the States of *Italy*, neither could he secure them all with sufficient Garrisons, unless he meant to Cantonize his whole Army into driblets, which would undo him in the Field; and on the other side he was not willing by withdrawing his Garrisons to trust to his Allies Fidelity, who being once left at liberty, might easily be sway'd any way by their hopes or fears. At last (as he was naturally addicted to Avarice and Cruelty) he resolv'd upon this course, to plunder and make spoil of those Cities which he was not able to keep, and so leave them wast and empty for the Enemy; an Enterprize not more wicked and dishonourable in its first attempt, than mischievous to himself in its consequences; for he thereby utterly lost the hearts not only of those who actually suffer'd under these unjust violences and rapines, but of all the rest besides: for though the present loss and calamity reach'd but some few, yet every body thought himself concern'd in the Example. Nor was the Roman Consul wanting, to sollicit all such Cities as yielded him any grounds of hope, that they might be brought over to the Roman Interest; There were in *Salapia* two Noblemen eminent above all the rest, *Dasius* and *Blasius*, the former a firm Adherent to *Annibal*, the latter as much as he durst, favour'd the Romans, and by secret Overtures had given *Marcellus* some hopes of a Revolt, but the matter could not be brought about without the concurrence of *Dasius*; wherefore after much muling and long delays, he at length resolv'd (rather for want of better Counsel, than on any likelihood of speeding) to address himself to *Dasius*, and acquaint him with the design. Who not only out of aversion to the thing it self, but Envy to the proposer, as being the only man in the Town that was his match, discovers the Plot to *Annibal*; whereupon they both were summon'd to appear, and as *Annibal* was sitting on his Tribunal, dispatching some other affairs, that he might anon the better attend unto the accusation of *Blasius*, whilst the Plaintiff and Defendant stood apart by themselves a pretty way from the rest of the people; *Blasius* briskly speaks to *Dasius*, and again solicited him to deliver up the Town to the Romans; Upon which *Dasius* (as if now the matter were plain and manifest) cries out aloud, *That even just now in the very presence of Annibal he was again instigating him to practise Treason and betray the City*. But this seem'd so extravagant a thing, that *Annibal* nor any present could believe it, but concluded rather that the accusation proceeded from Emulation and Malice, and that therefore he chose to charge him with such a Crime, as was not capable of other Witnesses, that he himself might more freely devise lies against him, and so they were both dismiss'd; yet did not *Blasius* for all that give over this bold attempt, but continued baiting of him with perpetual remonstrances, how advantageous it would be, both to themselves in particular, and their Country in general, whereby he at last prevail'd with him to consent, that the City *Salapia* and the Punick Garrison there (which consisted of five hundred *Numidians*) should be rendred unto *Marcellus*; but this could not be effected without much bloodshed, for they were the stoutest Squadron of Horse in all the Carthaginian Army, wherefore, though they were surpriz'd, and their Horses stood them scarce in any stead in the City, yet with such Weapons as in that sudden Alarm they could catch up, they first attempted to break their way through, but finding that impossible, they fought still most desperately to the last, nor were there above fifty of them taken alive, all the rest being kill'd upon the spot; and the loss of this Wing of Horse was much more considerable to *Annibal* than of the City *Salapia*; for never from that day forwards had the Carthaginians the better of the Romans in Cavalry, which before was the only advantage they had over them, and by which they obtain'd all their Victories.

About this time the Castle of *Tarentum* was grievously straitned for provissions, and hardly able to hold out, the only hope that *M. Livius* the Governour, and the rest of that Garrison had, was that they should be supplied from *Sicily*; and for the safe Convoy thereof along the Coast of *Italy*, there rode at Anchor a Fleet well near of twenty Sail before *Rhegium*. The Admiral of which Fleet, and of those Vessels appointed to transport Corn from time to time, was one *D. Quintius* a person of obscure Birth, but with many brave services he had signaliz'd himself, and won much honour in military affairs; at first he had the Command but of five Ships, whereof two of the greatest, which were three-Banked Gallies, were

were allow'd him by *Marcellus*; afterwards for his success in several Conflicts, three more were added of five Banks of Oars apiece, and at last he himself, by calling upon the Confederate Cities as *Rhegium*, *Velia* and *Pastum* for their Quota's of Ships, which by their Treaties they were to furnish the Romans with, made up a pretty Armado, consisting as aforesaid of twenty Sail. As this Fleet put off from *Rhegium*, it happen'd in their Voyage, that *Democrates* Admiral of *Tarentum*, with much a like number of Ships, came up with them about five Leagues from *Tarentum*, in a Bay call'd *The Holy Port*. The Romans not dreaming of an Engagement, came out only with Sails, but by good luck at *Crotone* and *Sibaris* they had furnish'd his Ships with Rowers also, and his Fleet for the bigness of the Vessels was very well provided and man'd. Just as the Enemies came within Ken, the wind that before blew hard, was laid, and gave them time to fit their Tackle, make ready their Rowers, and putting their Souldiers in a posture: seldom hath it been known, that any two Royal Armado's encounter'd with greater fury or braver Courage, than these two petty Navies shew'd against each other, as sensible that the Battel was of greater importance than all their Ships came to; the *Tarentines* considering, that if by gaining the Victory they made themselves Masters of the Sea, they should deprive the Roman Garrison of all hopes of provisions for the future, and so should easily gain possession of the Castle, as well as they had recovered their City to its antient liberty after almost an hundred years thralldome; on the other side, the Romans besirred themselves as lustily, that by keeping possession of the Castle, all the World might see, *Tarentum* was not fairly won from them by main strength or valour, but by stealth and treachery. The Signal was no sooner given on either side, but they ran at one another with the Beaks and Stems of their Prows as hard as they could drive, and still kept on rowing forwards, and as they lay together, mutually slung on their grappling Irons, so that they could not be separated, but fought not only with Darts, and other missile Weapons, but with their Swords too, and as it were hand to hand; their Prows stuck fast one in another, whilst the Poops or Hinder-Decks were driven about with contrary Oars of the adverse part; so near and withal so thick the Ships lay, and in such a narrow compass, that there was scarce one Dart slung in vain, or that lighted into the Sea without doing Execution; with their Beak heads they charg'd one another just as if it had been a Land fight, and so close they were that the Souldiers could step out of one Ship into another as they fought; but remarkable above all the rest, was the Conflict of the two Admiral Gallies, engaging together in the Front of all the rest; In the one was *Quintius* in person, in the other *Nico* a *Tarentine* that was surnam'd *Perco*, a man that both hated the Romans, and was hated by them, not only for the publick Quarrel, but particularly on his own Account, he being the Ringleader of that Faction which betray'd the City to *Anibal*. This Captain in the midst of the bufile, as *Quintius* was busy and at once fighting and encouraging his men, without taking sufficient heed to himself, ran him through with a Spear, who falling down dead in his Armour on the Foredeck, the Victorious *Tarentine* leaps fiercely on Board the Ship, already amaz'd and disorder'd for the loss of their Commander, easily beat them back, and got possession of the Foredeck; but the hinder deck, the Romans thronging together, defended for a while, till another Galley of the Enemies of three Banks of Oars clapt upon their Stern, and then being attack'd on each side, they were vanquish'd, and the Ship taken; which so much discourag'd the rest of the Romans, that they all began to fly, and several of them were sunk, others got to shore with their Oars, and became a prey to the *Thurines* and *Metapontines*; but of the Vessels of burthen laden with Corn, very few fell into the Enemies hands, the rest veering their Sails every way as the Wind serv'd, got out to Sea and escaped. About the very same time at home at *Tarentum* they had quite different Fortune; for about four thousand of them being gone into the Country to get in Corn, where they stragled and rambled up and down in disorder, of which *Livius* the Governour of the Castle having notice, and neglecting no opportunities to do them a mischief, sends out *C. Persius* a stout Captain with two thousand Souldiers well-arm'd, who fell upon them as they were wandering in the Fields, and after he had for a great while had the Execution of them, pursued those few that were left, home to the City, who were let in at the Gates but half open, for fear the Romans following them at heels, should have entered with them Pell-mell, and so have surpriz'd the City; Thus were matters at *Tarentum* set even at the Foot of the Account. The Romans winners at Land, the *Tarentines* at Sea, and both of them alike disappointed of their hopes of Corn, whereof they had only a sight, which could scarce fill their Bellies.

XL.

By this time, when most of the year was spent, *Levinus* the Consul arriv'd in *Sicily*, having long been expected by the Allies both old and new; his first and most important work was to settle the Affairs of *Syracuse* which had not yet (the Peace was so young) recovered a fit Regulation. Then he march'd his Legions to *Agrigentum*, where only remain'd the reliques of War, that City being held by a strong Garrison of *Carthaginians*; there Fortune was propitious to his first designs. *Hanno* was the *Carthaginians* Commander in Chief, but their chief hopes were in the Conduct and Valour of *Mutines* and his *Numidians*. This *Mutines* ranged all over *Sicily* at his pleasure, and pillaged the Romans Associates in all parts; nor could he by any Force or Stratagem be either intercepted in his return to *Agrigentum*, or

or kept in when he was there, but that he would issue forth whensoever he list. So great Renown he had got by these Exploits, that the General thought his own Glory thereby eclipsed, and began so far to envy him, that whatever good Services he perform'd, the same were not very acceptable to *Hanno*, because atchieved by him whom he had a private pique against. At last he took away *Mutines*'s Commission, and bestow'd his Command on his own Son, imagining that with his place he should lose also his Authority and that Esteem he had acquir'd amongst the *Numidians*. But it fell out quite contrary; for this his apparent spight doubled their kindness and veneration towards *Mutines*, who likewise was resolv'd not to put up this Affront without being reveng'd, and therefore privately entered into a Correspondence with *Levinus* to deliver *Agrigentum* into his hands. And after Security on both sides given, and the manner of doing it agreed upon, the *Numidians* at an appointed time seized the Gate that leads towards the Sea, killing or driving away the Warders, and so let into the City, the Romans who waited hard by for that purpose; and marching now through the middle of the City up to the Market-place with a great noise and tumult, *Hanno* supposing it to be only an Insurrection of the *Numidians* (as formerly had happen'd) came forth as to appease the Mutiny, but perceiving at a distance a far greater Company than the *Numidians*, and withal hearing the Roman shouts, with which he was not unacquainted, without offering to strike a stroke he betook him to his heels, and getting out at a Postern Gate accompanied with *Epicides* and some few more, came down to the Sea-side, where meeting very luckily with a small Vessel, they went aboard and stood away for *Africk*, leaving the peaceable possession of all *Sicily* (which for so many years had been both the Seat and Prize of their Wars) unto the Enemy. The rest of the multitude as well *Punic* as *Sicilian*, without making any defence, running blindly away, and finding all passages stop'd, were cut to pieces at the Gates. The Town being secured, *Levinus* caused the chief Burghers concern'd in the Revolt to be first scourged and then beheaded, the rest he sold for Slaves, and all the Booty, and sent the Money to *Rome*. The report of the Overthrow of *Agrigentum* being spread through *Sicily*, presently turn'd all their affections to the Romans; in a little time twenty Towns were betray'd, six taken by storm; forty came in and surrendered of their own accord. The principal persons of all which Cities the Consul either rewarded or punish'd according to every ones deserts, and forced the *Sicilians* to lay aside their Arms, and apply themselves to Husbandry and Tillage, that the Island might not only yield Bread enough for its Inhabitants, but serve (as often heretofore it had done) *Rome* and all *Italy* with Provisions in a time of scarcity. From *Agatirna* he carried back with him into *Italy* a lewd Crew of unruly people about four thousand in number, being a Gallimaufry of all sorts of Rascals, banish'd Rogues, Bankrupts, and notorious Malefactors deserving death by the Laws of those several Cities wherein formerly they dwelt, and being run their Country, some for one Fact, some for another, they herded all together at *Agatirna*, and liv'd by Robberies and Rapine. *Levinus* thought it no good Policy to leave behind him these Rake-hells in an Island scarce yet well settled in Peace, lest they should continually prove fuel for new Combustions, and therefore took them with him, as knowing they would be of use to the *Rhegines* to forrage and rove about the *Bruttians* Country, for they had desired a Company that were well acquainted with thieving and stealing, and these he thought would fit them. And so as for *Sicily*, this year put an end to the War.

In *Spain* *P. Scipio* early in the Spring set his Ships out to Sea, and summon'd all the Auxiliaries of the Allies to rendezvous at *Tarracon*, ordering all the Ships, both Men of War and Vessels of Burden, to stand for the Mouth of the River *Iberus*, whither he also commanded the Legions to march as soon as they left their Winter-Quarters, and himself with five thousand of the Associate Auxiliaries from *Tarracon* repaired thither. Upon his first Arrival he thought good to make a Speech, especially to the old Souldiers who had gone through so many Brunts and Disasters; and therefore having drawn them up in a Body, he in the Head of the whole Army spoke to this effect: "There never perhaps was a new General besides "my self that was obliged by Justice and Merit to applaud and return thanks to his Souldiers "before ever he had employ'd them. But as for me, before ever I saw the Camp or this "Province, Fortune had made me beholding to you; first for your Piety and those kind "regards you paid to my Father and Uncle, both when living and dead. And that when "this Province was as it were wholly lost by those mighty Overthrows, yet you by your Valour recovered the entire possession of it for the People of *Rome*, and me the next Successour in Sovereign Command. And now since by the favour and assistance of the Gods, "we design and resolve not so much to secure our own Residence in *Spain*, as to dispossess "the *Carthaginians*, and not leave them any footing there; not to stand on the Banks of "Iberus to obstruct the Enemies passage, but to go over our selves and make their present "Quarters the Seat of War; I am not without apprehensions, that some of you may think "it a more great and daring Enterprize than comports either with the fresh remembrance of "those late Defeats, or my own green and unexperienced Age. Certainly our disasters in "Spain, no man breathing has reason more to resent or longer to bear in mind than my "self, as having therein lost both a Father and an Uncle, all in less than thirty days space, "whereby sorrow upon sorrow, and one Funeral after another was unfortunately heap'd

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XLI.

"upon our Family. But as this desolate Estate of our private Name (where, in a manner, I alone am left alive of all our Race) as oft as I think thereof, pierces my heart, and wounds me in the tenderest part of my Soul; so both the publick Vertue and Fortune of our Commonwealth do again revive my Spirits, and will not suffer me to despair, since it seems to have been always our Fate to thrive by Afflictions, and not to have compleated any Conquests until we first seem'd utterly overthrown and reduced to the last Extremities. I shall wave Examples of old times, as of *Porfena*, the *Gauls* or the *Sammites*, and begin only with these *Punic Wars*; How many brave Fleets, gallant Commanders and stout Armies did we lose in the former War? And what shall I say of this which we are at present engaged in? In all our defeats I have been either personally present, or where I was absent, none has reason to be more sensible of them than I. The River *Trebia*, the Lake *Thrasimenus*, and the Town *Canna*, what are they else but so many Monuments, Sepulchres and Tombs of the Roman Armies there cut to pieces, and of their Consuls slain? Add hereto the almost general Revolt of *Italy*, *Sicily*, and the greater part of *Sardinia*: Nay, add moreover this last affright and terrour when the *Carthaginian* Tents were pitch'd between the River *Anio* and the Walls of *Rome*, and from our very Gates we beheld *Annibal* vaunting himself as a Conquerour. In all these ruines and dreadful shocks of our State, the Vertue and Courage of the People of *Rome* held up its head above water upright and immoveable. You, Gentlemen Souldiers, were the first, that after the discomfiture at *Canna*, under the Conduct and good Fortune of my Father, put a stop to *Aldrubal* in his Expedition towards the *Alps*, design'd for *Italy*, who if once he had join'd his Brother *Annibal*, the Roman Name had undoubtedly by this time been extinct; which Success balanced and supported all our former Losses. At present by the favour of the Immortal Gods, our Affairs are in a more smiling condition, and grow every day better and better both in *Italy* and *Sicily*. In the latter, *Syracuse* and *Agigentum* are taken, the Enemy clear beaten out, and the whole Island reduc'd to the Roman Devotion. In the former, the Town *Arpi* is recovered by Surrender, the City *Capua* taken by Storm, and *Annibal* himself having in a trembling flight measur'd all the way from *Rome* to the *Bruttians* Country in the upper *Calabria*, is coop'd up in the further Corner thereof, and desires nothing more of the Gods, than that he may with a safe skin get out of his Enemies Land. How absurd and unaccountable then, my valiant Souldiers, will it be, if you who here with my Parents (for both deserve to be equally honour'd with that Name) supported the tottering Fortunes of *Rome*, at a time when one calamity came thick on the neck of another, and the Gods themselves seem'd to declare in favour of *Annibal*, should now in the self-same Province let fall your invincible Courage, and grow faint-hearted in this promising Juncture, when all things go prosperously on our side? As for the late Misfortunes which have happen'd here, I wish they might have pass'd over without sorrow as well on my part as yours. But this I will say, That the Immortal Gods, Guardians of the Roman Empire, who inspired all the Wards and Precincts with an unanimous Voice to confer on me the Honour of this Sovereign Command, have not been wanting both by lucky Auguries and happy Auspices, and nocturnal Visions too, to signify and portend us all the success and prosperity we can wish. Moreover, my own mind (which always hitherto I have found the truest Prophet, and which never yet deceived me) does preface and seem certainly to tell me, That all *Spain* shall be ours, and that in a short time the whole *Punic* Name and Nation sent packing thence, shall fill all the neighbouring Seas and Shores with Tokens and Relations of their shameful Flight. What my Spirit of it self does thus divine, is confirmed by the infallible Dictates of Reason: For do you not see that the *Carthaginians* Allies, wearied with their Tyranny and Abuses, send their Embassadors to Court our Friendship and Protection? Are not their three Generals at such odds amongst themselves, as ready to fall foul on one another, they have separated their Forces, and are now gone into different and remote Regions? And undoubtedly the same Fortune is hovering over their heads which was lately our undoing on the very same occasion; for they are deserted by their Confederates just as we were at first by the *Celtiberians*, and now they have divided their Armies, which was the Overthrow of my Father and my Uncle; neither will their intestine Feuds suffer them to unite, nor are any of them single able to withstand us. Do but you, my gallant Souldiers, favour the Name of the *Scipio's*, and me the true Off-spring of your late Generals, budding forth from that old Noble Stock, which seem'd cut down to the Roots; go on then, you try'd and ancient Warriours, set over the River *Iberus* a new Army and a new General, pierce into those Territories which you have often already conquer'd, and where you shall meet every where with Monuments of your former Valour; and doubt not but for my part I shall endeavour so to behave my self, that as you now behold in me the lively Countenance and resembling Features of my Father and my Uncle, so in a little time you shall acknowledge the express Effigies of their Spirits, Faith and Valour, and every one cry, That old *Scipio* is reviv'd or born again to be their General.

XLII. Wonderfully cheer'd were the Souldiers with this Oration; and leaving for the security of those parts three thousand Foot, and three hundred Horse, under the Command of *M. Silanus*,

*Silanus*, he transported cross the *Iberus* the rest of his Forces, consisting of five and twenty thousand Foot, and five hundred Horse; there he was advised by some about him, Since the *Punic Armies* were separated into parts so far remote from each other, to attacke the nearest; but he fearing lest by that means he might draw them all together, against whom he should not then be able to make head, chose rather in the mean time to be doing with new *Carthage*, a City both rich in it self, and much more considerable, as being the Enemies common Magazine, for there were their Arms and money laid up, and the Hostages of all *Spain* kept; besides, as it was most conveniently situate to cross over to and fro between that and *Africk*, so it had a bold and large Haven able to receive the greatest Fleet that could spread Canvass that way, and the only Port (if I be not mistaken) of all that Coast of *Spain*, which opens into our Sea. Yet he communicated his design to none but *C. Lelius*, who being sent about with the Fleet, was ordered so to steer his course, that at the same time as *Scipio* fac'd that City by Land, he should then, and not before, enter the Haven; where in seven days after they parted from the Mouth of *Iberus*, they both arriv'd, and invested *Carthage* by Sea and Land. He Encamp'd on the Northside of the City, and fortified himself behind, for as to his Front he was well enough defended by the natural situation of the ground. For thus *Carthage* stands; There is a Creek of the Sea in the middle, well near of all that Coast of *Spain*, mostly exposed to the Southwest Wind, and running up within the Land about half a Mile, and somewhat more in breadth, at the Mouth thereof there is a small Island towards the open Sea, which shelters the Haven from all other Winds but the Southwest; From the innermost nook of this Bay there bears out a Promontory, which is a Peninsula, and on that the City is built; on the East and South, wash'd by the Sea; on the West there is a Lake which also spreads somewhat to the North, but of uncertain depth, according as the Sea ebbs and flows, and the *Isthmus* [or neck of Land] which joins the City to the main Continent, is not above a quarter of a mile over; Therefore on that side, being so small a piece of work, the Roman General did not trouble himself to cast up any Entrenchment; either out of a Bravado to shew the Enemy how much he confided in his own strength; or because, in his frequent attackes on the Walls, he might have an open passage to advance and retreat as he pleas'd.

XLIII. Having finish'd what Fortifications he thought needful, he set his Ships in order within the Haven, as resolving to attacke them by Sea; and having in person visited the whole Fleet, and given a special Charge to the Commander of every Ship, to keep diligent watch by night (for the Enemy now at the beginning of the Siege, would be apt every where to take what advantages they could) he then return'd to the Camp, to give his men an account of the reason why he began the War with this Siege, and withal to confirm their hopes of gaining the place; To which purpose he spake as follows, Whoever thinks I have brought you hither to assault one City only, is much mistaken, regarding only your present task without considering its consequences; 'Tis true, you are now battering the Walls of but one City, but in that one City, if you take it, you make your selves Masters of all *Spain*; Here are the Children of their Kings and principal persons of Quality kept as Hostages; and as soon as they fall into our hands, all those places which now are under the *Carthaginians*, will join with us; Here is all the Enemies Money and Treasure, without which they cannot continue the War, their Army consisting for the most part of Mercenaries; and the same will be of mighty use to us amongst the Barbarians, since therewith we may be sure to purchase their Friendship. Here is their whole Magazine, their Arms, their Armour, their Artillery and Engines for Land Service, and their Tackling and Stores for equipping Ships to Sea, with which we shall furnish our selves, and leave them as it were naked; we shall likewise gain both a most fair and wealthy City, and a brave Haven lying most opportunely to stock us both by Land and Sea with all things that we shall have occasion for; As these will be vast advantages to us, so the loss will be far greater to the Enemy; This is their Castle for strength, their Granary for Provision, their Treasury for money, their Arsenal for Arms, and in a word their common Storehouse for all things whatsoever; Hither is the most direct passage and shortest cut out of *Africk*; Here is the only Harbour for Shipping between *Gebraltar* and the *Pyrenean Mountains*; from hence all *Spain* overlooks, and as it were commands *Africk*. But knowing that you cannot but be sufficiently sensible of the importance of the service, and well prepared for it: I will say no more but this, Let us forthwith for the Honour of the Roman Name, go on, and with all our might storm New *Carthage*; Which all his Army joyfully consenting to, by crying out unanimously, Let's do't, Let's do't; he led up nearer to the Town, and at once began the Assault both by Land and Sea.

XLIV. Which *Mago*, the *Carthaginian* Governour, perceiving, he thus dispos'd of his Forces; two thousand of the Townsmen he Order'd to that part of the City that lay over against the Roman Camp; and five hundred more he posted on a little Hill on the East-part of the City, all the rest he commanded to be in a readines to make resistance in any place where the Alarm should be given, or danger requir'd. Then flinging open the Gate, those two thousand whom he had drawn up within the street leading to the Enemies Camp, issued forth; The Romans, by their Generals Order, retreated a little, that during the Conflict they might be nearer their Camp to be reinforced with fresh men as there should be occasion; At first they flood to't stoutly on both sides, and little odds could be perceived be-



tween them; But new Parties coming up continually to the Romans, enabled them after a little time, not only to bear back the Enemy from their Camp, but also to put them to the run, whom they pursued so fiercely, that if Scipio had not caused a Retreat to be sounded, they seem'd like to have broke in along with them into the City, and presently to have taken it; For indeed there was no less Consternation within, than abroad, inasmuch that the Guards and Centinels quitted their Posts, and those that were appointed to defend the Walls, leap'd down and left them naked; which Scipio perceiving from an high Bank, which they call, *Mercurius Tutates*, he thought it not best to neglect such an opportunity, but sent for his whole Army to advance out of their Camp, and bring with them the Scaling Ladders and other necessities, immediately to storm the City. Himself in person shelter'd under the Shields of three tall lusty young men (for by this time they let fly from the Walls a mighty Volley of Artillery of all sorts) approach'd the City; where he exhorted, encouraged, and gave all necessary Orders; nor did his presence a little enflame the Courage of his men, being an Eye-witness of every ones gallantry or failure. So that sighting the wounds they received, they flung themselves upon the Enemies Weapons, and neither the strength of the Walls, nor the force of those armed men that stood thereon, could keep them back, but resolutely to Scaling they went, vying with one another who should first mount the Walls. At the same time that part of the City which lay towards the Sea was assaulted by the Fleet, but on that side there was more noise and tumult made, than any effectual service done; for what with bringing up their Ships close to the Walls, landing their Souldiers, and mounting their Ladders, with their striving to get foremost and over-haft, they did but hinder one another.

XLV.

In the mean time Mago had fill'd the Walls with armed men, who pepper'd the Assaultants with showers of Darts, Javelins, and all sorts of Artillery; But it was neither the valour of his men, nor the violence of their Weapons that kept them off so much as the very Wall it self; For very few Ladders they had, that could reach to the top of it, and the longer any of them were, so much they were the weaker, so that before they, who were climed up to the highest rounds, could get upon the Parapet, others clambering after them, with their weight overcharg'd and broke the Ladders, and down they came all together; and some, though the Ladders held firm, yet the very height, if they chanc'd to look down, dazled their Eyes, and so turn'd their Heads, that they tumbled off and fell to the ground; Thus Ladders and men being every where over-thrown, and the Enemy encouraged with that success, a Retreat was sounded, which gave the Besieged hopes, not only that the present attack was over, but that for the future they might let their hearts at rest, for their City was tenable against all Scalado's, and as for Batteries and Mounts, that would be a work of time, and their own Generals might come up early enough to relieve them. But scarce was the hurry of the first Assault allay'd, when Scipio commanded other fresh Souldiers to take the Ladders of them that were already weary or wounded, and with greater violence to renew the Attack. For understanding that the Tide was going out, and being inform'd by certain Fishermen of *Tarracon*, that then, the Lake was Fordable, and that they might that way easily come at the Walls; he led a Party over there. It was now about noon, and besides the natural ebb, a fierce Northern Wind happening to arise, drove the Water out so fast after the Tide, that several shallows were discovered, no where above a mans middle, and for the most part scarce knee deep. Which accident (the more to encourage his Souldiers) he represented as a Prodigy or special Miracle shewn by the Gods in their favour; That to afford the Romans a passage over, they had turn'd back the Sea, and dry'd up the Lake, and open'd a way where never before any Mortals had trod; Let us therefore (quoth he) follow Neptune who here is our Guide, and propitiously will lead us through the middle of the Lake up to the Walls of the Enemy.

XLVI.

Those that went on by Land had desperate service, for not only the height of the Wall kept them off, but also the same being built as it were indented all along, running sometimes out, and presently in again, wheresoever they approach'd, they were liable to be charg'd from thence on both Flanks as well as in the Front; But on the other part, through the Meer, they met with no opposition, for neither was the Wall there fortified with any Bullwarks, as supposing it defended sufficiently by the Lake, nor were there (for the same reason) any Guards plac'd thereon, but all were busy on the other side, where there seem'd to be the greater danger. Thus the Romans, without resistance, unexpectedly entred the City, and march'd with all Expedition towards that Quarter where the Conflict was; and so taken up were the Defendants minds and Eyes, some fighting and the rest looking on and encouraging their Fellows, that not one of them ever perceiv'd the Town taken behind their backs, until the Invaders Darts from thence lighted upon them; then finding themselves beset both ways, every one endeavour'd to shift for himself, the Walls having none left to defend them, were mounted; the Gate equally batter'd within and without, broke all to pieces, and the whole Army entred at their pleasure; whilst those that were already got over the Wall, kill'd all those of the Town they could meet with, but the main body march'd in good Order through the midst of the City up to the Market place; and seeing the Enemy in their flight did chiefly make two ways, some to the Mount on the East-side of the

the City, where was a Guard of five hundred Souldiers, others towards the Castle, (to which Mago himself was retired with most of those who were beat from the Walls) Scipio sent a Party to win the Mount, who gain'd the same at the first Charge; the rest of his Forces he himself led up to attack the Castle, where after some defence, Mago finding resistance vain, and no hopes left to retrieve so desperate a Game, surrendred up the same, together with himself and all that were in it; Till this Fort was yielded, the Execution continued in the City, and all those of years they could meet with were put to the Sword; but then Command was given that they should forbear further slaughter. And the Conquerours generally betook them to ransack and plunder, getting a vast Booty and very rich of all kinds.

There were taken of Free-born People of the Male Sex ten thousand or upwards; but such of them as were Natural Citizens of the place, Scipio discharged, restoring to them such of their Goods as the fury of the Souldiers had left. The Handicrafts-men being about two thousand in number, he obliged by an Edict to serve the People of *Rome* in their several Crafts, but with a promise, that they should in short time be set at liberty, if they made haste with those Military Preparations wherein they should be employed. The rest of the multitude of Inhabitants, such as were young men, or stout robust Servants, he disposed of in the Navy, which he increased with eight Ships now taken from the Enemy. But the Spanish Hostages he treated with a peculiar respect, and no less kindness than if they had been the Sons of Allies. The Warlike Artillery and Provisions here seized on were almost incredible, of those Engines called Catapults, of the greater fort almost an hundred and twenty, and two hundred eighty one smaller ones; of Scorpions great and small, and of all sorts of Armour and Weapons a mighty quantity, together with seventy four Military Ensigns; likewise a power of Gold and Silver was carried in to the General, two hundred seventy six golden Bowls, almost all of them weighing at least a pound a piece; of Coined Silver eighteen thousand three hundred pound weight, besides abundance of Silver Plate. Of all which an Account being taken, the same was committed to the Charge of *C. Flaminius* the Treasurer, forty thousand Bushels of Wheat, two hundred and seventy thousand of Barley; of Merchants Ships and Vessels of Burthen there were one hundred and thirteen taken in the Haven, many of them laden with Corn, Armour, Bras, Iron, Sail-Cloth, Cordage, and Timber for Shipping; so that the City it self was to be esteem'd as the least part of what the Romans gain'd there.

The same Evening Scipio having committed the Guard of the City to *C. Lelius* and the Mariners, return'd himself with the Legions to their Camp; and order'd his Souldiers to refresh themselves, almost quite tired out with the various fatigues of that day, as having fought a Battel in the Field, and undergone so much toil and danger both in taking the City, and afterwards in assaulting the Castle upon great disadvantages. The next day having call'd together his Army and the Seamen, He in the first place return'd thanks and praises to the Immortal Gods, who had been graciously pleas'd not only to deliver into his hands in one days space the most mighty and opulent City in all Spain, but had before heap'd up there almost all the Riches both of Spain and Africk; whereby, as the Enemies were now to seek of all things, and had nothing to help themselves withal, so he and his had enough and to spare of whatsoever their hearts could desire. Then he proceeded to commend the Courage and Bravery of his Souldiers, taking particular notice, That neither the Enemies fierce Sally, nor the mighty height of the Wall, nor the untro'd Fords of the Lake, nor the Fort advantageously situated on an Hill, nor last of all a most strong and well fortified Castle was able in the least to daunt their Spirits, nor hinder them from surmounting and breaking through all these difficulties, till they obtain'd compleat possession of Victory. And therefore though all and every man of them deserved Rewards at his hands, yet the principal Honour of a Mural Crown belonged properly to him that first mounted the Wall; and therefore let him that deserves that Honour come in and claim his Due. Whereupon there were two that put in for't, *Q. Trebellius* a Centurion of the fourth Legion, and *Sext. Digitius* a Seaman; nor was the Contention so hot for the Prize between these two themselves, as amongst the whole Forces divided into two Factions, the Land-men taking the formers part, wherein they were headed by *M. Sempronius Tuditanus*, and the Seamen the latters, for whom also the Admiral *C. Lelius* himself appeared and made all the interest he could. The Debate growing so fierce, that it was like to come to a Mutiny, Scipio told them he would constitute three Delegates as Judges, who upon full hearing of the Cause and Witnesses, should determine which of the Pretenders had the Right. These Commissioners were *C. Lelius* and *M. Sempronius* the Advocates of each Party, to whom he added *P. Cornelius Caudinus* as an indifferent Person between them both; but this caus'd a greater heat of Contention, because these Gentlemen before endeavour'd to moderate each Party, but they now being taken off by their Quality of Judges, every one pleaded as violently as he list. *C. Lelius*, rising out of the Court, repaired to Scipio at his Tribunal, acquainting him; That the matter was managed without all moderation or modesty, inasmuch that it was fear'd they would fall together by the Ears; or however if the Peace were kept, yet it would be a detestable Example to future times, if the Reward of Vertue should be obtain'd with Fraud, Lyes and Perjuries: For here stand the Legionary Souldiers on one side, and the Seamen on the other, all ready to swear by all the

the Gods, things as they would have them to be, though in truth they know nothing of the matter; and thus not only draw down the guilt of Perjury on their own heads, but pollute therewith our Ensigns and our Eagles on which they swear, and utterly subvert that sacred and religious reverence due to an Oath, and that he was both by P. Cornelius and M. Sempronius desired to inform him hereof; Scipio kindly thank'd him, and presently call'd all the Forces to an Audience, where he declared, That he was very well satisfied, that Q. Trebellius and Sext. Digitius, both mounted the Wall in several places at one and the same instant, and therefore as an acknowledgment of their Valour, he did on both of them bestow mural Crowns; After which, he confer'd rewards on others according to every ones merit; and above all the rest he applauded C. Laelius the Admiral, equalizing him with himself, and bestowing on him a golden Crown, and thirty head of Cattel.

XLIX. In the next place he caused the Spanish Hostages to be call'd before him; but how many there were of them I know not how to set down, since I find in some Chronicles their number not full three hundred, but in others seven hundred twenty five. The like disagreement there is in other particulars, one Author says the Punick Garrison here consisted of ten thousand men; another says seven thousand, and a third affirms they were not above two thousand. In some I read of ten thousand taken, in others above five and twenty thousand; If I should follow Silenus a Greek Writer, I must have set down of Scorpions great and small, sixty taken; but if I go by Valerius Antias, I should tell you a Tale of six thousand of the greater sort, and thirteen thousand of the smaller, so insufferably will people lie upon Record. Nay 'tis not fully agreed who were the Chief Commanders, for though most Authors name Laelius to be Admiral, yet there are some that aver it was M. Junius Sullanus. Antias Valerius writes, that one Arnes was Governour of the City for the Carthaginians, and taken by the Romans, but other Historians say it was Mago. As little consent there is about the number of Ships, the weight of the gold and silver Plate taken, or the sum of money that was rais'd by the spoils; If there were a necessity of believing any of them, those that take the middle way are most likely to follow truth. But to return again to Scipio, when the Spanish Hostages appear'd, he bid them all have a good heart and fear nothing, for they were falln into the hands of Romans, a people that always delight to oblige people by kindness and Civilities, rather than to over awe them with fear and severities, and to enjoy the Friendship and faithful Alliance of Foreign Nations, more than to hold them in subjection and slavery. Then after he had taken the Names of their Cities, he also call'd over the Prisoners, how many there were of each Nation, and sent Messengers to their homes to come and receive them; such Cities as happen'd to have Embassadors present, their Countrymen were restored immediately to them, and the rest committed to the Custody of C. Flaminius the Quæstor, to use them kindly till an opportunity was offer'd of sending them away. Whilst this was a doing, from the middle of the Crowd of Hostages, a very ancient Lady, the Wife of Mandonius, Brother to Indibilis the Chief of the Iltergetes, flung her self at the Generals Feet, beseeching him most earnestly, That he would give special Command, that such of the Female Sex as were Prisoners, might be carefully kept and respected as they ought to be. Scipio told her, They should want for nothing. We regard not that (quoth she) so much, for a very little will be enough for us in our present wretched condition; My care is for another matter, when I behold the blooming youth of these Virgins here, for as for my own part, I am out of date, and past the fear of those injuries which our Sex is most expos'd unto: Now there stood about her divers Virgins in the prime of their Age, and extremely handsome, the Daughters of Indibilis, and some other fair young Ladies of like Quality, who all paid her as much respect as if she had been their Mother. Scipio replies; Both my own strict Discipline, as well as the general Civility of the people of Rome, may assure you, Madam! That nothing shall amongst us suffer abuse, which in any part of the World is held inviolable; such outrages I am oblig'd to restrain for my own credit and the honour of Rome; but both your Quality and Vertues engage me to a particular care of your safeties, who in the midst of these your Calamities forget not the honour of your Sex: Then he entrusted them to the charge of a person of approved Integrity, who was charg'd to treat them with as much modesty and respect as if they were the Wives and Daughters of their nearest Friends and Benefactors.

L. By and by the Souldiers brought before him a young Lady of Marriageable years, so lovely a Creature to look on, that wherever she pass'd she attracted every Bodies Eyes and Admiration; Scipio inquiring her Country and Parents, amongst the rest came to understand, That she was contracted to a young Gentleman call'd Allucius a Prince of the Celtiberians; Therefore causing her Parents and Sweet-heart to be sent for, when they arriv'd, having understood how passionately the young man lov'd her, he entred into a more familiar Discourse with him, than with either the Father or Mother of the Maid, and in these terms entertain'd him; I am a young man as well as your self, and so neither of us need blush to speak of the affairs of Love; when your Lady was brought Prisoner before me by my Souldiers, and I understood what a passion you had for her, (which her Beauty easily made me believe) I thought my self oblig'd to do, as I would be done by, in the like Case; For if I were minded to enjoy the pastimes of youth (especially in an honest honourable way) as I might, if I had not wholly devoted my self to the service of the Publick, I should not only think the highest transports

of

of affection venial towards my Mistress, but dread nothing so much as a Rival, or any violence offer'd to her person and honour; so in this respect, I have to the utmost favour'd your Amour; your Spouse has been kept here with no less modesty and reverence than if she had been all this while with your Father and Mother-in-Law, her kind Parents; Reserv'd she has been and kept for you alone, that you might receive her untouched, and as a Present worthy both of you and my self; All the return I expect for this gift, is, That henceforth you will be a Friend and Well-willer to the State of Rome, and if indeed you take me to be an honest good man, such as all these Nations have known both my Father and Uncle to have been before me, then be assur'd, That the City of Rome yields abundance more that are like us, and that there is not a Nation this day under Heaven, that is either a better Friend or a more formidable Enemy. The young Prince confounded between an excess of joy and bashfulness, held Scipio by the hand, and invoc'd all the Gods, beseeching them to recompence him for this superlative favour on his behalf, who should never be able to make acknowledgments for the same, suitable either to his own desires, or the merits of the thing. Then the Maids Parents and Kindred were call'd, who since the Lady was restor'd gratis, for whose Redemption they had brought a great sum of gold, began to intreat Scipio, That he would be pleas'd to accept thereof, which they should take as the next kindness to that he had done them in delivering their Daughter; Scipio seeing them so importunate, seems willing to take it, and bids them lay it at his Feet; Then calling Allucius, Here, says he, besides the Portion you are to have from your Father-in-Law, Let me help to encrease your Marriage Fortune, take all this Gold and keep it for you and yours; So being sent home over-joy'd with these Presents and Civilities, he fill'd all the Country with Scipio's Praises, and how brave and worthy a person he was, telling them, There was come over into Spain a young man, in all respects, resembling the Immortal Gods, and who equally vanquish'd all men with his Arms and his Courtesies. Amongst his Dependents he soon rais'd fourteen hundred choice Horse, and with them return'd to Scipio.

LII. Laelius continued with Scipio, till the Prisoners Hostages, and Booty were by their mutual consent dispos'd of; and then in a Galley of five Banks of Oars was dispatcht away for Rome with tidings of the Victory, withal carrying Mago and about fifteen Senators Prisoners thither; Scipio spent those few dayes he design'd to remain at Carthage, in exercising his Sea and Land Forces; The first day he caus'd all the Legions to run in their Arms a four-miles-course; Next day he employ'd them in scouring and furbishing up their Armour before their Tents; The third day they drew up in Parties and charg'd one another as in Battalia, but arm'd only with wooden Swords, and blunt rebated Darts and Javelins. The fourth day they rested; The fifth they ran again in their Armour as before, and so continued this course of Exercise all the while they quarter'd at Carthage. Whilst the Seamen as often as the weather was calm, and would permit, used to row out into the open Sea, and vye one Galley with another for nimbleness, and sometimes representing shews of a Sea-fight; Thus without the City they were busy in hardening their Bodies and enuring their minds for service both at Sea and Land; and within the Town nothing was heard but the clatter of Artificers and Workmen preparing all sorts of military Furniture, shut up in divers Shops and Workhouses for that purpose. The General had his Eye every where; now he was aboard the Fleet, by and by exercising himself with the rest of the Legions, sometimes he took a view how the Works went on, in the Armory, and amongst the Shipwrights, where every one endeavour'd to out work the other, hoping so much the sooner to gain their Liberty. Having thus set them to work, and repair'd the Walls where there were any breaches or decays, leaving a sufficient Garrison, he march'd back to Tarracon, being met by the way by several Embassies, of whom some he presently dispatcht, and appointed others to attend him there, where he had ordered a General Diet or Assembly to be held by the Deputies of all the Allies, old and new; and almost all those Nations on this side of Iberus, and many of the further Spain appear'd accordingly. The Carthaginian Generals industriously suppress'd the report of New Carthage's being taken, but when it grew too notorious to be any longer denied or concealed, they used all their Art to undervalue it and make it seem as a thing of no great moment; That there was indeed one single City of Spain taken by surprize, and as it were by stealth in one dayes time; which small exploit had so puff'd up the young man, that he fancied it a mighty Victory; but when their three Generals, and their Victorious Armies should approach him, the Ghosts of his Father and his Uncle would begin to haunt him. Such like Speeches they gave out amongst the people, though in themselves they were sadly sensible, how great a blow it was, and how much their strength in all respects was decay'd by this loss of New Carthage.

## DECADE III. BOOK VII.

## The E P I T O M E.

1. Cn. Fulvius the Proconsul with his Army is slain at Herdonea by Annibal. 2. But Cl. Marcellus the Consul has better Fortune against the same Enemy at Numestrio, and obliges Annibal to retreat by night. 14, &c. Marcellus pursues him, and wged him still as he retired, until he obliged him to another Engagement. 16. Wherein at first Annibal had the better on't, but in the next Fight Marcellus worsted him. 17, 18. Fabius Maximus the Father being Consul, recovers Tarentum by the Treachery of some in that City. 20, 21. Scipio fights with Aldrubal the Son of Amilcar at Betula in Spain, and defeats him, where amongst others having taken a Royal Youth of wondrous Beauty, he sent him home to his Uncle Mallaniffa with several Presents. 29. Claudius Marcellus and T. Quintius Crispinus the Consuls going out to take a view of the Country, are surprized by Annibal with a Stratagem, Marcellus being killed, and Crispinus escaping by Flight. 32, &c. This Book also contains the Allions of P. Sulpicius the Praetor against Philip and the Achaeans. 38. The Consuls take a solemn Survey of the City, and purged it by Sacrifices, where there were enrolled an hundred thirty seven thousand one hundred and eight persons. By which Account it appeared how many Romans were lost by the late unfortunate Wars. 41, &c. Aldrubal having with a fresh Army passed the Alps to join his Brother Annibal, is cut off with six and fifty thousand of his men, by the Conduct of M. Livius, but especially by the good Service of Claudius Nero the other Consul: 45. Who being appointed to make head against Annibal, left the Camp so privately, as the Enemy was not aware of it, and with a choice Body of Souldiers, surrounded Aldrubal, and so defeated him.

U. C.  
543.  
I.

**T**HE Affairs of Spain standing thus, as we have related. In Italy the Consul Marcellus, after the Recovery of Salapia by Treachery, took by Force Maronea and Sales, two Towns of the Samnites, not less than three thousand of Annibals Souldiers left there in Garrison, being cut to pieces. A great part of the Spoil was divided amongst the Souldiers, and amongst other things there were got two hundred and forty thousand Bushels of Wheat, and one hundred and ten thousand of Barley, yet was not this good News equal to that Loss which presently after followed near Herdonea, where Cn. Fulvius the Proconsul lay encamp'd, hoping to recover that City, which after the defeat at Cannæ had revolted from the Romans, a place neither very well situate for Defence, nor having in it any considerable Garrison; but that which most increased Fulvius's hopes (a man naturally negligent and presuming) was, That those within began to be weary of the Carthaginian Government, especially after the loss of Salapia, and when they heard that Annibal was retired to the Bruttians; of all this Annibal had private notice from Herdonea, and excited as well with desires of retaining an Associate City, as of surprizing a careless Enemy, marches thither with great Expedition, that he might arrive before they had any notice of his coming; and that he might terrifie them the more, advanc'd in Battel-Array. The Romans with equal boldness, but far inferiour both in Strength and Conduct, drew up in an hurry and gave them Battel, their fifth Legion and left Wing charging with great resolution; but Annibal had ordered his Cavalry, That whilst the Foot were engaged, and their thoughts and eyes wholly taken up, they should fetch a Compass, and some of them attacque the Enemies Camp, and the rest fall upon their Rear, he himself frequently repeating to his men the Name of Cn. Fulvius as ominous, because two years before he had defeated a Praetor of the same Name almost in the same place, and did assure them the Fortune of this Battel would be alike; nor did he deceive them: For after many of the Romans were slain in the Foot-Service, and yet kept both their Ground and their Ranks, on a sudden the Enemies Horse fell upon their backs, and a sad Cry was heard from the Camp. The sixth Legion which composd the second Battalion, being put into disorder by the Numidian Troops, discomposd the fifth, and all those that were in the Front; so some of them were put to flight, and many cut to pieces, amongst whom was Cn. Fulvius himself with twelve Colonels. But how many in all of the Romans and their Confederates were slain in that Fight, who can certainly affirm? when I find in some Authors thirteen thousand, in others but seven thousand; the Conquerour enjoy'd their Camp and all their Spoil. And as for the City Herdonea, perceiving it had been inclinable to revolt to the Romans, and that it would hardly continue Loyal after he was gone, he burnt it down, having caused the chief Citizens that had caball'd with Fulvius to be executed, and the rest of the Inhabitants to be transported to Metapontum and the Surians. Such of the Romans as made shift to escape, fled scarce half arm'd by several ways to Marcellus the Consul in Samnium.

II.

Marcellus nothing daunted with this Defeat, gave the Senate an account of it, but withal advertiz'd them, That he himself, the same person that curb'd the pride of Annibal after the Victory at Cannæ, was now again advancing towards him, and doubted not but quickly to interrupt his jollity. But at Rome their Fear for the future was no less than their Sorrow for the past Overthrow. The Consul marching from Samnium into Lucania, encamp'd near Numistro in a Plain, within view of Annibal who lay on the Hill. And for greater shew

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of confidence, was the first that drew out into the Field; Annibal was as ready to meet him; and their Battalia's were so ordered, that the Carthaginians right Wing possess'd themselves of the Hill, and the Romans left Wing spread up to the very Town. They fought fiercely from Nine a Clock until Night; for when the Van-guards on both sides were tired out, the first Legion of the Romans and their left Wing of Horse, on their side, and the Spanish Forces, and Balearian Slingers with the Elephants, on Annibal's side, renew'd the Battel, and stood firm for a long time, neither of them giving ground: At last the third Legion was brought in to supply the first, and the left Wing of Horse to assist the right; as likewise the Enemy was re-inforc'd with new Troops, so that the Skirmish which before was faint and dull, was on a sudden more eager and dreadful than ever before, managed with fresh courages as well as Bodies; and long it might have continued, had not the approach of night parted them, leaving it uncertain to which of them the honour of the Victory might belong. The Romans next morning drew up in Battalia by Sun rising, and stood expecting the Enemy a great part of the day, but finding that not one of them would stir out of their Camp, they at leisure gathered the Spoil of the Field, and drawing together their own slain in an heap, burnt their Bodies. The Night following Annibal silently dislodg'd and march'd away for Apulia; Marcellus as soon as it was day perceiving the Enemies flight (leaving his wounded men in Numistra with a small Garrison under the command of L. Furius Purpureo, a Colonel) with the grofs of his Army pursued them, and came up with them about Venusia; there for some days the Out-Guards, both Horse and Foot, skirmish'd with each other, but in a tumultuary manner, rather than any set Engagement, wherein the Romans had generally the better on't. From thence the Armies passed through all Apulia without any memorable Action, by reason Annibal always marched in the night, seeking out some place of advantage for Ambuscades: to avoid which, Marcellus would not stir to follow him but in broad day light, and sending forth Scouts before to discover the Coasts.

At Capua, Flaccus still spends his time in selling the Noblemens Estates, and letting out to farm the forfeited Lands (which he let all for so much Corn-Rent) and that there might not be wanting new matter for severities against that wretched people, a fresh Design and Conspiracy, secretly carried on by them, was discovered; you must know, He had drawn his Souldiers out of the City, both that he might the better lett the empty Houses, with the Fields, as also fearing lest the exceeding pleasantness and delights of the Town, should debauch and effeminate them, as it had done Annibal's; therefore he forced them to build them Hutts all along under the Walls, and about the Gates, which were most of them made of Hurdles and Boards, and some wattled with Reeds, and all thatch'd with Straw, as it were on purpose to serve for Fewel in case of a Fire: Now there were one hundred and seventy Capuans, the chief of them being several Brethren of the Family of the Blossii, who had agreed at a certain hour of the night to set all the Camp on Fire at several places; but the same being revealed by some of the same Family, the Gates being suddenly shut up by the Proconsul's command, and the Alarm given, all the Conspirators were seized, and, after rigorous Examinations and Tortures, condemned and executed. The Discoverers had their Liberty given them, and each a reward of ten thousand Asses [about thirty one Pounds, five Shillings Sterling] Acerra being partly burnt, and Nuceria wholly demolished, the Inhabitants of those Towns made complaints for some place to dwell in, Fulvius directed them to make application to the Senate, who gave the Acerrans leave to rebuild the Houses that were burnt, and as for the Nucernines (because they rather chose it) they were removed to Atella, the Atellanens being transferred to Calatia. Amidst the many weighty Affairs that the Romans had to manage, and which fell out sometimes well and sometimes ill, they forgot not their Garrison in the Castle of Tarentum; but sent M. Ogulnius and P. Aquilius as Commissioners into Etruria, to buy up Corn to be carried thither, appointing a thousand Souldiers drawn out of the City-Army, one half Romans and the other Allies, to guard the Corn thither, and then to remain there to strengthen the Garrison.

The Summer was now almost spent, and the time for chusing of Consuls drew on, Marcellus by Letters acquainting the Senate, That he could not for the interest of the Common-wealth, stir a foot from Annibal, whom he continually pursued, and pressed upon him daily to force him to an Engagement. The Fathers were in some perplexity, loth to call away the Consul from the War, when he was in prospect of doing them considerable service, and as unwilling to be without Consuls for the Year ensuing; to prevent both, it was thought the best course rather to call home the other Consul Valerius, though he were out of Italy in Sicilia; to whom L. Manlius the Praetor, by the Senates Order, wrote to that purpose, sending him also the other Consul's Letters, that he might thereby understand why they recalled him rather than his Colleague, who was nearer home.

About this time arrived at Rome Ambassadors from King Syphax, advising of several Victories their Master had obtained against the Carthaginians, and that as he was not a more mortal Enemy to any people in the World than the Carthaginians, so there was none that he desired so much to enter into Alliance with, as the Romans; to which purpose he had heretofore sent his Agents to the two Scipio's in Spain, and now they were come hither, so willing he was to seek the Romans Amity from the Well-head. The Fathers not only returned them a most obliging An-

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swer, but sent back with them Ambassadors of their own, viz. *L. Genucius*, *P. Petellus*, and *P. Popilius*, with rich Presents to his Majesty, that is to say, a Gown of State, a Purple Robe, an Ivory Chair, and a Golden Bowl weighing five Pound. They had also Instructions, after they had dispatched their Affairs in that Court, to visit other Princes and great Lords of *Africk*, for whom they were also furnish'd with Presents, as Purple Robes richly Embroidered, and Golden Bowls of three Pound weight apiece. Likewise *M. Atilius* and *Manius Acilius* were sent as far as *Alexandria* in *Egypt*, to complement King *Ptolomy* and Queen *Cleopatra*, and renew the League of Amity with them: To the King, they carried a Gown and Purple Robe, and an Ivory Chair; to the Queen, a Purple Veil, and rich Cimmarre Embroidered with Diamonds.

This Summer abundance of strange Stories came from neighbouring Towns and Villages of Prodigies that had been seen, as, that at *Tusculum* there was year'd a Lamb having an Udder yielding Milk; The Temple of *Jupiter* struck with Lightning, and almost all the Roof beat off; That almost the same day at *Anagnia* the Ground before the Gate was struck in like manner, and continued burning a whole day and night without any matter of Fuel, and that the Birds had forsook their Nests which they had built in *Diana's* Grove, near the Cross-wents in the same Town; That in the Sea, not far from the Port of *Tarricina*, there were seen Serpents of a wonderful bigness, playing and leaping on the top of the Water, as Fish are wont to do; At *Tarquinius* a Sow farrow'd a Pig with an humane face; And in the Country of *Capena*, about the *Feronian* Grove, there were four Statues that sweat blood for the space of a day and a night. The Pontiffs made an Order, That these Prodigies should be expiated with the greater Sacrifices, and a solemn Day of Prayers was kept at all the Shrines in *Rome*, and the like at *Capena* at the Temple of *Feronia*.

V. *M. Valerius* the Consul call'd home by the beforementioned Letters, leaving the Province and Army to the charge of *Cnecius* the Prætor, and having sent *M. Valerius Messala* the Admiral, with part of the Fleet toward the Coast of *Africk*, as well to get what Booty he could, as also to discover what the *Carthaginians* were doing; does himself, with ten Ships, set Sail for *Rome*, where being arriv'd, he presently call'd a Senate, and gave an Account of his Proceedings, That whereas for well nigh sixty years, *Sicily* had been the Seat of War both by Land and Sea, where oft they had sustained great overthrows, he had now brought those troubles to an happy end, and settled that Island in an intire peace; That there was not in all *Sicily* one *Carthaginian* left, nor one *Sicilian* of all those which were forced away by the Tyrants, but were return'd every one to his City and his Farm, where they were all busie in ploughing and sowing, the Land which before lay wast, being again cultivated and made fruitful, not only to serve its own Inhabitants, but to serve as a faithful Store-house, and supply plentifully the Romans on any Exigency in Peace or War. Then *Mutines*, and if there were others that had deserved well of the people of *Rome*, were brought into the Senate, and had honours done them to discharge the Consul's promise on that behalf; *Mutines* in particular was made a free Burgher of *Rome*, by a Bill preferred to the Commons by one of their Tribunes, on an Order of the Senate. In the mean time *M. Valerius Messala* arriving on the Coast of *Africk* with fifty Sail before it was light, unexpectedly made a descent on shore in the Territory of *Utica*, which he plundered far and near, took captive great multitudes of people, besides other Booty of all sorts, and therewith returned safe to their Ships, and over to *Sicily*, arriving at *Lilybaum* the thirteenth day after he sail'd from thence. Some of the Prisoners upon Examination gave the following Information, which was forthwith transmitted to *Levinus* the Consul, that he might the better understand the present posture of the Affairs of *Africk*, That *Massinissa*, the Son of *Gala*, a most warlike young Prince, was at *Carthage* with five thousand *Numidian* Horse, and that other mercenary Souldiers were hired throughout all *Africk* to be sent over into *Spain* to *Asdrubal*, that he with as great an Army as he could possibly raise, should with all Expedition march into *Italy*, and join *Annibal*; for that the *Carthaginians* concluded would be the only hopeful course to compleat their Victory: That moreover there was a mighty Fleet to be Equipped for regaining of *Sicily*, which they believed would arrive there very suddenly. The Consul communicating this Intelligence to the Senate, the Fathers would not detain him till the Election-day, but would have him name a Dictator, and presently be gone to his Province; but then a Debate arose that took up some time; for the Consul declared as if he would in *Sicily* nominate *M. Valerius Messala* the Admiral for Dictator: but the Fathers denied, That a Dictator could be created out of Roman Ground, which was terminated by *Italy*, *M. Lucretius* the Tribune of the Commons putting it to the Question, the Senate pass'd an Order, That the Consul before he went out of Town should refer it to the Vote of the people in their Common Hall, and whom they chose, he should declare to be Dictator; and if he refused to propose the same, the City-Prætor should do it; and if he also declined it, that then the Tribunes should propound it to the Commons: which last was done; for the Dictator would not refer it to the people, alledging, That it lay altogether in his own power: and therefore he forbade the Prætor to meddle. But the Tribunes fear'd him not, and the Commons Enacted, That *Q. Fulvius*, who was then at *Capua*, should be named Dictator: but the Eve before that Assembly of the Commons was held, the Consul slips away privately in the night for *Sicily*, and the Senate being thus left in the lurch, were forced to write to *Marcellus*, That

That he would assist the Commonwealth, thus defeated by his Colleague, and name the person Dictator whom the Commons had made choice of, so *Q. Fulvius* was declared Dictator, and pursuant to the same Decree of the Commons, *Fulvius P. Licinius Crassus*, the Arch-Pontiff, his General of the Horse.

VI. The Dictator after he was come to *Rome*, sent *Cn. Sempronius Blasus* his Lieutenant from *Capua* to the Army in *Tuscany*, instead of *C. Calphurnius* the Prætor, whom by his Letters he order'd to go and take upon him the Government of *Capua*, and the Forces there; and appointed the day for chusing Consuls, but could not then finish that affair, by reason of a difference that happen'd between him and the Tribunes of the Commons; For the younger sort of the Century, *Galeria* chancing to have the first Vote, nominated *Q. Fulvius* and *Q. Fabius* for Consuls, and all the rest of the Centuries seem'd like to go the same way; but the two *Arenis* Tribunes of the Commons interposed, alledging, That it consisted not with Civility for one and the same man to desire always to be continued in Office, and a much more untoward precedent it would be, to chuse the same person that held the Elections; Therefore if the Dictator should suffer his name to be put in nomination, they would dissolve the Assembly, but if some other might be propounded in his stead, they might proceed; The Dictator justified the proceedings of the Assembly by the Authority of the Senate, and a Decree of the Commons and divers Precedents; for when *Cn. Servilius* was Consul, after *Flaminius* his Colleague happen'd to be kill'd at *Thrasimene*, by Authority of the Senate a Bill was propos'd, and pass'd by the Commons, That whilst the War continued in *Italy*, the people might chuse the same men Consuls again, when and as often as they should think fit; and that he had many Examples thereof, as in old times there was *L. Posthumus Megellus*, being Inter-regent, and holding the Elections, was himself chosen Consul with *C. Junius Bubulcus*, and of late *Q. Fabius*, who would never have suffer'd his Consulship to have been continued, if the same had been against Law, and not for the good of the publick. After they had long squabbled with these and the like Speeches, they agreed at last to refer it to the Senate, who considering that the present Juncture requir'd old expert Commanders, and such as were of most skill in the Art of War, were not pleas'd that the Election should be stopt; so in the end the Tribunes gave way, that they should proceed, where were declared Consuls, *Q. Fabius Maximus* the fifth time, and *Q. Fulvius Flaccus* the third; Then Prætors were chosen, *L. Veturius Philo*, *T. Quintius Crispinus*, *C. Hostilius Tubulus*, and *C. Aurunculeius*, which being done, *Q. Fulvius* gave up his Dictatorship. At the end of this Summer, a *Carthaginian* Fleet of forty Sail, *Amilcar* Admiral, pass'd over to *Sardinia*, and at first invaded and wasted the Fields of *Olbia*, but *P. Manlius Volso* the Prætor, making head against them there, they sail'd to the other side of the Isle, and foraged the Country of *Caralita*, and with a booty of all sorts return'd to *Africk*; The same year at *Rome* several Priests died, and some were created to succeed them; As *C. Servilius* was made Pontiff in the room of *T. Otacilius Crassus*, and *Tiberius Sempronius Longus*, the Son of *Tiberius*, was made Decemvir for the Sacrifices in the stead of one of the same name, but the Son of *Caius*; *M. Marcius* the King of Sacrificers, departed this Life, and *M. Aemilius Pappus* the grand Curio, but none were chosen this year to succeed them; The Censors were *L. Veturius Philo*, and *P. Licinius Crassus* the Arch Pontiff, which latter had neither serv'd the Office of Consul nor Prætor, but skip'd from being an Ædile into a Censorship; but these Censors neither made choice of any new Senators, nor did any other publick Act, *L. Veturius* being taken off by death, which caused his Colleague *Licinius* to throw up his Office; The Ædiles of State, *L. Veturius*, and *P. Licinius Varus*, exhibited the Roman Games, and held them one day extraordinary; The Plebeian Ædiles, *Q. Catus* and *L. Porcius Licinus*, set up certain brazen Statues in the Temple of *Ceres*, out of moneys levied by Fines, and represented very stately shows and pastimes, considering the poverty of those times. Just at the end of the year *C. Lælius Scipio's* Lieutenant arriv'd at *Rome* in four and thirty days from *Tarracon*, and entering the City with such a power of Prisoners, set the people a running every where to see the sight, the next day being introduced into the Senate he acquainted the House, That new *Carthage* the Metropolis of *Spain*, was taken in one day, and several Cities recovered, that had revolted, and new ones entred into Alliance with; From the Prisoners they understood in effect the same things as *M. Valerius Messala* had signified in his Letters. The thoughts of *Asdrubal's* advance into *Italy* most of all disturb'd the Senate, as being scarce able to make their Party good against *Annibal* and his Arms; *Lælius* in a general Assembly of the people discours'd the same things; The Senate Order'd their thanks to be return'd to *Scipio* for his good service, and that *Lælius* should go back again with the same Ships with all Expedition. I have refer'd the taking of *Carthage* to this year, though I am not ignorant that some place the same in the year following, but I think it improbable that *Scipio* should lie idle a whole year in *Spain*, and perform nothing memorable.

*Fabius* the fifth time, and *Fulvius* the third entred into their Consulship the 15. of March, and both were order'd to take care of *Italy*, but had particular Provinces, *Fabius* to be about *Tarentum*, *Fulvius* in *Lucania* and amongst the *Bruttians*. *M. Claudius* continued in Command, the Prætors cast Lots for their Provinces, *C. Hostilius Tubulus* happen'd to have the City, *L. Veturius Philo* the Foreign Jurisdiction, with the care of the Gauls; *T. Quintius Crispinus*, *Capua*; *C. Aurunculeius*, *Sardinia*. The Armies were divided as follows; to *Ful-*

vious two Legions which *M. Valerius Leuinus* had in *Sicily*; *Q. Fabius* those that *C. Calpurnius* commanded in *Tuscany*, and the City-Forces to supply their places in *Tuscany*, over which *Calpurnius* was to be Governour; *T. Quintius* to have the Army at *Capua*; that *C. Hostilius* should receive from *C. Latorius* the Proprætor the Forces that lay at *Ariminum*, *M. Marcellus* to have the same Souldiers that served him so well when he was Consul; to *M. Valerius* with *L. Cnecius* (being continued in Commission in *Sicily*) the *Cannæan* Troops were allotted, and to supply the same out of the Legions that were left of *Cn. Fulvius*; for they being rallied together, had been sent thither by the Consuls, and for their greater reproach put into the same condition with the others. *C. Aurunculeius* enjoy'd the same Legions in *Sardinia* as belonged there before to *P. Manlius Volso*; *P. Sulpicius* continued over the same men and Fleet, to have an eye upon *Macedonia*. Thirty Sail of Gallies were order'd to be sent out of *Sicily* to *Fabius* the Consul at *Tarentum*, the rest of the Fleet to cruise on the Coasts of *Africk* for Prizes, and *M. Valerius Leuinus* to go over with them himself, or else to depute either *L. Cnecius* or *M. Valerius Messala* to command them. In *Spain* there was no Alteration, save only that *Scipio* and *Silanus* were continued in their Commands not for a year, but till such time as they should be recalled. Thus were the Provinces divided, and the Forces bestow'd for this year.

VIII. Whilst the State was taken up with these Affairs of greater importance, the Assembly for electing a Grand Curio [or Priest of the several Wards of *Rome*] in the room of *M. Amilius* reviv'd the old Quarrel. The Patricians [or Nobles] denying that *C. Mamilius Vitulus* one of the Candidates ought to be put in Nomination, because he was a Commoner, and never any but a Patrician had yet held that Office. The Tribunes referred it to the Senate, who gave it in favour of the People; so this was the first Commoner in that place. Also *P. Licinius* the Chief Pontiff compell'd *C. Valerius Flaccus* to be Inaugurated Priest of *Jupiter* against his will, *C. Latorius* was made a Decemvir in the place of *Q. Mucius Scævola* deceased. The cause and occasion of that enforced Inauguration of a Flamen I would willingly have passed over in silence, but that the ill Name he had, turned afterward to high Reputation. This *Flaccus* for his debauch'd and riotous course of life in his youth, being hated by *L. Flaccus* his own Brother, and other Relations, was for that reason chosen Flamen by the Archpriest to reclaim him; and indeed no sooner was his mind taken up with Religious Rites and Ceremonies, but he left off all his Extravagancies, began a new man, and thenceforward there was none of his Age in all the Town better esteemed of, or more beloved both by his own Kindred and Strangers.

IX. This general Reputation put him on such an assurance of his own Worth and Dignity, that resolv'd to recover the Privilege of sitting in the Senate, for many years lost and discontinued by the insufficiency and vileness of the Flamens; coming therefore into the House, *L. Licinius* the Prætor commanded him to depart, whereupon he appeal'd to the Tribunes of the Commons, alledging, That he only demanded the ancient Right of the Priesthood conferr'd together with the Sacred Robe and Ivory Chair. The Consul said, That a Right was not to be grounded upon old musty Precedents, long since obsolete, but on present usage; for neither in our Fathers nor Grandfathers memory has any Priest of *Jupiter* usurped this Claim: But the Tribunes concluded, That though the matter was as it were forgot by the negligence of former Priests, yet the same ought to be no prejudice to the Rights anciently and duly belonging to the Office. Which they having declared, the Prætor made no further opposition, but with great applause both of the Senators and Commons, he was led into the House, and took his place in the Senate; though all men thought he gain'd that point rather in respect to his late change of Manners, and present strictness of Life, than in the right of his Priesthood.

X. The Consuls before they set forwards to their Provinces, levied two City-Legions to serve for Recruits to compleat the several Armies. The old City-Army *Fulvius* the Consul committed to *C. Fulvius Flaccus* his Brother and Lieutenant, to march them into *Tuscany*, and bring up the Forces that were there at *Rome*. And *Fabius* the Consul caused his Son *Maximus* to muster up the reliques of the *Fulvian* defeat (amounting to three thousand three hundred thirty six) and carry them into *Sicily* to *M. Valerius* the Proconsul, and bring thence the two Legions and thirty Gallies allotted him. The sending them away did nothing diminish the Garrisons of that Province either in strength or shew; for besides the two old Legions recruited to their full complement, he had a Power of Renegado's and *Numidian* Deferters as well Horse as Foot; he had likewise such of the *Sicilians* as had heretofore served under *Epicides* or the *Carthaginians*, and so were become good Souldiers. All which foreign Auxiliaries having intermixt with his several Roman Legions, kept up still the Species of two competent Armies, with one of which he commanded *Cnecius* to secure that part of the Island which had belonged to King *Hiero*, and with the other he himself quarter'd in those Territories which heretofore were divided between the Romans and *Carthaginians*. He also provided a Fleet of seventy Sail to guard the Coasts and command the Sea, whilst he and *Mutines* took a progress to view the whole Country, and see which was well husbanded, and which not, and accordingly commend or chastize the Owners; so that by his Care there was such plenty of Corn, that they sent great store of it to *Rome*, and also to *Catana*, whence it might be convey'd to the standing Camp at *Tarentum*.

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But the transporting of the Souldiers into *Sicily* (who were for the most part *Latines* and other Allies) had very near been the occasion of a great Insurrection; For the *Latines* and Confederates in all their Assemblies began to grumble, That for ten years together they had been exhausted with continual Levies and Taxes; That every year almost they receiv'd some mighty overthrow; Many slain in the field, others consumed with Diseases; that such of their Citizens as were lifted for the Romans, were in more danger than such as were taken by the *Punicks*, for the latter are sent home gratis, but the former, by the Romans, are sent out of Italy into banishment, rather than to warfare; That now for eight years the Army that escap'd at *Cannæ* are languishing in *Sicily*, and like to be in their Graves before the Enemy be beat out of Italy, being still strong and flourishing. If no old Souldiers must return to their Country, but new ones continually lifted, in a short time there will be none left; Therefore 'tis best to deny the people of *Rome*, now at present, what we shall quickly be forc'd to do whether we will or no, when we are reduc'd to the utmost poverty and desolation; That if once the Romans perceive all their Allies thus resolv'd, they would be more inclined to a Peace with the *Carthaginians* than hitherto; for otherwise, whilst *Annibal* was alive, there would never be Peace in Italy. These and the like Speeches passed in their Diets; There were then thirty Colonies of the people of *Rome*, and all their Representatives being in Town, twelve of them flatly denied the Consuls, and said they were not able any longer to find either Men or Money; The names whereof were these, *Ardea*, *Nepete*, *Sutrium*, *Circeii*, *Alba*, *Caracoli*, *Suessa*, *Sora*, *Setia*, *Cales*, *Narnia*, and *Interamna*. The Consuls startled at this unexpected blow, hoping to fright them from this lewd resolution, and thinking to do more good by treating them roughly, than by smoothing and complementing, told them; That they had assum'd the confidence to lay that to the Consuls, which they durst not for their heads repeat again to the Senate, for it amounted not so much to the avoiding of the duties of War, as an open revolt from the people of *Rome*; That therefore their best way was to repair home to their Principals, and before the thing was taken notice of, consult with them as men that had rather let fall some unadvised words, than that would persist in such a dangerous course; and let them know, that they had not *Capuans*, or *Tarentines* to deal with, but Romans, from whence they were descended, and sent into conquer'd places to increase Posterity, so that if they had any Piety, or loving memory for their antient Country, they would take new measures. For their present designments would otherwise tend to subvert the state of *Rome*, and make *Annibal* Lord of all Italy. When the Consuls one after another had thus school'd them, the Agents nothing mov'd with their words, told them, That they knew not what other Message to carry home, nor could their Senates take new Counsels, having neither men to raise, nor money to pay them; The Consuls finding them thus obstinate, reported the matter to the Senate, which caus'd so great a consternation, that most of them thought, it would prove the utter ruin of the State; For other Colonies would follow the Example, and all their Allies join in betraying the City of *Rome* to *Annibal*.

The Consuls were not wanting to comfort and encourage them, by remonstrating, That the rest of the Colonies were still firm in their fidelity and duty, and as for these Mutineers, if there were Embassadors sent to threaten and not entreat them, they would easily be reduc'd to revere the Majesty of the Roman Empire; The Senate leaving it to them to act as they thought most fit for the publick interest, having first founded the inclinations of the other Colonies, they cited their Agents before them, and demanded whether they had their Quota's of Souldiers ready which had been laid on them? For eighteen Colonies *M. Sextilius* an Inhabitant of *Fregelle* made Answer; That both those Souldiers were ready, and if there were need of more, they should be levied, and that they would readily perform whatsoever else the people of *Rome* should command or desire; For as yet they were able enough to do, and as for their hearts they were better than their abilities. The Consuls after a short Speech, to signify, that they thought it not enough to commend them for their merits themselves, unless the whole Senate did also publicly give them thanks, commanded them to go along with them into the Council-House, where the Senate having carest'd them with the most obliging Language, order'd the Consuls also to carry them to the Common-Hall, and there to make known, as well their former faithful services and favours, as their present signal good will to the Republick; and even now, though so many Ages past, I think it would be an injury to their deserved praise if I should not particularly record their Names; They were, The *Signins*, *Nolans*, and *Norbans*, the *Saticulans*, *Brundisians*, *Fregellans*, *Lucerines*, *Venusines*, *Adrians*, *Firman*s and *Ariminians*; and on the Coast of the other Sea, the *Pontians*, *Pastans* and *Cosans*; and of the Inland Cities, the *Beneventans*, *Assermines*, *Spoleatans*, *Placentines* and *Cremonians*. By the assistance of these Colonies was the state of *Rome* at that juncture supported, and for the same had the publick thanks both of the Senate and People. As for the other twelve Colonies which had refused obedience, the Lords of the Senate gave express command, that no notice should be taken of them, and that the Consuls should neither dispatch nor retain them, nor so much as speak to them; as esteeming that silent chastizement to comport best with the Majesty of the people of *Rome*. The Consuls taking care with all expedition for whatsoever else was necessary for the War: It was thought fit to bring forth the Vicissimary Gold (or twentieth part of all the Taxes,) which had been reserved in the secret Treasury for the last extremity of Affairs,

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Affairs, being four thousand pounds weight of Gold, whereof five hundred pounds weight was distributed to the Consuls, and to *M. Marcellus* and *P. Sulpicius* the Proconsuls, and *T. Veturius* the Prætor, Governour of *Gaul*; Besides which, a hundred pounds weight was particularly allotted to *Fabius* the Consul, to be carried to the Garrison in the Castle at *Tarentum*; the rest was employed in Cloths for the Army that carried on the War in *Spain*, with so much reputation to themselves, and their General.

XIII. Before the Consuls took the Field it was also resolved, that certain Prodigies should be expiated: For in the *Alban Mount*, the Statue of *Jupiter* was blasted with Lightning, and a Tree near the Temple, as also the Lake *Hostia*, the Wall of *Capua*, the Temple of *Fortune*, and the Wall and Gate of *Sinuessa*: Some also reported, That a Fountain at *Alba* ran Blood, and at *Rome* within the Sanctuary of the Temple of *Fors Fortuna* a little Image that stood on her Coronet, fell down of its own accord from the Head of the Goddess into her hands; and 'twas very well known, that at *Prævernum* an Ox spoke, and a Vultur flew into a Shop in the Market-place when it was full of people; and at *Sinuessa* was born a Child of doubtful Sex, or both Male and Female, commonly called an *Androgynos* [or Man-woman] as for the most part Greek words admit an easier Composition than Latine; as also that it rain'd Milk, and a Child born with an Elephants Head: satisfaction for these fearful Tokens were made by the greater Sacrifices, a solemn Procession to all Shrines, and publick Supplications held all day long; and that *C. Hostilius* the Prætor should set out the Games in Honour of *Apollo*, as of late they had been vowed and promised. In those days *Q. Fulvius* the Consul held the Election for chusing of Censors, who happen'd to be both Persons that had not yet been Consuls, viz. *M. Cornelius Cethegus* and *P. Sempronius Tuditanus*. They by Authority of the Senate obtain'd an Act of the Commons, enabling them to let to Farm the Lands of *Campania*; but in their Review of the Senate a Controversie happen'd, for whereas by Lot it fell to *Sempronius's* share to nominate who should be Chair-man or President of the Senate, *Cornelius* alledged, That by ancient Custom the same belonged to such person as had first born the Office of Censor now surviving, who was *Manlius Torquatus*: *Sempronius* on the other side insisted, That as the Gods had by Lot bestow'd the Priviledge upon him, and empower'd him to chuse whom he pleased, so he would freely make use thereof according to the best of his Judgment, and was resolved to chuse *Q. Fabius Maximus*, the most worthy man in *Rome*, even *Annibal* himself being Judge; who at last was establish'd therein, and then the rest of the Senate was called over, eight persons only being cashier'd, amongst whom was *L. Cæcilius Metellus* the scandalous Author of abandoning *Italy* after the defeat at *Canna*; which offence was likewise taken notice of in the Review of Knights and Gentlemen; but very few they were that fell under that Brand, in comparison of those, who being in the *Cannian* Legions, had their Horses taken from them, whereunto for further punishment was added, That so many of them as had served on publick Horses, allowed by the City, should not be admitted to reckon the time past into their military Service, but were obliged to continue the Wars ten years forward, and find themselves Horses. They also discovered abundance of persons who were bound to serve on Horse-back, and being above seventeen years of Age, had neglected it: all whom they degraded, and made liable to common Contributions. After this they bargain'd by the great for rebuilding the seven Shops, the Fish-shambles and Royal Gallery burnt down by the late Fire.

XIV. All things requisite being thus dispatch'd at *Rome*, the Consuls took the Field; *Fulvius* advancing first to *Capua*, whom *Fabius* following a few days after, having by word of mouth pressed his Colleague, and by Letters *Marcellus*, to attacke *Annibal* briskly, and hold him in play, whilst he assaulted *Tarentum*; for if once that City were taken, and the Enemy expelled, he would have no place of safety to hide his head in, nor hopes of staying much longer in *Italy*. He also dispatch'd an Express to *Rhegium* to the Governour of that Garrison consisting of eight thousand men, posted there by *Lævinus* the Consul against the *Bruttians*, most of them brought over, as aforesaid, from *Agathyrna* in *Sicily*, being people enur'd to live by Spoil and Rapine, to whom were added a multitude of Deserters that daily came in from the *Bruttians*, altogether their Matches, for audaciousness and Poverty ready to engage in any desperate Adventure. This Squadron of Ruffians were order'd first to forrage the *Bruttians* Territories, and next to attacke the City *Caulonia*, both which they did not only stoutly, but greedily execute, and having chased away the Peasants, storm'd that Town. *Marcellus* both encourag'd by the Consuls Letters, and a good opinion he had of himself, that none of all the Roman Captains was better able to match *Annibal*, as soon as the season yielded any Forrage for his Horse, took the Field, and advanced towards *Annibal* who then lay quarter'd near *Cannusum*, soliciting that City to a Revolt, but understanding of *Marcellus's* approach, dislodged from thence; and because that was an open Champaign Country, sought out places more proper for an Ambuscade: *Marcellus* pursued him close at heels, and still encamped hard by him, and always had no sooner entrench'd, but drew out and offer'd Battel; but the other would only engage with small Parties of Horse, or light-arm'd Foot in Skirmishes, not willing to run the risque of a pitch'd Field; yet at length he was drawn to it in spite of his teeth: For as he march'd away by night, *Marcellus* pressed upon his Rear in those plain open grounds, and when he went

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to encamp, fell upon his Pioneers, and would not suffer them to finish their Entrenchments, whereby they were necessitated to a Battel, and fought with Banners display'd and all their Forces, but being towards night parted with equal Fortune, making shift to fortifie themselves as well as they could at a very little distance; next morning by break of day *Marcellus* drew up, nor did *Annibal* decline the Encounter, having first with a large Harangue encouraged his men, That not forgetting *Thrasimene* and *Canna* they would now chastize the Enemies insolence, for they saw how he brav'd them, and would neither let them march nor encamp in quiet, nor gave them any time to breathe or look about them; That every morning the Roman Army was as sure to stare them in the face as the Sun; but if in one smart bout they would but soundly let him blood, they would no more be pester'd with his daring importunities. Heartned with these Encouragements, and withal vext at the Romans continual teasing them, they charg'd very fiercely upon them; two hours and above the Fight had lasted, when the Roman right Wing and extraordinary Troops of the Allies gave ground; which *Marcellus* perceiving, orders the eighteenth Legion to come up to the Front, but whilst the former trembling retreat, and the latter but slowly advance, the whole Army was disorder'd, and by and by fear overpowering shame, turn'd their backs. There fell in the Battel and Pursuit two thousand seven hundred Citizens and Allies, whereof four Roman Centurions, two Colonels, *M. Licinius* and *M. Fulvius*, four Standards lost in the right Wing that fled first, and two in that Legion that was design'd to relieve them.

*Marcellus*, after they were got into their Camp, ratted up his Souldiers with such a sharp and reproachful Speech, that it was more grievous to them than all the fatigues and dangers of that unfortunate day. I am (quoth he) however bound to render all the praises and thanks I can, in such a shameful juncture, to the Immortal Gods, that they suffer'd not the victorious Enemy who drove you like so many trembling sheep to your Works, to storm your Camp like-wisely: For undoubtedly you would have abandon'd your Rampier and Tents with the same Cowardize as you quitted the Field; what foolish dread is this that has possess'd you? Can you so soon strangely forget who they are you engage with? Even the very same in beating whom and pursuing them after they were routed, you spent all the last Summer; whom of late flying night and day, you have so often challeng'd to a Battel? Whom in all Skirmishes you perpetually have worsted, whom but yesterday you would neither suffer to march, nor encamp? But I will waive that which you may boast of, and mention only that which ought to make you eternally blush, but yesterday you grappled with them on even Terms; and what I wonder has last night or this morning weakned you, or strengthned them? Methinks I do not behold my own old Souldiers, I do not, sure I do not, talk to Romans, your Bodies and Arms are the same; but if you had had the same Spirits, the same Souls, would you ever so basely have shew'd your Enemies your backs? and suffer'd them to take away here the Colours of a Company, and there the Standard of a Regiment? Hitherto they would only boast that they had cut off some Roman Legions, you are the first that this day have given them an opportunity to glory of having put our Armies to the Run. This smart Discourse touch'd the tenderest part of their Souls, and with a general Cry they begg'd he would forgive them this days misfortune, and try when he pleas'd another time their Courage. Nay, Sirs, says he, quickly will I try it; to-morrow shall you into the Field again, that you may, being Conquerours, obtain that pardon, which whilst vanquish'd, you do not deserve. Those Troops which had lost their Colours he order'd should have only Barley instead of Wheat for their Provisions, and caused the Centurions of each of those particular Companies to have their Swords taken from them. And commanded the whole Army, Horse and Foot, to be ready next morning; so the Assembly was dismissed, not one of them but acknowledging that they were most justly reproach'd, and that there was not a man in the whole Army, besides the General himself, but was bound to make amends either with his own death, or the gaining of a notable Victory. Next day they were all ready in their Armour early, and the General commended their forwardness, declaring, That those who fled first yesterday and lost their Banners, should now go on in the Forlorn-hope, and that he did strictly charge all and every of them to fight so manfully as to overcome, and be sure that the News of yesterdays Overthrow arriv'd not at *Rome* before that of their this days Victory. After which he bid them refresh themselves with some Victuals, that they might not faint, if the Battel should happen to prove tedious, with which his Souldiers hearts being much chear'd up, they courageously march'd into the Field.

Which when *Annibal* had notice of, Look you, says he, what an Enemy have we to deal with! who neither will endure good or ill Fortune, but if they prosper, push on their Victories, and even when vanquish'd renews the Dispute with their Conquerours. Then he order'd the Trumpet to sound and drew up in Battalia. The Fight was more sharp and furious on each side than the day before, the *Punicks* striving to maintain their yesterdays Honour, and the Romans to wipe off that shame; The left Wing of the Romans and those Squadrons that lost their Colours fought in the Vanguard, and the twentieth Legion was marshal'd in the right Wing, *L. Cornelius Lentulus* and *C. Claudius Nero* commanding them respectively, whilst *Marcellus* by his Prefence and Encouragement confirm'd the main Battel. On *Annibal's* side the *Spaniards* had the Vanguard, and indeed were the very flower of his Army; but the Fight remaining for a great while doubtful, *Annibal* orders his Elephants to be led up to the Front, hoping

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hoping they might affright and disorder the Enemy; and indeed, at first they did somewhat confound their Ranks, so as partly by trampling them under foot, and partly by dispersing them, they had on one part laid naked the main Body; and greater had the flight been, but that *C. Decinius Flavius*, a Colonel, snatching up a Standard from the first Band of the *Hastati*, commanded all that Company to follow him, leading them up to the place where those strange Beasts made the greatest havoc, and bid them throw their Darts as fast as they could at them; which being so near, did certain Execution against Beasts of so great a Bulk, and standing so thick: And though all were not wounded, yet those that were (so uncertain is their nature to those that use them) running backwards, turned the rest; and now not only that single Band, but every Souldier that could get up, pelted them with Javelins, whereby the Elephants ran more fiercely on their own Party, and overthrew more of them than before they had of the Enemy, by how much fear gave them now a greater Spur than the conduct of those that managed them; so they having put the *Punicks* Front into confusion, the Roman Foot press on, and with little difficulty put them to the Rout; then *Marcellus* sends in his Horse to pursue them, who beat them into their Camp; into which they could not get without extreme difficulty: for two Elephants falling down just at the Gate had stop't it up, so that the Souldiers were forced to clamber over the Trench and Rampire; which occasioned the greatest slaughter, there being in all kill'd eight thousand men, and five Elephants; yet prov'd it not an unbloody Victory to the *Romans*, for they lost almost seventeen hundred of the two Legions, and above thirteen hundred of their Allies. *Annibal* next night march'd off; *Marcellus* would have followed him, but could not for the multitude of his wounded men. The Scouts brought word next day, That *Annibal* was making towards the *Bruttians* Country.

XVII. About the same time the *Hirpini*, *Lucani*, and *Vulsiens*, delivering up those Garrisons of *Annibal's* which they had in their Countries, surrendred themselves to *Q. Fulvius* the Consul, who received them graciously, only rebuking them in words for their past misdemeanours; to the *Bruttians* also was proposed the like hopes of pardon, when two Brothers, *Vibius* and *Pastius*, the noblest men of that Nation, came to desire Terms for them. *Q. Fabius* the Consul had taken the Town *Manduria* amongst the *Salentines* by force, where were taken near four thousand people, and other good Booty. Thence he march'd to *Tarentum*, and encamped just by the mouth of the Haven. Those Ships which *Livius* had to convoy Provisions, he partly fill'd with Engines for Battery, and partly with Artillery, Stones and all kind of Darts; and so likewise the Ships of Burthen, as well as the Gallies, were employ'd, some to bring Machines and Scaling Ladders to the Walls, and others Souldiers at a distance to pelt the Defendants: For they were Masters of the Sea, the *Punick* Fleet being sail'd to *Corcyra*, when first King *Philip* attack'd the *Ætolians*. In the *Bruttians* Country, those that were besieging of *Caulonia*, fearing upon *Annibal's* advance that way to be surpris'd, retired to a little Hill safe for the present, but otherwise void of all relief; but *Fabius* at the Siege of *Tarentum* was by a trifling accident assist'd to achieve the taking of that Town of so great importance; *Annibal* had posted there a Garrison of *Bruttians*, whose Commander was fallen in love with a small Baggage that had a Brother in the Roman Army, who being advertized by his Sister of the Intrigue she had with this considerable Stranger, did not despair but by her means he might work him to betray the City; and acquainted the Consul with his hopes, who judging it not altogether vain, permits him as a Deserter to fly into *Tarentum*, and by his Sisters means being ingratiated with the Governour, pump'd him first at a distance, and then seeing the weakness of the man, wheedled him by Female endearments to betray the place he was appointed to guard. The whole contrivance being adjusted, the Souldier in the night is privately sent out of the City, and passes between the Guards back to the Consul, acquainting him with their Agreement; who thereupon in the beginning of the Night giving a Signal to those in the Castle, and who had the Guard of the Haven, himself in person fetching a compass about, gets privately to the East-side of the City; then presently does the Trumpet at once sound from the Castle, and from the Port, and from the Ships that lay in the open Sea, and every where there was a mighty clamour and tumult where there was least of danger; the Consul in the mean time keeping his men all still and quiet; so that *Democrates*, formerly Admiral, who then happened to have the Guard of that Quarter, finding all hush near him, and such a noise in other places as if the City were already taken, fearing lest whilst he lingered there, the Consul should break into the Town, leads his Forces towards the Castle, whence proceeded the most frightful clamour. *Fabius* having waited as long as he thought fit, and by the late silence (for before every Body was crying, *To Arms! To Arms!*) that the Guards on that side were drawn off, orders his Scaling Ladders to be set up to that part of the Wall where he was informed the *Bruttians* kept Guard; which they easily mounted, the *Bruttians* receiving and helping them: and so descended into the City, broke open the next Gate that all their Party might enter; and much about break of day, with mighty hallowing and whooping, but no opposition, marched to the Market-place; when those that were engaged against the Castle, and at the Port began to turn and make head against them.

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In the Court-Yard of the *Forum* they were somewhat oppos'd, but rather briskly, than XVIII. for any continuance: The *Tarentines* were neither in Courage, nor Arms, nor skill, nor yet in vigour and strength of Body equal to the *Romans*; Therefore as soon as they had discharg'd their Darts, almost before they came to handy gripes, they betook themselves to their heels, and through By-Allies which they were well acquainted with, and their Friends Houses, shifted for themselves; but two of their Commanders, *Nico* and *Democrates* fighting stoutly were slain. *Philomeneus* who was Author of their Revolt to *Annibal*, was seen riding full speed out of the Battel, and afterwards his Horse found alone, but his Body never heard of, it being commonly believ'd, that he was flung off headlong into an open Well; As for *Carthalo* the Captain of the *Punick* Garrison, having flung down his Arms, as he was coming to the General with a long story of his Father's kindness to the *Romans* and his own, a common Souldier meeting him, knockt him o' th' head; The *Carthaginians* and *Tarentines* arm'd, and unarm'd, were equally put to the Sword, and not a few of the *Bruttians* too, whether by mistake, or on the old grudge against them, as being the first that join'd with *Annibal*, or to extinguish the report of Treachery, that *Tarentum* might seem rather regain'd by pure valour. The slaughter being pretty well over, they fell to the spoil; there are said to have been thirty thousand Slaves taken here, a vast deal of Plate and ready money; eight hundred and seven pounds weight of Gold, and Statues and curious Pictures almost equal to those of *Syracuse*; but *Fabius* abstain'd from that kind of Pillage, with a greater Gallantry than *Marcellus*: for when his Secretary askt him, *What should be done with the Statues?* (vast Images they were of the Gods drawn in Armour) *Prethee*, sayes he, *let us leave the Tarentines their angry Gods*; The Wall that separated the City from the Castle was dismantled and thrown down. In the interim, *Annibal* having taken those upon rendition that lay before *Caulonia*, hearing that *Tarentum* was invest'd, hasten'd night and day to relieve it, but on his march receiving advice of its being taken, *Nay then*, quoth he, *The Romans have their Annibal too, and by the same Art as we took Tarentum, we have lost it*; yet that he might not seem for fear to turn back, he Encamp'd where he heard the news, five miles off that City; and after a short stay, betook himself to *Metapont*, whence he sent two young Gentlemen with Letters, in the name of the chief people of that Town, to *Fabius* at *Tarentum*, offering, *That if he would pass by what was past, they would surrender both the City and Punick Garrison into his hands*; To which *Fabius* giving Credit, assigns a day when he would appear before the Town, and return'd Answers to those chief Citizens, which were carried to *Annibal*; who not a little jocund that he should out-wit even *Fabius* himself, plants his Ambuscades not far from *Metapont*; but *Fabius* taking the *Auspices* before he march'd from *Tarentum*, found them once, and a second time, not at all propitious; and when he Sacrificed, the Soothsayer warn'd him to have a care of some trick from the Enemy. The *Metapontines* seeing he kept not his day, sent fresh Messengers to inquire why he delay'd? who being seiz'd and threatned, for fear of torture, discovered the whole intrigue.

In the beginning of this Summer *P. Scipio* in Spain having spent the whole Winter in gaining the hearts of the barbarous people, partly by Presents, and partly by releasing their Hostages and Prisoners; one *Edesco* a famous Captain of the *Spaniards* came in to him; His Wife and Children were in the *Romans* Custody, but besides that, there was another, I know not what fatal inclination almost through all Spain that led their minds to side with the *Romans* against the *Carthaginians*; which also occasion'd *Indibilis* and *Mandonius* (without dispute the greatest person in Spain) with all their Dependants, to retire from *Aldrubal*, and possess themselves of the Mountains lying over his Camp, whence they might easily correspond with the *Romans*. *Aldrubal* perceiving the Enemy to encrease in strength, and himself by like insensible degrees to grow weaker, and that if he did not attempt something extraordinary, all would be lost, resolv'd to fight with the first opportunity. To which *Scipio* was no less forwards, both from the hopes his late success had given him, as also because he was willing to engage rather with one of them first, before their three Armies were join'd. However lest he should be hamper'd with them all at once, he had augmented his Forces, for seeing there was no use for the Fleet, no Enemy appearing upon the Sea-Coast, he laid up all the Ships at *Tarricon*, and added the Seamen to his Land Forces, and Arms enough he had taken at *Carthage*, or at least made by the Artificers afterwards. With these Forces *Scipio* early in the Spring march'd from *Tarricon* (for by that time *Laelius* was return'd from *Rome*, without whom he would undertake no grand Expedition) and march'd towards the Enemy. His passage was all calm, and every Nation as they pass'd, courteously receiv'd them, and amongst the rest, *Indibilis* and *Mandonius* met him with their Forces. *Indibilis* spoke for them both, but not at all like a *Barbarian*, foolishly and unwarily, but with a modest gravity, and rather as excusing his revolt as necessary, than boasting of it as undertaken at the first opportunity; For (he said) *he knew right well, that the very name of a Deserter was no less odious to those they leave, than suspected amongst those with whom they join; nor could he blame those that did so, if it were not the bare name, but the double dealing that occasion'd it*; Then he enumerated at large his good services for the *Carthaginians*, and on the other side their Avarice, Pride and all kind of injuries to him and his Countrymen; so that hitherto

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they had only had his body, but his mind was long since there where right and faith were observ'd; just as those fly to the protection of the Gods, who no longer are able to endure the violence and injustice of men; That all he desired was, that his coming over, might neither be reckon'd a Crime, nor an Honour, but as from that day they found him, so and no otherwise they would value him. Scipio made Answer, That in truth he would do so; nor could he count those Fugitives who judg'd themselves not bound to that Alliance where nothing was inviolable, nor any duty regarded, either towards God or Man. Then were brought forth their Wives and Children, who were received with mutual tears of joy, and for that day they were conducted to their Lodgings; The next Morning they concluded the particulars of their Treaty, and then were for the present dismiss'd to gather together their Forces, with whom returning, they thenceforwards quarter'd in the same Camp with the Romans, until, by their guidance, they came up with the Enemy.

XX.

The Carthaginian Army which lay next them, was that of Asdrubal near the City Batula; before his Camp there were Out-Guards of Horse, on whom the Roman Van-Couriers, though weary with their march, before ever they chose their ground to encamp on, did as it were in contempt, make so brisk a charge, as easily shew'd what heart there was in both Parties; for the Carthaginian Troops fled in confusion to their Camp, and the Romans advanced their Standards almost up to the very Ports; and so that day their Stomachs being only whetted for a Battel, they pitcht their Tents. In the night Asdrubal retreated his Forces to a Mount, which on the top had a good large Plain, a River on his Rear, and in the Front as well as on both sides, a steep Bank; there lay under this Hill-top another Plain lower than the other, which was also enclosed with a like high-bank, as difficult for ascent as the former; into which, Asdrubal the next day, when he saw the Enemy resolv'd to fight him, sent down his Numidian Horse Slingers and Africans. Scipio riding about through the several Squadrons and Regiments, shew'd them the Enemy; You see (quoth he) their hearts already misgave them, they despair before hand to fight on even ground, but take the advantage of Hills and Banks; and 'tis only in confidence of the place, rather than any assurance they have in their Arms or their Courage, that they adventure to stand before you; but you remember Carthage had Walls far higher than yonder Mounds and Banks, and yet the Roman Souldiers quickly mounted and got over them; and suffer'd neither Hills, nor Forts, nor the Sea it self to resist the fury of their approaches; Those altitudes the Enemy have posted themselves upon, will only do them this service, that they may run away down Hill; but even there too, I trow, I shall lay a block in their way. For presently he order'd two Regiments forth, one to keep the Streights of the Valley through which the River runs, the other to seize the Road that leads from the City by the winding side of the Hill into the Fields; Himself led on the Van Couriers, who yesterday beat off the Enemies Horse-Guards, towards their Light arm'd Squadrons that stood on neither brow of the Hill, at first they were to pass over a rough uneven ground, and met with no difficulty but that of the way it self; but no sooner were they got within reach, but a mighty storm of all sorts of Darts, and other Weapons, came down thundering upon them as thick as Hail; who answer'd them again with a shewre of Stones, wherewith the ground being all over-spread, it served them very conveniently for Ammunition, and at this sport the Snaplack Boys, Lackies, and other riff-raff that followed the Camp, being mixt amongst the Souldiers, were as busy as the best; the truth, is the ascent of it self was very difficult, and much more when they were so pelted, and as it were overwhelmed with Darts and Stones, yet being enur'd, as they were, to climb Walls, and resolutely bent on the service, the foremost Ranks did at last reach the top; where having once got plain ground, and sure footing, they found the Enemy, who were light and nimble, to run here and there, and shift well enough for themselves, as long as they charg'd at a distance, not able to stand their ground in a close Engagement hand to hand, but easily beat back upon their main body that stood on the upper Hill; whither Scipio having order'd this Victorious Party to follow them, divided the rest of his Forces with Lalius, commanding him with one Brigade to march about on the right hand of the Hill, and seek the easiest place to get up at, whilst he himself, with the other, takes the left hand way, and fetching a small compass fell in pell-mell, and charg'd the Enemy on the Flank; This somewhat discompos'd their Front, being apt upon the sudden shout and alarm to turn their Wings and Ranks that way; but whilst they were in this hurry, to confound them quite, Lalius was got up, and whilst they retreat to keep him off, and prevent their being wounded in the Rear, their Front is weakned and broken, and so gave the Romans of the middle Battel opportunity also to break in, which they could never have done (considering the disadvantage of the steep Bank) as long as the Enemies Ranks stood firm, and the Elephants in their Fore-front; but now great slaughter was made on all sides, and especially by Scipio, who charged through the Enemies (they being as good as naked) from the right Wing to the left; nor had they any opportunity to escape, for Roman Guards had beset the passages both on the right hand and the left, and as for the Gate of the Camp, their General and chief Officers flying that way, had stop't it up, and the Elephants were thereabouts, whom being now frighted, they feared no less than the Enemy; so that there were slain eight thousand or upwards.

Asdrubal

Asdrubal who before the Conflict had secur'd his Money, sent the Elephants before, and having rallied as many as he could of those that escaped out of the Camp, made haste along the River Tagus towards the Pyrenean Mountains; Scipio being Master of the Enemies Camp, gave all the Booty to his Souldiers, except such Prisoners as were of Free-born condition. When the Catalogue was brought in of those that were taken, he found they were ten thousand Footmen and two thousand Horse; of whom such as were Spaniards he freely released and sent home; but the Africans the Treasurer was order'd to sell for Slaves: Then the whole multitude of Spaniards as well those that had before yielded themselves, as those who were yesterday taken Prisoners, applauding his Clemency and Nobleness, with a general shout saluted him by the Title of King; whereupon causing the Cryer to make silence, he told them, That he took the Title of Imperator [General or Commander] whereby his Souldiers called him, to be the greatest of all others. As for the Title of King, although in other places it be most Honourable, at Rome it was odious and not endured, however if they meant to express the bravest Qualities by that appellation, they should find he had a mind truly Royal, but desired them to be content silently to judge so, and refrain using the word. The Barbarians were not so stupid as not to be sensible of this Grandeur of Mind, that he should as it were look down from some greater Elevation and Scorn, upon that glittering Title which astonishes all other Mortals with its Charms. Then he made several Presents to the Princes and Grandees of Spain, and out of abundance of Horses that were taken, desired Indibilis to chuse out three hundred, and take them for his own. The Treasurer going to sell the Africans according to Order, found amongst them a Youth of a most comely Personage and charming Countenance, and understanding that he was of Royal Descent, carried him before Scipio; who asking him who and of what Country he was, and how he came in the Army being so young? I am (answers he, with tears standing in his eyes) a Numidian, and in my own Country they call me Massiva; being left an Orphan by my Father, I was bred in the Court of Gala a King of the Numidians my Grandfather by the Mothers side. When my Uncle Malinissa came over lately with a Body of Horse to aid the Carthaginians, I attended him into Spain; but never was in any Battel before, being by him forbidden, because of my youth; but that day they were to fight with the Romans, I unknown to my Uncle, got an Horse and Arms, and went into the Field, where my Horse falling, flung me down headlong, and so it was my fortune to be taken by the Romans. Scipio bid them set him by, and proceeded with the Affairs before him, which being dispatch'd, he descending from the Tribunal, took the Lad with him into his Pavilion, and ask'd him, If he were willing to be sent back to his Uncle Malinissa? He reply'd with tears of Joy, Ay, with all my heart; whereupon the General gave him a Gold Ring, an Embroider'd Robe, a Spanish Caslock with a Gold Button, and a good Horse and Furniture, ordering a Convoy of Horse to wait on him as far as he pleased, and so dismissed him.

After this a Council of War was held, and some advis'd to pursue Asdrubal with all diligence and expedition; but Scipio reckoning that hazardous, lest then Mago and the other Asdrubal should join Forces with him, was content to send a Party to keep the Pass on the Pyrenean Mountain, and himself resolv'd to spend the rest of the Summer in receiving the Submissions of other States of Spain. As he was on his Return to Taricon, and pass'd the Forest of Castulo. The other two Punick Generals, Asdrubal the Son of Gisgo, and Mago came out of the further Spain to Asdrubal, too late for help, he being already defeated, but yet very seasonable to consult with touching managing the War for the future. They conferr'd together how the Spaniards in each Province stood affected? Asdrubal the Son of Gisgo only was of Opinion, That the farther part of Spain towards Cales and the Ocean Sea, were altogether unacquainted with the Romans, and faithful to the Carthaginian Interest; but both Mago and the other Asdrubal agreed, That Scipio by his Courtesie had won all their Affections, both States and private Persons; and that there would be no end of Deserting and Revolts till all the Spanish Souldiers were either remov'd to the farther parts of that Country, or carried into Gaul in Italy; That if the Senate of Carthage had not granted such a Commission, yet of necessity Asdrubal must into Italy, not only because there was the Head of the War, and on which depended the main Chance, but also that thereby he might draw all the Spaniards far enough from the Fame of Scipio. And since his Army, what with running over to the Enemy, and what with the late Overthrow, was much diminished, the same must be recruited not only with as many Spaniards as could be levied, but also that Mago, delivering his Army to Asdrubal the Son of Gisgo, should cross the Seas unto the Isles of Majorca and Minorca with a considerable Summ of Money to hire Auxiliaries; That Asdrubal the Son of Gisgo should march away with the Army into Portugal, and not hazard a Battel with the Romans; That out of the Cavalry there should be a draught made of the best Troops to the number of three thousand, who should serve under Malinissa as a flying Army to assist their Allies in the nearer Spain, and forrage the Enemies Towns and Fields. And so the several Generals parted to put these Resolutions in practice. This being the summ of what pass'd in Spain this year. At Rome Scipio's Fame daily increas'd, and Fabius, though he won Tarentum rather by Craft than Valour, yet had much Honour paid him for that Service. The Name of Fulvius began to grow dull, and Marcellus lay under some reproach, not so much for that at first he was worsted, as for that before the Summer was half over he had as it were taken up his Winter-Quarters at Venusia, whilst Annibal was

XXII.

ranging at his pleasure through Italy; the truth is, C. Publicius Bibulus a Tribune of the people was his Enemy; and from the first Battel which proved unfavourable, he had endeavoured to render Claudius infamous and odious to the Commons, and was contriving a Bill for taking away his Commission: But Marcellus's Friends and Relations prevail'd, That, leaving the Army with his Lieutenant, he might come to Rome in person, to clear himself of what was objected, and that they would not proceed in his absence to abrogate his Command. And it happened, that about one and the same time, Marcellus came to Town, to wipe off these aspersions, and Q. Fulvius the Consul upon occasion of holding the Elections.

XXIII. The Question touching the continuance or taking away of Marcellus's Command was agitated in the Flaminian Circus with a vast concourse of people of all Degrees; the Tribune not only accused him, but the Nobility in general, That by their fraudulent practices and dilatory proceedings, Annibal had now for ten years continued in Italy, as if it were his proper Province, and spent more of his life there than he had done in Carthage it self, though his native Country; That the people of Rome now tasted the fruit of proroguing Marcellus's Command, and continuing one and the same man so long in power, for what has followed, but his Army twice routed? and now forced to take up their Quarters at Venusia, and lye hous'd for fear of Sun-burning? But Marcellus so effectually refuted his Adversaries Invectives, by recounting his manifold good services, that not only the Bill preferred against him was quash'd, but the very next day he was by unanimous Votes of all the Centuries, created Consul; and for his Colleague was chosen T. Quintius Crispinus, who at present was Prætor: The day following, the Prætors were created, viz. P. Licinius Crassus Dives, then Sovereign Pontiff; P. Licinius Varus, Sex. Julius Cesar, and Q. Claudius Flamen. During this Choice of Magistrates, the City was not a little disquieted with apprehensions of a Rebellion in Tuscany, wherein the Arretines were like to be the Ring-Leaders, as was advertiz'd by C. Calpurnius the Governour of that Province; therefore immediately Marcellus the Consul Elect was dispatched to inspect the State of Affairs in those Parts; and, if he found cause, to draw the Army out of Apulia thither: by whose Arrival, the Tuscans were frighted from their designs and kept quiet: Agents from Tarentum apply'd themselves to the Senate for peace, and to be restored to their former Liberties and Laws; but were answered, That they must attend again when Fabius the Consul was come home from thence; The solemn Games, both those called Roman, and those of the Commons, were celebrated this Year with a Day extraordinary. The Ædiles of State were L. Cornelius Caudinus, and Servius Sulpicius Galba; those of the Commons, Q. Cæcilius, and C. Servilius: but as to this last, some denied, That he was lawfully either Tribune before, or Ædile now; because it was found, that his Father, of whom for ten years the current opinion had been that he was slain by the Boii, when he was a Triumvir, near Modena, was still living, and in bondage to the Enemy; and therefore it was doubted whether his Son by right were capable of any Magistracy.

XXIV. In the Eleventh Year of this Punick War, M. Marcellus entered upon the Consulship the fifth time (reckoning that when he was chosen and did not hold it because of some error alledged in his Creation) and with him T. Quintius Crispinus; to both of them was assign'd Italy for their Province, and the former Consuls two Armies: But because there was another Army on Foot at Venusia under Marcellus, they were to chuse which two they pleas'd of the three, and the third should be committed to him that should happen to have the Province of Tarentum, and the Salentines Country. The other Provinces were dispos'd as follows, amongst the Prætors; P. Licinius Varus, to have the City-Jurisdiction; P. Licinius Crassus, that of the Foreigners, and what other charge the Senate should appoint; to S. Julius Cesar, Sicily; to Q. Claudius Flamen, Tarentum; Q. Fulvius Flaccus was continued in Commission for another Year, and to be Governour of Capua, and have under him one Legion; so was also C. Hostilius Tubulus as Proprætor to succeed C. Calpurnius in Sicily, and have the two Legions that were there; and L. Veturius Philo, to remain in the same Quality in his old Province the Cisalpine Gallia, with the two Legions he had before; The same Order the Senate pass'd in favour of C. Arunculeius; and though it were questioned before the people, yet they confirm'd him in Sardinia with two Legions; and to have also the fifty Men of War which Scipio should send back from Spain, to secure the Coasts of that Island; Scipio and Silanus were still to enjoy their Commands in Spain, and the same Forces; only whereas Scipio, what with the Ships from home, and those taken at Carthage, had a Fleet of eighty Sail, he was to remit fifty of them to Sardinia; because it was reported, That the Carthaginians were that Year making mighty Naval Preparations, and that they would scowre the Seas and all the Coasts of Italy, Sicily and Sardinia with a Navy of two hundred Sail. In Sicily the Forces were thus divided, the Cannian Army was granted to S. Cesar, and M. Valerius Levisus (for he too was continued) was to be Admiral of those seventy Ships already there, whereunto were to be added thirty more from Tarentum, and with that Navy of a hundred Sail, he should, if he thought fit, cross the Seas, and pillage the Coasts of Africk; P. Sulpicius had his Command renewed, that with the Fleet he had before he might attend the Provinces of Greece and Macedonia. In the two City-Legions, there was alteration; but the Consuls were empowered to raise what Recruits they saw necessary. The Roman Empire was that Year defended with one and twenty Legions; and P. Licinius Varus the City-Prætor had charge

charge to refit those thirty old Ships that lay at Ostia, and to man out twenty more new ones, that there might be fifty Sail abroad to defend the Coasts near Rome. C. Calpurnius was forbid to remove his Army from Arretium before his Successor arriv'd; and the like command was laid on Tubulus, and especially to prevent any Mutinies.

The Prætors went away for their respective Provinces, but the Consuls were detained a XXV. while longer upon account of Religion, because when they went to expiate certain Prodigies, they found not the Gods very propitious or easy to be appeas'd; From Campania it was related, That two Temples, that of Fortune, and that of Mars, were blasted with Lightning, as also several Sepulchres; That at Cumæ the Mice (forsooth) had nibbled some of the gold in Jupiters Chappel (so apt is superstition to concern the Gods in every trifling accident.) That at Cassinum a great swarm of Bees settled in the Market-place; That Lightning had toucht the Wall and Gate of the Town Ostia; That at Cære a Vultur flew into Joves Temple, and that at Volsinii a Pool was turn'd into Blood: To avert these tokens there was one day spent in Supplications, and for several dayes together great Sacrifices kill'd, but not found acceptable, and for a long time the Gods would shew no signs of favour; but all these ill portents in the Issue lighted only on the Consuls heads, without much danger to the State; The solemn Games in honour of Apollo, were first celebrated by P. Cornelius Sulla, the City Prætor, when Q. Fulvius and Ap. Claudius were Consuls, and thence-forwards all City Prætors had observ'd them, but they were only vow'd from year to year, and held on uncertain days, but this year a Pestilence grievously afflicting the City and Country, yet rather by long tedious lingering Diseases than any mighty Mortality, on that account both Supplications were made at every Shrine, and P. Licinius Varus, the Prætor of the City, was required to prefer a Bill to the people, that the aforesaid Games should be vow'd for ever on a stated day, and in pursuance of that Law, he was the first that so vow'd them, and order'd them to be held the fifth of July, and on that day they were kept always after.

Concerning the Arretines there continually arriv'd suspicious reports, which encreas'd XXVI. the Senates Care to secure that Town; Therefore they wrote Letters to C. Hostilius, That he should, without delay, cause them to find Hostages, and send them to Rome by C. Terentius Varro, who carried these Orders; Upon whose Arrival, Varro caused one Legion, that encamp'd before the Walls, to march into the Town, and having planted Guards in places requisite, summons the Senators together, and demands of them Hostages, who requiring two days time to consider of it, he told them, If they did not forthwith provide them, he would on the morrow seize on all the Senators Children; Then he caus'd the Colonels to keep the Gates, and the Prefects of the Allies and Centurions to be upon the Watch, that none in the night made their escape out of the City: But this was not so diligently perform'd, but seven of the principal Senators, with their Children, got away; who being found wanting next morning when the Senate was call'd over, all their Estates were confiscated; of the other Senators Hostages to the number of a hundred and twenty, being for the most part their own Children, were received and delivered to Terentius to be conveyed to Rome; whose report of things still encreas'd the Senates Jealousies; Therefore as if a Sedition in Tuscany were just at hand, they order'd him the said Varro to march with one of the City Legions to Arretium, and there keep Garrison, whilst C. Hostilius with the rest of the Army, kept moving to and fro through the whole Country, and prevent all occasions of mischief; Terentius coming thither with his Legion, demanded the Keys of the Gates, of the Magistrates, who pretended they were lost, but he believing they were designedly laid out of the way, presently claps on new Locks and Keys on all the Gates, and took care to be Master of all things in the Town. He gave special warning also to Hostilius, as touching the Tuscans in general, that he should never rest secure of their fidelity, unless he had first depriv'd them of all possible means of rebelling.

After this there was great debate in the Senate about the Tarentines, Fabius defending XXVII. and pleading for them after he had conquer'd them by his Arms, but others were much incens'd against them, and most said their crime was no less than the Capuans, and that they ought as severely to be punish'd; at last the Vote of the House pass'd according to the advice of M. Acilius, that the City should be kept under a Garrison, and none of the Inhabitants suffer'd to range without the Walls, and that the whole matter should be re-heard, when the affairs of Italy were in a more settled condition; nor was the dispute less hot concerning M. Livius, Governour of the Castle of Tarentum, some condemning him, because through his negligence the City of Tarentum was betray'd to the Enemy; others voting to have rewards bestowed upon him for having so bravely defended the Castle for five years together, and because by his means chiefly the City was recovered; but some were for a middle course, urging, That the cognizance of the matter did not so properly belong to that House, as to the Censors; and of that opinion was Fabius himself, but added withal, that he must confess Livius had been a main means of the recovering of Tarentum (as his Friends boasted in his favour) for if he had not lost it, it could never have been regain'd. T. Quintius Crispinus, one of the Consuls, went into Lucania with recruits to the Army that had served under Q. Fulvius Flaccus; but Marcellus was still detain'd by new scruples of Religion, and odd pre-sages happening one after another; amongst other things, whereas in the Gallick War at Clastidium,



*Clasidium*, he had made a Vow to build a Temple to *Honour* and *Virtue*, the same being finish'd, the Colledge of Priests would not suffer it to be Dedicated; because they said, *one Chappel could rightly be dedicated but to one Deity and no more*; for otherwise, if it should be smitten with Lightning, or any other prodigious token happen therein, it would be a very difficult matter to expiate the same, since they could not know to which God the Sacrifices ought to be made, for one Sacrifice cannot be offered to two Gods, unless in some special Cases; so there was fain to be another Temple erected just by, to *Virtue*, and great hast was made to run it up, but it was not his Fortune to see either of them Dedicated. At last he set forwards to the Army that he left last year at *Venusia*, carrying with him recruits. *Crispinus* seeing *Fabius* had got so much honour by taking of *Tarentum*, laid Siege to *Locri* in the *Bruttians* Country, having sent for all sorts of Engines of Battery, and other Artillery from *Sicily*, and also Ships to assault that part of the Town which lay towards the Sea; but he was forc'd to give over that Siege, because *Annibal* was advanc'd as far as *Licinium*, and he was told his Colleague had drawn his Forces already out of *Venusia*, with whom he was willing to join; therefore from the *Bruttii* he returns into *Apulia*, and between *Venusia* and *Bantia* the two Consuls encamp'd, not above three miles from each other; *Annibal* having turn'd the War from *Locri*, comes that way too; and both Consuls being men of hot Spirits, were every day leading their Souldiers into the Field to offer him Battel, not doubting but if they could engage him now with the joint Forces of two Consular Forces, they should put an end to the War.

XXVIII. *Annibal* considering that in the two Bouts he had last year with *Marcellus*, once he was Conquerour, and the other time worsted, concluded if he had only him to deal with, he should do well enough, but knew he was not a match for them both; Therefore resolves to piece out the Lions Skin with his old Foxes Tail, and sought all opportunities to entrap them with an Ambuscade; frequent Skirmishes happen'd with various success, which the Consuls feared would spin out the Summer, and thought that in the mean time they might well enough carry on the Leaguer of *Locri*, to which purpose they order'd *L. Cincius* to bring over the Fleet from *Sicily*, and a part of the Army that lay at *Tarentum* to march thither also to assault it by Land. *Annibal* by certain *Thurines* had notice of this design, and to way-lay their passage, plants two thousand Horse, and three thousand Foot, in secret ambush under the side of the *Petellian* Mount; who falling upon the *Romans* as they march'd carelessly without any Scouts abroad, slew two thousand of them, and took very near as many more Prisoners, the rest scatter'd in their flight through Woods and private ways, got back to *Tarentum*. One misfortune usually follows another, between *Annibal* and the *Roman* Camp was a little Hill over-grown with Wood, which at first was possess'd by neither Party, for the *Romans* knew not the situation of that side which lay towards the Enemies Camp, and *Annibal* thought the best use could be made of it was for an Ambuscade, and therefore in the night hides certain Troops of *Numidian* Horse in the middle of that Wood, with charge that none of them should stir out in the day time, lest they or their Armour should be discovered; The Souldiers in the *Roman* Camp cry'd out, That Hill by all means was to be gained, and secured by some small Fort; for if *Annibal* possess'd himself thereof, the Enemy would lye as it were over their heads, and command them at pleasure; *Marcellus* was of the same opinion, but propos'd to his Colleague, that they two with a Party of Horse should first take a view of the place, for then they would be better able to judge of its conveniency, *Crispinus* consents, and away they troop, attended but with two hundred and twenty Horse, whereof forty were *Fragellanes*, the rest *Tuscans*, and with them went *M. Marcellus* the Consuls Son, and *A. Manlius*, both Colonels, and two Captains of the Allies, *L. Aremnius* and *M. Aulius*. Some have written that as the Consul *Marcellus* was sacrificing that Morning when the first Beast was kill'd, its Liver wanted that part which in that superstitious kind of Learning they call'd its Head; in the second Bullock all was right, save only that the head seem'd much bigger than ordinary, which the Soothsayer was troubled at, because both the defective and over-grown Bowels did equally betoken ill Success.

XXIX. But as the Consul *Marcellus* was so eager of fighting with *Annibal*, that he thought he was never encamp'd close enough to him; so then when he rode on, he gave Orders, That the Souldiers should be ready immediately to advance upon a Signal given, in case the Hill he was going to view, should suit with their purpose. Now before the Camp there was a small Plain which lay open to the view of the Hill, on the top whereof the *Numidians* had planted a Spy to give them notice if he saw any of the *Romans* straggling too far abroad for Forrage or Wood, that they might all at once start out upon them, for little did they dream of so great a Prize as now offer'd it self. This Fellow gave the sign; but they that were to rise from the top and ridge of the Hill in the Front, did not appear, till others fetching a compass, had got inclosed the *Romans* on the Rear, and then all at once set up a shout and fell on. The Consuls were in a Valley, and could neither get up to the pitch of the Hill, because 'twas possess'd by the Enemy, nor yet retreat, being also beset by them behind; yet they might have continued the Skirmish, and held out a good while, but that the *Tuscans* all ran away, and discouraged the rest, and yet the *Fragellanes* (to give them their due) did

did not give over the Fight, though thus basely deserted, as long as the Consuls remain'd unhurt, and heartned them on both by their Words and Examples, for they fought manfully amongst the thickest of the Enemy; but when they saw them both wounded, and *Marcellus* run through with a Lance fall down dead from his Horse, then they (being but very few left alive) with *Crispinus* the other Consul (who was wounded with two Javelins) and young *Marcellus* who was sore hurt, shifted for themselves as fast as they could: Of the two Captains of the Allies *M. Aulius* was slain, *L. Aremnius* taken Prisoner, five of the Consuls Lictors fell into the Enemies hands, the rest either killed, or escaped with the Consul surviving: Of the Horse forty three were killed in the Skirmish and Pursuit, and eighteen taken alive. In the Camp there was much ado, and crying out to go help their Generals, but before they could advance, they saw one of their Consuls and the Son of the other both wounded with the rest of the small remnant of this unlucky Expedition, hastening towards their Camp. The Death of *Marcellus*, as in other respects it was to be lamented, so especially because unbecoming his Age (for he was above sixty) and the prudence of an experienced Captain, he should so inconsiderately bring himself and his Colleague, and in a manner the whole State into such imminent danger. I should but weary the Reader to report all the different stories related by Authors touching the Circumstances of this Gentlemans unfortunate end: For to wave others, *L. Lalius* has publish'd three several Accounts of that Affair, one traditionary from common Fame, the other extant in an Oration made in praise of *Marcellus* by his own Son who was present in the Action, and a third which he after diligent inquiry avouches as the very truth. But however Reports vary, most say, That he went out of the Camp to view a certain Ground, and all agree that he was cut off, being surprized by an Ambuscade.

*Annibal* made no doubt but he had put the Enemy into a mighty Consternation by killing of one their Consuls, and wounding the other; and therefore that he might not be wanting to improve the Advantage, presently removes his Camp to the said Hill, where finding the Body of *Marcellus*, he gave it Honourable Burial. *Crispinus* afflicted for the Death of his Colleague as well as with his own Wounds, marches off privately in the night, and got upon the nearest Mountains, where he encamped and fortified himself on an high Ground, and naturally advantageous on every side. And now the two Generals used all their Wits, one to contrive Shams and Wheedles, and the other to prevent them. *Annibal* with *Marcellus*'s Body was become Master of his Ring and Signet, with which *Marcellus* fearing he would play some tricks, sent Expresses to the neighbouring Cities to acquaint them, That his Colleague was killed, and the Enemy had got his Ring; therefore if any Letters came in *Marcellus*'s Name, or under his Sign Manual, they should regard them as Counterfeits and Snarcs. This Message was scarce got to *Salapia*, when Letters were brought thither as from *Marcellus*, That he intended to be there in person the night following, and therefore willed the Souldiers that were there in Garrison to be in readiness, if he should have any occasion to use them. But the *Salapians* being forewarn'd, easily smelt the Plot, That *Annibal* design'd to be reveng'd on them not only for revolting, but also for killing his Troopers, treated the Messenger (who was a *Roman* Fugitive) with very fair words, but sent him back, that he might not observe how they prepared matters; for as soon as he was gone, they dispose of all the Townsmen in apt places for Guards round the City, and set extraordinary Watches. About the Gate where 'twas believ'd the Enemy would come, was posted the main strength of the Garrison. *Annibal* about the fourth Watch came up to the Town, having a Company in the Van that consisted of *Roman* Fugitives and in *Roman* Arms, who coming to the Gate all spoke Latine, and rouzed the Watch, bidding them make haste and open the Gate, for the Consul was come. The Watchmen making as if they had been half asleep when they began to call, bustled about and bestirred themselves mightily. The Portcullis was let down, which some of them with Leavers and Pullies began to pull up, as high as a man might go under it upright. The passage was scarce open when the Rencado's rush'd in at the Portal, striving who should enter first; but when about six hundred of the Enemy were got in, on a sudden letting go the Rope that held it up, down comes the Portcullis with a mighty noise and makes all fast. The Deserters that were let in, to make a shew as if they were all amongst Friends, had their Arms not on their backs but their shoulders, as well enough for a March, and the *Salapians* being well arm'd, easily cut them to pieces, whilst others from the Gates, Walls and Bullwarks, with Stones, Darts and Javelins, pelted the rest of the Enemies that were without, and drove them off. So *Annibal* caught in his own trap, was glad to be gone, and march'd to raise the Siege of *Locri*, which Town *Cincius* had for some time batter'd furiously with abundance of Engines brought out of *Sicily*, inasmuch that *Mago* the Governour began to despair of defending the place, but his hopes were reviv'd, first by the news of *Marcellus*'s being kill'd, and especially by an Express, That *Annibal* having sent his *Numidian* Horse before, was in Person with the rest of his Army on their March to relieve him. Therefore alfoon as by a Sign from the Tops of the Hills he understood the *Numidians* were near hand, he flings open the Gate, and makes a desperate Sally on the Enemy, which caus'd for a while a doubtful Fight, because unexpected, and not that he was of equal strength; but alfoon as the *Numidians* too charged in

XXXI

Crispinus

in the Rear, the Romans were so scar'd, that they run in droves to the Sea and got aboard their Ships, abandoning their Works, and leaving behind them all their Engines of Battery and other Artillery: So by the approach of *Annibal*, *Locri* was set free.

XXXI.

*Crispinus* after he was advertiz'd that *Annibal* was return'd to the *Bruttians*, commanded *M. Marcellus* a Colonel to lead the Army, which his Collegue had commanded, towards *Venusia*; whilst he himself march'd his Legions to *Capua*, the pain of his Wounds being so grievous, that he could scarce endure the shaking of his Horse-litter. He sent Letters to *Rome* of the Death of his Collegue, and in what a dangerous condition he was himself, so that he could not repair to *Rome* to hold the Elections, both because he thought he should not be able to hold out so tedious a Journey, as likewise for that he was in pain for *Tarentum*, lest *Annibal* should bend his Forces thither out of the *Bruttians* Country; That it would be necessary to send him some discreet and experienced persons with whom he might consult concerning the Affairs of the State. The reading of these Letters caused great lamentation for the death of one Consul, and no less fear of losing the other. Therefore *Q. Fabius* the Son is dispatched to the Army at *Venusia*, and to the Consul were sent three Commissioners, *Sext. Julius Caesar*, *L. Licinius Pollio* and *L. Cnecius Alimentus* who was but just arriv'd from *Sicily*. They were to acquaint the Consul, That if he were not able to come to Town himself, he should within some part of the Roman Territories nominate a Dictator for holding the Elections. And that if he himself went to *Tarentum*, then the pleasure of the Senate was, That *Q. Claudius* the Prætor should march thence with his Legions into such part of the Country where he might defend most Cities of the Allies. The same Summer *M. Valerius* with a Navy of an hundred Sail, passed over from *Sicily* unto *Africk*, and landing near the City *Clupea*, wafted the Country a long way without any opposition; but retir'd in a hurry to their Ships, being advertiz'd that the *Carthaginian* Armado consisting of eighty three Ships, was making that way; with whom they engag'd not far from the said City *Clupea*, and took eighteen of them, and scatter'd the rest, and so with a mighty Booty obtain'd both at Sea and Land, return'd unto *Lilybæum*. Likewise this Summer King *Philip* assist'd the *Achaens* at their humble request, being oppress'd by *Machanidas* the Tyrant of *Lacedemonia*, and also by the *Ætolians*, who wafting an Army over the narrow Sea between *Naupactum* and *Patra* (which the Inhabitants call the *Rios*) wafted their Territories. There was also a Report, That *Attalus* King of the lesser *Asia* would make an Expedition into *Europe*, because the *Ætolians* in their last Diet had chosen him their Protector.

XXXII.

When therefore *Philip* made a descent into *Greece*, the *Ætolians* met him near *Lamia*, under the Conduct of *Pyrrhus*, who was that year created Prætor with King *Attalus*, because the latter was absent; but they had with them Auxiliaries from him, and almost a thousand from the Roman Fleet sent by *P. Sulpicius*; but *Philip* routed them in two several Battels, with great slaughter in each, so that they were glad to shelter themselves within the Walls of *Lamia*, whilst *Philip* retired unto *Phalera*, a Town in the Gulf of *Malea*, heretofore very populous for its excellent Haven, and safe Rodes near hand for Ships to ride in, and other advantages both by Sea and Land. To this place repaired Embassadors from *Ptolemy* King of *Egypt*, and from the *Rhodians*, *Athenians* and *Chians* as Mediators to take up the Differences between *Philip* and the *Ætolians*, and of nearer Neighbours there was *Aminander* Prince of the *Athamanians*: Not that any of these were so much concern'd altogether for the *Ætolians*, (a sort of People more fierce and imperious than the *Greeks* generally use to be) but to prevent *Philip* from intermeddling with the Affairs of *Greece*, which might prove of dangerous consequence to their Liberties hereafter. After some time spent, this Consult touching Peace was put off to the General Council of the *Achaens*, and a time and place appointed for holding the same; and in the mean time a Truce for thirty days obtained. The King marching thence through *Theffaly* and *Boetia*, came to *Chalcis* in *Eubœa*, that he might hinder and beat off King *Attalus* who was reported to be coming with a Fleet against that Province, leaving there a Guard to withstand *Attalus* (in case he should in the interim pass over) *Philip* with a small Party of Horse and light-arm'd Foot visited *Argos*, where by common Consent the Honour of celebrating the *Herean* and *Nemean* Games, was conferr'd upon him, because the Kings of *Macedonia* report themselves to be defended from that City. As soon as the first of these Sports were over, he immediately hastened to the said general Diet or Assembly long before proclaimed; where matters were fairly advanced for putting an end to the *Ætolian*, lest thereby the Romans or King *Attalus* should take occasion to invade *Greece*; but all was broken off by the *Ætolians* themselves before the Truce was quite expired, upon the News that both *Attalus* was come to *Ægina*, and the Roman Navy arrived at *Naupactum*: For being called into the Grand Council of the *Achaens* (where were present the same Mediators as at *Phalera*) they first complain'd, That in some particulars the Truce had been broken, and in fine told them flatly, That there could not possibly be an end of the Wars, unless the *Achaens* yielded up *Pilos* to the *Messenians*, and *Atintania* were restor'd to the Romans, and the *Ardyæians* to *Scerdiletus* and *Pleuratus*. *Philip* could not without indignation hear those he had conquer'd prescribing Laws and Conditions to their Conquerour, declaring, That for his part he never had any hopes of the *Ætolians*, and therefore did not on that score either admit of the Treaty for Peace, or grant a Cessation from

from War, but merely that he might have all those Princes and States witnesses that he was heartily inclinable to Peace, and they the only cause of the War. So without any Peace concluded he dismiss'd the Assembly, leaving the *Achaens* four thousand Souldiers for their Guard, and receiving from them five men of War, which if he could join with the *Carthaginian* Navy lately sent him, and those other Ships he expected out of *Bithynia* from King *Prusias*, he thought he might be able to engage the Romans who had long lorded it in those Seas. Himself presently from this Council returned to *Argos*, for now the time drew near of the other Sports call'd the *Nemean* Games, which he was willing to have celebrated in his presence.

The King being busy about his Plays, and diverting himself with more liberty than he ought to have done in a time of War, had intelligence, that *P. Sulpicius* the Roman Admiral; loosing from *Naupactum*, was landed between *Sicyone* and *Corinth*, waiting that goodly and most fruitful Country. This rouz'd King *Philip* from his sports, and taking with him his Cavalry (the Foot being order'd to follow) making long marches, he came unexpectedly upon the Foragers, as they were wandring in the Fields, and loaded with Pillage, and beat them back to their Ships; which Victory, though inconsiderable, serv'd to encrease the jollity of the rest of the Games, where *Philip* spent his time in all kind of Festival Delights, and for popularity laid aside his Crown, his purple Robes, and Royal Ornaments, and in habit equal'd himself to the rest of the people, than which nothing is more grateful to Free Cities; and thereby he had undoubtedly ingratiated himself very much, and given hopes of continuing their Liberties, if he had not spoil'd all again by his intollerable Debauchery and Lasciviousness; for he would ramble night and day, with one or two Companions, amongst blind naughty Houses by the Sea-side, and by putting himself in the garb of a private person, as he was the less taken notice of, so the more dissolute and extravagant he was; and whilst he pretended to others a vain shew of Liberty, turn'd all to his own licentiousness; nor did he purchase all his pleasures with gold, or perswade them with fair words, but often added force to his wickedness, so that it was dangerous for any Parent or Husband to go about to prevent or delay his Lust; From *Aratus*, a chief person amongst the *Achaens*, he took his Wife *Polycratia*, and in hopes of her being made a Queen, perswaded her to go with him into *Macedonia*; The solemn Games being spent in these Villanies, a few days after he march'd to *Dyme* to drive out the Garison of *Ætolians*, which the *Eleans* had call'd and received into that Town; there the *Achaens*, under the Conduct of *Cycliadas* their Chief Magistrate, met him, as hating both the *Eleans* because they did not join with the rest of the *Achaens*, and the *Ætolians* as believing that they excited the Romans against them. With these conjoin'd Forces, King *Philip* pass'd the River *Larissus*, that divides the *Eleans* from the *Dymeans* Territories.

The first day they entred upon the Enemies Confines they spent in Foraging; the next day they march in Battalia towards the City, sending before their Horse to make a Bravado before the Gates, and challenge the *Ætolians*, who are a sort of people ready enough for Excursions and Skirmishes. They had yet no intelligence that *Sulpicius* with fifteen Sail was cross'd over from *Naupactum* to *Cyllene*, where having landed four thousand men, in the night, that no notice might be taken of it, put them into *Elis*; Therefore when amongst the *Ætolians* and *Eleans* they beheld Roman Standards, that unexpected fight put them into a mighty Consternation; The King at first was for retreating, but seeing a Skirmish began between the *Ætolians* and *Trallans* (a sort of *Illyrians*) wherein his Party was shrewdly put to't, he with his Cavalry charg'd a Regiment of Romans, where his Horse being run through with a Javelin, threw the King head-long, which occasion'd a most furious Fight on each side, the Romans to attacque the King, and his own Souldiers to rescue him; nor was he less brave in his own defence, when getting up he was forc'd to fight on foot amidst whole Squadrons of Horse; but beginning to have the worst on't, and many falling round about him, some of his men mounted him on another Horse, and hurried away. That night he encamp'd five miles off from the City *Elis*, and next day drew all his Forces to a Country Town somewhat fortified (*Pyrgus* they call it) where he heard a great many Peasants had bestow'd their Cattel, hoping to secure them from Foragers; This rude and unarm'd multitude he overcame with the very terrour of his first approach, and that Booty serv'd to Ballance the disgrace he met with at *Elis*: As he was dividing the spoil (there were four thousand persons, and Cattel of all sorts to the number of twenty thousand) a Courier arrives from *Macedonia*, with news, That one *Eropus* by corrupting the Governour, had surprized the City *Lychnidus*, and several Villages of the *Dassaretians*, and endeavour'd to raise the *Dardanians* to join with him; Therefore postponing the *Achaic* and *Ætolian* War to that domestick mischief (yet leaving two thousand five hundred Souldiers of all sorts, under the Command of two Captains, *Menippus* and *Polyphanta*, to guard his Allies) he hastned from *Dyme* through *Achaia*, *Boetia*, and *Bebais*, in ten days march arriv'd at *Demetrias* in *Theffaly*. Where other Messengers brought tidings of a greater Insurrection, viz. That the *Dardanians* had in vast numbers invaded *Macedonia*, and were Masters of *Orestis*, and marching down into the Plains of *Ægeæum*; and that 'twas currently reported amongst the Barbarians, That King *Philip* was slain. The truth is, in that Expedition which

he made at *Sicyon* against those that spoil'd the Country, he was carried by his high-metled Horse under a Tree, and against an Arm thereof, broke off one Corner of the Crest of his Helmet, which being taken up by an *Ætolian*, and carried home to *Scerdeletus*, who knew by the mark that it was the Kings, this story of his death was thereupon divulged. After *Philip's* departure out of *Achaia*, *Sulpicius* arriving with his Navy at *Ægina*, join'd with *Atalms*; The *Acheans* not far from *Messene* fought with the *Ætolians* and *Eleans*, and worsted them; King *Atalms* and *P. Sulpicius* took up their Winter Quarters at *Ægina*.

XXXV. At the end of this year, *T. Quintius Crispinus* the Consul died of his Wounds, some say at *Tarentum*, others in *Campania*; having first nominated *L. Manlius Torquatus*, Dictator, for holding the Elections, and celebrating the solemn Games; The like never happen'd in any former War, that both the Consuls should be slain, and leave the Common-wealth as it were Fatherless, and yet no memorable Battle fought. The Dictator named for his Master of the Horse, *Cn. Servilius*, who was then *Ædile* of State. The Senate at their first meeting order'd the Dictator to exhibit the grand Roman Games, which *M. Æmilius* the City Prætor had represented when *C. Flaminius* and *Cn. Servilius* were Consuls, and vow'd again at five years end. The Dictator held them accordingly, and also vowed them for the five years following. But there being at present two Consular Armies so near the Enemy, both without Generals, the principal care that troubled both Senate and People, was with all speed to create Consuls, and such whose Vertue and Prudence might be secure against *Punic* Craft, since during this whole War, the over-hasty heads and hot Spirits of the Leaders had prov'd pernicious to the publick, and even this very year the Consuls by too much eagerness to fight the Enemy, had been most unexpectedly ruin'd; Howbeit the immortal Gods in pity to the Roman name, spar'd the innocent Armies, punishing the Consuls rashness, with the loss only of their own Lives.

XXXVI. The Fathers of the Senate casting their Eyes every way for fit Consuls, *C. Claudius Nero* appear'd the most likely man; but where to suit him with a Partner was the question? For though they knew him to be a gallant man, yet they thought he might be a degree too warm for this juncture and such an Enemy as *Annibal*, unless he were moderated by some discreet and wary Collegue. Now there was *M. Livius*, who many years ago, was condemned by the judgment of the people for what he had done in his Consulship, [viz. as having unjustly divided the *Illyrians* spoils] which disgrace he resent'd so heinously, that he withdrew into the Country, and for several years refrain'd not only the City, but all Company. In the eight year after this judgment given against him, the Consuls *M. Claudius Marcellus*, and *M. Valerius Lavinius*, brought him back to Town, but he appear'd in old threadbare Cloaths, the hair both of his head and beard grown long and neglected, shewing whereever he came how firmly he still retain'd the memory of that affront. The Censors *L. Veturius*, and *P. Licinius* enjoin'd him to trim himself, and lay by that odd slovenly Apparel, to make his appearance in the Senate, and discharge publick Duties like other persons of his quality; but even when any debate happen'd, he either gave his Vote in a single Ay or No, or if the House were divided, went over to which Party he lik'd, and testified his mind by his silence, till lately the cause of his Kinsman, *M. Livius Macarius*, when his honour was brought in question about the loss of *Tarentum*, prevail'd with him to stand up and deliver his mind in the Senate in a notable Discourse; which affected all that heard it so much the more, because 'twas after so long a discontinuance, and occasion'd them to speak of the unhandsome usage he had receiv'd from the people, and the damage the publick had sustain'd by losing the service of so worthy a man so long, both in the Field and the Senate, during this dangerous and tedious War; That neither *Q. Fabius*, nor *M. Valerius Lavinius* could be join'd with *C. Nero*, because 'twas not lawful to chuse both *Patricians*; The same obstacle lay against *T. Manlius*, and besides he had already once refused, and would again decline it if offer'd, but *M. Livius* and *C. Claudius* would make a most excellent pair of Consuls. Nor did the people when the Fathers put him in nomination, seem unwilling to chuse him. The only man in all the City that oppos'd the conferring that honour upon him was himself; Saying, That this would be the most scandalous argument of levity and inconstancy that the City could be reproach'd with; To take no pity of his misery, when he went in mourning under the sense of an unjust accusation, and now against his will to cloath him in a glittering white Garment, that he may put in for the Consulship; to brand and advance one and the same person, and at once inflict punishments and confer honours on him; If they judge him a good man, why did they condemn him as a Criminal and a Villain? If they have found him tardy, why should they entrust him with a second Consulship who manag'd his first so lewdly? Whilst thus he argued and complain'd, the Fathers reprov'd him, and bid him recollect, Was not *M. Furius* recall'd from banishment? and did not he restore his Country to her former dignity, who had disgracefully spew'd him out? The harshness of a mans Country, like that of his Parents, is only to be adduc'd and mitigated by Patience and a modest submission; In fine, they prevail'd, and with one Voice, chuse him and *C. Claudius* Consuls.

XXXVII. Three days after the Court for Prætors was held, and those created were *L. Porcius Licinius*, *C. Mamilius*, and the two *Hostilii Catones*, *Aulus* and *Caius*. The Playes done, and Elections finish'd, the Dictator and Master of the Horse resign'd their Offices. *C. Terentius Varro*

*Varro* was sent into *Tuscany*, that *C. Hostilius* might go out of that Province to *Tarentum*, to command that Army which formerly belong'd to *T. Quintius* the Consul. And *T. Manlius* to go over into *Greece*, as Embassadour to observe how affairs went; the rather because this Summer the *Olympian Games* were to be celebrated, where would be a resort from all parts of *Greece*, at which, if he might with safety, they would have him present, that if he could light upon any *Sicilians* who were fled their Country, or any *Tarentines* banisht by *Annibal*, he should perswade them to return home, assuring them that the Romans would restore to them whatever Estates they had before these Wars began. This being like to prove a most dangerous year, and no Consuls in being, all mens Eyes were fixt on the Consuls Elect, when they would divide the Provinces, and assign every one his Charge. The Senate upon the motion of *Q. Fabius Maximus*, was pleas'd to undertake their reconciliation in the first place, for heretofore there had been notable Feuds between them, which the Calamity that beset *Livius* rendred more bitter and inveterate, as thinking the other on that account condemn'd him; Therefore he seem'd the more implacable of the two, and said, There was no need of a reconciliation, for they would both act the more vigorously for the publick upon emulation, each knowing that by any default, he shall but augment the glory of his Rival Collegue; yet the Authority of the Fathers prevail'd with them to bury their private animosities, and with common advice and united affections, administer the affairs of the publick. Their Provinces were not intermingled as in former years, but distant on the extreme Frontiers of *Italy*; one against *Annibal* amongst the *Bruttians* and *Lucans*; The other in *Gaul* against *Asdrubal*, who by report was already advanc'd near the *Alps*. He whose Lot it should be to have *Gaul*, was to take his choice which he would have of those two Armies in *Gaul* or *Tuscany*, to which the old City Forces should be added. He that went to the *Bruttians* should take which of the two late Consuls Armies he pleas'd, together with the new City Levies, and that Army which the Consul refused, *Q. Fulvius* the Pro-Consul should receive, and command for a year; *C. Hostilius* lately removed out of *Tuscany* to *Tarentum*; they ordered to shift again, and go to *Capua*, with one Legion, the same that *Fulvius* commanded last year.

The fear of *Asdrubal's* coming into *Italy* daily increased. First, Ambassadors from *Mar-* XXXVIII  
*seilles* brought word, That he was got into France, and that the people there were mighty glad of his coming, because 'twas said he had brought abundance of Gold with him, to hire Auxiliaries amongst them. Whereupon Agents were sent thither from *Rome* to find out the truth, viz. *S. Antistius*, and *M. Retius*, who at their Return, gave an account, That they sent out some Spies with Guides from *Marseilles*, to enquire concerning the premisses of the chief men of France; and that it was most certain, *Asdrubal*, who had already levied a vast Army, would early next Spring pass the *Alps*, and that nothing staid him at present but those Mountains being unpassable because of the Winter-Season. *L. Aquilius Pætus* was created and consecrated Augur, in the room of *M. Marcellus*, and *Cn. Cornelius Dolabella* King of the Sacrificers, instead of *M. Mercius*, who dyed two years ago. Also the City was solemnly purged, and a general survey taken by the Consors, *P. Sempronius Tuditanus*, and *M. Cornelius Cethegus*, there being found a hundred thirty seven thousand one hundred and eight Citizens, a number less by a pretty deal than before the War. This was the first Year, since *Annibal's* coming into *Italy*, that the Comitium [or place of the general Assembly] was covered over head, and the Roman Games once renewed by *Q. Metellus* and *C. Servilius* *Ædiles* of State; as also the Plebeian sports held for two days by their *Ædiles*, *Q. Mamilius*, and *M. Cecilius Metellus*, who likewise offered and set up three Statues in the Temple of *Ceres*; with a solemn Feast in honour of *Jupiter*, at those Games. Now *C. Claudius Nero*, and *M. Livius*, the second time enter upon the Consulship, who having before parted their own Provinces, commanded the Prætors to cast Lots for theirs: The City Jurisdiction fell to *C. Hostilius*, who had also that over the Foreigners, to the end the other three might be spared to go into the Provinces; *A. Hostilius* to *Sardinia*; *C. Manlius* to *Sardinia*; and *L. Porcius* to *Gaul*. In all, three and twenty Legions were to be employed, two under each Consul, four in *Spain*, the three last-mentioned Prætors two a-piece, two with *C. Terentius* in *Tuscany*, two with *Q. Fulvius* amongst the *Bruttians*, two to *Q. Claudius* about *Tarentum*, and the *Salentines* Country; one at *Capua* under *C. Hostilius Tubulus*, and two new ones to be levied for the Guard of the City. For the first four Legions the people chose Colonels, in the rest the Consuls nominated them.

Before the Consuls set out, there were Sacrifices offered for nine days together, because at XXXIX:  
*Vei* it had rained Stones; and, as it falls out, when one Prodigy is mentioned, others are presently told, it was reported, That at *Minturnæ* the Temple of *Jupiter* and *Marica's* Grove, at *Atellæ* the Wall and Gate, were all sing'd with Lightning; and that at *Capua* a Wolf by Night came in at the Portal, and worried one of the Watchmen. By Order from the Pontiffs, these Prodigies were expiated with the greater Sacrifices, and one days Supplication. After which, there was another Novendial Sacrifice, because in the place call'd the *Arministrum*, it seem'd to rain Stones. But mens minds were no sooner pacified with these Religious Rites, but they were terrified anew with an Infant born at *Frusino* as big as an ordinary Child of four years old, and, to encrease the Miracle, they could not distinguish of what Sex it was, like that two years before at *Sinnessa*: The Wizards sent for out



of *Tuscany* affirm'd this, above all the rest, to be a foul and untoward Prodigy, advising, That it should forthwith be carried out of the Roman Territories, without touching the Ground, and so drowned in the Deep: Accordingly, they put it in a Coffin; and when they had carried it forth a good way on the Sea, flung it in. The Pontiffs made a Decree, That three Sets of Virgins, nine in each Company, should go through the City, as in Procession, singing certain sacred Songs to be learnt in the Temple of *Jupiter Stator*, composed by *Livius* the Poet. The Temple of *Juno* the Queen on the *Aventine* Hill being strucken with Lightning, the Soothsayers declared, That the same concerned the Matrons of the City, and that the Goddess must be appeased with an Offering: All the good Dames that had Houses in the City, or ten Miles round, were summoned into the Capitol by the *Ædiles* of the Chair, where amongst themselves they chose out a Committee of twenty five, into whose hands all the rest should deposite some small part of their Dowry; of which was made a fair large Golden Basin, and offered to *Juno* on Mount *Aventine*, and withal they sacrificed to her with wonderful Devotion. Soon after the Decemvirs ordered another solemn Sacrifice to the same Goddess, the formality whereof was thus: There were two white Heifers led from *Apollo's* Temple into the City, through the Gate *Carmentalis*; next were carried two Images made of Cypress-Wood, representing Queen *Juno*; then the seven and twenty Virgins in long Robes went singing in her praise, the Verses perhaps applauded by the gross Wits of that Time, but now if we should recite them, they would be thought sorry ridiculous Stuff: after these Lassies followed the Decemvirs with Chaplets of Laurel, and in Vestures embroidered with Purple, from the Gate aforesaid along the Street *Ingarinus* into the Common Hall, where the Pomp staid, whilst the Maids, taking hold of a Cord that went through all their hands, sung another Song, and kept time with feet, dancing very curiously; thence they marched by the *Tuscan* Street and *Felabrum* through the Beast-Market, and so forwards to the *Clivus Publicus*, till they came to *Juno's* Temple, where the two Heifers were sacrificed by the Decemvirs, and the Cypress Images set up in the Chapel.

XL. Having thus made the Gods and Goddesses their Friends, the Consuls made a more strict Levy for Souldiers than had been known in the memory of man; for the terror of the War was redoubled by the approach of a new Enemy into *Italy*, and there were fewer men fit for Service to be found, so they were forced to require the Colonies on the Sea-Coast, who pretended to be exempted from the Militia by a Sacred Constitution, to bear Arms: And such as refused, they summoned at a certain day to shew the Senate their Privilege, where appeared the Deputies of these Towns following, *Ostia*, *Allia*, *Antium*, *Anxur*, *Minturne*, *Sinuessæ*, and from the upper Sea, those of *Sena*; but having all pleaded what they could, there were none found to have any Right to be dispensed with when an Enemy was actually in *Italy*, but those of *Antium* and *Ostia*; so the young and serviceable men of those Colonies were sworn, That not above forty of them should at any time lye all night out of the Walls of their Colony, so long as the Enemy continued in *Italy*. When all the Fathers were of Opinion, That the Consuls ought with all expedition take the Field (for 'twas fit to oppose *Annibal* as soon as he came down the *Alps*, that he might not inveigle the *Cisalpine Gauls* and *Tuscans*, apt enough to rebel; and *Annibal* was by himself to be held in play, that he might not get out of the *Bruttians* Country, and march towards his Brother) yet *Livius* still made delays, not confiding in the Armies of his Provinces, whilst his Colleague had his Choice of two excellent Consular Armies, and a third no whit behind them, commanded by *Q. Claudius* at *Tarentum*; Therefore he made a motion for calling the Volunteers, that had been Slaves, again to their Colours. The Senate gave ample Commission to raise Recruits where they would, and to chuse or change any of the Armies, and to draw out any from the Provinces as they found most expedient for the Commonweal. All which was done and settled by them with the greatest concord and mutual satisfaction. The Volunteers were added to the nineteenth and twentieth Legions; stout Assistance was sent from *Spain* by *Scipio* to this War, as some Authors write, no less than eight thousand *Spaniards* and *French*, two thousand Legionary Souldiers and eighteen hundred Horse, partly *Numidians*, and partly *Spaniards*, and that *M. Lucretius* brought over these Forces; as likewise that *C. Mammius* sent four thousand Archers and Slingers out of *Sicily*.

XLI. Letters out of *Gallia* from *L. Porcius* the Prætor augmented their fears at *Rome*, signifying, That *Asdrubal* had quitted his Winter-Quarters, and already passing the *Alps*; That there were eight thousand *Ligurians* listed and arm'd who would join him as soon as he came into *Italy*, unless some Forces were sent into that Province to busie them at home; That for his own part he had but a weak Army, but would venture as far as he might with safety. These Advertisements caused the Consuls (having in great haste dispatch'd their Musters) to set forwards to their Provinces sooner than they intended, to the end each of them might detain the Enemy in his Province, and not suffer them to join. But that which most promoted such their design, happen'd to be a mistaken Opinion *Annibal* himself had entertain'd. For though he doubted not but his Brother would that Summer arrive in *Italy*, yet considering what difficulties he himself met with, and how he spent five months, what in getting over the *Rhône* passing the *Alps*, and fighting with several of the Inhabitants, by the way, he did not believe nor expect that he could come so early, which made him continue

continue the longer in his Winter-Quarters; but *Asdrubal* in his March found all things more easie and expeditious than he himself or others could hope for; for the *Averni*, and, by their Example, other Nations both of *France*, and about the *Alps*, not only entertain'd him readily, but followed him to the War. Besides, as he conducted his Army through the same passages which were prepared and made open by his Brother's March, and were before craggy Precipices and unpassable; so in the twelve years time since by continual travelling of some or other that way, both the Roads were now much better track'd, and the Nature of the Peasants rendred more civil and sociable. For the people before being not used to Strangers, nor having ever seen Passengers amongst them, were in a manner meer Savages; and not knowing at first whither *Annibal* was bound, they fancied that he came to surprize their Fortresses and Caves, and take Captive their people, and drive away their Cattel in Booties, and so opposed him all they could. But now the Fame of the *Punic* War (wherewith *Italy* hath twelve whole years been harassed, and as it were all in a Flame) had taught them, That their *Alps* were only visited as a Thorough-fare; That two mighty Cities divided by Seas and large tracts of Land lying between them, were vying with one another for Riches and Empire. These were the Reasons that open'd the *Alps* to *Asdrubal*. But look what time he gain'd by his speedy March, the same he lost again in vain at *Placentia*, whilst he rather lay to block it up, than assault it. He imagined the winning of such a City standing in a plain open Country would prove no difficult task, and the famousness of the place induced him to believe, that by the destruction thereof he should strike a terror into all the rest. Nor did he by that Siege only hinder himself, but detain'd *Annibal* too, who before on the first News of his being so unexpectedly got over the *Alps*, was in all haste going to take the Field, which (after he understood he was fat down before *Placentia*) he delay'd to do, as knowing what tedious work Sieges commonly prove, and how vainly he himself attempted the same Colony when he return'd victorious from *Trebia*.

The Consuls marching out of the City several ways, as if they had gone to two distinct Wars, distracted mens minds with various cares; Sometimes they revolved on the various Losses and Overthrows they received at *Annibal's* first coming into *Italy*; sometimes they were troubled to imagine, what Gods they could hope would be so propitious to their City and Empire, as that at one and the same time all their Actions every where should prosper, and give them success both at home and abroad; That hitherto their State had been supported by vicissitudes of good and ill Fortune in distinct places, whilst it seemed precipitating into ruine in *Italy* at *Thrasymenus* and *Cannæ*, Victories in *Spain* buoy'd up her Spirits. Afterwards when in *Spain* Overthrows came thick one on the neck of another, and shockt her with the loss of two most excellent Generals and two Armies almost at once, successes in *Italy* and *Sicily* supported the drooping Head of the Republick; and the interval of place, when one of the Wars was always so remote, gave opportunity to respire and recover themselves. But now here were two Tragedies to be acted at once on one and the same Stage; Two distinct and terrible Wars entertain'd in the Bowels of *Italy*, two of the most renowned Captains in the World inclose between them the City of *Rome* with their dreadful Arms, and the whole bulk of the War contracted to one place, the whole burden laid on one shoulder. For no doubt, which soever of these Generals shall get a Victory, he will in an instant join Forces with the other. Nor did the sad remembrance of the last years Funerals, wherein two Consuls were swept away at one Stake, a little terrifie the people. And with these perplexed melancholy thoughts they accompanied their present Consuls going to their several Provinces. It is also found in some Records, that *Livius* parted with such resentments against his Fellow-Citizens, that when *Fabius*, as his last Advice, besought him that he would not rashly hazard a Battel with the Enemy, before he were very well acquainted with his Nature, he should with some emotion declare, That as soon as he could get sight of the Enemy, he would fight him. And being ask'd the reason of so much haste? should reply, Because either by a Victory over the Enemy I shall gain immortal Honour, or by the Overthrow of my ungrateful Country-men acquire some satisfaction to my self, if not altogether honest and commendable, yet at least such as they have deserv'd at my hands; before *Claudius* the Consul was come into his Province, *C. Hostilius Tubulus*, with some Regiments lightly appointed, fell upon *Annibal* as he pass'd through the farther Borders of *Larinum*, towards the *Salentines*, and charging upon his Army, whilst they were in the disorders of a march, slew four thousand of them, and took nine Colours. *Q. Claudius* who had Garrisons all up and down the *Salentines* Country, upon advice of the Enemies advance that way, drew out to meet them; but *Annibal* to avoid engaging with two Armies at once, dislodges by night out of the Territories of *Tarentum*, and retires amongst the *Bruttians*, and *Claudius* back to his *Salentines*. *Hostilius* in the way to *Capua* meets the Consul *Claudius* near *Venusia*, where out of both Armies were selected forty thousand Foot, and two thousand five hundred Horse, which the Consul intended to employ against *Annibal*, the rest *Hostilius* was order'd to lead to *Capua*, and deliver up to *Q. Fulvius* the Proconsul.

*Annibal* having drawn together all the Forces he had either in Winter-Quarters, or the *Bruttian* Garrisons, comes to *Grumentum* in *Lucania*, hoping to recover those Towns that had for fear revolted to the Romans. The Roman Consul having his Scouts abroad, tends the

the same way, and encamps not above a mile and an half off. The Enemies inmost Works seemed almost joined to the Walls of that Town, and between their formost Rampier and the Roman Camp was not above half a Mile, which space was a Plain, but overlook'd by a Ridge of bare open Hills that run along on the left hand of the Carthaginians, and on the Romans Right, not suspected by either Party, because there were no Woods nor any Holes to conceal an Ambuscade; several Shirmishes happen'd between small Parties, but none worth mentioning. The Romans only drift was to keep the Enemy there, and Annibal was as willing to be gone, yet for shew, drew out into the Field in Battalia with all the strength he could make. The Consul had borrowed a little of the Enemies Craft; for since in those open Hills there was less fear of Ambuscade, he thought fit so much the rather to lay one, ordering five Regiments of Foot and as many Troops of Horse to get over those Hills by night, and lye close in the Vallies behind, instructing *T. Claudius Asellus* a Colonel, and *P. Claudius* a Prefect of the Allies, who had the Leading of them, both as to the time and manner of their shewing themselves and attacking the Enemy, himself as soon as it was light had drawn all his Forces, Horse and Foot, into the Field. Nor was it long before Annibal likewise gave the Signal of Battel, and great shouts were made in his Camp by the Souldiers running to their Arms. The Horse and the Foot promiscuously hurried out at the Ports, and in scattering Troops hastened towards the Enemy, whom when the Consul saw in this disorder, he commanded *C. Aurunculeius* a Tribune of the third Legion, that he should with that Legions Cavalry charge them as furiously as might be: For whilst they were thus like sheep spread in tumultuary heaps over the Plain, they might easily be surprized and routed before ever they could be brought into Array.

XLIV. Hannibal himself was not yet got out of the Camp, when he heard the Clamours of some of his men that were fighting; this quickned his march with the rest of his Forces towards the Enemy; The formost were already terrified with the Horse, and now the Romans first Legion and Right Wing of Cavalry were coming up to charge them. The Carthaginians disorder'd as they were, fought at a venture, as each Company happen'd first to meet either Horse or Foot. The conflict grew hotter by fresh Supplies still coming up, and increased by the numbers that continually rush'd out (like Bees in swarms) to fight, and undoubtedly in all that hurry, Annibal had reduced his men to order and a regular Form of Battalia, (no easy matter to do, unless where the Leader is very skillful, and the Souldiers experienc'd and well disciplin'd) if it had not been for the shout of the before mentioned Troops, which they heard at their backs, as they came running down the Hills upon them. Then they grew afraid in earnest lest they should be hemm'd in and shut out from their Camp, to which they fled as fast as they could, and being so near, the slaughter was the less, yet the Horse charging all the way upon their Rear, and the other Party running easily down Hill, and doing great Execution on their Flank, there were in all cut off above eight thousand men, more than seven hundred taken, nine Standards won, and of their Elephants (which could do no service in this sudden tumultuary Engagement) four kill'd and two taken. Of the Romans and their Allies were slain two hundred. The next day the Carthaginians kept close; the Romans drew up again in the Field, but seeing no body come to oppose them, fell to rifle and strip the Bodies of the Enemy, and gathering their own dead together, buried them; Afterwards for several dayes together they would brave the Enemy up to their very Gates, as if they would with Banners display'd, have march'd into their Camp; till one night about the third Watch, Annibal leaving behind him a great many Fires, and some few Tents standing in that part next the Romans, and a few Numidians to shew themselves at the Gates and on the Rampier, march'd off his Army, designing for *Apulia*; when it grew day the Roman Army came up near their Works, as they us'd to do, and the Numidians as they were ordered, shew'd themselves, and having so for a good while cheated the Enemy, on a sudden retire, and out of a back Port, follow full speed after their Fellows; The Consul finding their Camp so still, and that even those few he saw in the Morning did now disappear, sending first two Troopers to discover how the case stood, and they bringing word, that all was safe, march'd into their Camp with his Army, but staid no longer than whilst the Souldiers ranlackt it, then sounded a Retreat, and long before night return'd to his own Camp; next Morning by break of day, following the Enemy by the track and report of the Country, making swift and large marches, came up with them not far from *Venusia*; there too, they had a scuffling Skirmish, and above two thousand Carthaginians slain, who afterwards marching only by night and cross the Mountains to avoid fighting, went to *Metapont*; whence he sent *Hanno* the Governour of that City with a small Party to levy Forces amongst the *Bruttians*, and having thereby, and with Forces out of that Garrison recruited his Army, returns to *Venusia* the same way he went, and from thence to *Cannusium*. Nero fail'd not all this while to dog him at heels, and as he march'd toward *Metapont*, had sent for *Q. Fulvius* to repair into the *Lucans* Country, that those parts might be without a Guard.

XLV. Whilst this was doing, four French Troopers and two Numidians, sent to Annibal with Letters from *Asdrubal*, after he was dislodg'd from the ineffectual Siege of *Placentia*, travelling through the midst of Enemies almost the whole length of *Italy*, as they were following

lowing Annibal in his Retreat from *Metapont*, miss'd their way, and lighted upon *Tarentum*, where by the Roman Foragers ranging in the Fields, they were taken and brought before *Q. Claudius* the Proprætor; whom first they entertain'd with slim flams and intricate Answers, but being brought to the Rack, confess'd, That they were carrying Letters from *Asdrubal* to Annibal; with which Letters, sealed as they were, he sent them under the Guard of *L. Virginus* and two Troops of Samnite Horse, unto the Consul *Claudius*; who having caused the Letters to be read, and the Bearers examined, began to think with himself, That this was not a time wherein the ordinary methods of Conduct, and each mans asking precisely in his own Province, and with one certain Enemy, would be for the service of the Commonwealth, That some new unthought of, unprovided against Exploit was boldly to be attempted, which when first undertook should startle and affright his own Citizens no less than the Enemy, but being once happily achiev'd, would turn their fears into excessive transports of joy. Sending *Asdrubals* Letters to the Senate, he by the same Express, acquaints them what he was resolv'd to do, and withal advises them, That since *Asdrubal* writes to his Brother to meet him in *Umbria*, and with that City-Army oppose the Enemy at *Narnia*. Having wrote thus to the Senate, and sent Orders before through the Territories of the *Larinates*, *Marrucines*, *Frentanes* and *Præutians* (which was the way he intended to march) that they should out of their Towns and the Country round, provide Victuals, Horses, Carts, and all other accommodations, and have them in readines; he out of all his Forces, both Romans and Allies, picks out six thousand Foot, and a thousand Horse, the very flower and strength of the whole Army, and he came at in the *Lucans* Country; so setting out by night, he wheel'd about into *Picenum*, and with all the speed imaginable, marches directly towards his Colleague, having left the Command of his Camp to *Q. Cælius* his Lieutenant.

In the mean time they at *Rome* were in no less fear and bustle, than they were two years ago, when the Carthaginian Camp lay before their Walls. Nor could they tell what to make of this odd and bold Adventure of the Consul, whether they should praise or condemn it, so that it was plain they would measure and esteem of it by the Event, which is the unjustest thing in the World. But thus they whisper'd, That the Camp depriv'd of all its most gallant men, was left as it were in the Jaws of Annibal, without a General; That the Consul pretending an Expedition into the *Lucans* Country, was indeed gone they knew not whether towards *Picenum* and *Gallia*, leaving his Camp no other security in the World, but the Enemies mistake, and not knowing that the General and best part of the Army were absent. But what will be the consequence if this be discover'd? And Annibal shall with his whole Army follow *Nero*, who is gone out but with six thousand Souldiers? or shall assault the Camp left as it were a prey, without strength, without Conduct, and without any body that had power to take the Auspices [without which they were not to fight or attempt any matter of moment, and the same could only be done by some Chief Magistrate.] The old defeats receiv'd in this War, the fresh remembrance of two Consuls slain but last year, increased peoples fears, and so much the more, because when all those disasters happen'd, the Enemy had but one Army, one General in *Italy*, but now of one Carthaginian War there are become two, two vast Armies, and as good as two Annibals in *Italy*; For *Asdrubal* was the Son of the same Father *Amilcar*, and every way as grand a Captain, having for so many years together been us'd to fight with the Romans in *Spain*, and famous for two Signal Victories, wherein two whole Armies, with their most renowned Generals, were cut to pieces. Nay in some respects he may be said to be superiour to Annibal; for the speed of his Journey out of *Spain*, and raising the people of *France* to assist him, he may boast that he hath exceeded his Brother, having rais'd an Army in those very places where the other lost the greater part of his Souldiers with hunger and cold, than which there is no kind of death more miserable; To all this, they that were skill'd in the affairs of *Spain*, added, That he had not now to deal with an unknown General, but with *C. Nero*, the very same *Nero* whom he bubbled and made a very Baby of heretofore, when being by chance beset in a place of disadvantage he fool'd him with a pretence of making Articles of Peace, till he had privately got away his Army; To conclude, in all the Discourses at *Rome*, they magnified every thing on the Enemies part beyond truth, and as much too much lessen'd their own, the natural effect of their fear, which evermore interprets all things for the worst.

Nero being got so far off Annibal, and forwards on his way, that he thought he might with safety divulge his design, makes this short Speech to his Souldiers, Never did any General venture upon an Enterprize that could seem more bold and dangerous, than this of mine, and yet in truth there is nothing more safe; I lead you, Gentlemen! to certain and assured Victory, even to that War, which my Fellow Consul manages, and did not set forwards unto, until he was furnish'd by the Senate with Forces both Horse and Foot to his own hearts content, more in number and better provided than if he had gone against Annibal himself; now you bringing so considerable an addition of strength, must needs, altogether, over-power the Enemy; for when 'tis heard when we draw out into the Field (for I'll take care it shall not be known before) that the other Consul, and the other Army is come in, it must undoubtedly give us a Victory; Fame and reputation are all in all in War, and small matters many times do wonders by making impressions on mens passions of hope or fear. The whole

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whole Glory almost of the Success will fall to your share; for 'tis always seen, that any assistance that comes in last, though never so small, is thought to have influenced the whole Action, and that without them it had not succeeded. And you see with what concurrence, admiration, and affectionate favour all people do entertain and regard you by the way, an assured good Omen to our present Expedition. And indeed vast multitudes both of men and women flock'd every way out of the Fields and Villages to behold them, and ran along between their Ranks and Files, at once making Vows for their Success, and praying for, and applauding them, calling them, the Life-guard of the Commonwealth, the brave Defenders of Rome and its Empire, in whose hands and arms were repositd the Safety and Liberties of them and their Children; and therefore they besought all the Gods and Goddesses to give them a lucky March, a prosperous Battel, and a timely Victory over their Enemies, that themselves might quickly be obliged to pay their Vows, and that as now they followed them with minds solicitous for their safety, they might in few days come forth to meet them with joyful hearts as they returned in Triumph for their Victory: Then would every one invite, offer, and importunately beg of them to accept of him rather than any body else, what they need for themselves or their Horses, as being ready most frankly to part with any thing to those that must defend and preserve every thing they had. On the other side, the Souldiers were as modest as they were liberal, would take nothing but what was absolutely necessary. Nor would they stay a jot with any, nor flinch from their Colours, but eat their Victuals as they went, and march'd night and day, allowing themselves scarce so much sleep as would support Nature. When they drew somewhat near the other Army, Nero sent Messengers before to his Colleague to acquaint him of his coming, and to know whether he would have them come openly or privately, by day or by night, and whether into his Camp, or quarter by themselves?

XLVIII. *Livius* thought it most convenient, that they should come privately by night up to his Camp, where he had given a Watch-word and Command, That every Colonel should take a Colonel into his Tent, every Centurion a Centurion, each Cavalier a Horseman, and so of the Foot; for by no means would they have the Camp enlarged, that the Enemy might not perceive the other Consuls Arrival, and they could make the better shift to pig in one with another in this strait compass, because *Claudius's* Army had little Baggage, bringing with them in this Expedition, nothing almost but their Arms. But in their March their number was considerably increased by Volunteers, both old Souldiers that had served out their ten years in the Wars, and so had been discharged, and lusty Youths of whom multitudes offered themselves, but he would list none but such as were of strong bodies and like to do good Service. The place where *Livius* lay encamped was near *Sena*, and *Asdrubal's* Tents not much above half a mile off; therefore *Nero* being now pretty near rested, and lay close till night in the Mountains, and then with great silence came and were kindly received and welcom'd every one into the Tents of those of his own Rank and Quality. The next day a Council of War was held, where also was present *L. Porcius Licinus* the Prætor, who lay encamped hard by the Consul, and before their coming, what by seizing of Passes, and what by frequent Skirmishes, and falling sometimes on the Enemies Rear, and by and by goring them in the Flanks, had done very good Service. Many of the Commanders were of opinion to put off a Battel for a while as well that *Nero* might rest and refresh his men, who were wearied with so tedious a March, and want of sleep, as that himself might in the mean time be better acquainted with the Nature of the Enemy. But *Nero* not only advised, but with all earnestness intreated, That since the celerity of his March had made his design safe and easie, they would not by delays render it rash and dangerous: at present *Annibal*, by reason of his mistake (which yet they must not think would always continue) lay secure and quiet without either attempting his Camp, which he had left without a General, or offering to follow him; and before he should stir, *Asdrubal's* Army might be cut to pieces, and he himself be returned into *Apulia*; whoever by deferring, gives the Enemies respite, does as much as in him lies, betray that Camp to *Annibal*, and open him a way to come into *Gallia* at his pleasure and join *Asdrubal*: Therefore presently the Signal must be, the Army immediately drawn into the Field, and use made of this mistake of the Enemies as well absent as present, whilst they neither know that they have to do with fewer; nor these, that they are to encounter more than formerly. These Reasons prevailed, the Council broke up, and presently they draw out into the Field.

XLIX. The Enemy likewise were quickly ranged in good Order before their Camp, but that which delay'd the Battel, was that *Asdrubal* advancing with a small Party of Horse before the Ensigns, to take a view of the Enemy, happen'd to observe amongst them a great many old Targets which he had never seen before, and Horses more lank and lean than formerly, besides they seem'd to be more in number. Hereupon suspecting, that which was indeed, in haste he sounds a Retreat, and sent out some to the River where they had their water, to see if they could catch any of them, or at least to take notice, whether they were swarthy and Sun-burnt more than ordinary, as having been travelling lately. Likewise he order'd a View to be taken at a distance of their Camp, whether the Rampier were any where enlarged, and to listen attentively whether they could hear one or two Trumpets sound in their Camp; who bringing back an Account of all these Circumstances, the Camps not being enlarged, was a thing that continued their mistake. For they were still but two, just as they were

were formerly, one of *M. Livius*, the other of *L. Porcius*, and the Rampiers or Trenches of either not set out one jot further in any place. But that which sway'd most with *Asdrubal*, as being an ancient experienced General, and well acquainted with the Roman Customs, one Trumpet in the Prætors Camp, but two in the Consuls: whence he concluded, That undoubtedly both Consuls were there, but how the other of them should get away from *Annibal*, sorely troubled his mind, for he could not imagine that which was the truth of the Case, viz. That *Annibal* should be trickt in a matter of such moment, as to be ignorant what was become of that General, and that Army, whose Camp was held within view of his own; Therefore he concluded, That he must by some unusual and mighty overthrow be disabled to follow him; and was greatly afraid that himself was come with help too late when their affairs were grown desperate; and that the Romans were courted by the same good Fortune in *Italy* as in *Spain*; and sometimes again, he thought his Letters might not come to his Brothers hands, but that the Consul might intercept them, and so halt to prevent, and cut him off by the way. Not a little perplext with these various thoughts, he puts out all the Fires, and commanded all his Souldiers, without noise, to get together their Baggage and be ready to march, on a Signal given, at the first Watch; But in that consternation and hurry in the dark, two Fellows whom they had for their Guides, being not carefully lookt after, gave them the slip, one running into a lurking hole, which he had a good while had in his Eye, the other being well acquainted with the shallows of the River *Metaurus* waded over, so that the Army deserted by their Guides was forc'd to march at random through the Fields, and divers of them weary and sleepy with watching, laid them down here and there, and left their Colours with very few Souldiers about them; *Asdrubal* commanded them to follow the River and march on its Banks till the day should shew them the Road; but going thus by the windings and turnings of the stream they ridded but little ground, and when in the morning they endeavour'd to get over, they could find no place convenient, for the further they went upwards off from the Sea, the higher were the Banks, which straitning the River made it deeper though narrower than it was lower, so that spending all the day thus unfortunately he gave the Enemy opportunity to pursue him.

First *Nero* with all the Cavalry came up, then *Porcius* with the Light arm'd Foot, who on all sides playing upon *Asdrubal's* Forces, already weary and disheartned, oblig'd them to quit their march, which was no better than a Chace, and to endeavour to encamp themselves on an high Bank just by the River side; but then *Livius* was come up with all the rest of the Infantry, not in the usual posture of a march, but ready arm'd and in good order; when they were all join'd and arrang'd in Battalia, *Claudius* had charge of the Right Wing, *Livy* of the Left, and the Prætor of the main Battel. *Asdrubal* seeing there was no avoiding but fight he must, left off fortifying the place for a Camp, and put himself in order as fast as they; in the middle of his Front and before the Standards he plac'd his Elephants, next them in the left Wing were his French men to oppose *Claudius*, not that he trusted so much to them as that he thought the Enemy would be afraid of them, himself in person on the Right Wing with a body of Spaniards (in whom, and his old Souldiers, he reposed his greatest hopes) resolv'd to confront *Livius*; the Ligurians were behind the Elephants in the middle, but the Battel was rather drawn out in length than breadth: The French men were defended by an Hill that bore out over them. The Spaniards Front was over against the Romans left Wing, and all the right hand Battalions were as it were out of the Battel and did nothing, for by reason of the Hill they could neither a Front, nor a Flank charge the Enemy; Between *Livius* and *Asdrubal* was begun a mighty Conflict with great and dreadful slaughter on each side; There were the two Generals, there the best part of the Romans Foot and Horse, there were the Spaniards experienc'd Souldiers, and wonted to cope with the Romans, and there too were the Ligurians, an hardy and Warlike people; thither too the Elephants were turn'd, who at first disorder'd the Front, and made the Standards retreat; but the Battel then growing more fierce, and the clamours louder, they would no longer be rul'd by their Riders, but run up and down the two Armies like Ships without a Steersman, so that you could not tell to which side they belong'd. On the other hand *Claudius*, seeing with all their efforts his men could not gain the Hill that was against them; Cries out, And did we march such a tedious way, and in such haste to do just nothing at all? Saying which words, he detach'd some Regiments, and wheel'd about behind the whole Army, and unexpectedly not only to the Enemy, but to those of his own Party; charges the Enemy on the Enemies left Flank, and was so nimble, that presently after they appear'd on one side, some of them were got behind them; so that the poor Spaniards and Ligurians were slaughter'd on all sides, Front, Flank and Rear, and the Execution was come up to the French: but there was no resistance worth speaking of, for a great part of them had before deserted their Colours, running away in the night, or lying asleep under the Hedges, and those that were present being wearied with marching and watching (for of all people they can least endure toil) they were scarce able to bear their Arms on their shoulders, and

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besides it was about Noon, and what for heat and thirst they stood panting and could do nothing, but tamely yielded their Bodies to be cut to pieces, or taken Prisoners.

LI. There were more Elephants kill'd by their Governours themselves than by the Enemy; for their manner was to have about them a Carpenters Chizzel and a Mallet, and when the Beasts happen'd to rage and turn upon their own Troops, their Masters would set the said Chizzel between their Ears, just at the joint where the nape of the neck and the head meet together, and drive it in with all their force, which was found the speediest way to kill so huge a Beast when he would be manag'd no longer; The first practiser thereof being *Asdrubal*, who as he had in sundry Engagements shew'd himself a brave Commander, so never did he give more signal proofs thereof than in this very Battel; He it was that kept up the Battel so long on his side, both by encouraging his men that fought, and exposing himself to all dangers as freely as the meanest Souldier. He it was that sometimes by entreaties, and sometimes smart rebukes, incens'd those that were weary and given out, to make fresh charges on the Enemy; He it was that stop't those that fled, and by rallying them, renew'd the Fight in several places, where the work seem'd altogether done; and at the very last, when he saw evidently that the Enemy had the honour of the day, and his misfortune beyond retrieve, resolving not to survive the defeat of that Army, which chiefly follow'd his Standards upon the reputation of his name, he spur'd on his Horse into the thickest of one of the *Roman* Regiments, and there, as became the Son of *Amilcar*, and the Brother of *Annibal*, gallantly fighting against a multitude he was slain. In all the whole War never was there at one Field so many of the Enemy slain, and the overthrow at *Canna* was repaid them to the full, whether we consider the loss of the General, or of the Army. Six and fifty thousand of them kill'd, five thousand four hundred taken, besides a great booty of all sorts, and a considerable quantity both of gold and silver; above four thousand *Romans* that were Prisoners with the Enemy, recovered, which made some amends for those lost that day, for 'twas not an unbloody Victory, here being almost eight thousand of the *Romans* and their Allies, who there lost their Lives. And so little stomach had the Conquerours to more blood and slaughter, that next day when it was told the Consul *Livius*, that abundance of *Cisalpine Gauls*, and *Ligurians*, who either were not present at the fight, or fled from thence, were going together in a Troop homewards, without any certain Commander, without Ensigns or any kind of order, so that if he would but send a Party of Horse after them, he might cut them every one to pieces: he replied, *No, No, Let some survive to carry abroad the News both of the Enemies Defeat and our Valour.*

LII. *Nero* the very same night after the fight drew out his Party, and with more Expedition than he came, return'd to his own Leaguer, where in six dayes time he arriv'd, being nothing so much reforted to as before, because he was so quick, that no Messengers were before him to tell the news, but wherever he came the people were almost out of their senses for Joy; As for *Rome*, it cannot be express'd how strangely people were affected, both one way and the other, how dumpish the whole City was, whilst in doubtful expectation, and with what transports they receiv'd the tidings of the Victory. Ever since they heard of *Claudius's* march, from Morning till Night, were all the Senators in the Council-Chamber, and with the Magistrates, and the *Forum* always fill'd with people; The Ladies and good Wives because they could assist no way but by their Vows and their Prayers, spent all their time in running from one Shrine to another, and wearied the Gods with their Supplications. Whilst the City was in this suspense and perplexity, there was spread at first an uncertain rumour, That two *Narnian* Troopers were come into the Camp which lay against the passages into *Umbria*, from the Consuls Army, and brought word, That the Enemy was routed; But this was rather heard than believ'd, for not only the news was so great and joyful, that their minds were not yet enlarg'd enough to receive it, so the suddenness made it incredible, for the same story related, That the fight was two days, and they could not think *Claudius* could be got thither so soon. Presently after an Express from *L. Manlius Acidinus* confirm'd the Report; which Letters being brought through the *Forum* to the *Prætors* Tribunal, and the Lords of the Senate sent for, the people did so throng about the Door, that the Messenger could not get along for the Crowd, bawling out, That the Letters should be read at the Market-Cross from the *Rostra*, before they were carried to the Senate; but at last being driven away and quieted by the Magistrates, who had much ado to appease their unruly Joy. The Letters were read first in the Senate, and then in the Common-Hall, and entertain'd according to every ones humour, some being therewith fully satisfied, but others would believe nothing till they had an Express and Letters from the Consuls themselves.

LIII. After this, they heard that such Messengers were coming, and presently the people of all sorts, young and old, ran out to meet them, every one desiring to be the first that heard the certainty of such glad Tidings; All the Road as the Bridge *Milvius* was fill'd with a continual crowd; The Messengers were *L. Veturius Philo*, *P. Licinius Varus*, and *Q. Cecilius Metellus*, who attended with this multitude, came into the *Forum*, some demanding of them,

them, others of their Attendants, What News? All were answer'd, That the Enemies Army was cut to pieces, their General slain, the *Roman* Legions brave and lusty, both the Consuls safe and well; Then presently did every one impart the news to others; much ado they had to get to the Senate House; and more, to keep out the Rabble. After the Letters had been there read, the Messengers were brought to the Common-Hall, where after the Letters were again read, *L. Veturius* declar'd at large by word of mouth the circumstances of the whole Action; which was concluded with a general shout of the whole Audience; Then away went some to the Temples of the Gods to return thanks and pay their Vows, others home to cheer their Wives and Children with the happy tidings: The Senate pass'd an Act, That since *M. Livius* and *Claudius* the Consuls had with the safety of the Legions vanquish'd and slain the Enemies Forces and their General, there should be held a solemn Procession or Thanksgiving for three dayes together; which was Proclaim'd by *C. Hostilius* the *Prætor*, and Celebrated both by Men and Women; All the Temples throughout the City were all the three dayes equally throng'd, and the Matrons and their Children most richly drest, as if they now had nothing more to fear, or the War had been wholly ended, return'd Thanks to the Immortal Gods. Nay this Victory chang'd the state of the City, so as from that day forward men durst make Contracts, buy and sell, borrow and lend, and pay Debts to their Creditors as freely as in a time of settled Peace. *C. Claudius* the Consul as soon as he return'd to his Camp, caus'd *Asdrubals* Head, which he had carefully brought with him, to be slung before the Enemies Out-Guards, and the *African* Prisoners to be shew'd them in their Chains; and two of them were let go to tell *Annibal* the story of their overthrow; who upon this double loss and mournful Calamity, both to his Country and Family, fetcht a deep sigh (as 'tis reported) and said, *Ah, I see, I see what will be the Fate of Carthage!* and presently dislodging, that he might call his Auxiliaries together, whom spread at large he could not defend, he retired into the *Bruttians* Country, the furthestmost Corner of *Italy*, and took with him thither all the Inhabitants of *Metapont*, and as many of the *Lucanians* as were under his power.

THE  
HISTORY  
OF  
TITUS LIVIUS  
A PADUAN,

From the Building of Rome to his Time.

DECADE III. BOOK VIII.

The Epitome of the 8<sup>th</sup> Book.

1. 2, &c. **T**hings done successfully in Spain by Silanus, Scipio's Lieutenant, and by L. Scipio his Brother against the Carthaginians. 5, &c. By Sulpicius the Proconsul, and Attalus a King of Asia against Philip King of Macedonia, upon the account of the Aetolians. 9. A Triumph being decreed for M. Livius and Claudius Nero the Consuls; Livius, who had done all his exploits in his own Province, was carried in a Chariot with four Horses; whilst Nero, who came into his Colleagues Province, to assist him in the accomplishing of his Victory, followed on Horseback, gaining more glory and reverence in that guise; for he had done more service in the War than Livius his Colleague had. 11. The fire in the Temple of Vesta, through the negligence of a Virgin that did not look after it, went out; for which the Virgin was whipt with a Rod. 14. 15, &c. P. Scipio made an end of the War in Spain with the Carthaginians the fifteenth Year after the War began, and the fifth after he went thither: and having totally excluded the Enemy from the possession of Spain, retook it. Then being carried over from Tarraco into Africa, to Syphax King of Numidia, he and his retinue in two Ships, he made a League with that Crown. 18. Asdrubal the Son of Gisgo lay with him there at a feast upon the same bed. 21. He gave new Carthage an entertainment of Fencing in honour of his Father and his Uncle, not by professed Fencers, but such as either out of respect to their General, or by way of Challenge, enter the Lists; in which, Regulus's Brother fought for the Kingdom. 22. When the City Astapa was besieged by the Romans, the Towns People, building a Funeral Pile of Wood, kill'd their Wives and Children, and threw themselves also headlong into it. 24. Scipio himself, who had been taken with a grievous Distemper, as soon as he recovered, appar'd a Sedition raised in some part of the Army, and forced the Rebelling Nations of Spain to a surrender. 35, &c. There was a Peace also made with Massinissa King of Numidia, who promised him assistance if he came over into Africa; and likewise with the Gaditanes, after the departure of Mago thence, to whom he wrote from Carthage, that he should go into Italy. 38. He returned to Rome, and was made Consul. 40. He stood for the Province of Africa, but Q. Fabius Maximus opposing of him, had Sicily given him, with a permission to go over into Africa, if he thought it for the good of the Commonwealth. 46. Mago the Son of Amilcar crost over from the lesser Balearian Island [called Minorca] where he had wintered, into Italy.

**A**lthough upon Asdrubal's coming over, the scale of Fortune seemed as much elevated for the benefit of Spain, as depress'd to the disadvantage of Italy; yet a War, just like the former, on a suddain broke out again in that Country. Now the Romans and the Carthaginians at that time were thus in Spain circumstantiated. Asdrubal Son of Gisgo was gone as far as the Ocean, and Gades, whilst the Coast of the Mediterranean, and almost all Spain to the Eastward, was Scipio's, and subject to the Romans. The new General Hanno, who succeeded in the room of Barchinus Asdrubal, coming over with a new Army out of Africa, and joyning Mago, when he had, in a short time, raised a great number of Men in Celtiberia, which lies between the two Seas, Scipio sent M. Silanus to oppose him, with ten thousand Foot, and five hundred Horse. Silanus making as great Marches as he was able (for roughness of the Roads, which were straitned with frequent Woods, as Spain generally is, was an hinderance to him) prevented not only the Messengers, but the very flying report of his coming, and by the help of Guides, that were Renegades out of the same Country of Celtiberia, came up to the Enemy. I find in the same Authors, that when they were about ten thousand Paces from the Foe, there were two Camps hard by the way, where they marched; on the left hand, the Celtiberi, a new Army of above nine thousand Men; and on the right hand, the Camp of the Carthaginians. The latter

latter of which were guarded and secured with Men and Sentinels, according to the best method that Soldiers use, though the former lay neglected and regardless, as belonging to *Barbarians* and fresh-water Soldiers, that had not so much fear upon them, because they were in their own Country. Wherefore *Silanus*, thinking it his best course to attack them first, commanded his Ensignes to be born as much to the left hand as was possible, without being discovered by the *Carthaginians*, whilst he himself, having sent his Scouts before, charged up to the Foe as fast as he could.

II. He was about three thousand Paces from them, before scarce any of the Enemy perceived his approach; for they lay upon Hills that were craggy rough places, whilst he in an hollow Vale, which by being so lay out of sight, ordered his Men to sit down and refresh themselves. In the mean time the Scouts returned, confirming what the Renegadoes had said. Then putting their Baggage all in an heap together, the *Romans* took up their Arms, and marched all in Battalia to the Fight. They were a thousand Paces from the Foe, when they first got sight of them; at which the *Carthaginians* began on a sudden to tremble. *Mago* galloped out of the Camp upon the first noise and tumult that he heard. Now there were in the *Celtiberian* Army four thousand Shield-Men, and two hundred Horse, which compleat Legion (for about that strength it had) he placed in the front, putting the rest, who were light-armed Men, in the rear. As he led them in this manner out of the Camp, the *Romans* threw their Javelins at them before they were well got out of the Vale. The *Spaniards* swooped down at the Weapons which were thrown by the Foe, and then rose up again to sling them back again; which the *Romans* receiving (as they use) upon their Shields, that were joyned together at their close order, they came by that means Foot to Foot, and began to fight with their Swords. As to the roughness of the place, though it made the swiftness of the *Celtiberians* (whose way it was to run as they fought) of no use to them, was no great disadvantage to the *Romans*, for they all were accustomed to a standing fort of fighting; save that the straitness of it, and the brambles that grew there, broke their ranks, so that they were forced to engage one to one, or two to two as in a Duel. That therefore which hindered the Enemies flight, was at the same time the occasion of their being slaughtered as easily as if they had been bound hand and foot. And now, when almost all the Shield-Men of the *Celtiberians* were killed, the light-armed Men and *Carthaginians*, who came to their assistance from the other Camp, were smitten and slain; not above two thousand Foot, and all the Horse, who had scarce yet entered into the Battel, escaped with *Mago*, whilst *Hanno* the other General, with them who came last when the fight was over, was taken alive; almost all the Horse, and all the old Foot that were left, following *Mago*, came the tenth day to *Asdrubal* in the Province of *Gades*. The *Celtiberian* new Souldiers getting into the adjacent Woods, fled thence to their own homes. By this very seasonable Victory they did not gain near so much by ending that present War, as by stifling the cause of a future, which was so likely to ensue, if the *Carthaginians* could have persuaded the other Nations to take up Arms as they had done the *Celtiberians*. Wherefore, when he had commended *Silanus* in very kind expressions, *Scipio* having some hopes of putting an end to the War, if he did not frustrate it himself by delays, went, to finish what remained thereof, into the farthest part of *Spain* against *Asdrubal*. The *Carthaginian* therefore having his Camp in *Betica*, in order to keep the minds of his Allies to their Allegiance, immediately took up his Ensigns, and more like a Flight than a March, led his Men to the Ocean and to *Gades*: But then imagining, that as long as he kept his whole Army close together, he should be exposed as a large mark for the *Romans* to aim at; before he passed the Strait to go to *Gades*, he dispersed his Soldiers all about into the several Cities, that they might defend themselves within the Walls, and the Walls also with their Arms.

III. *Scipio* observing the War was dissipated all over the Country, and that to carry his Men to the several Cities, would be a tedious rather than a great task, marched back again; yet lest he should leave that Region free to the Enemy, he sent *L. Scipio* his Brother, with ten thousand Foot and a thousand Horse, to attack the most opulent City in those Parts, which the *Barbarians* call *Oringin*; which City is situate in the Confines of the *Melessians*, a Spanish People, whose Country is very fruitful, though the Inhabitants digg Silver there too. That was *Asdrubal's* head Quarters, from whence he made excursions round about upon the inland People. *Scipio* having pitched his Camp near that City, before he invested it with any works, sent certain Messengers to the Gates, to try at that small distance how the Inhabitants stood affected, and to persuade them to make experiment rather of the friendship than the force of the *Romans*; but having no peaceful answer, he enclosed the City with a Trench and a double Bulwark, dividing his Army into three parts, with a design that one part should be continually making their assault, whilst the other lay still in the mean time. When the first part began to attack it, the Fight was very bloody and doubtful, for they could not easily come near to make use of their scaling Ladders, for the Darts that fell upon them from the Walls: And now those who had set their Ladders up against the Walls, were some of them thrust down with Forks made on purpose, whilst others were laid hold on with Iron Hooks, and were in danger to be by them plucked up to the top. Which when *Scipio* perceived, and that the Battel was now pretty equal through the smallness of his numbers; yea, that the Foe

was

was too hard for him, as fighting from the Wall, he made the first party retire, and fell on with the other two at once; which thing put the Enemy (who were already tired with fighting with the first) into such a fright, that not only the Towns People forsook the Walls and ran forthwith away, but the *Carthaginian* Garrison also, for fear the City should be betrayed, quitting their station, betook themselves into one certain place. That made the Towns People the more afraid, that if the Enemy should once get into the Town, they should be all killed as fast as they came to hand, without any distinction or question whether they were *Carthaginians* or *Spaniards*: Wherefore straight opening the Gate, they ran in great numbers out of the Town, holding their Shields before them, lest any Darts might be thrown at a distance upon them, but holding out their right hands naked, that the *Romans* might see they had thrown away their Swords. Whether the *Romans* did not perceive that by reason of the distance between them, or whether they suspected some ill design to be in it: I cannot tell; but this is certain, they fell upon those that were coming out, and killed them as an opposite Army, carrying their victorious Ensigns in at the same Gate. In other parts also they cut and broke the Gates open with Axes and Hatchets, whilst every Horseman as he came in, went (according to order) directly to take possession of the Forum [or Market-place.] The Horse had a party of *Triarii* assistant to them; and though the Legionary Soldiers went through the other parts of the Town, yet they abstained from pillaging any Man that they met, except such as defended themselves with Arms. The *Carthaginians* were all committed to Prison, with about three hundred Towns-Men who had shut the Gates; the rest had the Town at command, and their Goods restored to them. There fell at the Siege of that Town about two thousand of the Enemy, but not above ninety *Romans*.

The taking of that City, was not only happy for them that were employed in it, but made their arrival look very glorious to the General and the rest of the Army, when they came with such a multitude of Captives before them. *Scipio* therefore having commended his Brother, and with as much Rhetorick as he was able, compared the taking of *Oringin* by him, with the taking of *Carthage* by himself, because the Winter was now at hand, being neither able to attempt *Gades*, nor follow *Asdrubal's* Army, which was so scatter'd all over the Country, led his Army back into the hither *Spain*, where sending the Legions into Winter Quarters, and his Brother *Lucius Scipio*, with *Hanno* the Enemies General, and the other noble Captives, to *Rome*, himself went to *Tarraco*. The same Year the Roman Navy, sent over by *M. Valerius Lavinus* the Proconsul, out of *Sicily* into *Africa*, did a great deal of spoil in the Country about *Utica* and *Carthage*, driving the Cattel away out of the utmost bounds of the *Carthaginians* about the very Walls of *Utica*. As they went back to *Sicily*, the *Carthaginian* Navy (consisting of seventy long Ships) met them, of whom seventeen Ships were taken and four sunk, the rest being routed and put to flight. The *Romans* being thus victorious both by Land and Sea, sailed toward *Lilybeum* with a great Booty of all forts; and then having cleared the whole Sea of the Enemies Ships, they carried great quantities of Corn to *Rome*.

V. In the beginning of that Summer, when these things were performed, *P. Sulpitius* the Proconsul, and King *Attalus* having Wintered at *Ægina* (as I told you before) they sailed from thence to *Lemnus* with their Navies joyned together; the *Romans* being five and twenty Gallies with five banks of Oars a-piece, and the Kings five and thirty. Then *Philip*, that (whether he must meet the Enemy by Land or Sea) he might be ready upon all occasions, went in Person to *Demetrias*, a City lying upon the Sea Coast, and appointed his Army to meet him upon such a day at *Larissa*. Thereupon there were Embassadors sent from his Allies all round about, as soon as they heard the King was come to *Demetrias*; for the *Ætolians* were grown more haughty, not only upon the score of their alliance with the *Romans*, but also in regard that *Attalus* was arrived, and pillaged all their Neighbours. Nor were the *Acarnians* only, and the *Bœotians*, with those that live in *Eubœa*, in great fear, but the *Acheans* also; whom (besides the *Ætolian* War) *Machanidas* King of *Lacedemon*, by pitching his Camp a great way from the *Argive* Confines, put into a great fright. All these therefore, considering what dangers hung over each of their Cities both by Land and Sea, desired the Kings assistance. Nor were the News from his own Kingdom relating to Peace, there being a report, That *Serdiletus* and *Pleuratus* were in an uproar, and that the *Medes* above all the rest of *Thracia*, were like to invade the neighbouring parts of *Macedonia*, if the King were detain'd in any foreign War. The *Bœotians* indeed themselves, and the inner Nations of *Greece*, had sent word that the *Ætolians* had block'd up the avenue of *Thermopylae*, where the narrow Pass so streightens the way, to hinder *Philip* from going to defend his Allies Towns. So many tumults round about him were enough to rouse even a slothful General; wherefore he, dismissing the Embassies, promised them, That as time and opportunity should serve, he would assist them every one; but for the present, would have them mind what was most necessary. Thereupon a supply was sent to the City, from whence word was brought, That *Attalus* coming over from *Lemnus* with his Navy, had pillaged all the Country round every City. Wherefore he sent *Polyphantus* with a small party into *Bœotia*, and *Menippus*, one of the Kings Captains, with a thousand Targeteers (whose Targets were like half Moons) to

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Chalcis;



*Chalcis*. To whom he added also five hundred *Ænians*, that they might be able to defend all parts of the Island. He himself went to *Scotussa*, to which place he ordered the *Macedonian* Forces should be brought from *Larissa*: There he was told, That the *Ætoli*ans were to have an Assembly at *Heraclea*, and that King *Attalus* would come thither to consult about the great affairs of the War. To disturb their meeting by his sudden arrival, he marched to *Heraclea* as fast as he could; but coming thither after the Assembly was dismissed, he only destroyed the Corn (especially in the *Ænian* Bay) which was almost ripe, and so led his Army back to *Scotussa*; and there leaving all his Army behind, he marched with a Royal Party to *Demetrias*: from whence, that he might be ready for the Enemy at every turn, he sent certain Persons into *Eubœa*, *Phocis* and *Peparethus*, to choose out such high Places, from which Beacons or Fires might be well seen. He himself, in the mean time, set up a Watch-Tower in *Tislaus* (which is an extraordinary high Mountain) that by the help of those Fires in the air, at a good distance, he might discover in a moment what the Enemy did. Mean while the Roman General and King *Attalus*, came over from *Peparethus* to *Nicaa*, from whence they sent the Navy into *Eubœa*, to a City call'd *Oreum*, which as you go from the *Demetrian* Bay to *Chalcis* and *Euripus*, is the first City in *Eubœa* on your left hand. Now *Attalus* and *Sulpitius* were agreed, That the Romans should attack it by Sea, and the Kings men from the Land.

VI. Four Days after the Navy arriv'd, they set upon the City, having spent all that time in private Conferences with *Plator*, whom *Philip* had made Governour of that Place. The City has two Forts, one lying to the Sea, the other in the middle of the Town; from thence there is a Mine down to the Sea, to which a Tower of five stories high affords a great Blockade; there it was that they had the first bloody bout, the Tower being filled with all sorts of Weapons on the one side, and Warlike Engines prepared and fixed to attack it on the other. That fight therefore having drawn all Peoples thoughts and eyes towards it, *Plator* that while let the Romans in at the Gate of the Castle which lay upon the Sea, which was taken in a moment. The Towns People being driven thence, made to the other Fort that was in the middle of the Town, but were kept out by certain Persons set there to keep the Gate; by which means, being excluded, they were slain and taken in the street. But the *Macedonian* party stood altogether under the Castle Wall, without either running away, or fighting very stoutly; then *Plator* (having got leave of *Sulpitius*) set ashore at *Demetrias* a Town in *Phthiotis*, going himself to *Attalus*. *Sulpitius* being proud of his success at *Oreum*, goes presently with his victorious Army to *Chalcis*, where the event did not answer his expectations. For there is a place where out of the wide Sea you come into a straight Gulph, which at first sight looks like two Ports lying several ways, but it is a most mischievous Harbour for a Navy to ride in: For, not only sudden and stormy Winds come down from the high Mountains on both Shoars, or the streight of *Euripus* reciprocates at certain times (not seven times a Day as the report goes) but a rowling torrent comes down, as from a steep Mountain, along the Sea, which is turned to and fro, like the Wind, at no certainty; by which means, the Ships have no rest either Night or Day. Nor was the Navy only got into such a dangerous place, but the Town also was encompassed on one side with the Sea, on the other from the Land with good Fortifications, and a strong Guard, but most secure and impregnable in the fidelity of its Governours and head Men, which had been wavering and false at *Oreum*. This one thing therefore he did very prudently, for the Romans (considering that he undertook the business so rashly) that weighing all difficulties, he, lest he should spend time to no purpose, immediately removed his Navy from thence over to *Cymus* in *Locris* (which is the Port of the *Opuntians*) a City situate a thousand Paces from the Sea.

VII. In the mean time *Philip* had notice from the Fires set up at *Oreum*, though too late, through the treachery of *Plator*, who retarded their being put into the Watch-Tower; but his Navy being too weak for the Enemy, he could not easily have access to the Island: And yet as soon as he received the summons to come and assist *Chalcis*, he march'd with all speed; for though *Chalcis* it self be a City belonging to the same Island, yet it is divided from it by such a narrow Sea, that it joyns to it by a Bridge, and is more accessible that way than by Water. Wherefore *Philip*, having defeated the Garrison, and routed the *Ætoli*ans, who had possession of the streight of *Thermopylae*, when he was come from *Demetrias* to *Scotussa*, as he did by the third Watch after he set out thence, and had forced the trembling Foe into *Heraclea*, himself went in one Day to *Elatia* in *Phocis*, which is from that place above sixty thousand Paces. About the same Day the City of *Opus* was taken and rifled by King *Attalus*; *Sulpitius* gave the King all that plunder, because *Oreum* had some Days before been sack'd by the Roman Souldiers, the Kings Men having no share in the booty. The Roman Navy was gone to *Oreum*, and *Attalus* not knowing of *Philip's* arrival, spent his time in exacting of money from the chief Men of the City; yea, so little foresight he had of the matter, that had not certain *Cretenians* by chance gone a good way from the City a foraging, and by that means spied a party of the Enemy at a distance, he might have been surpris'd. *Attalus* unarm'd and discompos'd made away as fast as possible to the Sea to his Ships, and *Philip* came up as they were putting off from the Land, affrighting the Seamen even from the

the shoar; thence he returned to *Opus*, accusing both the Gods and Men, that he had lost the fortune of such a considerable affair, which was snatcht almost even out of his eyes. He blamed the *Opuntians* too at the same time, for that, when they might have protracted the siege till his arrival, yet as soon as they saw the Enemy, they yielded to almost a voluntary surrender. Then having settled all matters about *Opus*, he marched to *Torone*. And *Attalus* went first to *Oreum*, where since there happened a report, That *Prusias* King of *Bithynia* was gone over into his Country, he omitting the Roman affairs, and quitting the *Ætolian* War, returned for *Asia*. *Sulpitius* also carried his Navy back to *Ægina*, whence in the beginning of the Spring he came; in the mean time *Philip* took *Torone*, with as much ease as *Attalus* had done *Opus*. That City was inhabited by Renegadoes that came from *Thebes* in *Phthiotis*; for when their City was taken by *Philip*, they made an Alliance with the *Ætoli*ans, who gave them that Seat, which was the remainder of a City waisted and laid desart by *Philip* in a former War. Then marching from *Torone*, which, as I said before, he had taken, he took *Tritonon* and *Drymae*, two small and pitiful Villages in *Doris*: Thence he came to *Elatia*, where he had ordered the Embassadors of *Ptolomy* and the *Rhodians* to expect him. And there, when they began to treat of putting an end to the *Ætolian* War (for thither came Embassadors from the late Council of the Romans and *Ætoli*ans held at *Heraclea*) news came, that *Machanidas* had resolved to set upon the *Eleans* as they were preparing for the *Olympick* Games: He therefore thinking that he ought to prevent that design, sent away the Embassadors with a courteous answer (saying, That he was neither the cause of that War, nor would be any hinderance (if upon just and honourable terms he might comply) to a peace) and marching with all speed through *Boeotia*, fell down as low as *Megara*, and from thence to *Corinth*; where having taken up Provisions, he went to *Phlius* and *Pheneus*: But when he was come to *Ereæ*, hearing that *Machanidas*, being affrighted at the noise of his arrival, was fled back to *Lacedæmon*, he marched to *Ægium* to the Council of the *Acheans*, which was there held, supposing that he should find the *Carthaginian* Navy there too, which he had sent for, to make himself able to do something by Sea. The *Carthaginians* were gone over some few Days before to *Phocæa* [Islands] and from thence into the *Acarnanian* Ports, when they heard that *Attalus* and the Romans were come to *Oreum*, as fearing lest their design was upon them, and they might be surpris'd in the *Rhium*, which is the very Mouth of the *Corinthian* Bay.

*Philip* was much vexed and dissatisfied, that though he made so much hast in all his expeditions, yet he met with nothing in time, but fortune seem'd to jilt his swiftness, by snatching all his success just out of his very eyes. Nevertheless, in the Council he dissembled his discontent, and spoke very courageously, calling both Gods and Men to witness, that he was never wanting (either in place or time, but wheresoever the Enemy was in Arms, thither he always went as fast as he possibly could, though no one could hardly tell, whether he made more hast to engage in a War, or the Enemy to run away from it; for so *Attalus* got from *Opus*, so *Sulpitius* from *Chalcis*, and so at that time *Machanidas* escaped out of his hands. But he said, that flight was not always successful; nor could that War be reckon'd difficult, in which, if you once engage with an Enemy, you overcome him. But that which was the greatest Argument, his security was, that he had the confession of his Enemies for it, that they were no ways equal to him; and that he should in a short time certainly gain a victory, so that they should not fight with him with any better event than they had hopes. The Allies were glad to hear the King say so; and then he restored *Ereæ* and *Triphylia* to the *Acheans*, and *Alipheria* to the *Megalopolitans*, who had sufficiently proved it to be theirs; then with some Ships that he had of the *Acheans* (which were three Gallies with four banks of Oars, and as many with two) he went over to *Anticyra*, where having gotten seven Gallies, and above twenty Barks, which he had sent into the *Corinthian* Bay to joyn the *Carthaginian* Navy, he went into *Erythræ*, a Town belonging to the *Ætoli*ans, near *Eupalium*, and there he landed. But the *Ætoli*ans were aware of his coming, for all the Men that were either in the Fields, or in the adjacent Castles of *Potidania* or *Apollonia*, fled into the Woods and Mountains; but the Cattle, which for hast could not be driven off, were taken and carried into the Ships. Having sent these and the rest of the booty, with *Nicias* Governour of the *Acheans*, to *Ægium*, he went to *Corinth*, and ordered his Foot-Forces to be led thence through *Boeotia* by Land, whilst he himself, sailing from *Cenchrea* along by *Attica* above *Sunium*, in the middle almost of the Enemies Navies, he came to *Chalcis*. There, having commended their fidelity, that neither hope nor fear had changed their resolutions, and exhorted them to remain as constant for the future in their alliance, if they desired to be in their present condition, rather than to undergo the fortune of the *Oritans* and *Opuntians*, he sailed from *Chalcis* to *Oreum*; where having committed the Government and keeping of the City to such of the Nobility, as chose rather to run away than surrender themselves to the Romans; he crossed over to *Demetrias* from *Eubœa*, whence he first came to assist his Allies. After which, having laid the keels or foundations of one hundred long Ships at *Cassandra*, and got together a great number of Ship-Carpenters to perfect that work, seeing not only that *Attalus's* going away, but the aid he himself gave to his then oppressed Allies, had made all things quiet in *Greece*, he went back into his own Kingdom to make War upon the *Dardans*.

IX. At the end of that Summer, when these things passed in Greece, *Q. Fabius Maximus*, who was sent Embassador from *M. Livius* the Consul, to the Senate at Rome, having brought word, That the Consul thought *L. Porcius* with his Legions a sufficient guard to the Province of Gallia, so that he might come thence, and the consular Army be brought away. The Senate ordered, not only *M. Livius*, but his Colleague, also *C. Claudius*, to return to the City; save that there was this one exception in the Decree, that *M. Livius*'s Army should be brought away, and Nero's Legions, that opposed *Annibal*, should stay in the Province. Now between the Consuls there was this agreement, made by Letters; That as they had unanimously carried on the business, so, though they came out of several Countries, they should arrive at the City both on a day; and that he who came first to Præneste should stay there for his Colleague. It so happened that they came both to Præneste at the same time; from whence having sent the Edict before hand, that three Days after there must be a full Senate held at the Temple of *Bellona*, they approached near to the City, out of which the multitude ran in all haste to meet them: Nor did the rabble salute them all together, but each one for himself desiring to touch the Consuls Conquering Hands, some congratulated, and other gave them thanks, That by their means the Commonwealth was preserved. When they therefore having, as it is the custom for all Generals, told what they had done, had likewise required, that for their faithful service to the Commonwealth, not only the Gods might be honoured, but they also have the privilege to enter in Triumph into the City; to which the Senate made answer, That they would decree what they required, first upon account of the Gods, and secondly next to the Gods, on the score of the Consuls merits, they ordered, not only a supplication in both their Names, but a Triumph to both of them. In which affair, left they two, who had unanimously carried on the War, should be divided as to the Triumph, they made this agreement, That since *M. Livius* had done all his business in his own Province, and that day when the Battel was to be, 'twas his turn to observe the auspices and so begin the Battel; and that *Livius*'s Army was brought to Rome, but Nero's could not stir out of the Province; that therefore *M. Livius* should enter the City upon a Chariot drawn by four Horses, with the Soldiers following of him, and *C. Claudius* should go in on Horse-back, without any Souldiers to attend him. The Triumph being thus concerted, as it augmented the glory of them both, so did it most encrease his fame, who yeilded as much to his Colleague in point of honour, as he outdid him in desert: For they said, That Man on Horse-back in six days time ran all the whole length of Italy, and engag'd with *Asdrubal* in Gallia the same day, that *Annibal* thought he had pitched his Camp against him in Apulia: By which means one Consul, for both parts of Italy, opposed on the one hand his policy, and on the other his Body, against two great Captains, against two great Commanders. That the name of Nero was enough to keep *Annibal* in his Camp; and what was the ruine of *Asdrubal* but his arrival? Wherefore the other Consul might go, if he would, enthroned upon a lofty Chariot with so many Horses, but a true Triumph was carried through the City upon one single Horse; and Nero, though he went on foot, would be renowned both for the glory that he gain'd in that War, and that he contemned in that Triumph. These discourses of the Spectators pursued Nero as far as the Capitol. They brought of Money into the Treasury three millions and eighty thousand Sesterces; *M. Livius* gave the Souldiers fifty six Asles a piece, and *C. Claudius* promised his absent men as much when he returned to the Army. It was observed that Day, the Soldiers cast forth more jocular Verses upon *C. Claudius*, than upon their own Consul: That the Horse commended *L. Veturius* and *Q. Cecilius*, two Lieutenants, very much; exhorting the Commons, To make them two Consuls for the next year. That the Consuls back'd the Horse-mens proposal, and the Day following in an Assembly, declared before the People what stout and faithful service those two Lieutenants especially had done them.

X. When the time of Assembly was now at hand, and it was ordered that the Assembly should be held by a Dictator, *C. Claudius* the Consul declared *M. Livius* his Colleague Dictator, and *Livius* made *Q. Cecilius* Master of the Horse; but he created the same *Cecilius* also Consul with *L. Veturius* at the very time when he was Master of the Horse. Then the Prætorian Assembly was held, and *C. Servilius*, *M. Cecilius Metellus*, *T. Claudius Asellus*, *Q. Mamilius Turinus*, who then was *Ædile* of the People, were created Prætors; which Assembly being ended, the Dictator laid down his Office, and dismissing the Army, went by an order of Senate into the Province of *Etruria* to make inquisition, What People of *Etruria* or *Umbria* had any intentions to revolt from the Romans to *Asdrubal* a little before his coming, and which of them had assisted him with Men, Provisions, or in any other manner. These things were done that Year at home and abroad. The Roman Games were performed thrice over, from the beginning to the end, by the *Ædiles Curules* [chief Surveyors of publick works and actions] and the *Plebeian* Games also as often, by the *Plebeian* *Ædiles*, whose names were *Manius Pomponius Matho* and *Q. Mamilius Turinus*. In the thirteenth Year of the Punick War, when *L. Veturius Philo*, and *Q. Cecilius Metellus* were Consuls, the Province of the *Bruttii* was given to them both, that they might wage War with *Annibal*. Then the Prætors chose their Posts, *M. Cecilius Metellus* the City, *Q. Mamilius* a Foreign Aid, *C. Servilius* Sicily, and *T. Claudius* Sardinia. The Armies were thus divided: to one of the Consuls, that which *C. Claudius* had, who the Year before was Consul; and to the other, that which

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which *Q. Claudius* the Proprætor had, which was two Legions. *M. Livius* the Proconsul, who was continued in Commission for another Year, was to have the two Legions of Volunteers in *Etruria* of *C. Terentius* the Proprætor. And it was decreed, that *Q. Mamilius*, who had resigned his Jurisdiction to his Colleague, should have Gallia with the Army there, commanded by *L. Portius* the Proprætor; he being enjoined to pillage all those Gallick Countries, that had revolted to the Carthaginians upon the arrival of *Asdrubal*. *C. Servilius* was to take care of Sicily, in the same manner as *C. Mamilius* had done with the two *Cannensian* Legions. The old Army, under the command of *A. Hostilius*, was brought out of Sardinia; and the Consuls raised a new Legion for *T. Claudius* to take over along with him thither. *Q. Claudius* was continued in Commission for another Year to be Governour of Tarentum, and *C. Hostilius Tubulus* of Capua. *M. Valerius* the Proconsul, whose business it had been to defend the Sea Coast about Sicily, was commanded to deliver up thirty Ships to *C. Servilius*, and with all the rest of the Navy to return home.

XI. In the City which was much concerned for the great jeopardy they were in upon the prospect of such Wars, the People laying all the causes of both their good and bad fortune upon the Gods, related many strange Prodigies, to wit, That at Tarracina, the Temple of Jupiter, and at Satricum, that of the Goddesses called *Mater Matuta*, were set on fire by Lightning. But the *Satricans* were no less terrified at two Snakes that rowled into the very door of Jupiter's Temple. From Antium News was brought, That the ears of Corn appeared bloody to the reapers. At Cære there was a Pigg born with two heads, and Lamb both Male and Female. At Alba they said, there were two Suns seen; and that at Fregelli it grew light of a sudden in the night time. It was reported also, That an Oxe was heard to speak in the Roman Dominions, and the Altar of Neptune seen to be all over in a sweat in the Circus Flaminius. That the Temples of *Ceres*, *Salus*, and *Quirinus* were fr'd by lightning. The Consuls therefore were ordered to make greater Sacrifices than ordinary upon the account of these Prodigies, and Supplications one Day: But that which terrified the minds of men more than all the Prodigies that either were seen at home, or told of from abroad, was the fires being out in the Temple of *Vesta*; for which, that Vestal Virgin, who was to look to it that night, was whipt with a rod by the order of *P. Licinius* the Chief Priest. Which accident, though the Gods had no hand in it, but it happened by mere humane negligence, was ordered to be atoned for with great Sacrifices, and Supplication to be made at the Temple of *Vesta*. Before the Consuls went to the War, they were admonished by the Senate, That they should take care to restore the Commonalty into the Country again; that by the bounty of the Gods the War was removed from the City of Rome, and out of Latium, so that the People might live in the Country now without fear; that it was not fit they should take more care to cultivate Sicily than Italy. But this was very difficult to the People, not only by reason that the free Inhabitants were lost in the Wars, but for want of Servants, because their Cattel were driven away, and their Villages all demolished or burnt. Nevertheless a great part of them, compelled by the authority of the Consuls, returned into the Country. Those that first made mention of this were the Embassadors from *Placentia* and *Cremona*, who complained, That the neighbouring Galls made incursions into their Country, which they laid waste; and that great part of their husbandmen were gone away, their Cities being but thin, and their Country wast and desert. *Mamilius* the Prætor was ordered to defend the Colonies from the Enemy. The Consuls, in pursuance to an order of Senate, made an Edict, That all who were Citizens of *Placentia* or *Cremona*, should return before such a day into their Colonies. Then in the beginning of the Spring they went to the War. *Q. Cecilius* the Consul received the Army from *C. Nero*, and *L. Veturius* from *Q. Claudius* the Proprætor, and fill'd it up with new Men that he himself had raised. The Consuls led their Army into the Country belonging to *Consentia*, which they pillaged all over: But when the Men were laden with spoils, they were disturbed by the *Bruttii*, and Numidian Darters in a new pass, inasmuch, that not only the Booty, but their Souldiers themselves were in danger; though it was a tumult rather than a fight. Wherefore having sent their plunder before them, the Legions escaped safe into secure Places. Thence they marched into *Lucania*, which Country returned and submitted to the Roman People without any fighting.

XII. There was nothing done with *Hannibal* that Year; for neither did he offer himself, having receiv'd such a wound, both publick and private; nor did the Romans molest him whilst he was at quiet. So very great did they think that one Commanders strength to be, though all things else about him had been ruined. And indeed I know not, whether he were more admirable in Prosperity or Adversity. For though he were not only in an Enemies Country for thirteen Year, so far from home, and carried on the War with such variety of fortune, and an Army not of his own Countrymen, but made up of a mixture of all Nations, that had neither the same Laws, Customs or Language; but different Complexions, different Garments, different Arms, different Rites, different Religions, and almost different Gods too; yet he so coupled them together, as it were, by one common band, that they never mutiny'd either among themselves or against their General, though he often wanted Money to pay them, and Provisions were scarce in the Enemies Country; for lack whereof, in the former Punick War, there was a great deal of mischief done among the Officers

Officers and Souldiers. But when *Asdrubal's* Army with its General, in whom all hopes of Victory lay, was destroyed, and *Annibal* leaving the rest of *Italy* was got into one corner of it, inhabited by the *Bruttii*, who would not wonder, that there should never be any disturbance in his Camp? For besides other things, there was this addition made to his necessities, that he had no hopes to maintain his Army out of any other except the *Bruttian* Dominions; which though they were all cultivated, was but a very little to keep so great an Army: Besides that great part of their Youth were taken from the Plow to the Wars, and they had an ill custome, natural to that Nation, to turn Robbers whilst they were Soldiers. Nor had he any thing sent from home, the *Carthaginians* being only very solicitous to keep *Spain*, as if all things were well enough in *Italy*. In *Spain* things had partly the same success, and partly different; the same, in that the *Carthaginians* being conquered in a Battel which they fought, and losing their General, were forced to fly into the utmost part of that Country as far as the Ocean; and different, because *Spain* was more apt, not only than *Italy*, but than any other Region of the whole World, to renew a War, in regard to the nature both of its Soil and Inhabitants. And for this reason the first of all the Provinces, which the *Romans* entered into, upon the Continent, was the last of all that was totally subdued, and that but lately neither, in our time, under the conduct and auspicious management of *Augustus Caesar*. *Asdrubal* the Son of *Gisgo* (who was the greatest and most renowned General in that War, next to the *Barchines*) coming at that time back from *Gades*, and being put in hopes of renewing the War by *Mago*, Son to *Amilcar*, made Levies in the farther *Spain*, and armed a multitude of Men, to the number of fifty Thousand Foot, and four Thousand five Hundred Horse. Of which latter most Authors agree, though some write, that there were seventy Thousand Foot brought to the City of *Silpis*: And there the two *Carthaginian* Generals sat down together upon the open Plains, because they would not decline fighting.

XIII. *Scipio*, when he heard of such a vast Armies being raised, he, fearing that he should not find the Roman Legions strong enough for such a Multitude, if he did not make a shew at least of some Auxiliaries from the Spaniards (and yet he must not lay so much stress upon them, as that by falsifying their Oaths (which was the ruine of his Father and Uncle) they might be able to make any great alteration in his affairs) sent *Silanus* before to *Colcas*, who was King of eight and twenty Towns, to receive from him those Horse and Foot which he had promised that Winter to raise; and going himself from *Tarraco*, mustered up immediately among his Allies that live upon that Road a small number, till he came to *Castulo*. The Auxiliaries brought thither by *Silanus*, were three Thousand Foot and five Hundred Horse. Thence therefore they marched on to the City *Batula* with all their Army of Citizens, Allies, Horse and Foot, whose number was forty five Thousand. *Mago* and *Massinissa* set upon them, as they were pitching their Camp with all their Horse: and they had disturb'd them as they were fortifying themselves, if a party of Horse, that was planted very opportunely by *Scipio* behind a bank to that end, had not surpriz'd and routed them. For those Men, even before they had well engag'd in the fight, defeated all that were most forward, next to the Bulwark, opposing the very fortifiers, though with the rest, who marched under their Ensigns, and in Battalia, they had a longer and that a doubtful conflict. But as soon as the Regiments were commanded from their Posts, and their Souldiers drawn off from their Works, whilst more were ordered to take up Arms, and fresh Men still supplied the room of such as were tired, so that a vast body of armed Men rush'd out of the Camp into the Battel, the *Carthaginians* and *Numidians* immediately turn'd their backs. And at first they marched off in Troops, without disordering their Ranks either through fear or haste: but soon after when the *Romans* fell more sharply upon their Rear, so that their shock was insupportable, they forgot all order, and ran to all places that were next at hand, which way soever they could. But though in that fight the *Romans* were a little more encouraged, and the Enemy somewhat disheartened, yet they did not for some days after cease to make excursions with their Horse, and light-armed Men.

XIV. When they had sufficiently tryed their strength by these light skirmishes; *Asdrubal* first led his Men forth into the field, and then the *Romans* came out. But both the Armies stood before their Bulwarks in Battle Array: and seeing that neither of them began the fight, when it was toward Evening, their Forces were led back, first the *Carthaginians*, and then the *Romans*, into their Camps again. This they did for several days, the *Carthaginian* being the first that drew his Men out of their Camp, and when they were weary with standing, gave the first signal for their retreat. They neither of them ran too far forward, threw any Javelin at the other, or were heard so much as to speak. The *Romans* on the one side, and the *Carthaginians*, mixt with *Africans*, on the other, made the main Body of their Armies, whilst the Allies fill'd up the Wings, and Spaniards were on both sides in the head of each Wing. Before the Punick Army there were Elephants that look'd afar off like so many little Castles. Now there was this discourse in both their Camps, That they would fight in the same posture that they had stood: and that the main Body, of *Romans* and *Carthaginians*, who were the Cause of the War, should engage with equal strength of con-

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XVI. *Scipio*, as soon as it was Day, when those that were upon the Guard brought him word, That the Enemy was gone, sending the Horse before, he ordered the Ensigns to march. And with such speed did they pursue, that if they had gone directly after, they had certainly overtaken them. But they trusted to the Guides, who told them, there was a nearer way to the River *Batis*, where they might set upon them as they were going over. *Asdrubal*, seeing his passage over the River was intercepted, turned toward the Ocean; and then his Men set a running as hard as they could, which carried them some distance from the Roman Legions. But the Horse and light-armour coming up with them sometimes in their Rear, and sometimes in their Flanks, teased them and made them halt. At last, whilst upon frequent tumults, their Ensigns stood still, and they engaged sometimes with Horse, and sometimes with Foot, the Legions overtook them. Then there was (not a Fight, but) as it were a butchering of Sheep; till their General (the author of their flight) with almost six Thousand Men half armed escaped into the adjacent Hills; but the rest were all slain and taken. The Carthaginians fortified a tumultuary Camp all in haste upon a very high Place; from whence, seeing the Enemy had in vain endeavoured to get up, it being so steep and rough, they easily defended themselves. But the Siege, being in a naked and barren place, was hardly tolerable even for a few Days. Wherefore they went many of them over to the Enemy; and at last the General himself took Shipping (nor was the Sea far off that place) and in the night time leaving his Army, fled to *Gades*. *Scipio* hearing that the Enemies General was gone, left ten Thousand Foot, and a Thousand Horse with *Silanus* to besiege the Camp: whilst himself, with the rest of his Forces, at seventy encampings, returned to *Tarraco*, forthwith to inquire concerning the petite Kings and Cities thereabout, that he might reward them according to their real merits. After his departure, *Massinissa* coming to a private conference with *Silanus*, that he might make his Nation also comply with his new designs, went over with a few of his Countrymen into *Africa*: nor was the cause of his suddain revolt to the Romans at that time so evident, as his constancy in his allegiance to them even to his dying Day made it even then appear just, and that he did not do it without some good reason. Then *Mago* went for *Gades* in the Ships that *Asdrubal* sent back, whilst all the rest being deserted by their Generals, partly by revolting, and partly running away, were dissipated through all the neighbouring Cities: so that there was no party of them to be found that was considerable either for their number or strength. Thus chiefly by the conduct and good fortune of *P. Scipio*, were the Carthaginians beaten out of *Spain* in the thirteenth Year after the War began, and the fifth after *P. Scipio* had that Province and that Army. Not long after *Silanus* sending word, That he had defeated the Enemy, returned to *Scipio* at *Tarraco*.

XVII. *L. Scipio* with many noble Captives was sent to *Rome* to tell the News of *Spain* being recovered. Which thing, though all other People were very glad and proud of, he only that performed those great exploits, being a Person of indefatigable virtue and truly to be admired, reckoned the recovery of *Spain* but as a small matter in respect of those things that he in his mighty Soul had conceived. For he now look'd toward *Africa*, the great *Carthage*, and the consummation of the glory of that War, which he foresaw would be a great addition to his Honour and Renown. Wherefore he, thinking it best before-hand to try how things would probably go, and to win the affections of the Kings and Nations there, resolv'd first of all to make an attempt upon *Syphax*, who was King of the *Masæsylians*. Now the *Masæsylians* are a People near the *Moors*, looking most toward that part of *Spain*, where new *Carthage* stands. At that time there was a League between that King and the Carthaginians, which *Scipio* supposing to be no more sacred or regarded by him than it usually was by all Barbarians, whose faith depends upon their fortune, he sent an Envoy to him, called *C. Lælius*, with certain Presents. At which the Barbarian being pleas'd (seeing that now the Romans were prosperous in all Places, and the Carthaginians not only disabled in *Italy*, but brought to nought in *Spain*) consented to an alliance with the Romans, but said, he would not make or take a solemn promise to confirm it, save in the presence of the Roman General himself. Whereupon *Lælius*, having received the Kings word for this only, That he should come thither safe, returned to *Scipio*. *Syphax* was of very great importance to him in all cases, now that he aimed at *Africa*, as being the richest King in all that Country, having try'd even the Carthaginians themselves in War, and having a Country that lay so conveniently toward *Spain*, which is divided from it by nothing save a narrow Sea. *Scipio* therefore, since he could accomplish it no other way, thought this enterprise deserv'd to be attempted with great hazard: and for that reason, leaving *L. Marcus* at *Tarraco*, and *M. Silanus* at New *Carthage* (whither he had travelled over land by great Journeys from *Tarraco*) as a Guard to *Spain*; himself with *C. Lælius* setting out in two Gallies

Gallies of five banks of Oars a-piece, from *Carthage* sail'd in a calm Sea, most commonly with Oars, and sometimes with a small gale of wind, into *Africa*. It so happened, that at that very time *Asdrubal* being beaten out of *Spain*, was come into the same Harbour with seven Gallies of three banks a-piece, and had cast Anchor there. But when they saw the other two Gallies of five banks a-piece, making no question of their being the Enemies, they feared they might be overpowered by a greater number before they could get a-shore; infomuch, that being all in a tumult and a fright, though they did what they could to get away, 'twas all to no purpose. For the Gallies of five banks, having a fresher Gale than ordinary, were got into the Port before the Carthaginians could weigh their Anchors. But there was no harm done besides what they suffered by their consternation; because the Romans being in a Port belonging to the King, durst not meddle with them. Wherefore *Asdrubal* going first, *Scipio* and *Lælius* went presently after a-shore, and so to the King.

That look'd very great to *Syphax* (as it really was) that the Generals of two of the most opulent People of that age should come, in one Day, to desire his alliance and friendship. He invited both of them to lye at his House; and seeing fortune had put them under the same roof, he endeavour'd to bring them to a conference in order to compose their differences. But *Scipio* denying that he had any private quarrel with the Carthaginian, which he could end by discoursing with him; or that he could treat with an Enemy concerning any thing relating to the Commonwealth without the Senates consent, the King on the other hand was very earnest with him, that one of his Guests might not seem excluded from his Table; but that he would be perswaded to come to the same meal, and he complied. So they supped together at the Kings Palace; yea, *Scipio* and *Asdrubal* (since the King would needs have it so) lay at Supper upon the same Bed. Now *Scipio* was so courteous a Man, and had so much natural wit, that by his eloquence, he did not only make *Syphax*, though a Barbarian, and not uled to Roman manners, but even his mortal Enemy [*Asdrubal*] his Friend; who pretended, He much more admired him now he saw him, than for all his warlike Exploits: Nor did he question but *Syphax* and his Kingdom were at the Romans service; such an art that Person had to win affections. So that the Carthaginians must not ask how *Spain* was lost, but study how they may keep *Africa*. For that Roman General was not come there to travel only and see fashions, leaving his new Conquest and his Armies to come over into *Alia* with two Ships, thereby to put himself into an Enemies Country under the power of a King, whose fidelity and honour he had never try'd, but with hopes to gain all *Africa*. That he had this a long time in his thoughts, yea publicly murmured, that, as *Annibal* did in *Italy*, *Scipio* could not wage War in *Africa*. *Scipio* having made a League with *Syphax* went out of *Africa*, and though with cross, for the most part, and violent Winds, he was mightily tossed at Sea, the fourth Day he arriv'd at New *Carthage*.

*Spain* as it was at rest from the Punick War, so it appeared that some of its Cities, through their consciousness of what they had been guilty of, were quiet for fear, more than love and duties sake: of which, the most eminent were *Illiturgi* and *Castulo*. For the *Castulonians*, though they had been Allies to the Romans in their Prosperity, yet when the *Scipios* with their Armies were slain, they had revolted to the Carthaginians; and the *Illiturgians* by betraying and killing such as fled to them for succour, had added a new crime to that of their revolt. But upon those People at his first coming, when *Spain* was in a doubtful disposition, it would not have been to his advantage so much, as according to their deserts, to have exercised any severities; though now when things were all compos'd, because the time of inflicting due punishment upon them seem'd to be come, he sent for *L. Marcus* with the third part of his Forces from *Tarraco*, and order'd him to go and attack *Castulo*: whilst he himself, with the rest of his Army, arriv'd at *Illiturgi* in about five Days. The Gates were shut, and all things set ready for the defence of the Town; their Conscience of what they knew they deserv'd, being to them instead of a Declaration of War. Then *Scipio* began to exhort his Souldiers, saying, That the Spaniards themselves by shutting their Gates, shew'd not only what they feared, but what they deserv'd: wherefore they ought to wage War against them with much more animosity than against the Carthaginians. For with these they contend'd almost without any passion for Empire and Glory only, but of those they ought to take revenge for their treachery, cruelty, and villany. That now the time was come, in which they might be even with them for the horrid murder of their fellow-souldiers, and the treachery that was designed against themselves also, if they had fled that way: yea, that they might make them an example to all posterity, and provide, that no man should ever think any Roman Citizen, or Soldier in any fortune so mean as to injure him. The Souldiers being excited by this exhortation of their General, divided their scaling Ladders among such Men as they chose out of every maniple: and when the Army was so parted between them, that *Lælius* commanded one half as Lieutenant, they attack'd the frighted City in two places at once. Then not one General only, or a great many of their Nobility, but their own fear, being conscious of what they had done, perswaded the Towns-men with all speed to defend their City; for they remembered, and told each other, That it was not Victory but Punishment which was sought for of them. That it was of great importance where a Man dye; whether in a Battel and in the Field, where the fortune of War, which is common

Officers and Souldiers. But when *Asdrubal's* Army with its General, in whom all hopes of Victory lay, was destroyed, and *Annibal* leaving the rest of *Italy* was got into one corner of it, inhabited by the *Bruttii*, who would not wonder, that there should never be any disturbance in his Camp? For besides other things, there was this addition made to his necessities, that he had no hopes to maintain his Army out of any other except the *Bruttian* Dominions; which though they were all cultivated, was but a very little to keep so great an Army: Besides that great part of their Youth were taken from the Plow to the Wars, and they had an ill custome, natural to that Nation, to turn Robbers whilst they were Souldiers. Nor had he any thing sent from home, the *Carthaginians* being only very solicitous to keep *Spain*, as if all things were well enough in *Italy*. In *Spain* things had partly the same success, and partly different; the same, in that the *Carthaginians* being conquered in a Battel which they fought, and losing their General, were forced to fly into the utmost part of that Country as far as the Ocean; and different, because *Spain* was more apt, not only than *Italy*, but than any other Region of the whole World, to renew a War, in regard to the nature both of its Soil and Inhabitants. And for this reason the first of all the Provinces, which the *Romans* entered into, upon the Continent, was the last of all that was totally subdued, and that but lately neither, in our time, under the conduct and auspicious management of *Augustus Caesar*. *Asdrubal* the Son of *Gisco* (who was the greatest and most renowned General in that War, next to the *Barchines*) coming at that time back from *Gades*, and being put in hopes of renewing the War by *Mago*, Son to *Amilcar*, made Levies in the farther *Spain*, and armed a multitude of Men, to the number of fifty Thousand Foot, and four Thousand five Hundred Horse. Of which latter most Authors agree, though some write, that there were seventy Thousand Foot brought to the City of *Silpi*. And there the two *Carthaginian* Generals sat down together upon the open Plains, because they would not decline fighting.

XIII. *Scipio*, when he heard of such a vast Armies being raised, he, fearing that he should not find the Roman Legions strong enough for such a Multitude, if he did not make a shew at least of some Auxiliaries from the Spaniards (and yet he must not lay so much stress upon them, as that by falsifying their Oaths (which was the ruine of his Father and Uncle) they might be able to make any great alteration in his affairs) sent *Silanus* before to *Colcas*, who was King of eight and twenty Towns, to receive from him those Horse and Foot which he had promised that Winter to raise; and going himself from *Tarraco*, muster'd up immediately among his Allies that live upon that Road a small number, till he came to *Castulo*. The Auxiliaries brought thither by *Silanus*, were three Thousand Foot and five Hundred Horse. Thence therefore they marched on to the City *Batula* with all their Army of Citizens, Allies, Horse and Foot, whose number was forty five Thousand. *Mago* and *Massinissa* set upon them, as they were pitching their Camp with all their Horse: and they had disturb'd them as they were fortifying themselves, if a party of Horse, that was planted very opportunely by *Scipio* behind a bank to that end, had not surpriz'd and routed them. For those Men, even before they had well engag'd in the fight, defeated all that were most forward, next to the Bulwark, opposing the very fortifiers, though with the rest, who marched under their Ensigns, and in Battalia, they had a longer and that a doubtful conflict. But as soon as the Regiments were commanded from their Posts, and their Souldiers drawn off from their Works, whilst more were ordered to take up Arms, and fresh Men still supplied the room of such as were tired, so that a vast body of armed Men rush'd out of the Camp into the Battel, the *Carthaginians* and *Numidians* immediately turn'd their backs. And at first they marched off in Troops, without disordering their Ranks either through fear or haste: but soon after when the *Romans* fell more sharply upon their Rear, so that their shock was insupportable, they forgot all order, and ran to all places that were next at hand, which way soever they could. But though in that fight the *Romans* were a little more encouraged, and the Enemy somewhat disheartened, yet they did not for some days after cease to make excursions with their Horse, and light-armed Men.

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the revolt of their Allies caused the flight to be more safe than staying there: the beginning of which revolt proceeded from *Attanes* a petite King of the *Turdetani*, who went over to the Enemy with a great number of his Countrymen. After that there were two wall'd Towns delivered up to the *Roman* by the Governours of them. Wherefore lest that mischief should increase upon him, *Asdrubal*, seeing them once inclined to a defection, in the dead of the night following remov'd his Camp.

XVI. *Scipio*, as soon as it was Day, when those that were upon the Guard brought him word, That the Enemy was gone, sending the Horse before, he ordered the Ensigns to march. And with such speed did they pursue, that if they had gone directly after, they had certainly overtaken them. But they trusted to the Guides, who told them, there was a nearer way to the River *Batis*, where they might set upon them as they were going over. *Asdrubal*, seeing his passage over the River was intercepted, turned toward the Ocean; and then his Men set a running as hard as they could, which carried them some distance from the Roman Legions. But the Horse and light-armour coming up with them sometimes in their Rear, and sometimes in their Flanks, teased them and made them halt. At last, whilst upon frequent tumults, their Ensigns stood still, and they engaged sometimes with Horse, and sometimes with Foot, the Legions overtook them. Then there was (not a Fight, but) as it were a butchering of Sheep; till their General (the author of their flight) with almost six Thousand Men half armed escaped into the adjacent Hills; but the rest were all slain and taken. The *Carthaginians* fortified a tumultuary Camp all in halt upon a very high Place, from whence, seeing the Enemy had in vain endeavoured to get up, it being so steep and rough, they easily defended themselves. But the Siege, being in a naked and barren place, was hardly tolerable even for a few Days. Wherefore they went many of them over to the Enemy; and at last the General himself took Shipping (nor was the Sea far off that place) and in the night time leaving his Army, fled to *Gades*. *Scipio* hearing that the Enemies General was gone, left ten Thousand Foot, and a Thousand Horse with *Silanus* to besiege the Camp: whilst himself, with the rest of his Forces, at seventy encampings, returned to *Tarraco*, forthwith to inquire concerning the petite Kings and Cities thereabout, that he might reward them according to their real merits. After his departure, *Massinissa* coming to a private conference with *Silanus*, that he might make his Nation also comply with his new designs, went over with a few of his Countrymen into *Africa*: nor was the cause of his suddain revolt to the *Romans* at that time so evident, as his constancy in his allegiance to them even to his dying Day made it even then appear just, and that he did not do it without some good reason. Then *Mago* went for *Gades* in the Ships that *Asdrubal* sent back, whilst all the rest being deserted by their Generals, partly by revolting, and partly running away, were dissipated through all the neighbouring Cities: so that there was no party of them to be found that was considerable either for their number or strength. Thus chiefly by the conduct and good fortune of *P. Scipio*, were the *Carthaginians* beaten out of *Spain* in the thirteenth Year after the War began, and the fifth after *P. Scipio* had that Province and that Army. Not long after *Silanus* sending word, That he had defeated the Enemy, returned to *Scipio* at *Tarraco*.

XVII. *L. Scipio* with many noble Captives was sent to *Rome* to tell the News of *Spain* being recovered. Which thing, though all other People were very glad and proud of, he only that performed those great exploits, being a Person of indefatigable virtue and truly to be admired, reckoned the recovery of *Spain* but as a small matter in respect of those things that he in his mighty Soul had conceived. For he now look'd toward *Africa*, the great *Carthage*, and the consummation of the glory of that War, which he foresaw would be a great addition to his Honour and Renown. Wherefore he, thinking it best before-hand to try how things would probably go, and to win the affections of the Kings and Nations there, resolved first of all to make an attempt upon *Syphax*, who was King of the *Masæsylians*. Now the *Masæsylians* are a People near the *Moors*, looking most toward that part of *Spain*, where new *Carthage* stands. At that time there was a League between that King and the *Carthaginians*, which *Scipio* supposing to be no more sacred or regarded by him than it usually was by all Barbarians, whose faith depends upon their fortune, he sent an Envoy to him, called *C. Lælius*, with certain Presents. At which the Barbarian being pleased (seeing that now the *Romans* were prosperous in all Places, and the *Carthaginians* not only disabled in *Italy*, but brought to nought in *Spain*) consented to an alliance with the *Romans*, but said, he would not make or take a solemn promise to confirm it, save in the presence of the Roman General himself. Whereupon *Lælius*, having received the Kings word for this only, That he should come thither safe, returned to *Scipio*. *Syphax* was of very great importance to him in all cases, now that he aimed at *Africa*, as being the richest King in all that Country, having tryed even the *Carthaginians* themselves in War, and having a Country that lay so conveniently toward *Spain*, which is divided from it by nothing save a narrow Sea. *Scipio* therefore, since he could accomplish it no other way, thought this enterprise deserved to be attempted with great hazard: and for that reason, leaving *L. Marcus* at *Tarraco*, and *M. Silanus* at New *Carthage* (whither he had travelled over land by great Journeys from *Tarraco*) as a Guard to *Spain*; himself with *C. Lælius* setting out in two Gallies

Gallies of five banks of Oars a-piece, from *Carthage* sailed in a calm Sea, most commonly with Oars, and sometimes with a small gale of wind, into *Africa*. It so happened, that at that very time *Asdrubal* being beaten out of *Spain*, was come into the same Harbour with seven Gallies of three banks a-piece, and had cast Anchor there. But when they saw the other two Gallies of five banks a-piece, making no question of their being the Enemies, they feared they might be overpowered by a greater number before they could get a-shore; inasmuch, that being all in a tumult and a fright, though they did what they could to get away, 'twas all to no purpose. For the Gallies of five banks, having a fresher Gale than ordinary, were got into the Port before the *Carthaginians* could weigh their Anchors. But there was no harm done besides what they suffered by their consternation, because the *Romans* being in a Port belonging to the King, durst not meddle with them. Wherefore *Asdrubal* going first, *Scipio* and *Lælius* went presently after a-shore, and so to the King.

That look'd very great to *Syphax* (as it really was) that the Generals of two of the most opulent People of that age should come, in one Day, to desire his alliance and friendship. He invited both of them to lye at his House; and seeing fortune had put them under the same roof, he endeavoured to bring them to a conference in order to compose their differences. But *Scipio* denying that he had any private quarrel with the *Carthaginian*, which he could end by discoursing with him; or that he could treat with an Enemy concerning any thing relating to the Commonwealth without the Senates consent, the King on the other hand was very earnest with him, that one of his Guests might not seem excluded from his Table; but that he would be perswaded to come to the same meal, and he complied. So they supped together at the Kings Palace; yea, *Scipio* and *Asdrubal* (since the King would needs have it so) lay at Supper upon the same Bed. Now *Scipio* was so courteous a Man, and had so much natural wit, that by his eloquence, he did not only make *Syphax*, though a Barbarian, and not used to Roman manners, but even his mortal Enemy [*Asdrubal*] his Friend; who pretended, He much more admired him now he saw him, than for all his warlike Exploits: Nor did he question but *Syphax* and his Kingdom were at the *Romans* service; such an art that Person had to win affections. So that the *Carthaginians* must not ask how *Spain* was lost, but study how they may keep *Africa*. For that Roman General was not come there to travel only and see fashions, leaving his new Conquest and his Armies to come over into *Alia* with two Ships, thereby to put himself into an Enemies Country under the power of a King, whose fidelity and honour he had never tryed, but with hopes to gain all *Africa*. That he had this a long time in his thoughts, yea publicly murmured, that, as *Annibal* did in *Italy*, *Scipio* could not wage War in *Africa*. *Scipio* having made a League with *Syphax* went out of *Africa*, and though with cross, for the most part, and violent Winds, he were mightily tossed at Sea, the fourth Day he arrived at New *Carthage*.

XIX. *Spain* as it was at rest from the Punick War, so it appeared that some of its Cities, through their consciousness of what they had been guilty of, were quiet for fear, more than love and duties sake: of which, the most eminent were *Illiturgi* and *Castulo*. For the *Castulonians*, though they had been Allies to the *Romans* in their Prosperity, yet when the *Scipios* with their Armies were slain, they had revolted to the *Carthaginians*: and the *Illiturgians* by betraying and killing such as fled to them for succour, had added a new crime to that of their revolt. But upon those People at his first coming, when *Spain* was in a doubtful disposition, it would not have been to his advantage so much, as according to their deserts, to have exercised any severities; though now when things were all composed, because the time of inflicting due punishment upon them seemed to be come, he sent for *L. Marcus* with the third part of his Forces from *Tarraco*, and ordered him to go and attack *Castulo*: whilst he himself, with the rest of his Army, arrived at *Illiturgi* in about five Days. The Gates were shut, and all things set ready for the defence of the Town; their Confidence of what they knew they deserved, being to them instead of a Declaration of War. Then *Scipio* began to exhort his Souldiers, saying, That the *Spaniards* themselves by shutting their Gates, shewed not only what they feared, but what they deserved: wherefore they ought to wage War against them with much more animosity than against the *Carthaginians*. For with these they contended almost without any passion for Empire and Glory only, but of those they ought to take revenge for their treachery, cruelty, and villany. That now the time was come, in which they might be even with them for the horrid murder of their fellow-souldiers, and the treachery that was designed against themselves also, if they had fled that way: yea, that they might make them an example to all posterity, and provide, that no man should ever think any Roman Citizen, or Soldier in any fortune so mean as to injure him. The Soldiers being excited by this exhortation of their General, divided their scaling Ladders among such Men as they chose out of every maniple: and when the Army was so parted between them, that *Lælius* commanded one half as Lieutenant, they attacked the frightened City in two places at once. Then not one General only, or a great many of their Nobility, but their own fear, being conscious of what they had done, perswaded the Towns-men with all speed to defend their City; for they remembered, and told each other, That it was not Victory but Punishment which was sought for of them. That it was of great importance where a Man dye; whether in a Battel and in the Field, where the fortune of War, which is common



to all men, used oftentimes to raise the vanquished and afflict the conquerour; or whether, when their City was burnt and demolished, they expired before the faces of their Wives and Children, by stripes and bonds, suffering all the cruelties and indignities imaginable. Wherefore, not only those of military age, or Men, but Women also, and Boys came thither to assist them even above their strength either of body or mind; reaching them Weapons as they fought, and Stones to fortify the Walls. For it was not the Liberty alone which was at stake (for which the Valiant were most concern'd) but the extremity of all Punishments and ghastly Death was before all their Eyes. Their minds were inflamed, not only with striving who should take most pains, or undergo most danger, but even by looking at one another also. Wherefore the Fight was begun with so much ardour, that that very Army which subdued all Spain, being often repelled by the Youth of that one Town, was put to a dishonourable plunder. Which when Scipio saw, fearing lest by so many vain attempts of his Men his Enemies courage should increase, and his Soldiers grow more disheartened, he thought it his business to endeavour to bear a share in the danger, and chiding the Soldiers sloth, commanded the Ladders to be brought to him, threatening, *That he himself, if the rest were afraid, would get up.* Accordingly he went, with no small hazard, under the Walls; at which a shout was set up round about by the Soldiers, who were much concerned for their General, and Ladders began to be erected in several Places at the same time. On the other side Lelius made his onset; whereby the strength of the Townsmen was overcome, the Defendants knock'd down, and the Walls seized. The Castle also on that side where it seemed impregnable, was taken in the hurly-burly.

XX. The African Fugitives, who at that time were among the Roman Auxiliaries, whilst the Townsmen were employed in defending those Places, where they thought there was most danger, and the Romans got up wherever they could make their approaches, spied a very high part of the City, which, because it was covered with an exceeding high Rock, was neither fortified with any works, nor had any men to defend it. They therefore being light-timber'd Men, and through much exercise very nimble, carried Iron Spikes along with them and clim'd up where they could, by the unequal prominencies of the Rock. But where it was in any Place too steep and smooth, they stuck their Spikes in at small distances, and made steps as it were; the first of them helping those that followed up by their hands, and the last heaving up such as went before them, till they came to the top. Then they ran down into the City which was already taken by the Romans. Then it appear'd that the City was attack'd merely out of spleen and hatred; since no one was desirous to take any live Prisoners, nor minded the Plunder, though every thing lay wide open to their rapine: they only kill'd both arm'd and unarmed, Women as well as Men; yea, their cruel fury proceeded even to the slaughter of Infants. Then they put fire to the Houses, and demolished those they could not burn; so earnest they were to obliterate the very footsteps of that City, and raise the very memory of their Enemies seat. From thence Scipio led his Army to Castulo; which City, not only the Spaniards, that came thither, but also the remainder of the Punick Army, that was left since their being routed and scattered to all parts, stood in defence of. But the News of the slaughter at Illiturgi had prevented Scipio's arrival; whereupon a terror and despair had seized on all the Castulomans: and upon several accounts, since every single Person would consult his own Interest without regard to any body else, there arose first a tacite jealousy, and then open discord made a division between the Carthaginians and the Spaniards. The latter of whom were publicly perswaded by Cerdubellus to make a surrender. Himilco commanded the Punick Auxiliaries; all whom and the City, by a private compact, Cerdubellus betrayed to the Romans. But that Victory was more mild than the former: nor were these People guilty of so great a crime; besides, that their voluntary surrender had taken off some part of the Enemies fury. Then Marcius was sent to reduce the Barbarians, if any there were not yet in perfect subjection to the Roman Empire.

XXI. Scipio went back to Carthage to pay his vows to the Gods, and set forth the fencing Prize, which he had designed upon account of the death of his Father and his Uncle. But this was a Prize not fought by such sort of Men, as common Fencers use to pick up, when they make choice of Slaves and such Free-men as will make sale of their Blood. No this was all voluntary and gratis done. For some were sent from the petite Kings to give a sample of that courage which was so natural to their Nation: whilst others professed, *That they would fight purely out of respect to the General*; and a third sort were drawn by emulation and ambition to challenge, and if challenged, to shew they would not decline the Combate. Some again, who were not able, or at least not willing to end their controversies by verbal disputes, agreeing between themselves, *That the Victor should have the thing contended for*, decide it by the Sword. Nor were they obscure Persons, but Men of Birth and Quality, such as Corbis and Orsua who were Cousin-Germans; and being at variance concerning the Principality of the City called Ibis, declared they would fight for it. Corbis was the Elder; but Orsua's Father had been the last Prince or Governour, having received the Dignity from his elder Brother when he dyed. Scipio would fain have composed the difference, and reconciled them by reason; but they said, *That could not be among*

among such near Relations as they were; nor would they have any God or Man, save Mars alone, to be Judge in their Cause. The elder was the stronger, and the younger in the very flower of his Age; but both of them desired rather to die in the Combate, than either to be in subjection to the other; and therefore, since they could not be perswaded out of their fury, they gave the Army a very signal entertainment, shewing, *What a mischief the desire of Empire is among mankind.* The elder with his experience and slight that he had, very easily overcame the unskilful strength of the younger. To this Prize of Fencing were added Funeral Games to make up the solemnity, with preparations both from the Province and the Camp.

Their affairs in the mean time were nevertheless carried on by the Lieutenants. For XXII. Marcius having past Betis, a River, which the Inhabitants call Cirtium, took two rich Cities without fighting, by surrender. Then there was a certain City, always on the Carthaginians side; but that did not so much deserve their anger, as that, without the necessities of War, they bore an extraordinary hatred to the Romans. Yet their City was not so secure, either by its situation, or any fortifications, as to make them more haughty than ordinary: but the natural inclinations of the Inhabitants, who delighted in Robbery, put them upon making excursions into the neighbouring Countries of such as were Allies to the Romans, to seize the straggling Roman Soldiers, knapsack or scullion Boys, and Merchants that pass that way. Besides which, they had likewise kill'd a great Company, who, because it was unsafe for a few, were going together through their Confiner, (in an ill place to fight in) out of an Ambuscade. When therefore the Army approach'd to attack this City, the Townsmen, being conscious of what they had done, since neither a surrender could be any security to Men so obnoxious, nor they had any hopes either with their Walls or Arms to preserve themselves, they did a foul and a barbarous act against themselves and those that belonged to them. They pitched upon a place in their Forum, where they laid all their Goods of greatest value: and having ordered their Wives and Children to sit upon that heap, they piled Wood and Faggots about them. Which when they had done, they commanded fifty young Men in Arms, *That till the event of the Battel were known, they should be as a Guard there to their fortunes, and those Bodies, which were more dear to them. That, if they saw they were like to have the worst out, and the City just ready to be taken, they might be sure all those who engaged in the fight would perish there: and therefore they desired them for the sake of all the Gods in Heaven and Hell, that remembering their liberty, which that day would be taken from them, either by an honourable death, or infamous slavery, to leave nothing for the enraged Enemy to insult over: But since they had Fire and Sword in their hands, they would with those kind and faithful Instruments, rather destroy what needs must be lost, than let the Foe have any thing on which to exercise their cruel scorn.* To these exhortations they added a dire execration, if hope or compassion caus'd any one of them to balk their design. Then mustering all their Forces together they flung open their Gates, and with a mighty noise ran out. Nor was there any Guard strong enough at that time in their way: because nothing could less be feared, than that they would dare to come forth of their Walls. Only some very few Parties of Horse, and light-armour were thereupon forthwith sent out of the Roman Camp to meet them. Wherefore the Fight was more sharp in regard to their vehemence and resolutions, than regular or orderly at all. Thereupon the Horse, who first came up to the Enemy, being repelled, put the light-armour'd Men in a fright; and they had fought under the very Bullwark, had not the Body of the Legions, though they had but little time to prepare, put themselves in Battalia. But for all that too they were for some time at a plunge about the Ensigns, seeing the Enemy, blinded with fury, ran with such hardiness upon their Swords. The old Soldiers, who for a long time were very pertinacious against their rash assaults, suppressed those that followed, by killing such as first came to hand: and some after endeavouring to advance somewhat farther, when they saw ne'r a Man of them gave back, but that they all dyed obstinate at their Feet, they opened their main Body (which by reason of their Multitude they could easily do) and enclosing the Wings of the Enemy, kill'd every Man of them as they fought in a circular form.

XXIII. And these things were done by the angry Enemy, when they fought according to the Law of War against Men in Arms, and such as made resistance. But there was a much more barbarous Massacre in the City; where their own fellow-Citizens murdered an innocent company of Women and Children that wore no Arms, throwing most of their Bodies into the kindled Pile half dead; insomuch that Rivers of Blood almost put out the rising flame, till they themselves at last, quite tired with the miserable slaughter of their Friends, threw their own Bodies, with their Arms into the midst of the Fire. When the slaughter was over, the victorious Romans came in; and at the first view of such a barbarous act stood for a while astonished. But then, when they saw the Gold and Silver that glittered through the heap of other things, and would out of a covetous humour, natural to Mankind, have snatched it out of the Fire, they were some of them scorched by the flames, and others singed by the heat, there being no way for the foremost to retire, because the crowd was so great behind them. Thus Astapa was consumed by Fire and Sword, without any booty taken

taken by the Soldiers: and *Marcus* having all the rest of that Region delivered to him out of fear by way of surrender, led back his conquering Army to *Scipio* at New Carthage. At that very time there came Renegadoes from *Gades*, who promised, *They would betray that City, the Punick Garrison that was in it, and the Governour of that Garrison with the Navy, to the Romans.* *Mago* had there stop'd his flight; and having got ten Ships together from the Ocean, had raised some Auxiliaries, not only beyond the Streights on the Coast of *Africa*, but out of the adjacent parts of *Spain* through the assistance of *Hanno*, who was Prefect there. When therefore they had mutually obliged themselves and the Renegadoes by solemn promises of fidelity, *Marcus* was sent thither with the nimblest Regiments they had, and *Laelius* with seven Gallies of three Banks, and one of five, that they might attack jointly both by Land and Sea.

XXIV. *Scipio* himself falling extremely sick, though said to be much worse than really he was, because every one made some addition 'tis a thing so natural to mankind to propagate reports) to what they heard, put all the Province, but especially the remoter parts of it into disorder: whereby it was evident, what a great disturbance his being truly dead would have made, if a false rumour could raise such storms. Hence neither Allies continued in their fidelity, nor their Army in their duty. *Mandonius* and *Indibilis*, whose expectations were not answered (they having designed the Kingdom of *Spain* for themselves, now that the *Carthaginians* were beaten out) stirred up their Countrymen (the *Lacetans*) with the Celtiberian Youth, and in an hostile manner depopulated the *Suesetane* and *Sedetane* Territories, which belonged to the Allies of the Roman People. Another civil tumult arose in the Camp near the River *Sucro*; where there were eight Thousand Soldiers, set as a Guard to those Nations, that live on this side the River *Iberus*. Now they were disgusted, not just then, when they heard the General was sick, but long before, being grown licentious, as People use to be, by their continued peace and ease; and somewhat the more, because having been used so much to plunder the Enemies Country, they were now in Peace more straitened and kept in. But at first they talked only in private, and said, *If there were a War in the Province, Why were they idle? if otherwise, and that the Province were quite subdu'd, Why were not the Romans gone back into Italy?* They also demanded their pay with more insolence, than became the modesty and custom of Soldiers; besides that, their Sentinels gave sawcy language to the Tribunes as they went their rounds. Some also went a foraging in the night time about the Country that was at Peace: and in fine, they left their Ensigns in the Day time openly without any furrow: so that all things were carried according to the pleasure and licentious humour of the Soldiers, but nothing, consonant to the Rules and Discipline of War, or the commands of those that governed. Yet the form of the Roman Camp continued by this only means, that they, thinking the Tribunes, who were a little infected, would not be free from the contagion of that sedition and defection, permitted them to act as Judges in the *Principia* [the middle of the Camp] fetching the Word from them, but went themselves, in their turns, to visit all the Guards and Watches. By which means, as they had taken from them the power of commanding, so they preserved the shew of obedience to them, though they were their own Masters. Hereupon a Sedition broke out, when they perceived the Tribunes reprehended and disapproved of what was done, endeavouring to withstand it, and publicly declaring that they would not be partakers in their fury. Wherefore having turn'd the Tribunes first out of the *Principia*, and soon after, out of the Camp, the sole command was conferred by general consent upon the Heads of the Sedition, two private Sentinels, whose names were *C. Albius Calenus*, and *Atrius Umber*. Who being no ways content with the Tribunitial Ornaments, were so bold as to make use of those Sovereign Ensigns, the Axes and Rods. Nor did they think, that those Axes and Rods were like to fall upon their Necks and Backs, which they had carried before them to terrify others. For the report of the Death of *Scipio*, which they believ'd, though false, had blinded their minds: upon the common News whereof they did not doubt, *But to set all Spain in flames by a War. In which tumult, they might not only exact Money of the Allies, but also rifle the neighbouring Cities.* And that, amidst such disturbances, when all Men durst do what they pleas'd their actions would be less conspicuous.

XXV. When they expected fresh intelligence, not only of his Death, but Funeral also, and none came, but the false rumour vanished, the first Authors of it were inquired after. Whereupon each one excusing himself, so as that they might seem rather to have believed it at a venture, than made such a story, the Heads of the Sedition were weary of their Ensigns, and fear'd, that instead of that vain shadow of Empire which they bore, a true and a just Authority would soon turn it self upon their Heads. The Sedition being thus at a stand, there was certain intelligence brought, that *Scipio* was not only alive but well too, and there came to confirm it seven Tribunes of the Soldiery, who were sent by *Scipio* himself. At whose first arrival their minds began to be exasperated: but soon after, those Tribunes perswading such as they met and knew, with fair words, they were appeased. For going about first to every Tent, and then into the *Prætorium* [the Generals Tent] and *Principia*, where they saw any crowds of Soldiers talking together, they spoke to them; asking

asking rather, *What was the cause of their sudden fury and consternation*, than accusing them for what they had done? They generally gave out that they had not their pay at the Day appointed: *But though at the same time, when the \* villany was committed at Illiturgi, after \* In the destruction of two Generals, and two Armies, the Roman Glory was preserved by their v.a. In the tour, and the Province kept still in subjection, the Illiturgitans having the due reward of their crimes, there was no Man would thank them for what they had done.* Seeing therefore that they complained in this manner, they told them, *Their requests were but just, and they would tell the General of it. That they were glad the case was no worse, and might be so easily remedied: and that Scipio, through the mercy of the Gods, with the Commonwealth, was able to thank them for all their pains.* *Scipio* who was used to War, but a stranger to Seditions, was mightily concerned at it, lest either the Army should offend him, or he punish them too much. For the present therefore, as he had begun, he thought fit to deal very gently with them, and by sending Collectors all about to the Cities that were Tributaries toward the paying of the Army, to put them in some nearer prospect and hopes of their pay. Thereupon he set forth an Edit, *That they should come to Carthage for their arrears, either in small parties, or all together, as they pleased.* But that which totally quieted this Sedition, which was already of it self in a languishing condition, was the sudden reconciliation of the rebellious Spaniards. For *Mandonius* and *Indibilis* were come home again, having quitted their enterprise, when they heard that *Scipio* was alive: nor had the seditious now any Countrymen or Stranger wherewithal to communicate their Fury. Wherefore considering all things, they found there was nothing left for them to do, better than the safest refuge, which was, *To resign themselves either to the just anger, or the clemency of their General, which was not even yet to be despaired of. That he had pardoned even his Enemies, with whom he had fought: and that their sedition was carried on without any blood or wounds, being neither cruel it self, nor consequently deserving any very severe punishment.* Which words of theirs were according to the nature of Mankind, who are but too rhetorical when they would lessen their own guilt. This only doubt they made, *Whether they should go to fetch their pay in single Regiments or all together:* but that opinion took which they thought carried most safety in it, *That they should go all at once.*

At the same time, when they were in this consultation, there was a Council held about XXVI. them at Carthage; where they differed in opinion, *Whether they should punish only the Authors of the Sedition (who were not above five and thirty) or whether a defection, rather than a sedition, of such ill example, ought to be revenged upon more.* But the milder opinion took place; *That whence the fault first sprung, there the punishment should be laid: and that any sort of chastisement was enough to keep the multitude in order.* Having dismissed the Council, to shew he minded what he was about, *Scipio* ordered the Army, that was at Carthage, to go immediately against *Mandonius* and *Indibilis*, and to take Provisions along with them for several Days. Then sending the seven Tribunes of the Soldiers, who before also went to *Sucro* to appease the Sedition, to meet the Army, there being five Names brought in of such as were Ringleaders of the Sedition, he ordered the Tribunes to get them invited into some Inn by Men fit for that purpose, with fair words, and courteous behaviour, and when they were drunk, to bind them. They were not far from Carthage, when those they met told them, *That the next day the whole Army went with M. Silanus against the Lacetans; which News did not only free them from all fear, which tacitely lay upon their Spirits, but made them exceeding glad; because they were like to have a sole General, more than to be under his command.* About Sun-setting they came into the City, and saw another Army preparing all things for their March. Then having been entertain'd with speeches made on purpose, in which they were complemented and told, *That their arrival was very happy and opportune for the General; that they should come just upon the setting out of another Army, they refreshed themselves.* Which when they had done, they laid hold of the Authors of the Sedition without any noise, when they were brought into the Inns by Men fit for that purpose, and bound them. At the fourth Watch the carriages of the Army, which they pretended would march, began to set out. At break of Day the Ensigns moved; but the Body of the Army was stop'd at the Gate, and Guards sent to all the Gates of the City to hinder any Body from going out. Then those, who came the Day before, being summoned to an Assembly, ran all together with speed and vehemence into the Forum to the Generals Tribunal, designing to frighten them with their shouts. At the same time the General also got up upon the Tribunal: and the Soldiers being brought back from the Gates, planted themselves behind the unarm'd Assembly. Thereupon all their courage was cooled as they afterward confessed, *That nothing terrified them so much as the Generals strength and colour (whom they expected to find very ill) he having such a complexion (they said) as that they never remembered him to have such an one even in the field.* He sat silent for a while, till word was brought that the Authors of the Sedition were come into the Forum, and all things were ready.

Then the Cryer commanding silence, he thus began, *I thought I should never want words XXVII. to speak to my Army: not that I ever made words more than things my business; but because, almost from my childhood having lived in a Camp, I was always used to military dispositions;*

yet how I shall speak to you, I do not know; no, not so much as by what name to apply myself to you, and call you: Citizens? who have revolted from your Country. Or Soldiers? who have refused my command and conduct, and broken your military oath. Enemies? I own you have the bodies, faces, habit, and guise of Citizens: but I see the actions, words, designs, and inclinations of Enemies. For what have you either desired or hoped for, but what the Iltergetes and Lacetans have done? Nay, they followed Mandonius and Indibilis, who were Princes, when they rebell'd: but you have conferred the command and conduct of your Persons upon Umbrius Atrius, and Calenus Albius. Tell me, you did not all do so, or desired it should be so, but that it was the fury and madness of some few. I am very willing to believe you when you say so. For there have such things been committed, as if they were common to all the Army, could be atoned for without great Sacrifices. But I am loth to touch them, as I would be to touch wounds; though if they are not touch'd and handled, they cannot be cured. And indeed, since the Carthaginians were driven out of Spain, I did not think there had been any place in the whole Province, or any Person, where or to whom my life had been an eye-sore: so cautiously did I behave myself, not only in respect to our Allies, but even my Enemies also. In my own Camp (see how I was mistaken!) the report of my Death was not only well taken, but expected too. Not that I would have you think every one of them guilty (for if I thought my Army wished my Death, I would dye here presently before their faces; nor would my life do me any good, if it were hateful to my Countrymen and fellow Soldiers). But every multitude, like the Sea, though of its own nature immovable, as the winds and breezes move it, is calm or stormy: and the original cause of all your fury were the Authors of it, for you are mad by contagion. Nor do I think you know even to this Day to what pitch your fury would have risen; what you would have attempted against me, your Country, Parents, Children, the Gods (who are witnesses of your oaths) the Auspices, under which you have fought, the custom of War, discipline of your Ancestors or the Majesty of the Roman Empire. I say nothing of myself: you believ'd that report inconsiderately, rather than with any satisfaction. But say I were such a Person as that it were no wonder an Army should be weary of my Government. Pray, what had your Country deserv'd of you, when you betray'd it by plotting with Mandonius and Indibilis? when you took that Commission, which the Roman People gave them, from the Tribunes, and conferred it upon private Men? when, not content to make them Tribunes, you (though a Roman Army) bestow'd the Fasces, i. e. Rods of your General upon them that never had any servant to command in their lives. Albius and Atrius lay in the Prætorium: the Trumpets sounded upon their Orders: the Word was fetch'd from them: they sat upon the Tribunal of the Proconsul Scipio: they had Liſtors to attend them, who put the People by, to make room for them as they walk'd along; and the Rods and Axes carried before them. Do you think it strange for it to rain stones; for Temples to be burnt by Lightning, or that Animals should bring forth such or such a monstrous Off-spring? But this is a Prodigie that cannot be expiated with any sacrifices, nor any supplications, without the blood of them, that were so audacious as to be concerned in it.

XXVIII. Now I would fain know (though there can be no reason for an ill act) what your intention or design could be in a thing so wicked as this was. The Legion, that was sent to Rhegium for a Guard to that place, basely murdered the chief Men of the City, and kept that Town for ten years. For which the whole Legion, consisting of four Thousand Men, were all beheaded with an Axe in the Forum at Rome. But they first followed (not Atrius Umber, a fellow scarce better than a knapsack boy, and one of an ominous name, but) Decius Jubellius, a Tribune of the Soldiers: nor had they join'd themselves with Pyrrhus, the Samnites, or Lucanians, who were Enemies to the Romans: whilst you have communicated your designs with Mandonius and Indibilis, with whom you were like to have made an Alliance. They, as the Campanians Capua (which they took from the old Tuscans) the Mamertines in Sicily Messane, in like manner resolved to make Rhegium their perpetual seat; nor ever designed to molest either the Roman People or their Allies by any War. Would you have lived always at Sucro? where if I should have gone away when I had subdued the Province, and left you, you ought to have called both Gods and Men to your relief, that you did not return to your Wives and Children. But you had cast the memory of them, as of your Country and me, quite out of your minds. But I have still a great desire to find out the drift of this your design, which, though very wicked, was not so mad as to have no meaning in it. Would you, who were but eight Thousand Men, though all no doubt of more worth than Albius and Atrius are, to whom you put your selves in subjection, have taken Spain from the Roman People, whilst I was alive, and the rest of the Army safe, with whom I in one Day took Carthage; with whom I routed and put to flight four Generals, and four Armies of the Carthaginians, whom I expell'd out of this Province? But I'll omit and wave my Name. The only injury you have done me, is that you so easily believ'd my Death. Why, what? if I had dyed, would the Commonwealth and the Roman Empire have fallen with me? Good Heaven forbid it; that a City built for all eternity by the direction of the Gods, should be as perishable as this frail, mortal Body of mine. The Roman People still survive Flaminius, Paullus, Gracchus, Postumius Albinus, M. Marcellus, T. Quintius Crispinus, C. Fulvius, and my Relations, the Scipios, so many and such great Commanders, who were taken off in one War, and will out-live a thousand more, that shall die, some by Sword, and others of Diseases: and do you think then, that the Commonwealth of that great People would have been buried at my Funeral, that am but a single Person? You

your selves, when my Father and Uncle, two Generals, were slain, chose, here in Spain, Septimus Marcius for their Leader against the Carthaginians, who were proud of a late Victory. I speak this to shew the folly of your imaginations: as though the Province of Spain would ever be without a Commander. Would M. Silanus, think you, who was sent hither with the same Commission as I was, L. Scipio my Brother, or C. Lælius, two Lieutenants, be wanting to revenge the honour of the Empire? Could the Armies, the Generals, their Dignity, or their cause be compared to each other? yet if you were superiour to them in all these respects, would you bear Arms for the Carthaginians against your Country, and your own fellow-Citizens? Would you have Africa to command Italy, and Carthage the City of Rome? What injury has your Country done you?

An unjust condemnation indeed, with a miserable and unworthy banishment, put Corio'anus XXIX. heretofore upon going to fight against his own Country; but his private Piety to his Mother, Wife and Children, recall'd him from that publick Parricidy. What grievances, what rage incited you? Was the deferring of your pay for a few days, when your General was sick, a sufficient ground for you to declare War against your Country? Why should you revolt from the Roman People to the Iltergetes? Why should no manner of thing, either Divine or Humane, be sacred to you? Why, indeed, my Soldiers! you were really mad: nor was the force of a distemper more violent upon my Body, than it was upon your minds. I am afraid to tell what the Men believ'd, what they hoped, or what they wished for. Let all things be swallowed up in oblivion, if it be possible: if not, at least let silence cover them. I do not deny but my speech may seem severe and harsh to you. But how much worse do you think your deeds are, than my words? And do you think it fit that I should bear with all that you have done, when you your selves will not endure to have it all so much as related? But I shall not upbraid you even with that any more; I wish you may as easily forget those things as I shall. Wherefore as to you all in general, if you repent of your error, I have revenge enough and to spare. But Albius Calenus and Atrius Umber, with the rest that were the Ring-leaders of this cursed Sedition, shall pay for it with their Blood. And their punishment ought to be to you not only not irksome, if you have recovered your senses, but a very joyful spectacle: for they had no designs more pernicious than upon you. He had scarce made an end of speaking, ere a general terrour was, by design before hand, struck into all their Eyes and Ears. For the Army, which enclosed the Assembly round, made a clattering with their Swords against their Shields; and the Cryers voice was heard, calling over the Names of those that were condemn'd in that Council. Wherefore they were dragg'd forth naked; and at the same time all the Instruments of Execution were brought out. Then the Offenders being tyed to a stake, and whip'd with Rods, were beheaded with an Axe: whilst the by-standers were so benum'd with fear, that there was not so much as any groan heard, much less any insolent word against the severity of the Punishment. After that, when they were all dragg'd out of the way, and the place purg'd, the Soldiers, call'd over by their Names before the Tribunes Military, swore to be true to P. Scipio, and had, each Man, their pay in order as they answered.

Thus was the Sedition ended, which began at Sucro. At the same time Hanno, Mago's XXX. Præfect being sent from Gades to the River Batis, with a small Band of Africans, and tempting the Spaniards with his Money, put four Thousand young Men in Arms. But soon after being forced from his Camp by L. Marcius, and having lost most part of his Men amidst the hurly burly at the taking of the Camp, as also some in their flight (the Horse pursuing the stragglers) himself with some few made his escape. Whilst these things were transacted at the River Batis, in the mean time, Lælius, having got out of the Straits into the Ocean, came by Sea to Carteia. That City is situate upon the Coast of the Ocean, just without the Straits mouth. They had hopes, as I said before, of recovering Gades, without any fighting, by treachery, there being certain Persons come to the Roman Camp, who on their own accord had promised to betray it. But the treachery was discovered before it was ripe for Execution; and Mago, having seized all the Conspirators, committed them to the custody of Adherbal the Prætor, with a charge that he should carry them to Carthage. Adherbal accordingly, having shipped them in a Gally of five Banks of Oars, and sent that before, because it was slower than one of three, himself with eight of three banks a-piece followed at a small distance. The Gally of five Banks was now just come into the strait, when Lælius in another of the same make, coming from the Port of Carteia with seven Gallies of three Banks after him, made up to Adherbal and his Gallies; as taking it for granted, that the Gally of five Banks being got into a rapid Gulph, could not go back against that Tide. The Carthaginian being surpriz'd, was for a while at a stand, and could not tell what to do: whether he should follow the five-bank'd Gally, or tack about toward the Enemy. But this delay took from him all means of avoiding the Fight, for they were now within a Darts cast of each other, and the Foe prest upon every side. The Tide also had taken away his power of guiding the Ships: nor was the Fight like a Sea engagement, there being nothing voluntary, nor any thing of art or stratagem in it. Only the force of the Sea, and the Tide, which commanded all the Fight, carried them against their own Ships, whilst they strove with their Oars to make a contrary way toward those of the Enemy: inſomuch that you might see one that was running

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away, forced back by the Whirlpools, and dashed against the Conquerours, and one that was in pursuit, if she light into a contrary tract of the Sea, turn away as if she had fled. And now one of them in the very Fight, when it made up with its armed stemm to bidge the Enemy, received, perchance, it self a wound in the side from the prow of another; whilst another that was going to run a cross the Foe, was in a moment turn'd with her stemm against the Tide. By which means (fortune ruling all) there was a doubtful conflict between the three-bank'd Gallies; but the Roman Gally of five, whether by reason of its weight and bulk, or that it had more rows of Oars to cut through the Whirlpools, being more easily governed, sunk two of the Enemies of three Banks, and brushing by another, broke all her Oars on one side: besides which, she had battered the rest that had come in her way, had not *Adherbal*, with the other five Ships, set sail and crost over into *Africa*.

XXXI. *Laelius* going back victorious to *Carteia*, and having heard what was done at *Gades*, to wit, that the Treason was detected, the Conspirators sent to *Carthage*, and all his hopes frustrate, he sent Messengers, the same way they had come, to *L. Marcius*, to tell him, *That unless they should spend time to no purpose, in lingering at Gades, they must return to the General*; to which *Marcius* assented, and some few Days after they both returned to *Carthage*. At whose departure *Mago*, who was fore put to it both by Land and Sea, had not only time to breath; but also hearing that the *Illyrgetes* were in Rebellion, he being thereby in hopes to recover *Spain*, he sent Messengers to the Senate at *Carthage*, who magnifying the Sedition that was in the Roman Camp, and likewise the defection of their Allies far beyond what it really was, should move them, *To send Auxiliaries, wherewithal to regain the Empire of Spain, which their fore-fathers left them*. *Mandonius* and *Indibilis* return'd into their own Country, and staid for some small time in suspense, till they knew what was resolved concerning the Sedition, believing, *That if they pardoned the errors of their Countrymen, they might possibly excuse them also*. But when they heard how severe that punishment inflicted on their own Men was, they supposed their crime would be thought to deserve the like penalty; and therefore putting their Countrymen again in Arms, and mustering up the Auxiliaries, which they formerly had, they marched over with twenty Thousand Foot, and two Thousand five Hundred Horse into the *Sedetane* Confines, where they at the beginning of their defection first encamped.

XXXII. *Scipio* having easily reconciled the minds of his Soldiers, not only by discharging his promise, and giving them all (whether guilty or not guilty) their pay, but by speaking and looking very kindly among them, before he removed his Camp from *Carthage*, called an Assembly, in which he made a long Invective against the treachery of the petite Kings, and said, *He did not go with the same thoughts to revenge that offence, as he did of late to heal a miscarriage among his own Countrymen*. For then he went, as if it had been to cut his own bowels, when with sighs and tears he expiated the imprudence or guilt of eight Thousand Men, by taking of the heads of thirty; but now he marched with joy and satisfaction to take off the *Illyrgetes*, they being neither born in the same Country, nor any ways allied or engaged to him, save only by a promise of friendship which they had basely broken. That he was pleased to see, that he had in his Army not only none but Countrymen, or Allies, and those of *Latine* extract, but also that there was hardly any one Soldier but what was brought out of Italy, either by his Uncle *Cn. Scipio* (who was the first Roman that came into that Province) or by his Father the Consul, or by himself. That he would carry them home again into their own Country to share in a deserved Triumph, who had been all along accustomed to the name and conduct of the *Scipioes*: and hoped, that when he stood for the Consulship, they would stand by him, as though their common honour were at stake. As to the present expedition against *Mandonius* and *Indibilis*, if any one thought it properly a War, he must needs forget the exploits which he had done. For he really was concerned more upon the score of *Mago*, who was fled out of the World into an Island surrounded by the Ocean with a few Ships, than at the *Illyrgetes*. For he was a *Carthaginian* General, and had a Pinick Guard with him be it more or less; but these were a company of Robbers and Banditti: who though they had some little strength, enough perchance to ravage the adjacent Countries, burn the Houses, and drive away the Cattel, yet in a field at a set Battel they had none. They therefore would vie with him more by their swiftness in running away, than through the trust they had in their Arms. Wherefore, that he thought fit to subdue the *Illyrgetes*, before he departed from that Province; not for that he feared any danger from them, or that any new War would thence arise, but first, that such a wicked defection might not go unpunished, and secondly, that it might not be said, that in a Province which was so stoutly and successfully subdued, there was any Enemy left. He therefore exhorted them in the name of the Gods to follow him, not so much to wage a War (for he had not to do with an Enemy that was equal to him) as to take revenge of a company of Malefactors.

XXXIII. Having made this Speech he dismissed them, with a charge, That they should prepare themselves to march next Day; and so setting forth, he came in ten Days time to the River *Iberus*. Then passing the River, he the fourth Day encamped in sight of the Enemy. Now there was a plain enclosed round about with Mountains, into which *Scipio* having ordered the Cattel, which he had forced, most of them, out of the Enemies Country, to be driven,

driven, in order to provoke the fury of the *Barbarians*, he sent a party of light-armed skirmishers to stand *perden*; by whom when the fight was by pickeering begun, he ordered *Laelius* with the Horse to fall on from an Ambuscade. For the Mountain hanging over very conveniently, covered the Horse who lay there ready. Nor was there any delay made in the affair: but the *Spaniards* seeing the Cattel afar off, ran up to seize them, and the light-armour fell upon them, as they were laden with the booty. At first they frightened them with Darts which they threw at them, but soon after laying aside their light Weapons, which are more fit to provoke than decide a dispute of that kind, they drew their Swords, and setting Foot to Foot began the Fight; in which it was like to have gone hard with them, had not the Horse come in. Nor did they only charge up directly, and kill'd them in the Front, but some likewise wheeling about the bottom of the Hill, fell into the Reer to intercept a good many of them. By which means there was a greater slaughter, than such light skirmishes use to make. The rage of the *Barbarians* was rather inflamed by their ill fortune, than their courage diminished: and therefore, lest they might seem dismayed, they marched forth into the Field next Morning as soon as it was Day. But the narrow Vale (as I told you) could not contain all their Forces: only about two parts of the Foot and all the Horse went down into it; the rest of the Foot stood upon the side of the Hill. *Scipio* therefore supposing the narrowness of the place to be an advantage to him; not only because the Roman Soldiers could fight better in a streight than the *Spaniards* could; but also because the Enemies Forces were drawn down into a place, that would not hold them all, he contrived another way, as seeing, *That in so narrow a compass he could not bring his Horse to cover the Foot, and that the Enemy too would find their Cavalry, which they had drawn out along with the Foot, very useless*. Wherefore he commanded *Laelius*, *To bring the Horse about the Hills the most secret way that he could; and to divide the Horse from the Foot Battel as far as possible*. Mean time he turned all the Ensigns of Foot upon the Foe, putting four Regiments in the Front, because he could not make it wider. But he made no delay from fighting; that thereby he might divert the Enemy from taking notice of the Horse, which passed along over the Hills. Nor did they perceive them to be led about, before they heard the noise of an Horse Fight at their backs. Thus there were two sorts of Fights: whilst two Battalions of Foot, and two of Horse fought all the length of the Plain, the narrowness of the Vale not allowing the Battel to be mix'd of both. Since therefore, neither the Spanish Horse assisted the Foot, nor the Foot the Horse, but the Foot trusting to the Horse, were rashly posted in the Plain and kill'd, whilst the Horse, who were circumvented, could not sustain either the Roman Foot before them, (for their own Foot Forces were already gone) or the Horse behind them, they defended themselves a good while (their Horses standing still) in a circular form, but were at last every Man of them cut off, nor was there so much as one left of all the Foot and Horse that engaged in that Vale. The third part, that stood in safety upon the Hill as Spectators, rather than designed to share in the fight, had both time and place to escape. Among them the petite Kings themselves also fled away, before the whole Army was circumvented, escaping in the hurly burly.

XXXIV. The same Day the Spanish Camp, besides the other booty, was taken with near three Thousand Prisoners. There fell of Romans and their Allies in that Battel one Thousand two Hundred, but were above three Thousand wounded. The Victory had been less bloody, if they had fought in a more open plain, where it had been easie for them to have ran away. *Indibilis*, laying aside all thoughts of War, and fancying nothing to be safer for him in his afflicted circumstances, than to fly to *Scipio's* known integrity and clemency, sent his Brother *Mandonius* to him; who falling down before him, *Accused the fatal madness of those times, when not only the Illyrgetes and Lacetans, but even the Roman Camp also were, by a kind of pestilent contagion, possessed with fury*. That his own, his Brothers, and the rest of their Countrymens condition was all the same; that either, if he thought fit, they must resign their breath to *Scipio* from whom they received it; or being twice preserv'd, must devote their Life, which they ow'd to him only, perpetually to his service. That before, they had confidence in their own cause, when they had not as yet experienced his clemency; but that now, they had no trust in their cause, but all their hopes were reposed in the mercy of their Conquerour. Now there was an ancient custom among the Romans, that they never used their Authority over any Person (that was not in League with, or otherwise obliged to them) as a Friend and Ally, before he had surrendered all things both Divine and Humane; before they had received Hostages, taken away their Arms, and put Garrisons into their Towns. Wherefore *Scipio*, having severely inveighed against *Mandonius*, who was present, and *Indibilis*, who was absent, said, *That though they ought justly to have dyed for their offences, yet they should live through the bounty of him and the Roman People*. But that he would neither take their Arms from them (for those were pledges belonging to such as fear'd, lest the party should rebel again) but would leave them free, and their minds also void of dread. Nor would he take revenge upon innocent Hostages, being resolved to punish them themselves if they again revolted, and demand satisfaction, not of a naked, but an armed Enemy; saying moreover, that he would leave it to them, who had tryed both fortunes, whether they would rather have the Romans to be propitious.

or cruel to them. Mandonius being thus dismiss'd, with nothing but a mulct of Money which was required to pay the Soldiers: he himself having sent *Marcus* before-hand into the farther Spain, and *Silanus* back to *Tarraco*, when he had stay'd some few days, till the *Illyrii* paid their Money, he, with the nimblest of his Men, overtook *Marcus*, who was now got near the Ocean.

XXXV. The affair touching *Masiniſſa*, which was formerly begun, was for sundry reasons deferred, because the *Numidian* had a desire to come and treat with *Scipio* himself, and receive his promises from his own mouth. That was the cause of so long and rambling a Journey as *Scipio* then took. *Masiniſſa* being at *Gades*, where he was inform'd by *Marcus* of *Scipio's* coming, pretended, that the *Horses* were spoiled by being shut up so in an Island, which caused not only a scarcity of all things among other people, but they themselves also were sensible of it; besides, that the *Horse-men* were grown dull with idleness: By which means he induced *Mago* to let him go over into the Continent to plunder the neighbouring Countries of Spain. When he was got over, he sent three *Numidian* Noble-men before him to appoint a time and place for the Parley; two of whom he order'd to be kept by *Scipio* for Hostages, and the third to be sent back to conduct *Masiniſſa* to the place where they were to meet: and so they having but a small retinue, came to speech with one another. Now the *Numidian* had heard so much of *Scipio's* great actions, that he admired him before he saw him, having in his mind the image of a proper and a brave man. But he was struck with greater admiration when he came face to face; for besides that there was a great deal of Majesty naturally in him, he was set off with long hair, his Body not artificially trick'd up, but manly and military, and his Age in its vigour, which was the fuller and more graceful, because his recovery from a late distemper had as it were renew'd the flower of his youth. The *Numidian* therefore being almost astonished at the first sight of him, gave him thanks for sending back his Brothers Son; and told him, That from that time he had sought that occasion of seeing him; which being by the bounty of the Gods then offered to him, he had not omitted. That he desired to serve him and the Roman People, to such a degree, that no Foreigner should ever strive to do more for them. That though he had had that inclination a long time, yet he was not so well able to put it in execution in Spain, which was a strange Country wherewith he was not so well acquainted: but he would do it in that Country where he was born and bred to the hopes of his Fathers Kingdom, with all the industry imaginable. And if the Romans would send *Scipio*, as their General into Africa, he had good hopes that Carthage would not be long liv'd. *Scipio* was glad to see and hear him, because he knew that *Masiniſſa* was the chief Commander of all the Enemies Horse, and that he being a Youth, carried the tokens of courage in his very face. They therefore having mutually obliged each other to fidelity, *Scipio* went back to *Tarraco*; and *Masiniſſa* having by permission of the Romans (lest he should seem to have gone over to no purpose) plunder'd the adjacent Countries, return'd to *Gades*.

XXXVI. *Mago*, being his affairs were desperate in Spain, which he had formerly, first from the Mutiny of the Soldiers, and then from the defection of *Indibilis*, very great hopes of, was just going into Africa, when News was brought to him from Carthage, That the Senate order'd him to carry the Navy, that they had at *Gades*, into Italy; and there when he had rais'd as many Gauls and Ligurians as he could, to join *Annibal*; and not to suffer that War which was begun with the greatest animosity and greater fortune to grow old before it was ended. To that end there was Money sent to *Mago* from Carthage, and he exacted as much as he could from those of *Gades*; plundering not only their Treasury, but their Temples too, and compelling all people to bring forth their Gold and Silver to publick view. As he sail'd by the Coast of Spain, not far from New Carthage, he set his men ashore, and having ravaged all the neighbouring Country, went on from thence to the City. Where having kept his Soldiers on board in the day-time, he led them in the night to that part of the Wall through which Carthage had been taken by the Romans: supposing not only that the Garrison there was scarce strong enough, but also that some of the Townsmen were inclined to innovation. But frightened Messengers out of the Country had brought word concerning the Plunder by him committed, how the Country-people ran away, and of the Enemies being arrived. And indeed they saw a Navy in the day-time, for which reason it was manifest they had cause to set a Guard before their City. Wherefore being armed and marshalled, they were kept within the Gate that looks toward the Lake and the Sea: and as soon as the Enemy came up (the Sailors and the Soldiers all together) to the Walls with more noise than force, the Romans on a sudden opening the Gate, broke forth with a great shout, and putting the Foe into disorder (who upon their first approach, and as soon as they came to sling their Javelins, turn'd their backs) pursued them to the very shore with great slaughter. Nor had there been any one of them alive after that flight and fight, if the Ships, which lay there, had not receiv'd them. Nay they were afraid even when they were aboard; and fearing lest the Enemy should come in with their own men, drew up their Ladders, cut their Cables, and would not stay to weigh their Anchors. And many of them swimming to the Ships, when they were uncertain, by reason of the darkness, whither to make, or what to avoid, most miserably perished. The next day when the Navy was gone back to the Ocean from whence it came, there were eight hundred men slain, and two thousand Arms found between the Shore and the Wall.

*Mago*

*Mago* being gone back to *Gades*, but excluded thence, went with his Navy to *Cimbris* (a place not far from *Gades*) from whence he sent Ambassadors to complain, That the *Gates* were shut against him who was an Ally and a Friend: of which they clear'd themselves by saying, It was occasioned by the concourse of the multitude, who had been injurious to them, in that the Soldiers that were on board had plunder'd them of their Goods; but notwithstanding he took their \* *Suffetes*, (which is the chief Magistrate among the *Carthaginians*) with the *Questor*, \* A Judge: and having scourg'd them, commanded them to be nailed to a Cross. Then he went over to *Pityusa*, an Island about an hundred thousand fathom from the Continent (which the *Carthaginians* at that time inhabited) where the Navy was very peaceably received, and not only provisions bountifully supplied, but as an addition to their Navy, a great many young Men and Arms. In the strength whereof the *Carthaginian* cross'd over to the *Baleares* [Islands called *Majorca* and *Minorca*] which lye about fifty thousand fathom from that. Now the *Baleares* are two, one greater and more opulent in Arms and Men: besides that it had a Port where he thought he might conveniently winter; for now it was the latter end of Autumn. But his Navy was met there with as much Hostility as if the Romans had dwelt in that Island. As they now most commonly make use of Slings, so did they then, and no other Weapon. Nor is there any single person in any other Nation that is so excellent in that Art, as all the *Balearians* are. By which means there was such a volley of stones, like a thick shower of Hail, pour'd in upon their Navy as it approached to the shore, that they not daring to enter the Port, tack'd about into the main Sea again. Then they went to the lesser of the *Balearian* Islands, which is a fertile Soil, but not so strong in Men and Arms. Wherefore there going ashore they pitch'd their Camp above the Port in a place well fortified, and having got possession of the Town and Country without any contest (after they had rais'd two thousand Auxiliaries there, whom they sent to Carthage to winter) they put their Ships into the Docks. After *Mago's* departure from the Coast of the Ocean, the *Gaditanes* surrendered themselves to the Romans.

These things were done in Spain by the Conduct of *P. Scipio*; who, having delivered the Province up to *L. Lentulus* and *L. Manlius Acidinus*, returned himself to Rome. And having a Senate call'd upon his account at the Temple of *Bellona*, he declared what he had done in Spain; how often he had fought in pitch'd Battels, how many Towns he had taken from the Foe, what Nations he had reduced into subjection to the Roman People; that he went into Spain against four Generals, and four conquering Armies, but had left ne're a *Carthaginian* in all that Province. For all which he rather attempted to gain a Triumph, than pertinaciously sought it; because it was never known to that day that ever any man triumphed, unless he were or had been a Magistrate [as Consul, &c.] The Senate being dismissed, he enter'd the City, and carried before him into the Treasury fourteen thousand three hundred and forty two pound of Silver Bullion, with a great deal of coined Silver. Then *L. Veturius Philo* held an Assembly for the chusing of Consuls, in which all the Centuries unanimously elected *P. Scipio* Consul, whose Colleague was *P. Licinius Crassus* the High-Priest. But it is recorded, That that Assembly was greater for number than any that had been celebrated all that War: because the people met from all parts, not only to give their Votes, but to behold *P. Scipio*; running in crowds both to his house, and into the Capitol to see him sacrificing an hundred Oxen, which he in Spain had vowed to offer to *Jupiter*; and promised themselves, that as *C. Iulius* had put an end to the last Punick War, so *P. Cornelius* would do to that which was at hand; and that, as he had driven the *Carthaginians* out of all Spain, so he would out of Italy too; wherefore they designed Africa to be his Province, as soon as he should have ended the War in Italy. Then there was held an Assembly for chusing of *Pretors*: in which there were two elected, that then were *Ediles* of the People, whose Names were *Sp. Lucretius* and *Cn. Octavius*, and two private persons, *Cn. Servilius Capio*, and *L. Aemilius Papus*. *P. Cornelius Scipio* and *P. Licinius Crassus* began their Consulship in the fourteenth year of the Punick War. Their Provinces were assigned to the Consuls, to wit, Sicily to *Scipio*, without Lots, by his Colleagues agreement, because the care of Holy things were allotted them; the City falling to *Cn. Servilius*; *Ariminum* (so they call'd *Gallia*) to *Sp. Lucretius*; Sicily to *L. Aemilius*; and *Sardinia* to *Cn. Octavius*. After that a Senate was held in the Capitol; where upon the Proposal of *P. Scipio* an Order of Senate was made, That what Games he vowed in Spain during the Mutiny among the Soldiers, he should set forth and defray out of that money which he himself had brought into the Treasury.

Then he introduced the *Saguntine* Ambassadors into the Senate: where the eldest of them said; Grave Fathers, though there be nothing more calamitous than what we have suffer'd, to make us for ever true to you; yet such are the deserts of you and your Generals toward us, that we are not sorry for our losses. You undertook the War upon our score, and have maintain'd so constantly for these fourteen years, that not only you your selves have been in the greatest danger, but you have put the People of Carthage too into the same circumstances. When you had such a dreadful War in Italy and *Hannibal* your Enemy, you sent Consuls with an Army into Spain, to gather up, as it were, the reliques of our shipwreck. *P. and Cn. Cornelius*, since they came into that Province, never ceased to do all things that might conduce to our good, and the ruine of the

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the Enemy. They have first of all restored to us our Town; they have redeemed our Fellow-Citizens, who were sold all over Spain, from slavery to liberty, sending men to find them out. When we were just a going to be happy instead of being so miserable as before, P. and Cn. Cornelius, your Generals, dy'd more, if 'twere possible, to our grief, than yours. And then we thought our selves brought back from distant places to our ancient Seat, only to perish once again, and see a second ruine of our Country; nor did we fancy there was any need of a Carthaginian Army or General to undo us; for we might be destroy'd by the Turdetans, our old Enemies, who had been the cause of all our former misfortunes: when unexpectedly you sent us this same P. Scipio: whom, we having seen, declar'd Consul, think our selves the happiest of all the Saguntines, and will tell the same to our Fellow-Citizens, concerning him who was our hope, our help, and deliverance. Who when he took a great many Cities in Spain from your Enemies; pick'd out the Saguntines in all places from among the other Captives, and sent them back into their own Country. In fine, he so afflicted Turdetania (a Nation so much at enmity with us, that if that were safe, Saguntum could not stand) with War, that it will not be terrible not only to us, but (without envy may I speak it) even our posterity. We see your City destroy'd, in favour of whom Saguntum was sack'd by Annibal. We receive Tribute out of your Country, which is not more pleasant to us upon the score of profit than revenge. For these things, than which we could neither hope nor wish for greater from the immortal Gods, the Senate and People of Saguntum sent us ten Ambassadors to you to give you thanks: and likewise to congratulate, that you have managed your affairs so well in Italy and Spain for these several years, that you have subdu'd Spain, not only as far as the River Iberus, but even to the end of the Earth, the Ocean; and have left the Carthaginian nothing in Italy but what the Bulwark of his Camp incloses. We were commanded also not only to return thanks to the great and good Jupiter, who presides over the Capitol, but to offer unto him this Present (with your permission) which is a Crown of Gold, upon the account of that Victory: wherefore we intreat you to permit us, and that, if you think good, what benefits we have received from your Generals, you would by your Authority ratifie and perpetuate. The Senate answer'd the Saguntine Ambassadors in this manner: That the destruction and restauration of Saguntum would be an example to all Nations of a faithful Alliance preserv'd on both sides. That their Generals did well according to order and the mind of the Senate, when they retriev'd Saguntum, and redeem'd its Inhabitants from slavery; that whatever else they did, which was a kindness to them, was done according to the will of the Senate; and lastly, that they permitted them to lay their Offering in the Capitol. Then there was a peculiar place and a Banquet provided for the Ambassadors, with Presents to each of them of ten thousand Sesterces a man. After that the other Embassies were brought into the Senate, and had their Audience: and whereas the Saguntines desired, that as far as it was safe for them, they might go and see Italy: they had Guides assign'd them, and Letters were sent through all the Towns, that they should entertain the Spaniards very kindly. Then Proposals were made touching the Commonwealth for the raising of Armies, and concerning the Provinces.

XL.

When the People commonly reported, that Africa, as a new Province, was design'd for P. Scipio without casting Lots, and he himself content with no moderate glory, us'd to say, That he was declared Consul, not only to wage, but to end a War; nor could that be made an end of any otherwise, than by his transporting his Army into Africa; and told the people openly, that he would do so, even against the Senates order: his design being not at all pleasing to the chief of the Senate (besides that the rest of them through fear or ambition began to murmur) Q. Fabius Maximus being asked his Opinion, he said; Grave Fathers, I know a great many of you think, that we are this day about a business that's done to our hands, and that he who shall give his opinion concerning the Province of Africa, as a new thing, will speak to no purpose. But in the first place I cannot tell how Africa is already so certainly design'd to be our stout and warlike Consuls Province, since neither the Senate hath thought fit that it should be a Province for this year, nor have the people given their consents. If it be, I think the Consul only is to blame, who pretending he refers a thing to you that is already settled, affronts and laughs at the Senate, and not the Senators in general who gave their opinions touching any thing that is here debated. For my part I am sure, by dissenting to this hasty Expedition into Africa, to undergo the censure of two things; the one, of my natural inclination to make delays; (which let young men call sloth and fear, if they please, whilst I am satisfied, that though the counsels of others have always seem'd more plausible at first sight, mine have proved better in the end) the other, of spite and envy against the daily growing glory of the valiant Consul. From which suspicion, if my past life and manners, nor a Dictatorship, and five Consulates, together with so much glory gained at home and in the Wars, does not vindicate me, who am rather cloy'd with it, than desire any more, let my age at least deliver me. For what emulation could there be between me and him, who is not so old even as my Son? No man either in the Senate or among the People ever heard me, when I was Dictator, in the vigour of my age, and the greatest Employment, refuse, that the Master of the Horse, who envy'd me (a thing never heard of before) should be made equal to me. I chose rather to see by actions, you hear only in words, that he who in the judgment of others was compared to me, should prefer me before himself even by his own confession. Far be it from me, who have born so many honourable Offices, to propose a quarrel or an emulation with a Youth who is in the flower of his age: to wit, that the Province of Africa, if it be not given to him, may be assign'd

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to me, who am not only a weary of business, but even of living too. No, I must live and die with what glory I have already gain'd. I kept Annibal from making a Conquest, that he might be vanquish'd even by you, who now are in your full strength.

This one thing, P. Cornelius, you ought to pardon in me, if, as I never prefer'd the applause of men before the interest of the Commonwealth, I do not value your honour above the publick good. If indeed there were either no War in Italy, or the Enemy such an one, as that a man could get no credit by conquering of him, he that should keep you in Italy, though he did it for the publick good, might seem to go about to rob you of an opportunity of going to War, and gaining great glory there. But seeing Annibal has been our Enemy, and with an entire Army beset Italy for these fourteen years, will you be sorry, P. Cornelius, to lose your glorious opportunity in Africa, if whilst you are Consul, you drive such an Enemy, who has been the cause of so much death and slaughter among us, out of Italy? And if, as C. Lutatius had the honour to end the last Punick War, so you have of this? unless Amilcar is to be prefer'd for a General before Annibal, or that War to this, or that Victory may probably be more glorious and honourable than this; if it so fall out, that we, whilst you are Consul, overcome him; would you rather drive Amilcar from Drepanum and Eryce, than drive the Carthaginians and Annibal out of Italy? Even you your self, though you love the glory you have gain'd, more than what you hope for, would boast more of their having deliver'd Spain from War, than you would of freeing Italy from the same misfortunes. Annibal is not yet so abject; but that whoever chuses another War, must needs seem rather to fear, than slight him. Do you prepare for this then, and go thus round about, so as that, when you are got into Africa, you hope Annibal will follow you, rather than bend your Forces straight to the place where Annibal is? Are these the glorious Palms that you aim at for a reward of your ending the Punick War? This ought to take precedence even in Nature, that when you have defended your own Country, you should go to oppose a foreign Land. Make peace in Italy before you raise a War in Africa: and let us be rid of our fear, before we procure any such to others. If you by your Conduct and good Fortune can do both, with all my heart; when you have conquer'd Annibal, take Carthage. But if one of those Victories must needs be left to new Consuls, the former, as it is greater and of more renown, so it will be after that the occasion of another. For now, besides that the Treasury cannot maintain two several Armies in Italy and Africa; besides, that we have not wherewithal to keep up our Navies, nor can supply sufficient provisions for them, who does not see what mighty dangers we run into? P. Licinius will make a War in Italy, and P. Scipio in Africa. What if Annibal (which all the Gods forbid, and I tremble to speak it, though what has happen'd may happen again) should be victorious and advance as far as this City; shall we then send for you, our Consul, out of Africa, as we did for Q. Fulvius from Capua? I need not say, that the event of War will be the same in Africa as here. Your Family, your Father and Uncle, who were slain with their Armies in thirty days, may be an example to you, who by your great Exploits both at Sea and Land had so augmented the fame of your own Family and the Roman People among Foreign Nations. The time would fail me, if I should reckon up the Generals that have rashly ventur'd over into an Enemies Country to the great damage of your own persons and loss of their Arms. The Athenians, a very prudent People, who left a War at home, by the advice of a Youth, who was as active as noble, and went over with a great Navy into Sicily, quite ruin'd their flourishing Commonwealth in one Sea-fight.

But I repeat things that are foreign and ancient. This very same Country of Africa, and M. Atilius may be a signal Example to us of both sorts of Fortune. Let me tell you, P. Cornelius, when you come within sight of Africa, your Conquests in Spain will seem to have been but sport and pastime to you. For what comparison is there? When you went to Spain, you coasted along by Italy and France through a calm and peaceable Sea, till your Navy arriv'd at Emporice, a City belonging to our Allies: where setting your men ashore, you led them all through safe places to the Friends and Associates of the Roman People at Tarraco: from whence again you march'd through Roman Garrisons all along; till you came to the River Iberus, where round about there lay the Armies of your Father and Uncle, who after they had lost their Generals, were incens'd by that very misfortune: and that great man L. Marcius, who though he were a tumultuary Leader, and chosen in haste by the Suffrage of the Soldiery for a time only, yet if he had had the Ornaments of Nobility and equal Honours, would not have been inferior to the most famous Commanders in any part of military skill. Then Carthage was attack'd with all the ease imaginable, whilst we're an one of three Punick Armies would defend their Allies. All other things (nor do I lessen them) were no ways comparable to a War with Africa; in which you have ne're a Port for our Navy, ne're a Country at peace with us, ne're a City that is our Ally, or a King our Friend, no place to iye still, nor no place to march forward in. Where-ever you look about you, all things appear at enmity with you. Rashness is not always successful; and fraud procures it self credit by small things, that when occasion serves, it may cheat to greater advantage. Their Enemies did not circumvent your Father and Uncle with their Arms, sooner than the Celtiberians, their Allies, with fraud: nor were you your self in so much danger from Mago and Asdrubal, the Enemies Generals, as from Mandonius and Indibilis, whom you had receiv'd into friendship. And can you trust the Numidians, who have experienced a defection in their own Soldiers? Both Syphax and Masinilla wish themselves to be the most puissant Princes in all Africa, rather than the Carthaginians should be most powerful; and the Carthaginians to be before any body

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body else. At present indeed an emulation between them, and all occasions of quarrelling provoke them against each other, because they have no foreign Foe to fear: but do you once shew them Roman Arms and a foreign Army, they will run together as if it were to quench a common Conflagration. Those same Carthaginians who made but a weak defence in Spain, will defend the Walls of their Country, the Temples of their Gods, their Altars and Houses at another guise rate. Now when as they go to Battel, their fearful wives follow them, and their small children meet them. But then besides all this; what if the Carthaginians, confiding in the agreement of Africa, the fidelity of the Kings, their Allies, their own Walls, when they see Italy bereft of that assistance which you and your Army could give it, should either themselves send a new Army over into Italy from Africa, or order Mago who now, we know, having left the Balears, is cruising near the Coast of the Alpine Ligurians, to joyn Annibal? Then certainly we shall be in the same fright, in which we lately were, when Adrubal came over into Italy: whom you, who are now resolv'd to invest not only Carthage, but even all Africa with your Army, sent out of your own hands into Italy. He was conquer'd by you, you'll say; why, therefore I think it the more dishonourable not only for you, but upon the score of the Commonwealth also, that you should permit him, who was vanquish'd by you, to come into Italy. Will you have us assign all the good Fortune that you and the Commonwealth have had to your Conduct, but to attribute all the bad to meer accident and blind chance? The better and more valiant you are, the more your Country and all Italy desire you to stay and look after them. You your self cannot chuse but owne, that where Annibal is, there is the chief Seat and Fortrefs of this War. For you pretend, that you therefore would fain go over into Africa, that you may draw Annibal after you. Wherefore whether here or there your business is like to be with Annibal. Tell me then, pray now, when you will be stronger; by being alone in Africa, or here, when your Collegue and you have joy'd your Armies together? Are not Claudius and Livius, the Consul, a fresh example to shew of what importance that is? What? will the utmost corner of the Bruttian Territories, or Carthage, when he is near it, together with all his Allies in Africa, make Annibal (who has now for a long time in vain desired Auxiliaries from home) more powerful in Men and Arms? What Policy is this; to fight where your Forces are half as little again as they would be, and the Enemies much greater, rather than where you may engage with two Armies against one that has been tired with so many Battels and such a tedious Campaigne? Think with your self, how your designs agree with your Fathers. He, when he was Consul, and gone into Spain, returned out of his Province into Italy, to meet Annibal, as he was coming down from the Alpes: you, on the contrary, now that Annibal is in Italy are going to leave it, not because you think it for the good of the Commonwealth, but because 'tis great and glorious. Just as when you formerly left the Province and the Army without any Law, or Order of Senate; and though you were the Roman Peoples General, committed the publick Fortune and Honour of the Commonwealth, which then were hazarded in your person, to two Ships. Grave Fathers, I am of opinion that P. Cornelius was created Consul for the Commonwealth and us, not for his own private ends: and that the Armies were raised to preserve this City and all the rest of Italy, not for the Consuls, in a proud, Kingly manner, to carry over Seas, to what part of the World they please.

XLIII.

Fabius having moved great part of the Senate, and the Seniors most of all, by this Oration, which he had calculated for that juncture, as also by his Authority and the ancient fame of his Prudence; so that more of them commended the old mans design before the young mans resolution, Scipio is said to have made this Speech: Q. Fabius himself in the beginning of his Speech, Grave Fathers, has told you, that there may some slight be suspected in his opinion. Of which thing I dare not accuse such a great man, so much as either his own words, or the thing it self make him guilty. For he has so extolled his own Honours and the fame of his Exploits, to take away the crime of envy, as if I were in danger of having every little Fellow my Rival, but not of him, who, because he excels all others (though I endeavour, I confess, to be as great as He is) would not have me made his equal: he has made himself so old and honourable, that he has placed me even below his Son; as though the desire of glory extended no farther than the length of a mans life, and the greatest part of it lookt forward toward future ages. But I really believe that every great person does not only compare himself with those that are his Contemporaries, but with the famous men of all ages. Nor do I indeed deny, Q. Fabius, but that I would not only equal your achievements, but if I could (I beg your pardon for saying so) even outdo them. You ought not to be so affected toward me, nor I toward my Juniors, as to be unwilling that any of them should be like us. For that would, be a detriment not only to such men as we envy'd, but to the Commonwealth, and almost all Mankind. He told you what great danger I was running into, if I went over into Africa; that he might seem concerned for me also, and not only for the Commonwealth and the Army. Whence comes he on the sudden to take such care of me? When my Father and Uncle were slain; and their two Armies almost all ruined and destroyed: when Spain was lost; when four Armies of Carthaginians, and four Generals kept all people in dread and arms: when they sought a General for that War, and no body appear'd but I; no one durst give in his name: when the People of Rome on their own accord conferr'd the Generalship upon me, though but four and twenty years of age, why did not any body then mind them of my Age, the strength of the Foe, the difficulty of the War, and the late misfortune of my Father and Uncle? Is there any greater calamity now befallen us in Africa, than was at that time in Spain? Are their Armies now bigger, and their Generals more or greater in Africa, than they were then in Spain? Or was my Age more ripe then for War, than now it is? Is it more proper to wage War with a Carthaginian

ginian Enemy in Spain, than in Africa? 'Tis an easie matter, after I have routed and put to flight four Carthaginian Armies, taken so many Cities by storm, or reduced them by fear; after I have subdu'd all Spain, even to the Ocean, so many petty Kings, and so many barbarous Nations, recovering the whole Province to that degree, that there is no tract of any War left in it; after all this, I say, 'tis sure a very easie thing to lessen my actions; yea, truly, as easie as if I should return victorious out of Africa, 'twould be to diminish those things, that now, to keep me here, are so much magnified to make them seem terrible to us. He says, there is no coming to Africa, nor any Ports open. He tells us, that M. Atilius was taken in Africa (as though M. Atilius had miscarried upon his first arrival there) but he does not say, that the Ports of Africa were open even to that unhappy General, or that he did great things the first year; and, in respect to the Carthaginians, remain'd unconquer'd to the last. You therefore, Fabius, shall not at all deter me by that one Example: for seeing that calamity befel us not in this, but a former War; not of late, but forty years ago; why should I e're the less go over into Africa, because Regulus was taken there, than I did into Spain, after the Scipios were slain? Why should I let Xantippus, a Lacedemonian, be more successfully born for the advantage of the Carthaginians, than I am for my own Country? Nay I should have the greater confidence, for that very reason, that the Valour and Conduct of one single Person might be of very great moment. But besides this, the Athenians must be quoted, who, omitting a War at home, went rashly over into Sicily. Why, pray you, since you have so much leisure as to tell Grecian Fables, don't you rather inform us, that Agathocles, King of Syracuse, after Sicily had been long engaged in a Punick War, went over into this same Africa, and turn'd the War from Sicily to that Country, from whence it first came?

But what necessity is there for me to illustrate by old and foreign instances what it is voluntarily to strike a dread into ones Enemy, and removing danger from ones self, to bring another into it? Can there be any greater or nearer example than Annibal now is? There is a great deal of difference between your pillaging of a strange Country, and seeing your own all burnt and destroy'd: and he that is the Aggressor in any danger, has more resolution than he who only defends himself against it: besides, that the terror is far greater when a man is unacquainted with the state of affairs. You may better discern the good and bad circumstances of an Enemy by going into his Country. Annibal could not hope that so many people in Italy would have revolted to him as did after the Battle of Cannæ: how much less firm and stable is any thing in Africa to the Carthaginians, who are as unfaithful Allies, as they are grievous and tyrannical Masters? Moreover, when we were deserted by our Allies, we stood upon our own strength, even the Roman Soldiery: but the Carthaginians have no domestick strength; all their Soldiers are Hirplings; as Africans and Numidians, very fickle people, and apt to alter their resolutions. If you do not hinder me, you shall hear not only that I am got over into Africa, but that at the same time it is all on a flame with War, that Hannibal is removing out of Italy, and that Carthage is besieged. Expect more joyful and frequent messages out of Africa, than you receiv'd out of Spain. The Fortune of the Roman People, the Gods, who are Witnesses that the Enemy have violated their League with the two Kings, Syphax and Masinissa (whom I will so far rely upon, as to be secure from their Treachery) give me these hopes. The War will discover many things which do not yet, at such a distance, appear. And it is the part of a man and a General not to be wanting when Fortune offers her self, but to turn all accidents to his own advantage. I shall indeed, Q. Fabius, have my Much of Annibal, as you say; but I'd rather draw him after me, than he should keep me here. I'll force him to fight in his own Country; and Carthage shall be the reward of the Victory, rather than the half demolish'd Castles of the Bruttii. Let the Commonwealth, whilst I go over, land my Army, and march up to Carthage, should receive any damage: I hope you will not think so meanly of him, as to deny, that now when Annibal is so much shock'd, and almost broken in pieces, P. Licinius who is a Consul, and a very stout man, can do, what you, Q. Fabius, could do when Annibal ran with Victory over all Italy; and that he happen'd not to have this distant Province, because being High-Priest he could not be spared from the management of Holy things. If therefore this War should not be ended any thing the sooner this way that I suppose, yet it will advance the dignity of the Roman People, and their renown among all Foreign Kings and Nations, that we seem to have courage enough, not only to defend Italy, but of our own accord also to make War upon Africa: when no one shall believe, or say, that Annibal did that which no Roman General durst ever attempt; but that Africa, which in the former Punick War (when the contest was about Sicily) was so often attack'd by our Armies and Navies, should be at this time, when Italy is in dispute, all quiet and at peace. Let Italy, which has long been vexed, at last take its ease, and Africa be burnt and pillaged in the stead of it. Let the Roman Camp rather lie at the Gates of Carthage, than we again see the Bulwark of the Enemy from our very Walls. Let Africa be the Seat of War for the future; and let the terror and consternation, devastation of Countries, defection of Allies, and those other calamities which for fourteen years together fell so thick upon us, be now turn'd upon them. As to what concerns the Commonwealth, let it suffice to mention the War that is at hand and the Provinces in question. But take no notice of that long Speech of Fabius's; for as he has lessen'd my actions in Spain, so could I, if I would, diminish his glory, whilst I extolled my own. But I, Grave Fathers, shall do neither; but if in no other thing, at least in modesty and the government of my tongue I'll outdo the old Gentleman, as very a Boy

XLIV.

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Boy

Boy as I am. For I have so lived and behaved my self, that I can be content in silence with that opinion which you of your selves conceive of me.

XLV.

They heard Scipio with some partiality, because it had been reported, That if the Senate would not agree to his Proposal, and order him the Province of Africa, he would immediately refer it to the People. Wherefore Q. Fulvius, who had been Consul four times, and Censor too, desired the Consul publicly in the Senate to declare, "Whether he would leave it to the Senate to order the Provinces as they thought fit, and stand by their determination, or refer it to the People. To which Scipio answering, "That he would do all for the good of the Publick: Fulvius reply'd, "I did not ask you, because I did not know what you would say or do; for you have given out, That you rather try the Senate than consult them; and that, if we do not presently assign you the Province that you desire, you have a Bill ready to prefer to the Commons. Wherefore I, said he, desire of you, O Tribunes of the People, that you would assist me, if I therefore refuse to give my opinion, because though most Voices are on my side, the Consul will not agree to it. Then there arose a squabble, the Consul denying, "That it was fair for the Tribunes to intercede, and hinder the Senators from giving each one his opinion in order as they were asked. The Tribunes thus decreed: "If the Consul leave the matter concerning the Provinces to the Senate, we will make him stand to what the Senate orders; nor will we suffer any reference to be made of that business to the People: if he doth not leave it to them, we will assist any man that shall refuse to give his opinion in it. The Consul then desired a day to talk with his Colleague: and the next day it was left to the Senate. By whom the Provinces were thus divided: to one of the Consuls Sicily, and the thirty Ships of War which C. Servilius had the year before; with permission to go into Africa, if he thought it were for the good of the Commonwealth. To the other the Bruttii, and the War against Annibal, with that Army which L. Veturius or Q. Caelius had; and L. Veturius and Q. Caelius should cast Lots, or agree between themselves, whether of them should manage the matter among the Bruttii with those two Legions that the Consul had left: and that his Command, to whose Lot that Province fell, should be continued for a year. The Commissions of other Commanders also, except the Consuls and Prætors, who were to preside over Armies and Provinces, were continued. It fell to Q. Caelius's Lot to go along with the Consul into the Country of the Bruttii against Annibal. Then Scipio's Games were celebrated with great throngs and favour of the Beholders. And there were Ambassadors sent to Delphi to carry an Offering to Apollo out of the Booty taken from Asdrubal, whose Names were M. Pomponius Mitho, and Q. Catius; who carried a golden Crown of 200 weight, and the representation of the spoils, made of a thousand pound of Silver. Scipio, though as he did not obtain, so he did not much strive for a Levy, yet had an order to take as many Volunteers as he could get, and because he had said, his Navy should be no charge to the Commonwealth, to take what their Allies would give him toward the building of new Ships. First then the several people of Etruria promised to assist the Consul, each Town according to their abilities. "The Cervites were to give him Corn and Provisions of all sorts, the Populonians Iron, the Tarquinians Linen for Sails, the Volaterrans Tackling for the Ships, and Corn, the Arretines 30000 Shields, and as many Helmets, with javelins, half Pikes and long Spears, fifty thousand of each sort; besides Axes, Mattocks, Sickles, \* Baskets or wooden Vessels, and Moles, as many as would serve 40 long Ships. \* Alcenios. "Add to these 120000 Bushels of Wheat, with Provisions by the way for the Decurions and Rowers. The Perusines, the Clusines, and the Rusellans gave him Firr-trees to make him Ships of, and a great quantity of Corn. He had Firr out of the publick Woods. The People of Umbria, the Nursines, the Reatinæ, Amiternines, and all the Sabines promised him Soldiers. Besides, with the Marsians, Pelignians and Marrucinians, many of them listed themselves voluntarily into his Navy. The Camertes also, being in League with the Romans, sent him a Regiment of six hundred Men. By which assistance of theirs, he having laid the keels or foundations of thirty Ships, that is to say, twenty of five banks of Oars, and ten of four, he ply'd the work so fast, that upon the fortieth day, after the Wood was brought out of the Forests, the Ships were rigged, armed and launched.

XLV.

He went into Sicily with thirty long Ships, having about 7000 Volunteers on board them. And at the same time P. Licinius came to the two Consular Armies that lay in the Country of the Bruttii, taking that to himself, which L. Veturius, when he was Consul, had. He permitted Metellus to command those Legions, which he had formerly commanded, as thinking that he might do the business with more ease, having those that were used to his Command. The Prætors also were sent into several Provinces. But because he wanted Money to carry on the War, the Questors were order'd to sell that part of Campania, that lies between the Ditch called Fossa Græca and the Sea, allowing, that Information might be made, what Lands belonged to each Campanian, to the end that it might be made the publick Estate of the Roman People. Whereupon he also appointed a reward to the Informer, which was, the tenth part of the value of the Land. And C. Servilius, Prætor of the City, was to take care, That the Campanians should live only where they were allow'd to live by order of the Senate, and to punish them that dwelt any where else. The same Summer Mago, Son to Amil-

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car came from Minorca, where he had winter'd, into Italy, with about thirty Ships of War and many of burden, on board of which were a choice number of young men, 12000 Foot and almost 2000 Horse; and having taken Genua, where there were no Garrisons to defend the Sea-coast, by his sudden arrival there, he sail'd thence to the Coast of the Alpine Ligurians, to see if he could cause any disturbances in those parts. The Ingauni (a People of Liguria) at that time had War with the Epanterii that live upon the Mountains. Wherefore the Carthaginian having laid up his Booty at Savo, an Alpine Town, and left ten long Ships in the Harbour for a Guard, he sent the rest to Carthage to defend the Sea-coast, because there was a report, That Scipio was gone over; but himself entering into an Alliance with the Ingauni, whose friendship he prefer'd, he immediately set upon the Mountaineers. Thereupon his Army daily increased; for the Gauls came flocking in from all parts as soon as they heard of his Name. Which News being brought by Letters from Sp. Lucretius, put the Senate into a great solicitude, lest they should have rejoiced at the destruction of Asdrubal and his Army two years before to no purpose, if another War of the same kind should from thence arise, with the General only changed. Wherefore they command M. Livius the Proconsul to lead the Army of Volunteers out of Etruria to Ariminum, and empower'd Cn. Servilius the Prætor, if he thought it for the common good, to order two Legions out of the City, bestowing the Command to whom he pleased. M. Valerius Lævinus led those Legions to Arretium. At the same time eighty Ships of burden belonging to the Carthaginians, were taken by Cn. Octavius about Sardinia, of which he was Governor. Calius says, that those Ships were laden with Corn and Provisions sent to Annibal; but Valerius, that they were taken, carrying the Etrurian Booty and the Captives of the Mountain-Ligurians to Carthage. In the Country of the Bruttii there was hardly any thing done that year worth remembering. A Plague seized equally upon the Romans and Carthaginians, save that besides the disease, a Famine also befet the Punick Army. Annibal spent that Summer near the Temple of Juno Lacinia, where he built an Altar, and dedicated it with a large account of the Exploits which he had done, engraven in Punick and Greek Letters.

## DECADE III. BOOK IX.

## The E P I T O M E.

3, 4. C. Lælius, who was sent by Scipio out of Sicily into Africa, brought back a great Booty: telling Scipio the Message from Masinissa, who complain'd, that he had not yet sent an Army over into Africa. 2. The War in Spain is ended, where the Romans were victorious, and Indibilis, who had raised it, himself slain in the field. 3. Mandonius, upon demand from the Romans, was deliver'd up by his own Soldiers. 4. Mago, who stay'd in Gallia and Liguria, had not only a great number of Men sent him out of Africa, but Money also to hire Auxiliaries; being order'd likewise to join Annibal. 6. Scipio came over from Syracuse into the Country of the Bruttii, and retok Locri, when he had driven out the Punick Garrison, and routed Annibal. 12. A Peace was made with Philip. 10, 11. Cybeles Image (called Mater Idæa) was brought over to Rome from Pessinus, a Town in Phrygia, a Verse being found in the Sibyls Books, That the foreign Enemy might be driven out of Italy, if the Mater Idæa were brought to Rome. It was deliver'd to the Romans by Attalus a King of Alia. 14. There was a Stone which the Inhabitants called, The Mother of the Gods. P. Scipio Nasica receiv'd it, who was the Son of Cneius, that dy'd in Spain, as being by the Senate accounted a very good man, though not of years enough to be a Questor [that is, not 27;] because the Answer was, That that Deity should be entertain'd and consecrated by a very good Man. 16, 17, &c. The Locrians sent Ambassadors to Rome, to complain of the enormities of Q. Pleminius, the Lieutenant, for having taken away the Money belonging to Proserpina, and ravishing their Children and Wives. 22. Pleminius being brought to Rome in Chains, dy'd in Prison. 21, 22. Upon a false rumour that was brought into the City concerning P. Scipio, Proconsul in Sicily, that he was luxurious, the Senate sent Ambassadors to inquire into the truth of it, and Scipio, being acquitted of that scandal, went over into Africa by the Senates permission. 23. Syphax having married the Daughter of Asdrubal, Son of Gisgo, renounc'd the friendship which he himself had contracted with Scipio. 28, &c. Masinissa, King of the Masseylians, fighting for the Carthaginians in Spain, after he had lost his Father Gala, lost his Kingdom also: which though he often endeavour'd by war to regain, he was overcome in several Battels by Syphax, King of Numidia, and totally deprived of it. Then he with 200 Horse being banish'd, join'd himself to Scipio; with whom in the very first War he slew Hanno, Son of Amilcar, and a great body of Men. 35. Scipio, upon the arrival of Asdrubal and Syphax, who were come near him with 100000 Soldiers, being beaten off from the Siege of Utica, made himself strong Winter-quarters. 36. Sempronius, the Proconsul, fought very prosperously against Annibal in the fields of Croton. 37. The Censors sit up a Lustrum [i.e. a Survey of the People:] in which the Pole of the Citizens came to 215000 pounds. There was a remarkable dissention between the two Censors, M. Livius, and Cl. Nero. For Claudius had taken Livius his Colligues Horie from him, because he was condemn'd by the People, and banish'd: and Livius his from Claudius, for having born false witness against him, and not having reconciled him according to the rules of Justice and Honour. The same person also left all the Tribes, save one, disfranchiz'd, because they condemn'd him, though innocent, and afterward made him Consul and Censor.

Scipio, when he came into Sicily, set his Volunteers in orders, and divided them into Centuries: of whom he had 200 young men in the flower of their age, and of great strength to attend his own Person, who knew not either why they were so divided, or armed. Then he chose 300 Horsemen, out of the young Nobility of all Sicily, to go over

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over with him into *Africa*; appointing them a day to rendezvous, all ready with Horses and Arms. That Service, being far from home, they thought would give them a great deal of trouble both by Sea and Land, and expose them to a great many dangers; nor were they themselves only concern'd at it, but their Parents and Relations were mightily troubled. When the day appointed came, they appear'd with their Horses and Arms. Whereupon *Scipio* told them, *He heard that some of the Sicilian Horsemen were discouraged at that Expedition, as thinking it would be difficult and tedious to them; if any of them were of that opinion, he would rather they should then declare it, than afterward complain, and prove dull, useless Soldiers to the Commonwealth. Let them speak their thoughts, he would hear them very patiently.* At which one of them being so bold to say, *That if he might speak his mind freely, he had no mind at all to go to the Wars: Scipio* reply'd unto him, and said, *Well, young man, since you have been so open-hearted as to tell me your mind, I'll find a Substitute for you, to whom you shall deliver your Arms, your Horse and other Equipage, and taking him home along with you, shall discipline and teach him how to manage your Horse and Arms.* The young Man being glad of that bargain, *Scipio* gave him one Man out of 300 which he had unarmed. When the rest saw that Horseman thus discharged by consent of their General, each of them began to excuse himself, and desired a Substitute. By which means 300 Roman Horsemen were put in the places of 300 Sicilians without any publick charge. The Sicilians had the care of disciplining and teaching them how to behave themselves; because by the General's Edict, *He was to go for a Soldier himself in person that did not do so.* They say, this became an extraordinary good Squadron of Horse, and did the Commonwealth great service in many Battels. After that he made an inspection into the Legions, out of which he chose all the oldest Soldiers, and especially such as had served under *Marcellus*: because he thought that they were not only well disciplined, but also that, from the long Siege of *Syracuse*, they had gained a great experience in storming and attacking of Towns. For he now had no small things in his mind; no less than the taking of *Carthage* itself. Then he dispersed his men into the several Towns, exacting Corn from the Cities of *Sicily*, and sparing that which was brought from *Italy*: besides that he refitted out his old Ships, and with them sent *C. Lelius* into *Africa* to forage. The new ones he put into Docks at *Panormus*, because they were made in haste of green wood, that they might lie dry all the Winter. Having prepared all things for the War, he came to *Syracuse*, which was not yet altogether at quiet from the great disturbances that had been there by the War. At that time the *Sicilian Greeks* demanded back from some *Italians* (who kept what they had got with the same force where-with they had taken it) certain Goods of theirs, which the Senate had granted to them. *Scipio* therefore supposing it to be his best way to keep up the publick Faith, partly by Edict, and partly by Judgments given against those who pertinaciously refused to do them Justice, gave the *Syracusans* their Goods again. That action of his was not only well accepted by them, but by all the People of *Sicily*, who for that reason contributed more chearfully toward the carrying on of the War. The same Summer there arose a great War in *Spain* by the instigation of *Indibilis* the *Illyrian*, upon no other ground than his contemning all other Generals in respect of *Scipio*: For he thought (he said) *Scipio* was the only General that the Romans had now alive, the rest being slain by *Annibal*: so that they had ne're another, now that the *Scipios* were killed, to send into *Spain*: and that when they were prest in *Italy* with a more grievous War, they sent for him to oppose *Annibal*. That the Romans had nothing but the Names of Generals in *Spain*, and that the old Army also was carried thence. That all things were in a consternation, and nothing there but a confused crowd of fresh-water Soldiers. That they should never have such another opportunity to deliver *Spain*. That they had been slaves till that time to the *Carthaginians* or the Romans; not only alternately, sometimes to the one, and sometimes to the other, but now and then to both at once. That the *Carthaginians* were driven out by the Romans; and the Romans might, if all people would consent to it, be as well expelled by the *Spaniards*; and *Spain*, being for ever freed from all foreign Dominion, return again to its old customs and usage. By these and such like Speeches he excited not only his own Countrymen, but the *Ausetans* also, a neighbouring Nation, with other people that border'd both upon him and them. By which means within a few days 30000 Foot, and almost 4000 Horse met, as they were order'd, in the *Sedetan* fields.

II. The Roman Generals also, *L. Lentulus*, and *L. Manlius Acidinus*, lest the War, by neglect of the first rise thereof, should grow upon them: having join'd their Armies together, march'd through the *Ausetan* Territories (so unconcern'd, as if the Enemies Country had been all at peace with them) toward the Enemies Quarters; and pitch'd their Camp three thousand paces distant from them. And first they try'd by Ambassadors to make them quit their Arms. But soon after when the *Spanish* Horse had on a sudden attack'd the Roman Foragers, the Romans sent out a Party of Horse from their Camp, who engaged in a Battel of Horse, though the event was not memorable on either side. The next day at Sunrise they appeared all in Battalia almost a thousand paces from the Roman Camp. The *Ausetans* were in the middle; the *Illyrians* in the right Wing, the meaner *Spanish* people in the left, and between the Wings and the main Body were wide spaces, to let out the Horse at, if occasion should be. The Romans on the other side, when according to their manner,

ner, they had put their Army in a readiness, imitated the Foe in this only, that they also left wide Lanes for the Horse. But *Lentulus*, supposing that side would have the advantage of their Horse, that first sent them into those gaping intervals in their Enemies Army, commanded *Ser. Cornelius*, a Tribune of the Soldiers, to bid his men let their Horses have their heads, and run into those open spaces in the Enemies Battalion: whilst he himself, having unsuccessfully begun a Foot-fight, and stay'd only till he could bring the thirteenth Legion out of the Rear into the Front, as a Recruit to the twelfth Legion, which gave way, and was in the left Wing opposite to the *Illyrians*, (when he had made the Fight pretty equal there) came to *L. Manlius*, who was encouraging his Men in the Van, and bringing Reserves to places where they were lacking. He told him, *All things were safe in the left Wing; and that he had just sent Ser. Cornelius to scatter and destroy the Enemy with a storm of Horsemen.* He had hardly said so, ere the Roman Horse, charging into the midst of the Enemies, not only put their Foot into disorder, but also block'd up the way in such a manner, that the *Spanish* Horse could not come in. Wherefore the *Spaniards*, quitting their Horse-service, fell to it on foot. The Roman Generals seeing their ranks broken, their men in a consternation, and their Ensigns wavering, exhorted and begg'd of their Soldiers, to set upon them in that amazed condition, and not to suffer them to set themselves again in order. The Barbarians could not have sustained so great a shock, had not the petite King *Indibilis* dismounted with the Horsemen, and posited himself in the Front of the Foot. By which means the Fight continued very sharp for a great while. But at last, when those that were about the King (who stood to it, though half dead, and was afterward stuck with a Javelin to the ground) being overwhelmed with Weapons, fell down, they all began to fly: most of them being slain, because the Horsemen had not time to mount, and because the Romans lay so hard upon them, when they were already in so great disorder. Nor did the Romans retire, before they had made themselves Masters even of the Enemies Camp. Thirteen thousand *Spaniards* were slain that day, and about eight hundred taken: but not much above two hundred of the Romans and their Allies fell, and those, most of them, in the left Wing. The *Spaniards* that were beaten out of their Camp, or those that fled from the Fight, being first scatter'd about the Country, soon after returned each man to their own Cities.

Then being called to Council by *Mandonius*, and there complaining of their misfortunes, with a Reprimand to the Authors of the War, they order'd, *That Ambassadors should be sent to deliver up their Arms, and make a Surrender.* To whom, since they laid the blame upon the Author of the War, *Indibilis* and the other Princes, of whom most were slain in the field, and deliver'd up their Arms and themselves, answer was made, *That they should be admitted to a Surrender upon no other Terms than this, that they would deliver up Mandonius and the other Authors of the War alive. If not, that they would bring an Army into the Country of the Illyrians, the Ausetans, and the other Nations.* This answer to the Ambassadors was carried back to the Council. Then *Mandonius* and the other Princes were seized and delivered to Justice. The *Spanish* Nations were again at peace: the Pay of that year was doubled, and a supply of Corn for six months exacted, with Campaigne Coats and *Togæ* [i. e. Gowns as the Romans wore them] for the Army; besides Hostages for almost thirty Nations. By this means the Tumult in *Spain* being in a few days raised and allayed, and that with no great trouble, all the terror of the War was turned upon *Africa*; and *C. Lelius* being come in the night-time to *Hippo Regius* [a great City] led his Seamen and Allies at break of day in Battalia to spoil the Country. By which means there was a great devastation brought upon all places, the people, as those that live in peace, being negligent of their affairs. Thereupon immediately certain Messengers themselves in a consternation filled *Carthage* with a mighty dread, *That the Roman Navy, and General Scipio* (for there was a report that he was long come over into *Sicily*) was arrived. Wherefore not knowing well how many Ships they had seen, nor how great the number of Soldiers was, that pillaged the Country, they heard every thing with such concern, that their fear much increased the real calamity. Hence terror and amazement first, and after that sorrow possessed their minds; *That Fortune should so far change upon them; that they who so lately had a victorious Army before the Walls of Rome, conquer'd so many Armies of the Enemy, and receiv'd all the Nations of Italy either through force of free-will by way of Surrender, should now, quite contrary, be in danger to see all Africa ravaged, and Carthage besieged. That they had not such strength to bear those things as the Romans had: for the Roman common people, and all Latium afford them youth enough, still greater and more numerous, that grew up in the room of those many Armies which were slain: whilst that people were not only weak in the City, but in the Country too; so that they were fain to hire Auxiliaries from among the Africans, a Nation very fickle and treacherous whenever there was any hopes of greater gain. That now also the Kings, since *Scipio* and *Syphax* had had an interview, were fallen off; *Syphax* by *Scipio's* persuasions, and *Masinissa* (grown a mortal Enemy by the same means) in an open Revolt: Wherefore there was no hope left, nor any assistance to be got. Besides that, Mago out of Gaul made no great stir, nor join'd *Annibal*, who himself was now grown old both in his fame and strength.*

But though this News at first so much dejected their spirits, the urgent dread again reviv'd them, and put them upon a consultation, how they should obviate the present dangers.



Thereupon they presently order'd a Levy to be made both in the City and Country, sent to hire African Auxiliaries, fortified their City, got a stock of Corn together, provided Weapons and Arms, fitted out Ships to send to Hippo against the Roman Navy. As they were in the midst of this hurry, at last a Messenger came, That Lælius, not Scipio, was come over with no more Forces than were sufficient to plunder the Country; but that the stress of the War was still in Sicily. Then they took breath a while, and sent Ambassadors to Syphax and other petty Kings to strengthen their Alliance. They likewise sent Men to Philip with a promise of two hundred Talents of Silver, if he would come over into Sicily or Italy: and also to their own Generals in Italy, to keep Scipio off with all the terror they could. To Mago likewise they dispatch'd not only Ambassadors, but 25 long Ships, 6000 Foot, 800 Horse, seven Elephants, and a great deal of Money, to hire Auxiliaries, in the strength whereof he might approach more near to Rome, and joyn Annibal. This they contrived, and did at Carthage, whilst Masinissa, roused by the fame of a Roman Navy, came with a few Horsemen to Lælius, who was driving great store of Booty out of the Country, it being unarm'd and void of all defence. To whom he complain'd, that Scipio was too dilatory in his business, in that he had not brought over his Army into Africa at that very time, when the Carthaginians were under such a consternation, and Syphax embarras'd with Wars against his neighbouring Countries; who, he knew very certainly, if he had leisure to compose his affairs according to his mind, would do nothing with any sincerity for the Romans. He therefore desired Lælius, that he would advise and excite Scipio not to tarry any longer: and told him, that he would be ready, though he were beaten out of his Kingdom, with no contemptible Force both of Horse and Foot. Nor would he have Lælius to stay in Africa; for he believ'd there was a Navy already set out from Carthage, with whom in Scipio's absence it would not be safe for him to engage.

V. Masinissa having made this Speech, was dismissed, and Lælius the next day set sail from Hippo with his Ships all full of Plunder; and going back into Sicily, told Scipio what Masinissa said. At the same time the Ships, that were sent from Carthage to Mago, arrived on the Coast of Liguria, where the People called *Albingauni* dwell, and came to *Genoa*. On which Coasts it happen'd that Mago at that time had a Navy, who hearing what the Ambassadors said, to wit, That he must raise as big an Army as he possibly could, immediately called a Council of the Gauls and Ligurians (for there was a mighty multitude of both those Nations in that part of the Country) and told them, That he was sent to redeem them from slavery; which that they might be sure of, there were Auxiliaries sent him from home; but it was in their power to say, with what force, and how great an Army that War should be carried on. That there were two Roman Armies, the one in Gallia, and the other in Etruria: and he knew well enough, that Sp. Lucretius would joyn with M. Livius. Wherefore that they also ought to arm a great many thousands, that under the Command of two Generals proportionable resistance might be made against those two Roman Armies. To which the Gauls made answer; That they were very willing so to do; but said, that since the Romans had one Camp within their Confines, and another in the adjacent Country of Etruria, if it were discover'd, that the Carthaginian were assisted by them, the plundering Armies would presently make incursions on both sides into their Territories. Wherefore they desired him, that he would ask such supplies of the Gauls, as he might be privately furnish'd with. But the Ligurians, being that the Roman Camp was a great way distant from their Country and Cities, were free to do anything; so that they ought in justice to arm their Youth and bear a share in the War. The Ligurians did not refuse the Proposal; only they desir'd two months time to make their Levies. In the mean time Mago having dismissed the Gauls, sent privately and hired Soldiers all over their Dominions, having Provisions of all sorts secretly convey'd to him from the Gallick Nations. Then M. Livius brought over the Army of Volunteers out of Etruria into Gallia: and having joyn'd Lucretius, put himself in a readiness to meet Mago, if he should offer to move out of Liguria any nearer to the City. But if the Carthaginian lay still under that corner of the Alps, he himself likewise resolv'd to keep the same Post about *Ariminum*, and be a Guard to Italy.

VI. After C. Lælius's return out of Africa, when Scipio was incited by Masinissa's advice, and the Soldiers saw a whole Navy laden with spoils from the Enemies Country, they were inflam'd with a desire of going over as soon as they could, but a less weighty design interven'd whilst they were thinking of this greater one; which was, to recover Locri, a City, that upon the revolt of other Italian Towns, had it self also among the rest revolted to the Carthaginians. Now the hopes of effecting that intention of theirs sprang from a very small Fountain; that things were carried in the Country of the *Bruttii* more by Robberies than a just War, though the *Numidians* first led the way; whom the *Bruttii* were ready to follow, not more upon the score of their Alliance with the Carthaginians, than their natural inclination to such villany. At last the Roman Soldiers also, as it were by a kind of contagion, took to stealing, and as far as their Officers would suffer them, made excursions into the Enemies Country: and by them certain Locrians that came out of their City, being circumvented, were carried to Rhegium. Among those Captives there were certain Masons or Carpenters that had been us'd, as it happen'd, to work for the Carthaginians in the Fort at Locri. Those Fellows being known to some Noblemen of Locri, that were in banishment at Rhegium, having been driven from their own City by the adverse Faction, who deliver'd

deliver'd Locri up to Annibal; after they had told the Gentlemen (who, as people long absent from a place use to do, ask'd them a great many questions) all that was new at home, put them in hopes, That if they might be redeemed and sent back home, they would betray the Castle to them. For they dwell there, and the Carthaginians trusted them with all they had. Whereupon, as men not only desirous to see their Country again, but also to be reveng'd upon their Enemies, they presently redeemed them and sent them back; and having contrived and agreed upon the method of doing that business, with the tokens which they at a distance should observe, themselves went to Scipio at Syracuse, where part of the banish'd persons then were, and told him what the Captives had promised. By which news they filled the Consul with such hopes of success, that he sent the Tribunes of the Soldiers (and with them M. Sergius and P. Maternus) to carry 3000 Soldiers from Rhegium to Locri, writing also to Q. Pleminius the Proprætor, to be assisting in the affair. They accordingly marching from Rhegium with Ladders that were made proportionable to such an height as the Captives had told them the Tower was of, about midnight, from that place, which they had agreed upon, gave the signal to those that were to betray the Castle; who being prepared and intent upon the business, after they also had let down Ladders, made for that purpose, and receiv'd the Romans as they clamb up in several places, before any noise was heard, they fell upon the Carthaginian Sentinels, who, fearing no such thing, were fallen asleep. Some therefore of them were first heard to groan as they dy'd; which wakening the rest, put them into a sudden consternation and a tumult: of which, though they at present knew no cause, yet at length one rousing another, they saw what the matter was. Then every man gave the Alarm, and cry'd out, That the Enemy was in the Castle, and the Sentinels slain. By which means the Romans, who were no ways equal in number, had been destroy'd, had not the shout set up by them, that were without the Castle (for the Tumult happening in the night-time, increased their apprehensions where there was no ground for it) made it uncertain whence it arose. Wherefore the Carthaginians being fear'd, as though their Castle had been full of Enemies, made no resistance there, but fled into the other Fort (for there are two at a little distance from each other) whilst the Townsfolk kept possession of the City, which was set a stake for them that could win it. Then from the two Forts they made every day some little Excursions to skirmish, Q. Pleminius being Governor of the Roman, and Amilcar of the Punick Garrison; who sending for supplies from the adjacent Towns, augmented their Forces. At last Annibal himself came: nor could the Romans have born the fatigue of it, had not the Locrian Mobile, exasperated by the pride and avarice of the Carthaginians, inclined toward the Romans.

V.I. All soon as News was brought to Scipio, That his affairs at Locri was in greater hazard than ever, and that Annibal himself was coming: lest the Garrison should be in any danger for want of convenience safely to retire, he set sail with a fresh gale, and cross'd the straight from Messina, after the Sea was grown calm, leaving L. Scipio his Brother Governor of the Garrison there. And Annibal at the same time was come from the River *Butuntis* (which is not far from Locri) having sent a Messenger before him, to order his Men, That at break of day they should joyn Battel with the Romans and Locrians, whilst he himself, when they were all employ'd another way, attack'd the City by surprise behind: and finding at break of day that the Battel was begun, he would neither shut himself up in the Castle, to straiten that narrow place with a crowd of Soldiers; nor had his men brought Ladders to scale the Walls. Then throwing his Baggage all on a heap, and having shewn his Army at a good distance from the Walls for a terror to the Enemy, with his Numidian Horse he rode about the City, whilst Ladders and other Materials necessary for a storm, were made ready, to see where he could best attack it. Then marching up to the Wall, where he that stood next him was wounded with a shot from a Crossbow: he being affrighted at so dangerous an accident, commanded them to sound a Retreat, and fortified his Camp out of the reach of their Artillery. The Roman Navy came from Messina to Locri a good while before night; and being all set ashore, marched into the City before the Sun was down. The next day the Carthaginians from the Fort began the Battel. And Annibal, having now provided Ladders and all other things for the storm, went under the Walls: when on a sudden (he dreading nothing less) the Romans open'd the Gate and sallied out upon him, killing to the number of 200, because they came forth so unexpected. The rest Annibal, when he perceiv'd the Consul to be there, took back with him to the Camp: and having sent a Messenger to them that were in the Castle, to bid them look to themselves, he decamp'd in the night-time and went away. Then those that were in the Castle having set fire on the Houses where they kept, that that tumult might detain the Foe, overtook the body of their Army before night, running away as though they had fled.

V.III. Scipio, when he saw the Castle deserted by the Enemy, and their Camp empty, called the Locrians to an Assembly, and chid them very severely for their revolt: upon the Authors thereof he inflicted certain punishments, and gave their Goods to the Nobility of the other Faction for their great fidelity to the Romans: saying, That he would neither give the Locrians any thing, nor take any thing from them publicly: but that they should send Ambassadors to Rome, and should have such fortune as the Senate thought fit. Yet one thing he was sure of, that though

though they had deserv'd but very ill of the Roman People, they would be in a better condition under the Romans, though enraged at them, than they had been under the Carthaginians their pretended Friends. After that he himself leaving Q. Pleminius, the Lieutenant, and the Garrison that had taken the Castle, to defend the City, went over to Messana with the same Force that he brought thence. The Locrians had been so tyrannically and cruelly used by the Carthaginians after their Revolt from the Romans, that they seemed to bear any moderate injuries not only with a patient, but even almost with a willing mind. But indeed Pleminius did so far exceed Amilcar, who had been Governour of the Garrison, and the Roman Soldiers that were there, the Carthaginians, in wickedness and avarice, that they seemed to contend not with arms, but with vices. Nor was there any thing omitted that makes the condition of a more powerful man hateful to the helpless, either by the Commander or his Men: but they committed unspeakable outrages upon their own Bodies, their Wives and Children. Nay more; their avarice did not abstain from Sacrilege it self, for they violated not only other Temples, but that of Proserpina also, wherein were Treasures that had been untouch'd in all Ages; save that they were said to be plunder'd by Pyrrhus, who yet brought back his spoils with expiatory Sacrifices for his crime. And as before the Kings Ships, being torn to pieces in wracks, brought nothing whole to shore, except the Goddesses Money that they carried away; so then also, in another kind of misfortune, that same Money made all of them, who were concern'd in the violating of that Temple, so mad, that they turn'd mortal Enemies to one another, Officer against Officer, and Soldier against Soldier.

IX. Pleminius was Governour of all: though part of the Soldiers, which he brought along with him from Rhegium, were under him, and part under the Tribunes. A Soldier belonging to Pleminius, having stolen a silver Cup out of a Townsmans house, as he was running away with it, those that own'd it pursuing him, he met by chance with Sergius and Marienus, Tribunes of the Soldiery: by whose command the Cup was taken from him. But that caused a noise, a quarrel, and at last a fight too between Pleminius's Soldiers and those of the Tribunes, the multitude and mutiny still increasing, according as every man came seasonably up to his Party. Pleminius's Soldiers, who were overcome, having flock'd to Pleminius, and shewn their blood and wounds not without roaring and indignation, with a relation how he himself also was abused by ill language, he all inflamed with anger, ran out of his house forthwith, and order'd the Tribunes, being called before him to be stript, and the rods made ready. But whilst they were about taking off their cloaths (which was a good while; for they made resistance, and called upon the Soldiers for assistance) there came on a sudden a throng of Soldiers, flush'd with their late Victory from all places, as though they had had an Alarm to fight against an Enemy. And when they saw the Tribunes bodies so cut with the rods, they, being then much more incens'd, fell foul upon the Lieutenant, without any respect either to Authority or even Humanity it self, (having first been very severe upon the Dictors) and having got him apart from his own Men, they tore him in such an hostile manner, that, mangling his Ears and his Nose, they left him for dead. When this News came to Messana, Scipio after a few days came in a Gally with six ranks of Oars to Locri, and having heard the cause between Pleminius and the Tribunes, acquitted Pleminius, whom he left in Garrison there; but condemn'd the Tribunes, and committed them to Prison, in order to their being sent to the Senate at Rome, himself returning to Messana, and thence to Syracuse. Pleminius being unable to contain his passion, and thinking, that the injury done to him was neglected, or at least not sufficiently resented by Scipio; for that no man else could possibly tell how it ought to be revenged, but he that had felt the smart thereof by enduring it, commanded the Tribunes to be brought before him; and having torn them with all the severities that any body is able to suffer, killed them: nor was he satisfied with punishing of them alive only, but threw them forth unburied also. He used the same cruelty likewise to the Locrian Nobility, who, he heard, went to Scipio, to complain of injuries which he had done them: and those things which he had done before so barbarously, through lust or avarice, to them whilst they were his Friends, he then in his anger multiply'd them; insomuch that his actions brought infamy and envy not to himself alone, but to the Emperour.

X. And now the time of the Assembly was at hand, when a Letter came from P. Licinius, the Consul to Rome: That he and his Army were afflicted with a grievous disease; nor could they subsist, unless the same or a worse distemper beset the Enemy. Wherefore, because he could not come to the Assembly in person, he would, if the Senate pleased, declare Q. Cæcilius Metellus Dictator for that Assembly; it being necessary to the good of the Commonwealth that Q. Cæcilius's Army should be disbanded. For there was neither any use of them at present (now that Annibal was gone into his Winter-quarters) but the distemper was so hot in that Camp, that unless they were quickly disbanded, there would not be one man of them left alive. Thereupon the Senate left it to the Consul to do what he thought fit with respect to the common good, and his own integrity. At that time there was a superstitious humor got into the City, which sprang from a Verse found in the Sibylls Books, that were lookt into upon the account of its having frequently that year rain'd stones; and the Verse was this, That whenever any foreign Enemy

Enemy invaded Italy, he might be driven thence and vanquished, if the Image of Cybele (called Meter Idea) were brought from Pellinus to Rome. This Verse found out by the Decemviri, moved the Senate so much the more, because the Ambassadors also, who carried the Offering to Delphi, brought word not only that the Entrails, when they sacrificed to Apollo, gave them very joyful tokens, but also that their Oracles answer was, That for a greater Victory than that, out of the spoils whereof they made that Present, was shortly like to happen to the Roman People. To which, as a confirmation of their hopes, they added Scipio's foresight (as it were) concerning the end of the War, when he desir'd the Province of Africa. Wherefore to make themselves sure of that Victory which was thus portended by Prophecies, Omens, and Oracles, they consulted, which way they should get this Goddess over to Rome.

The Roman People at that time had no Alliance with any of the Cities in Asia: yet remembering that Asculapius also was sent for out of Greece, even before they were in League with that Country, upon the score of the Peoples health; and now since they had newly contracted a Friendship with King Attalus by means of their common War against Philip; so that he was like to do all he could for the Roman Peoples sake, they sent Ambassadors to him, to wit, M. Valerius Levinus (who had been twice Consul, and done great things in Greece) M. Cæcilius Metellus, a Prætorian [fit to be a Prætor, or a Prætors Fellow] Ser. Sulpicius Galba, an Edilitian [an Ediles Fellow] and two Questorians [Questors Fellows] C. Tremellus Flaccus, and M. Valerius Falco. To these men they allotted five Gallies of five banks of Oars, that they might go to those Countries where the Majesty of the Roman Nation was to be kept up, in such a Port as became the Dignity of the Roman People. They therefore in their way to Asia went first to Delphi, and consulted the Oracle there, what hopes it would give them and the Roman People, that they should effect the business, for which they were sent on an Embassy from Rome. To which 'tis said the Oracle made this answer: That by means of King Attalus they should obtain what they sought. And bid them, when they had brought the Goddess to Rome, to take care that the best man in all that City should entertain her. They accordingly came to the King at Pergamus, who receiv'd them very courteously, and carried them to Pessinus in Phrygia: where he deliver'd unto them the Sacred stone, which the Inhabitants said was the Mother of the Gods, commanding them to convey it to Rome. Then M. Valerius Falco being sent before, brought word from the Ambassadors, That the Goddess was a coming: and that they must seek out the best man in the whole City, to receive her into his house with all due Ceremony. Q. Cæcilius Metellus was at that time declar'd Dictator by the Consul in the Country of the Bruttii to hold the Assembly and his Army disbanded: whose Master of the Horse was L. Veturius Philo. The Dictator therefore held the Assembly; in which they made for Consuls M. Cornelius Cethegus, and P. Sempronius Tuditanus, when he was absent in the Province of Greece which was then committed to his Administration. After that they chose Prætors, to wit, T. Claudius Nero, M. Marius Ralla, L. Scribonius Libo, and M. Pomponius Matho. When the Assembly was over, the Dictator quitted his Office. The Roman Games were thrice perform'd anew, and the Plebeian ones seven times. Cneius and L. Cornelius Lentulus were the two Curule Ediles [chief Ediles] of whom Lucius had the Province of Spain; who being chosen in his absence, he though absent, bore that Honour. T. Claudius Asellus, and M. Junius Pennus were the Plebeian Ediles. That year M. Marcellus dedicated the Temple of Virtue at the Gate called Porta Capena, in the seventeenth year after his Father had vow'd so to do in Gaul at Clastidium, when he was first Consul M. Æmilius Regillus also, who was the Flamen Martialis [i.e. Mars's Priest] died that year.

For that two years the affairs of Greece were much neglected. Whereupon Philip seeing the Ætolians quite deserted by the Romans, in whose assistance only they had any confidence, forced them to desire and make a Peace upon what Terms he himself pleased. Which if he had not done with all speed, P. Sempronius, the Proconsul, who was sent as Successor in his Command to Sulpicius, had, with 10000 Foot, 1000 Horse, and 30 Ships of War (which was no small preparation to succour an Ally) most certainly ruin'd him as he was making War against the Ætolians. As soon as the Peace was just made, there came a Messenger to the King, and told him, That the Romans were come to Dyrrachium; that the Parthini and other Neighbour Nations were put in hopes of some innovation: and that Dimallum [a City] was attack'd. For the Romans had turn'd their Forces that way, instead of going, as they were order'd, to assist the Ætolians: being angry, that they had made a Peace with the King against the League, it being done without their consent. When Philip heard that, lest there should any great stir arise among the neighbouring Nations and People, he went great days journeys till he came to Apollonia: whither Sempronius was gone, having sent Latomus, the Lieutenant with part of the Forces, and 15 Ships into Ætolia, to see how things stood, and break off, if he could, the Peace. Philip laid waste the Lands belonging to the Apollonians, and drawing his Men up to the City, gave the Romans an opportunity of fighting. But seeing that they were content only to defend their Walls and be quiet; nor thinking himself strong enough to attack the City, he desired to make, with the Romans, as he had done with the Ætolians, a Peace if he could, or at least a Truce; and without provoking them any more by a fresh quarrel, return'd into his own Kingdom. At

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that time the *Epirotes*, tired out with a tedious War, having first inquired into the *Romans* inclination thereunto, sent Ambassadors to *Philip* about making a general Peace, saying, *That they were sure it would be concluded upon, if he came to a Parley with P. Sempronius the Roman General.* He was easily induced (for the King himself was not averse to it) to come over into *Epirus*. *Phenice* is a City of *Epirus*; where the King having first had a Conference with *Eropus*, *Dardus*, and *Philip*, Generals of the *Epirotes*, he afterward met with *Sempronius*. There was also at that Conference *Aminander*, King of the *Atbamans*; with other Magistrates of the *Epirotes* and *Acarmanians*. Of whom General *Philip* first made a Speech, and begg'd both of the King and the Roman General, *that they would make an end of the War, and so far favour the Epirotes.* *P. Sempronius* made the Conditions of Peace, which were, *That the Parthini, Dimallum, Bargulum, and Eugenum should be subject to the Romans; but that Atintania (if upon sending Ambassadors to Rome, he could get the Senates leave) should be under the Macedonian.* The Peace therefore being made upon those Terms, there were brought into the same League, by the King, *Prusias* King of *Bithynia*, the *Acheans*, *Bæotians*, *Thessalians*, *Acarmanians*, and *Epirotes*; and by the *Romans*, the *Illyses*, King *Attalus*, *Pleuranus*, *Nabis* Tyrant of *Lacedæmon*, the *Eleans*, *Messinians*, and *Athenians*. These Conditions were signed and sealed, and a Truce made for two months, till they could send Ambassadors to *Rome*, to get the people there to allow a Peace upon such Conditions. Accordingly all the Tribes consented to it; because since the War was turn'd into *Africa*, they were willing to be eas'd of all other Wars at that time. *P. Sempronius*, after the Peace was concluded, went to *Rome* to mind the affairs of his Consulship.

XIII. U. C. 546. When *M. Cornelius* therefore and *P. Sempronius* were Consul (which was in the fifteenth year of the *Punic War*) the Provinces assigned to them were, to *Cornelius*, *Etruria*, with the old Army, and to *Sempronius* the *Bruttii*, that he might raise new Legions. To the Prætors were allotted, to *M. Marcius* the City, to *L. Scribonius Libo* a foreign Province and *Gaul* also, to *M. Pomponius Matho*, *Sicily*, and to *T. Claudius Nero*, *Sardinia*. *P. Scipio* was continued in his Command another year with the same Army and Navy that he had. *P. Licinius* was also continued to have the Province of the *Bruttii* with the two Legions there, as long as the Consul should think it consistent with the publick good for him to stay with Commission in that Province. *M. Livius* and *Sp. Lucretius* were likewise kept still in, with the two Legions, wherewithal they had guarded *Gaul* against *Mago*. Besides whom *Cn. Octavius* also was order'd, having deliver'd *Sardinia* and the Legion there up to *T. Claudius*, himself with 40 long Ships to go and secure the Sea-coast, where-ever the Senate should think fit. *M. Pomponius* the Prætor had two Legions out of the Army that was at *Canna*, with him in *Sicily*. *T. Quintius* was appointed to be at *Tarentum*, and *C. Hostilius Tubulus* (both of them Proprætors) at *Capua*, with the same Guard as the year before. Concerning the Government of *Spain*, what two Proconsuls they would please to send into that Province, was refer'd to the People: whereupon all the Tribes consented that the same Proconsuls, *L. Cornelius Lentulus*, and *L. Manlius Acidinus* should have those Provinces, as they had the year before. The Consuls then began to make a Levy, and not only to raise fresh Legions for the *Bruttii*, but (being so commanded by the Senate) a supplement also for the other Armies.

XIV. Although the Province of *Africa* was not as yet openly settled upon any person (the Senate I suppose concealing that affair, lest the *Carthaginians* might be forewarn'd) yet the City was in good hopes, that the Campaigne in *Africa* would break up that year; and the *Punic War* be made an end of. That had fill'd their minds full of superstition; and they were very apt not only to tell but believe strange Prodigies; which caus'd a great many such like reports: to wit, *That there were two Suns seen; that it grew light in the night-time; and that a stream of fire was seen at Setia to stretch it self from East to West. That a Gate at Tarracina, and at Anagnia, not only a Gate, but the Wall in many places was burnt by Lightning. That in the Temple of Juno Sospita at Lanuvium there was an horrid noise, with a great crash heard.* Now in respect to such strange things as those there was a supplication order'd for one whole day: besides that a sacrificing of nine days continuance was order'd upon the account of its having rained stones. To all which you may add their consultation touching their reception of the *Mater Idea*: of whom, though *M. Valerius*, one of the Ambassadors, who came before the rest, brought word that she should speedily be in *Italy*, another fresh Message came that she was already come to *Tarracina*. The Senate then were mightily at a plunge to find out who was the best man in the City. To be sure, each one of them desired more to carry the day in that respect, than any Commands or Honours that could be bestowed upon them by the Suffrage either of the Senate or the People. At last they judg'd *P. Scipio* (the Son of *Cneius*, who was slain in *Spain*) a young Spark not yet of age to be a Questor [i. e. not 27] to be the best man in all the City. What Virtues he had to make them think so, as I would willingly tell you, if the Authors who lived nearest to that time gave any account of it, so on the other hand I shall foist in my conjectures concerning a matter quite worn out by the mere Antiquity of it. But this however is certain, that *P. Cornelius* was order'd to go along with all the Matrons to meet the Goddess at Ostia: to take her out of her Ship, and bringing her ashore, deliver'd her to the Matrons to carry to *Rome*. When therefore the Ship arrived

arrived at the mouth of the River *Tiber*, he, as he was commanded, took shipping down the River, receiv'd the Goddess from the Priests, and brought her ashore. Then the chief Matrons of the City took her of him, among whom there was one more remarkable than the rest, whose name was *Claudia Quinta*; who, though her reputation (as 'tis said) was before that time a little tainted, made her chastity much renown'd to posterity, upon the account of that religious service which she then perform'd. And they in their Arms, one after another (whilst all the City came out to meet them, putting Censers before their doors in the way that she was brought along, in which they burnt Frankincense, and pray'd, *That she might enter the City of Rome willingly and with a propitious inclination*) they carried her into the Temple of *Victory*, which stands in the Palace, upon the 12<sup>th</sup> of *April*; which was an Holy-day. For then the people in great numbers brought Offerings to the Goddess in the Palace, where there was a Feast and several sorts of Games set forth, called *Megalisia*. But after that when they came to talk of the supplement, which was to be made to the Legions that were in the several Provinces, some of the Senators said, *It was now time, since by the bounty of the Gods they were deliver'd from all manner of fear, to rid themselves of those things which in their adversity they had been forced to endure.* By which words the Senators being put in expectation, they went on and told them, *That those twelve Latine Colonies, which, when Q. Fabius, and Q. Fulvius were Consuls, had refused to give them any Soldiers, had had almost a whole year of vacation from all military services, as if it were an honour and a benefit bestow'd upon them; when in the mean time your good and obedient Allies, for their fidelity and compliance to the Roman Government, had been exhaust'd with continual Levies every year.*

By these kind of Speeches the Senates memory of a thing they had almost forgotten, was not only refresh'd, but they were also much incens'd. Whereupon not suffering the Consuls to propose any other thing first, they made an Order, *That the Consuls should send for the chief Magistrates and Councils of Ten from Nepete, Sutrium, Ardea, Cales, Alba, Carsoli, Sora, Suefla, Setia, Circei, Narnia, and Interamna (for those were the Colonies concern'd in that affair) to Rome: and injoin them, that, look how many Soldiers any of those Colonies had supply'd to the Roman People since the Enemy came into Italy, they should each give a double number of Foot, and 120 Horse. And if any Colony could not furnish out that number of Horse, they should for every Horseman supply three Footmen; but that Horse and Foot should be the richest men they could get, who should be sent to any place out of Italy, where there should be occasion for Auxiliaries. If any of them refused, they order'd the Magistrates and Ambassadors of that Colony to be detain'd; nor, though they demand'd it, were they to have Audience of the Senate, till they had done what was injoyn'd them. Moreover, that a Tax of an As [a Roman Coin] should be laid upon each one who had an Estate of 3000 Sesterces, and collected every year: as also that a Poll should be made in those Colonies according to the form prescrib'd by the Roman Censors: which form should be the same as at Rome, and be brought to Rome by the sworn Censors of each Colony, before they went out of their Offices.* By this Order of Senate the Magistrates and chief Men in all those Colonies being fetch'd to Rome, after the Consuls had injoyn'd them to raise such and such Soldiers, and to pay such a stipend, some of them refused and boggled at it more than others, saying, *They could not raise so many men; no, though they were to do no more than by the form before prescrib'd they had done, they should scarce be able to perform it. Wherefore they begg'd and desir'd, that they might go before the Senate and get it off: for they had done nothing to deserve a total ruine; but said, if they must needs perish too, yet, that neither the Levy, nor the anger of the Roman People could make them raise more Soldiers, than they had.* The Consuls were obdurate, and commanded the Ambassadors to stay at Rome; but sent the Magistrates home to make Levies, saying, *That ne're a man at Rome would consent to their having an Audience of the Senate, unless they brought thither the Quota of Soldiers that was expected from them.* By which means their hopes of appearing before the Senate, and begging the thing off, being frustrated, they with no difficulty at all made a sufficient Levy, the number of their young men being by a long vacation from military service much augmented.

Then another matter, which had been buried in silence almost as long, was reviv'd by *M. Valerius Lavinius*: who said, *That the Money contributed by private persons, when he and M. Claudius were Consuls, ought at length to be restored: nor ought any man to wonder, that when the publick Faith was so far oblig'd, he took such great care. For besides, that the Consul of that year wherein the Money was contributed, was some way concern'd in the affair, that he also was the cause of that Contribution when the Treasury was poor, and the people had not wherewithal to pay their Taxes.* That was a Memorial very grateful to the Senate, who having order'd the Consuls to make report of it, decreed, *That that Money should be paid at three payments; the first in hand by those that were then in being, and the other two by the Consuls that should be in the third and fifth year following.* But then all other cares were swallow'd up in one, after that the calamities of the *Locrians*, which had been unknown to that day, were, upon the arrival of their Ambassadors, publish'd. Nor did *Pleminius's* villany provoke the minds of men so much as either the ambition or negligence of *Scipio* in that business. Ten Ambassadors from *Locri*, all over squalid and in a fordid guise, with boughs



of Olive in their hands (according to the Grecian custom) and in a dress on purpose to move commiseration, appear'd before the Consuls, as they sat in the Assembly, and threw themselves all a long upon the ground with a lamentable outcry before the Tribunal. Of whom the Consuls demanding who they were, they answer'd, They were Locrians, and had suffer'd those indignities from Q. Pleminius, the Lieutenant, together with the Roman Soldiers, that the Roman People would not be willing even the Carthaginians should endure: wherefore they intreated them to give them leave to go before the Senate, and complain of their severe usage.

XVII. Having an Audience of the Senate granted to them, the eldest of them said: I know, grave Fathers, how much you value our complaints; but the greatest weight lies in this, that you know well, not only how Locri was betray'd to Annibal, but also how, his Guards being beaten thence, it was restored to you. For if both the crime of that revolt were far from being the publick design, and it appear that the Town return'd to its obedience toward you, not only with our good liking, but through our assistance and courage also, you may justly conceive the greater indignation, that such inhumane indignities are offer'd to us, your good and faithful Allies, by your Lieutenant and Soldiers there. But I suppose the cause of both our revolts may be better deferr'd till another time for two reasons; the one, that it may be pleaded before P. Scipio, who retok Locri, and who is a Witness of all we did both right and wrong: and the other, in that, whatever we are, we ought not to have suffer'd, what we have done. We cannot deny, grave Fathers, but we, when we had the Punick Forces in our Garrison, suffer'd many base unworthy things from Amilcar, who was the Governour, as well as from the Numidians and Africans. But what were those to that we now endure? Grave Fathers, I beseech you to hear me with patience what I am unwilling to utter. Mankind is now at a stand, and doubts whether you or the Carthaginians are Lords of the World. But truly if the Roman and Punick Government were to be valued according to what we Locrians formerly suffer'd from them, or now so severely feel from your Garrison, there's no man but would wish to have them for his Masters before you. And yet see, how the Locrians are affected toward you. Though we receiv'd much lesser injuries from the Carthaginians, we fled to your General: though we endure more than hostile indignities from the hands of your Garrison, yet we complain to none but you. Either you, grave Fathers, must look upon our calamities, or we have nothing left to desire the immortal Gods. Q. Pleminius was sent as Lieutenant with a Guard to recover Locri from the Carthaginians, and there he was left with that same Guard: but in this Lieutenant of yours (our extreme misery forces us to speak so freely) there is nothing at all, grave Fathers, of a man, save only shape and look, nor of a Roman Citizen, except his mien, his garb, and the meer sound of the Latine Tongue. No, he's a mere nuisance, and a savage beast, like those that Fables tell us infested that Strait by which we are divided from Sicily, and were the destruction of all Sailors. Yet if he alone would be content himself to exercise his villany, lust and avarice upon your poor Allies, we should with our patience hope to satisfy and fill that one deep gulph: but now he has made all your Centurions and Soldiers (so promiscuously would he have all licence and improbity to reign) Pleminius's; they all ravish, spoil, beat, wound and kill as much as he. They vitiate grave Matrons, Virgins, and ingenious Youths, whom they force from the embraces of their Parents. Our City is every day taken and sack'd: both night and day all parts of it sound with cries of Women and Children who are ravish'd and carried away. He that did not know it, would wonder how either we should be able to bear it, or that they who do them, should not be ere this a weary of such enormous actions. Neither can I tell you, nor is it worth your while to hear all that we have undergone. I'll summe them up all together; and tell you, that there is no one house in Locri, or one person, but has been injur'd: nor has any sort of wickedness, lust or avarice been omitted toward any body that was able to endure it. A man can hardly tell which condition of our City was the worst; when our Enemies in War took it, or now that a destructive Tyrant has oppress'd it by force and arms. We have endured all that Cities taken use to suffer, and do so still, grave Fathers, even to this hour: whatever the most cruel and inhumane Tyrants do to miserable men, Pleminius has exercised upon us, our Wives and Children.

XVIII. But one thing there is, Grave Fathers, concerning which in particular not only our Religion, that is implanted in our Souls, compels us to complain, but of which we also desire, if you think fit, that you would be inform'd, and purge your Commonwealth from the abominable guilt. We have observ'd with what devotion you worship not only your own Gods, but with what regard you receive those of foreign Nations too. Now we have a Temple dedicated to Proserpine, of the Sanctity whereof I suppose you may have heard about the time of the War we had with Pyrrhus: who coming back by Sea out of Sicily to Locri, among other foul acts that he did to us for our fidelity toward you, took away the Treasures also of Proserpine, which to that day had been untouch'd; and having put the money on board his Navy, march'd himself away by Land. What became of it, grave Fathers? His Navy was all torn to pieces next day in a violent storm, and all those Ships that had the Holy money on board them were wreck'd upon our Coast. By which calamity the proud King being at length taught, that there are Gods, gather'd all the money together again, and order'd it to be carried back into Proserpines Treasury. But notwithstanding that, he never prosper'd after; but being driven out of Italy, died a dishonourable and ignoble death by chance in the night-time as he just came into Argos. Now though your Lieutenant and Tribunes of the Soldiery had these things and a thousand more, which were related to them, not

more.

more to awe them with a religious fear, than to let them know that we and our Forefathers had found the Goddess had often given great demonstrations of her presence there, yet they nevertheless were so audacious, as to lay their sacrilegious hands upon those untouch'd Treasures, contaminating themselves, their Families and their Soldiers with such wicked spoils. For which, grave Fathers, I beseech you upon your own account and the love you bear to your Country, that you would make some Expiation, before you do any thing more either in Italy or Africa; lest they should suffer for the offence which they have committed, not only with their own blood, but also by some publick calamity. Although I must confess the wrath of the Goddess appears even to this day both in your Officers and Soldiers. For they fight sometimes even with one another; Pleminius being the Captain on one side, and two Tribunes of the Soldiers on the other. Nor did they ever engage more vehemently with the Carthaginians than they did among themselves. Yea they would by their fury have given Annibal an opportunity of recovering Locri, had not Scipio, whom we sent for, intervened. But, alas! doth rage possess the Soldiers only who are stain'd with Sacrilege, and nothing of the Goddesses power appear in the punishing of the Officers? No, it was most manifest in them. The Tribunes were whipt with rods by the Lieutenant: and after that the Lieutenant being circumvented by the Tribunes, was not only torn all over his body, but his nose and ears being cut off, he was left for dead. But he at last recovering of his wounds put the Tribunes in Prison, and then having whipt them, put them to all the servile torments he could think on till they dy'd; nor would he suffer them, when dead, to be buried. Thus has the Goddess reveng'd her self of them that spoiled her Temple: nor will she ever cease to torment them, before the Sacred money is again laid up in her Treasury. Our Ancestors heretofore, in the time of a grievous War that we had with the Crotonians, because that Temple was without the City, would have remov'd that money into the Walls. But a Voice was heard out of the Temple in the night, that bid them, hold their hands off of it; the Goddess would defend her own Temple. Whereupon they being afraid to remove the Treasures thence, they resolv'd to inclose the Temple with a Wall at least: but when it was built up to some considerable height, it tumbled down again all on a sudden. For that Goddess not only now, but many other times besides, has secur'd her own Seat and her own Temple, or has taken grievous revenge of such as were the violators thereof. But neither she nor any body else, except you, grave Fathers, can redress our injuries. Wherefore to you and your mercy we humbly fly; not caring, whether you suffer Locri to be under that Lieutenant and that Garrison which is now there, or deliver it up to enraged Annibal and the Carthaginians to exercise their cruelty upon. Yet we do not desire that you should believe us immediately neither, against a person that is absent, and before he has spoken for himself. No, let him come, and hear his accusation, that, if he can, he may make it appear, that he has omitted any one piece of villany that one man can be guilty of toward another: if he do, we shall not refuse our selves again to suffer, if possible, all that we have already undergone, and to have him acquitted of all guilt, whether in respect of God or man.

The Ambassadors having spoken to this purpose, Q. Fabius ask'd them, whether they had made those complaints to P. Scipio; to which they answer'd and said, There were Ambassadors sent to him, but he was taken up with preparing for the War, being either already gone over into Africa, or resolv'd to do so in a few days. Besides, they knew what kindness the General had for the Lieutenant by the case that happen'd between him and the Tribunes, whom Scipio for his sake put into prison, but left him, though he were as guilty or rather more than they, in the same Commission as before. The Ambassadors being order'd to withdraw out of the Temple, not only Pleminius, but Scipio also were severely lash'd in several invective Orations which the Nobility then made. But above the rest Q. Fabius said, He was born to corrupt all military Discipline. That in Spain too he lost full as much by the mutiny of his Soldiers as by the War: for he had a foreign King like way with him, both to indulge the licentiousness of his Soldiers, and to be very severe upon them when he had so done. And then he ended his Speech with this his fatal Opinion: That he would have Pleminius brought in bonds to Rome, and in that condition to plead for himself; so that, if all were true, that the Locrians had said, he should be executed in the Prison, and his Goods confiscated. That P. Scipio, for that he had quitted his Province without the Senates leave, should be recalled; and that they should treat with the Tribunes of the People, to make them propose the abrogating of his Command. That the Senate should tell the Locrians in his hearing, That what injuries they complain'd of as done to them, neither the Senate nor the Roman People would have willingly done. That they should be called good Men, Allies and Friends. That their Wives and Children, with all other things that had been taken from them, should be restored. That as much Money should be rais'd, as had been taken out of Proserpines Treasury, and double that summe, be return'd into that place: as also, that a piacular sacrificing should be appointed by advice first taken of the Colledge of Priests (because the sacred Treasures were so misplaced and prophane'd) what Propitiations, to what Gods and with what Sacrifices they would have them made. That all the Soldiers at Locri should be transported into Sicily: and that four Regiments of the Luine Allies should be carried as a Guard to Locri. The Opinions that day for and against Scipio were not to be number'd, the Senators were so hot on both sides. For besides Pleminius's ill behaviour, and the ruine of the Locrians, they said that his garb was not only not Roman, but not so much even as Military; in that he walk'd in a Cloak and Buskins [after the Greek fashion] in a Gymnasium

XIX.

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[a School of Exercise] giving his mind also to Books and Activity, as Wrestling, &c. That his Regiment was equally slothful and effeminate at Syracuse, taking their pleasure only; for Carthage and Annibal were out of their heads. That all the whole Army was corrupted by licentiousness, and just as they were at Sucro in Spain, and now at Locri, more dreadful to their Allies than any Enemy.

XX.

These things, though partly true, partly mixed, and therefore the more probable, were given out, but *Q. Metellus's* Opinion at length obtained; who, though he agreed with *Maximus* in all other things, yet in the case of *Scipio* dissented from him. For how, said he, can it seem convenient, that he, whom the City had so lately chosen, even in his youth, as the only General fit to recover Spain; whom Spain, retaken from the Enemy, had created Consul on purpose to put an end to the Punic War, with great hopes that he would not only drive Annibal out of Italy, but also subdue all Africa: that he, I say, should be so suddenly recalled from his Province, like *Q. Pleminius*, and almost condemn'd before his Cause was heard? When even those things that the Locrians complain of as done so unwisely against them, were done in *Scipio's* absence, as they themselves own, nor can he be blamed for any thing, save his modesty or patience, in that he spared the Lieutenant? That he thought fit, that *M. Pomponius* the Prætor, to whom the Province of Sicily was allotted, should go the next three days to that Province: and that the Consuls should chuse ten Ambassadors out of the Senate, whom they pleas'd, to send along with the Prætor, with two Tribunes of the People and an Ædile. And that by the assistance of that Council the Prætor should inquire, if those things that the Locrians complain'd of, were done by the order or consent of *P. Scipio*, to the end, that they might warn him to quit the Province. If *Scipio* was already gone over into Africa, that the Tribunes of the People and the Ædile, with two of the Ambassadors, whom the Prætor should think most fit, should follow him thither: the Tribunes and the Ædile to bring *Scipio* back: and the Ambassadors to command the Army, till a new General came over. But if *M. Pomponius* and the ten Ambassadors found, that such things were not done either by order or consent of *P. Scipio*, that *Scipio* should stay in the Army and carry on the War, as he had proposed. This being passed into an Order of Senate, it was refer'd to the Tribunes of the People, either to agree among themselves, or cast Lots, which two of them should go along with the Prætor and Ambassadors. In like manner it was left to the Colledge of Priests to determine of an Expiation for those things that had been touch'd, violated and carried away out of the Temple of *Proserpine* at Locri. The Tribunes of the People, that went along with the Prætor and the ten Ambassadors, were *M. Claudius Marcellus*, and *M. Cincius Alimentus*, who had an Ædile also allow'd them: to whom, if *Scipio*, either in Sicily, should not obey the Prætors commands, or were already gone over into Africa, the Tribunes should give order to lay hold on him, and bring him back by the Authority of their Sacred Power.

XXI.

Their design was to go to Locri before they went to Messana. But as to *Pleminius*, there is a double report goes. For some say, that he, when he heard what had been done at Rome, went as a banish'd person to Naples, and there by chance met with *Q. Metellus*, one of the Ambassadors, by whom he was forced back to Rhegium. Others say, that a Lieutenant was sent by *Scipio* himself with thirty of the noblest Horsemen, to put *Q. Pleminius* in Chains, and with him the Heads of the Sedition. But they were all committed to custody at Rhegium, either before by *Scipio's* order, or just then, by the Prætors. The Prætor therefore and the Ambassadors went to Locri, where (as they were order'd) they first took care of what concern'd Religion. For they gather'd together all the Sacred money that either *Pleminius* or the Soldiers had, and put it, with that which they themselves brought thither, into the Treasury, making a piacular Sacrifice. Then calling the Soldiers into an Assembly, the Prætor bade them march with their Ensigns out of the City, and pitch'd the Camp in the adjacent Plains; with a grave Edict, That if any Soldier either remain'd in the City, or took any thing out with him, that was not his own, he would permit the Locrians, every one to take what they knew to be theirs; and if any thing did not appear, that they should demand it back. But above all, he would needs have the Locrians forthwith to have their bodies at liberty: and that he should suffer very severely, that did not make return of what he had of theirs. After that he called an Assembly of the Locrians, and told them, That the Senate and People of Rome did restore to them their Liberty and Laws. If any of them had a mind to impeach *Pleminius*, or any other person, they might follow him to Rhegium. If they would complain in publick of *P. Scipio*, that what was done so wickedly at Locri, either against the Gods and men, was committed by the order or consent of *Scipio*, that they might send Ambassadors to Messana, where he with the assistance of the Council would inquire into the matter. Thereupon the Locrians gave the Prætor and Ambassadors, with the Senate and People of Rome many thanks, and told him, That they would go to accuse *Pleminius*. But as for *Scipio*, though he was not much concern'd at the injuries done to their City, yet he was such a person, as they would rather have to be their friend, than their enemy. For they were sure, that so many horrid outrages could not be committed by the order or consent of *P. Scipio*; but that he either believ'd *Pleminius* too much, or them too little. And that it was natural for some men rather to desire, that no offences might be committed, than to be ready enough to punish them. By this means the Prætor and the Council were eased of a great deal of trouble, which they would have

have had, in trying *Scipio*. But they condemn'd *Pleminius* with 32 men more, and sent them in Chains to Rome: whilst themselves went to *Scipio*, that they might carry back to Rome a true relation of those things that had been commonly reported not only concerning the General's sloth and garb, but his corrupting of military Discipline.

As they were coming to Syracuse, *Scipio* provided not words, but things to clear himself. For he order'd all the Army to muster there, and the Navy to be in a readiness, as if he had been that day to engage the Carthaginians both by Sea and Land. The day therefore that they arrived, after he had courteously entertain'd them, the next day he shew'd them a Land and a Sea-Army, not only in Battalia, but made the former exercise in their presence, whilst the Navy rode in the Harbour, and made them some shew of a Sea-fight. Then the Prætor and Ambassadors were carried about to see the Armories and Store-houses with the other preparations for the War: and did so much admire at all things in particular and in general too, that they were very apt to believe, the Carthaginians must be defeated by such a General and such an Army, or they were invincible: bidding him, with good wishes in their mouths, go over, and as soon as possibly he could (even upon that day, on which all the Centuries had made him first Consul) accomplish those hopes that the Roman People had conceiv'd of him. And with that they went their ways very cheerfully, as though they had been to carry the news of a Victory, and not only of magnificent preparations for the War. *Pleminius*, and those that were in his condition, when they came to Rome, were presently put into prison. From whence at first being brought forth to the People by the Tribunes, they found no mercy, because all men were so much prepossess'd with the story of the Locrian calamities. But afterward, when they had been several times produced, the envy of the people was grown old and feeble, and their passion consequently abated; for the very deformity and neglected drefs of *Pleminius*, and the memory of *Scipio*, who was absent, gained him favour among the Commons. Yet he died in prison before the People pass'd their Sentence upon him. *Clodius Licinius* in his third Book of the Roman Affairs, says, That this *Pleminius* at the same time when those Games which Africanus, when he was the second time Consul, set forth, were celebrated, in pursuance of a Vow that he had formerly made, endeavour'd in several places to set the City on fire, that he might have an occasion to break prison and make his escape: but that his wicked design being detected, he was put by order of the Senate into the Dungeon: and that there was nothing said of *Scipio* any where else, save in the Senate only: where all the Ambassadors and the Tribunes so far extoll'd the Navy, the Army and the General, that they induced the Senate to think it convenient, that *Scipio* should go over into Africa as soon as he could, and to give him leave to chuse out of those Armies, that were in Sicily, such numbers as he pleas'd to go along with him, and to leave whom he thought good as a Guard to that Province.

XXII.

Whilst these things were transacted by the Romans, the Carthaginians also, who having set up Watch-Towers upon all Promontories, and by inquiring and being terrified at every Message that they received, had had a very anxious Winter on't, thought themselves now not a little encouraged to defend Africa, by the Alliance of King *Syphax*, in confidence of whose assistance chiefly they believ'd the Roman would come over into their Country. For at this time *Asdrubal*, the Son of *Gisgo*, had not only contracted an hospitable friendship with that King (of which I told you before) when it happen'd that *Scipio* and *Asdrubal* came thither out of Spain together; but there was also some discourse of an Affinity designed between them, as though the King was to marry *Asdrubal's* Daughter. *Asdrubal* therefore going to consummate that affair, and appoint the Wedding-day (for the Damsel was now marriagable) as soon as he perceiv'd the King to be inflamed with desire (and indeed the Numidians are more inclined to Veneries than any other Barbarians) he sent for the Maid from Carthage, and hasten'd the Nuptials. At which, among other expressions of kindness, that he might add even a publick League to a private Contract, he made the King and the Carthaginians swear to a mutual Alliance and a faithful Promise, That all people should be equally both friends and enemies to each of them. But *Asdrubal* remembering what friendship *Scipio* and the King had contracted, as also how vain and mutable the inclinations of the Barbarians were; he, fearing, that if *Scipio* should come over into Africa, that Marriage would be but a small obligation, whilst he now saw the Numidian hot upon his new Amour, perswaded him, by the help of the young Ladies endearments too, to send Ambassadors into Sicily to *Scipio*, to advise him, That he should rely upon his former promises, so as to come over into Africa; for that he was now oblig'd by Marriage to the Daughter of *Asdrubal*, a Citizen of Carthage, whom he had now at his house, and to the People of Carthage also by a League. And to exhort him first, that the Romans should make War with the Carthaginians, as they had to that day done, a good way from Africa, lest he might be forced to engage in their quarrels, and refusing this or that Party, to be of necessity on one side. If *Scipio* would not keep out of Africa, but bring his Army to Carthage, that he must needs oppose him, not only in behalf of Africa, the Land in which he and his Wife were born, but also upon his Father's account, and for the sake of his own household Gods.

The Ambassadors, being sent from the King to *Scipio* with this Message, came to him at Syracuse. Whereupon *Scipio*, though he were disappointed in his great designs upon Africa, and of his mighty hopes, sent the Ambassadors immediately back into Africa, before the

XXIV.

the matter was divulged, with a Letter to the King: wherein he advised him over and over, That he would not break the Laws of Hospitality by which he was obliged to him, nor forfeit the Alliance which he had enter'd into with the Roman People, nor falsify that Justice, Fidelity and Promise which he had sworn to, or offend the Gods, who were Witnesses and Judges too of their Contract. But since neither the arrival of the Numidians could be concealed (for they went all over the City, and were frequently seen in the Palace) and that if the reason of their coming should be kept secret, there was danger, lest the truth, for that very reason that it was so stilled, might, of its own accord, the more come out; and thereby a fear possess the Army, that they must fight with the King, and the Carthaginians both together, he made men disbelieve the real truth of the matter by prepossessing their minds with a false story. And therefore calling his Soldiers to an Assembly, told them, *They must delay the time no longer; but it was high time for him to go over into Africa, having two Kings for his Associates. That Malinilla formerly came himself to Lælius, and complained, that he was too dilatory: and now, that Syphax also had sent Ambassadors, admiring, as the other did, what should be the reason of his long tarrying; and desiring, that either he would at last bring his Armies over into Africa, or, if his mind was alter'd, let him know it, that he might otherwise secure himself and his Kingdom. Wherefore having now all things in a sufficient readiness, since the business admitted of no farther delay, he intended, when he had brought the Navy to Lilybæum, and gotten all his Forces, both Horse and Foot thither, the first day that was fit to set sail in, with the permission of the Gods, to go for Africa.* With that he sent a Letter to M. Pomponius, That, if he thought fit, he would come to Lilybæum: where they might consult in common, what Legions chiefly, and what number of men he should carry over into Africa. He likewise sent to all the Sea-coast, to have all the Ships of burden seized, and brought to Lilybæum. When therefore all the Soldiers and Ships, that were in Sicily, were come to Lilybæum, so that neither the City was able to contain the multitude of men, nor the Ports the Ships, they had all such a vehement desire of crossing over into Africa, that they seem'd not to be led to War, but to receive the certain rewards of Victory. Especially those that remain'd of the Army, which had been at Cannæ, believ'd that under him, and no other General, they, by serving the Commonwealth, might put an end to an ignominious Campaign. Nor did Scipio at all despise that sort of men: because he knew, that neither the Battel of Cannæ was lost by their sloth, nor were there any so old Soldiers in all the Roman Army; they being also expert not only upon the score of several Battels which they had fought, but in attacking of Towns also. The Legions of Cannæ were the fifth and sixth which he having declared that he would take over into Africa, he view'd them singly every man; and leaving those behind that he thought unfit to go, he put others in their places, that he had brought along with him out of Italy; filling up such Legions to such a complement, that each of them contained 6200 Foot, and 300 Horse. He also chose both Horse and Foot out of the Latine Allies that were in the *Campanian* Army.

XXV. How many Men were transported into Africa at that time, creates a great dispute among several Authors. For in some I find they were 10000 Foot, and 2200 Horse: in others, 16000 Foot, and 1600 Horse: and in others above half as many more, that is, that 35000 Foot and Horse were shipt off. But some again do not set down the number; among whom, since the thing is doubtful, I wou'd fain be one my self. *Calpurnius*, as he doth not mention any particular number, so he makes us believe they were infinite. For he saith, that the Birds fell down to the ground through the mighty noise that the Soldiers made; and that such a vast multitude went on board, that it lookt as if there had not one Soul been left either in Italy or Sicily. But Scipio himself took that care upon himself, that the Soldiers should go orderly and without tumult on board the Ships; and C. Lælius, who was Admiral, kept the Sailers, who were forced to go before, in the Ships. M. Pomponius, the Prætor, was to see the Provisions laden, which were Victuals for forty five days, whereof there was enough for fifteen days ready dress'd. When they were all on board, he sent Boats all about to the several Ships, for the Pilots and Masters of every Vessel, with two Soldiers to come into the Forum and receive Orders. Whither when they came, he inquired of them, if they had got Water for the Men and Beasts for so many days as they had Corn. To which they answering, That they had Water enough for forty five days; he charged the Soldiers, that they should be silent, quiet, obedient, and not disturb the Mariners in the executing of their duties. Then he told them, that he himself and L. Scipio would sail with twenty Ships of War in the right Wing, and that in the left C. Lælius, the Admiral, should be with M. Porcius Cato (who then was Questor) and as many more Men of War, for a Guard to the Ships of burden. That the Men of War should have each of them one Light, and the Ships of burden two: but in the General's Ship a distinguishing mark of three Lights should be set up in the night time. He likewise gave the Pilots order to make toward the chief Ports: affirming, that the Country was very fertile, and consequently abounded with all manner of plenty, the Barbarians being (as it most commonly happens in a fat Soil) effeminate and unfit for War: so that they might very probably be defeated, before any Succors came from Carthage. Having receiv'd these Orders, they were commanded back to their Ships, and the next day, with the assistance of the Gods upon a signal given them, to weigh Anchor for Africa.

Many

Many Roman Navies had formerly set out from Sicily, and at that same Port; yet not only not in that War (nor is that a wonder, because most of those Navies went only a foraging) but in the former also, never was there any Expedition that made so great a show. Though, if you compare the bigness of the Navies, there were two Consuls and two Armies that formerly went over; in which Navies there were almost as many Men of War, as Scipio had Ships of burden. For besides fifty long Ships, he carried over his Army in near four hundred Ships of burden. But then, not only for that Italy was before the seat of War, but also by reason of the great slaughter of so many Armies, the Generals being likewise at the same time slain, the second War appeared much more severe to the Romans than the first. Yet Scipio, who was a General so renowned, partly for his great and valiant actions, and partly by a kind of Fatality design'd to augment that Glory which he had in so great a measure already gain'd, had chang'd their minds, by giving out (which no other General in that War had done) how he was resolv'd to go over, to draw Hannibal out of Italy, and to transfer and finish the War in Africa. All the Town flock'd to the Port to see the show, and those not only such as dwelt at Lilybæum, but all the Ambassadors too from all parts of Sicily: who came not only to attend upon Scipio out of duty, but had followed M. Pomponius the Prætor of that Province. Besides these, the Legions that were left in Sicily march'd forth to follow their fellow-Soldiers: nor was the Navy only a rare Spectacle to them that stood upon the shore, but the shore also, which was so throng all round with crowds of people, was as strange a sight to them that were at Sea.

Allooon as it was day, Scipio, from the General's Ship, having by the Cryer commanded silence, made this Prayer: *O Gods and Goddesses, said he, who inhabit either the Sea or Land, I beg and beseech you, that whatsoever has been, is, or shall be done by my Command, may prove of good advantage to me, the People and Commons of Rome, their Allies and all the Latines, who side with the Roman People and with me, or subscribe to my Command and Conduct by Sea, by Land, or upon Rivers. And do you prosper all such actions; increase them daily by your favour; and grant these my fellow-Soldiers, when they have conquer'd their Enemies, may come with safety and victory, adorn'd with spoils, and laden with booty in Triumph along with me home again to Rome. Send us Enemies enough to take our revenge of; and permit me and the Roman People to do those things in the City of Carthage, which the People of Carthage endeavour'd to do against our City.* When he had made an end of this his Prayer, he kill'd a Victim, and according to custom, threw the Entrails raw into the Sea; giving a signal with a Trumpet for them to sail. Thereupon setting out with a fresh gale of Wind, they were presently out of sight: and in the Afternoon a Mist arose, so that the Ships could hardly avoid falling foul upon one another; but that the Wind was calmer in the main Sea. The night following the same darkness came upon them again; though at Sun-rising it cleared, and the Wind grew stronger. And now were come within sight of the Land; when not long after the Pilot or Steersman told Scipio, that they were within 5000 paces of Africa: for he saw Mercury's Promontory: and that if he pleas'd that they should steer that way, the whole Navy would soon be in Harbour. Scipio, allooon as he got sight of the Land, beseeching the Gods, that he might see Africa to the Commonwealths and his own advantage, he order'd them to set sail, and make toward any other Port that was below that. Then sailing with the same Wind, about the same time, as the day before, the Mist arose and took from them all sight of Land, and the Wind, through the pressure of the Fog, was allay'd. After which the night also put them into a greater confusion, wherefore they cast forth their Anchors, lest either the Ships should fall foul upon one another, or run a-ground. Again, when it was day, the same Wind arose, and dispersing the Fog, discover'd all the Coast of Africa. Then Scipio inquiring which was the next Promontory, and being told, that it was called Promontorium Pulchrum [or the fair Promontory] I am pleas'd, said he, with the Omen, steer your Ships that way. Thither therefore did the Navy make, and there all their Forces were landed. I believe by the relation of a great many Authors, both Greek and Latine, that their Voyage was very successful without any terror or tumult: only Calpurnius tells us, That besides their Ships being just preserv'd from sinking, they underwent all other terrors both from the Heavens and the Seas; yea that their Navy at last was carried by a storm from Africa to the Island Ægimurus: from whence they with much ado recover'd their course: and that their Ships being almost overwhelm'd, they got ashore in a great tumult, without their General's Order, with Boats and without their Arms, like men that had been shipwreck'd.

XXVIII. Having landed their Men, the Romans pitch'd their Camp upon the adjacent banks. And now a dread and fear had seiz'd not only Sea-coasts, at first to see the Navy, and then after, to hear the noise that they made at their landing, but even the very Cities too were frighted. For not only a crowd of men, women and children mixed all together had filled up all the roads, but the Country-people were driving their Cattel too before them, in such a manner, that you would have thought they had been going immediately to quit the Nation. But they put the Cities into a greater consternation than what they themselves were in: especially Carthage, which was as much concern'd and in almost as great an uproar, as if it had been just taken. For since M. Attilius Regulus, and L. Manlius were Consuls; for near fifty years together they had not seen any Roman Army, except the plundering Sea-men



that landed upon the Sea-coast for Forage; and having taken what Fortune threw in their way, retired to their Ships again before the Country-people could have the Alarm. By that means their flight and fear was then far greater in the City. For, to say the truth, they had neither any strong Army at home, nor any General to oppose them. *Asdrubal*, the Son of *Gisgo*, was by much the most noted man in all the City for his Birth, Renown, Riches, and at that juncture too, for his Affinity to the King. But they remembred, that he had been defeated and beaten in *Spain* by that very *Scipio* in several Battels; nor was a General any more to compare to him, than their tumultuary Army to that of the *Romans*. Wherefore, as though *Scipio* had design'd immediately to attack their City, they all gave the Alarm; the gates were presently shut, and Soldiers planted upon the Walls, with Watches and Sentinels at several Posts, where they kept Guard all the following night. The next day 500 Horse, who were sent as Scouts toward the Sea, to put them in confusion as they landed, fell into the *Romans* hands. For by this time *Scipio* having sent his Navy to *Utica*, was got himself not far from the Sea, and had seized the adjacent Banks, where he had very conveniently posted his Horse, whom he had sent a foraging. And they having had a Battle with the *Carthaginian* Cavalry, kill'd some few upon the spot, but many more as they ran away, among whom was the Prefect *Hanno*, a noble Youth. Mean while *Scipio* did not only waste all the Country round about, but took a rich City also, that was hard by, belonging to the *Africans*. Where besides other things that were immediately sent on board the Merchant-Ships, and carried into *Sicily*, 8000 Freemen and Slaves were taken. But the arrival of *Masiniſſa*, when they began their business, was very grateful to the *Romans*; who, some say, came with not above 200 Horse, but most with 2000. Now since he was much the greatest King of all in his time, and a very great Friend to the *Romans*, I think it worth my while to make a small digression, and shew you what variety of Fortune he happen'd to have in the loss and recovery of his Fathers Kingdom. His Father dy'd whilst he was a Soldier for the *Carthaginians* in *Spain*; whose name was *Gala*. From whom the Kingdom fell to *Oesalces*, his Brother (for that's the custom among the *Numidians*) who was a very old man. Not very long after, *Oesalces* also dy'd, and the elder of his two Sons, whose name was *Capusa* (the other being yet but a Child) succeeded him. But since *Capusa* got the Crown more by the custom of the Country, than any Authority or Power that he had among them; there arose one *Mezetulus*, a Person of the Royal Blood indeed, but come of a Family that were always Enemies to the Kings (though he mightily stickled for the Sovereign Power against them who at that time had it) who having instigated his Country-men, with whom he had a great sway upon the score of their hatred to Kings, pitch'd his Camp in the face of the Sun, and forced the King to come into the field, to fight for the Kingdom. In that Battle *Capusa* with many of the Nobility was slain, and all the Nation of the *Massylians* became subject to *Mezetulus*. But he refused the Name of King; and contenting himself with the Name of Tutor, Guardian, or Protector only, called *Lacumaces*, a Lad that was then alive, and of the Royal Family, King. He married a Noble Lady of *Carthage*, who was Daughter to *Annibal's* Sister, and the Dowager of King *Oesalces*, in hopes thereby to make the *Carthaginians* his Allies: besides that he sent Ambassadors and renewed his former friendship with King *Syphax*, preparing all the Auxiliaries he could against *Masiniſſa*.

XXX. Then *Masiniſſa*, hearing of the death of his Uncle, and after that of his Cousin-German, went over out of *Spain* into *Mauritania*, of which one *Bochar* was at that time King. Of him he humbly desired and obtained (though he could not for the War, yet) as a Convoy in his Journey four thousand Moors. With them, having a Messenger before-hand to his Fathers and his own Friends, when he came to the Confines of his Kingdom, almost five hundred *Numidians* met him. Then sending the Moors thence back to their King, according to his promise, though the number that met him was somewhat less than he hoped for; nor enough to give him encouragement for the undertaking of so great an Enterprize: he, thinking that by being in action and making a stir, he might gather strength enough to do some part of his business, he happen'd to meet the young King *Lacumaces* at *Thapsus*, as he was going to *Syphax*. With that *Lacumaces* fearful Retinue flying back into the City, *Masiniſſa* at the first effected it, and receiving some of the Kings Men by a surrender of themselves, kill'd some others that made any sort of resistance: but the greatest part of them went with *Lacumaces* himself, amidst the tumult, to *Syphax*, whither they had first design'd to go. The same of this little thing so prosperously atchieved at the beginning of his Expedition, turn'd all the *Numidians* to *Masiniſſa*. And thereupon all the old Soldiers that had served King *Gala*, flock'd to him from all parts out of the Country-Towns; inviting that Youth to recover his Fathers Kingdom. But *Mezetulus* was somewhat superior to him in his number of Men. For he had not only that Army, with which he had conquer'd *Capusa*, but some others also that came in after the Kings death: besides that the young King *Lacumaces* had brought great Auxiliaries from *Syphax*; so that *Mezetulus* had fifteen thousand Foot, and ten thousand Horse. With whom *Masiniſſa*, though he had not near so great an Army, fought a pitch'd Battle; and by the courage of those old Soldiers, together with his own Experience who had been a General brought up in the Roman and Punic Wars,

Wars, got the day. The young King fled with his Guardian and a small Band of *Massylians* into the Confines of *Carthage*. So *Masiniſſa* having recover'd his Fathers Kingdom, because he saw he must yet have a far greater contest with *Syphax*, thought it his best course to reconcile his Cousin-German, and therefore sent Messengers to him, not only to put him in hopes, That if he would commit himself to *Masiniſſa's* care, he should be at his Court in as much Honour as ever *Oesalces* was with *Gala*: and to promise *Mezetulus*, that, besides impunity, he should have all his Goods very faithfully restored to him. By which means he brought them both over to his Party; (they being desirous to have a small competency at home in their own Country, rather than be banished) though the *Carthaginians* did all they could to hinder it.

It happen'd that *Asdrubal* was with *Syphax* at that very time when these things were transacted. Who, seeing the *Numidian*, thought it did not much concern him, whether the Kingdom of the *Massylians* were under *Lacumaces* or *Masiniſſa*, told him, He was mistaken, if he thought *Masiniſſa* would be content with the same things that satisfied his Father *Gala*, or his Uncle *Oesalces*: for there was much more spirit and ambition in him, than ever had been in any of his Family. That he often in *Spain* gave instances of his Valour (so great as are rarely seen among men) both to his Allies and Enemies: and that *Syphax* and the *Carthaginians*, if they did not keep that rising fire under, would be quickly all on a mighty flame, when there was no help for it. That his strength was now but tender and frail, nor was he yet well settled in his Kingdom. At last by urging and spurring him on, with much ado he persuaded him to carry his Army to the Confines of the *Massylians*; and to pitch his Camp in a certain place, concerning which he had had with *Gala* many disputes not only in words, but with weapons also, as if it had certainly belonged to him: from whence if any one should endeavour to disturb him, (which would be the best thing that could happen for his advantage) that he would fight them: but if, for fear, they yielded and retired out of those parts, he might go into the midst of the Kingdom; and then either the *Massylians* would surrender themselves to him without fighting, or at least would not be able to cope with him. *Syphax* being incited by these words, made War upon *Masiniſſa*; in which upon the first attack he quite routed and defeated the *Massylians*. *Masiniſſa* with a few Horsemen ran out of the Battle into a Mountain, which the Inhabitants call *Babus*: whither some Families with their Tents and Cattel (for that is all the Estate they have) went after him, whilst the rest of the *Massylian* Mob submitted to the Government of *Syphax*. The Mountain which those Fugitives were possessed of was grassie and full of water: by which means being good to feed the Cattel, it afforded a sufficient supply of food for the men too, who lived upon flesh and milk. Then they at first by nightly and secret incursions, but afterward with open robbery infested all the Country round about; wasting the *Carthaginian* Territories more than any other, because there was not only more Booty than among the *Numidians*, but the robbery might be done with more security also. And now they grew so licentious and insolent in their excursions, that they carried the Plunder down to the Sea-side, to sell it to the Merchants, who touch at that place for that very reason; besides that there were more of the *Carthaginians* killed and taken, than many times there had been in a just War. The *Carthaginians* lamented those things before *Syphax*, whom (being himself inclined) they instigated to prosecute the remaining part of the War. But he thought it scarce became the Dignity of a King to pursue a vagabond Thief among the Mountains.

XXXII. *Bocchar* therefore, one of the Kings Prefects, who was an acute and an active man, was chosen for that purpose. And to him there were allowed 4000 Foot, and 2000 Horse, with hopes of mighty rewards, if he brought back *Masiniſſa's* Head, or took him (but that would be an inestimable joy) alive. He then attacking them by surprise, as they straggled and wander'd carelessly about the fields, and having separated a vast number of Men and Cattel from the Garrison where their Soldiers lay, forced *Masiniſſa* himself with some others into the top of the Mountain. From whence, having now almost made an end of the War, he sent not only a Booty of Cattel and Men, that he took, to the King, but some of the Forces also back, as having more than the remains of that War required for the finishing of it: and then with not above five hundred Foot, and two hundred Horse, pursuing *Masiniſſa* from the Mountains, shut him up in a narrow Valley, and set a Guard upon the several Avenues on both sides. By which means there was a great slaughter of the *Massylians* then made: but *Masiniſſa* with not above fifty Horse, got away from those that follow'd him through the by-passages and secret windings of the Mountain. Yet *Bocchar* kept at his heels: and having overtaken him in the open Plains, near the City *Clupea*, so circumvented him, that he killed every one of his Soldiers, excepting four Horsemen: with whom *Masiniſſa*, though himself also wounded, escaped, in the tumult, out of his hands. Howbeit they were still in sight, and a Party of Horse dispersed over all the Plain, (some one way, and some another, the round about way to meet them) pursued the five Enemies: till at last they ran into a great River (for they did not boggle to leap their Horses into it, when they were in such a fright) by the violence whereof being carried away out of the *Numidians* reach, two of them were suck'd in by a rapid Whirlpool before the Enemies face, and *Masiniſſa* himself thought to be drowned: but the two others and he got

out among the Officers that grew on the other side. There *Bocchar* stopt his pursuit of them; because he neither dared to venture into the River, nor thought there was any one left for him now to follow. Thence therefore he return'd to the King with a false story, that *Masinissa* was drown'd: whereupon there were Messengers dispatch'd to *Carthage* to carry the joyful News; yea all *Africa*, being filled with the rumor of *Masinissa's* death, was variously affected with it. In the mean time *Masinissa*, whilst he lay in a private Cave and with Herbs was curing his wound, lived for some days by the robberies of his two Troopers. But as soon as ever the scar began to come over it, and it seemed to be in a condition to endure the throwing of a Dart or Javelin, he went again with wondrous audacity to try to recover his Kingdom; and though by the way he had gotten together not above forty Horse, yet when he came into the *Massylian* Dominions, he told them openly who he was; he caused such a commotion, not only through the former kindness that they bore to him, but by reason of this unexpected joyful accident (that they should see him safe and sound, whom they believed was long before dead) that within a few days six thousand Footmen in Arms, and four thousand Horsemen came in to him; so that he was now not only in possession of his Fathers Kingdom, but also able to plunder the Nations that were Allies of the *Carthaginians*, and lay waste the *Massylian* Confines, which was the Kingdom of *Syphax*. By that means *Syphax* being provoked to make War against him, he fate down between *Cirtha* and *Hippo* in the tops of the Mountains which lye very convenient upon all occasions.

XXXIII. *Syphax* therefore thinking that a thing of greater concern, than that he should leave the doing of it to his Officers, sent part of his Army with a young Man, his Son, called *Vermina*, whom he ordered to wheel about, and whilst he himself opposed the Enemy before, to set upon them in the Reer. *Vermina* therefore going in the night, as being to attack them by surprise, *Syphax* decamped in the day time publicly, because he resolved to engage them in a pitched Battle. And when the time was come, in which he thought those that he sent about were arrived where they should be, he also, marching up a small Ascent toward the Enemy, in confidence of his numbers, and the Ambuscade that he had planted behind, led his Men up the Mountain. *Masinissa* likewise, relying upon the place, because it was much more commodious for him to fight in, drew out his own Men. Thereupon there was a sharp conflict, and for a long time very dubious; the place and his Soldiers courage giving that assistance to *Masinissa*, which *Syphax* received from his multitude, that was far the greater. And then that multitude being divided, some pressing hard upon the Front, and others having planted themselves about the Reer, gave *Syphax* all assurance that could be of a Victory: for there was no way for *Masinissa's* Men so much as to escape, they were so environed both before and behind. Wherefore the rest, both Horse and Foot, being almost all slain or taken, *Masinissa* order'd two hundred Horsemen that were about him, and divided by Troops into three parts, to break forth, having assigned them a place before-hand, where they should rendezvous after their flight. Then he himself made his escape through the midst of the Enemy, to the place that he intended: but two of the Troops were stopt by the way; the one of them for fear of surrendering themselves to the Foe, whilst the other, being more resolute to make resistance, was shot and cut to pieces. In the mean time *Masinissa* eluding *Vermina*, though just at his heels, by turning and winding to and fro several ways, at last so tired him, that despairing to overtake him, he was forced to quit the pursuit. By which means *Masinissa* came with 80 Horse to the lesser *Syrtis*; where he lived between the Punick Sea-ports and the Country of the *Garamantes*, all the time till the arrival of *C. Lelius* and the Roman Navy in *Africa*. This makes me believe also that *Masinissa* came afterward to *Scipio* with a small, rather than a great supply of Horse: for that great number was suitable indeed to him, when he was in his Kingdom; but this lesser Force is more agreeable to the condition of a person in banishment.

XXXIV. The *Carthaginians* having lost a Wing of Horse, together with the Colonel of it, but raised more Horsemen by a new Levy, made *Hanno* Son of *Amilcar* Commander of them. Then they sent frequent Letters to *Asdrubal* and *Syphax*, with Messengers, and at last Ambassadors also to have them come to assist them: bidding *Asdrubal* make haste to aid his Country, that was now beset almost quite round: and begging of *Syphax*, that he would succour *Carthage* and all *Africa* in general. At that time *Scipio* had his Camp at *Utica*, about a thousand paces from the City; it being removed from the Sea-side, where for a few days it was, and joyned the Navy. *Hanno*, who had not Horsemen near enough, not only to provoke the Enemy, but not so much as to defend the Country from being plunder'd, made it his first business to raise Men, and increase the number of his Horse. In which affair, though he did not slight the Levies of other Nations, yet he hired *Numidians* before any others, because they are by far the best Horsemen in all *Africa*. And now he had got four thousand Horse, at what time he took the City of *Salera*, which was about fifteen thousand paces from the Roman Camp. Which when *Scipio* heard, and, That the Numidian Horse kept their Summer-Campaigne in houses; he replied, Let them be ever more still, if they will, as long as they have such a General. And therefore thinking that he ought the less to be idle, by how much the more slothful they were; he order'd *Masinissa*, whom he sent before with

with the Horse, to ride up to the Gates, and challenge the Enemy to Battle: and when all the multitude of them were come forth, so that the shock of the Fight was not easily to be endured, that he should give back by little and little; for he would come up in the time of the dispute. Then having stay'd so long, as he thought time enough for *Masinissa*, who was gone before, to get the Enemy out, he followed with the Roman Horse, and marched without being discovered, because the Hills that were opportunely situate about the turnings of the Roads, concealed his passage. In the mean time *Masinissa*, as they had agreed, sometimes as if he would scare them, and sometimes as though he feared them, either rode up to the very Gates, or by retiring (which lookt so like fear in him, that it made the Foe the more daring) tempted them to come forth and rashly pursue them. But they were not yet come all forth, ere the General was very much tired upon several accounts; that is to say, with forcing some that were drunk and drowsie, to handle their Arms, and bridle their Horses; and hindring others, that they should not run out at the Gates in a confusion and without their Ensigns. First then *Masinissa* received them as they went out all in an hurry: but straightway more, following after very thick, made the Battle equal; till at length when all the Horse was now come up and engaged, they could no longer be endured. Notwithstanding that, *Masinissa* did not turn and run away, but by retreating gradually so long withstood the shock, till he had drawn them on to the Hills that covered the Roman Horse. Who rising out of that place, with entire strength and fresh Horses, inclosed *Hanno* and the *Africans*, who were tired with fighting and pursuing, and *Masinissa* turning his Horse, all on a sudden came back into the Battle. About a thousand that were in the Van, being not able with any ease to retreat, were with their General *Hanno* environed and killed. The rest who were frightened most of all at the loss of their General, flying away as fast as they could, were for three thousand paces pursued by the Conquerors, and about two thousand Horsemen of them either taken or slain. Among whom it was well known, that there were no less than two hundred *Carthaginian* Horse, some of which were very remarkable both for their riches and birth.

About the same day that this was done, the Ships that had conveyed the Booty into *Sicily* returned with fresh provisions: as if they had foreboded, that they were come to take in such another Cargo. All others do not agree, that two *Carthaginian* Generals of the same Name were killed in two Engagements of Horsemen: for fear, I suppose, lest the same thing being twice related, should deceive the Reader; for *Calpis* indeed and *Valerius* say that *Hanno* was taken. *Scipio* presented the Officers and Troopers as every man had behaved himself, and especially *Masinissa*, with extraordinary Gifts: and having put a strong Garrison into *Salera*, he marched away with the rest of the Army; not only plundering the Country which way soever he went, but also taking some Cities and small Towns. By which means having diffused the terror of the War into all parts far and near, the seventh day after he set forth, he returned to his Camp with a vast number of Men, Cattel, and all kind of Booty: and from thence again sent away several Ships laden with the spoils of the Enemy. Then ceasing to make any little Expeditions, or to plunder the Country, he turned all the force of the War toward the taking of *Utica*: supposing, that if he had once taken that City, it would be a convenient seat for him to perfect all his other designs in. In order whereunto he drew up not only his Naval Forces on that side of the City that lies to the Sea, but his Land-Army also, from an Hill that stands just over the very Walls of it. He had brought all Instruments and Engines of War along with him, or had them sent with the other provisions out of *Sicily*: besides that, there were new ones then made in the Armory by a great many Workmen, whom he had shut up there for that end and purpose. The *Uticans* reposed all their hopes in the people of *Carthage*, and the *Carthaginians* in *Asdrubal*, so that he could but bring *Syphax* over to his Party: but all things moved much slower than they (who wanted assistance) could have wished. *Asdrubal* having raised by a most industrious Levy to the number of thirty thousand Foot, and three thousand Horse, yet durst not remove his Camp any nearer to the Enemy before *Syphax* came. *Syphax* brought with him fifty thousand Foot, and ten thousand Horse; and immediately decamping from *Carthage*, fate down not far from *Utica* and the Roman Intrenchments. And their arrival did this kindness at least, that whereas *Scipio* had tryed all he could for almost forty days to take *Utica* (but all in vain) it forced them to quit their frustrate enterprise. For now the Winter was at hand: wherefore he fortified his Winter-Camp in a certain Promontory, which joyning to the Continent by a small neck of Land, runs out for some space into the Sea. With the same Bulwark also he encompassed the Naval Camp too: and having placed the Legions in the middle of the Hill, the Ships (being got ashore) and the Naval Allies kept on the North side, whilst the Horse took up the Southern Vale which wrought to the other shore.

These things were done in *Africa* till the latter end of Autumn. Then, besides the Corn XXXVI. that was conveyed thither from all parts of the Country, as Plunder, and the other stores brought out of *Sicily* and *Italy*, *Cn. Octavius*, the Proprætor, came out of *Sardinia* from *T. Claudius*, the Prætor, who governed that Province, with a vast quantity of Corn: with which not only the Barns that were already made, but others also, then new built, were filled.

filled. But the Army wanted cloaths: and therefore *Octavius* was employ'd to talk with the Prætor, and see if any thing might be gotten and sent out of that Province. Nor was that business long a doing: for a thousand two hundred *Toge* [i. e. Gowns] with twelve thousand Tunicks were sent them in a short time. The same Summer that these things were done in *Africa*, *P. Sempronius*, the Consul, who had the *Bruttii* for his Province, engaged with *Annibal* in a Skirmish, or tumultuary Battle near *Croton* upon the Road as he marched along. But they fought in Crowds rather than in Battalia: where the Romans being beaten, in a Tumult rather than a Fight, lost a thousand two hundred of the Consuls Army, and then returned in a consternation to their Camp. But the Enemy durst not attack them there: so the Consul in the dead time of the next night marching thence, and having sent a Messenger before to *P. Licinius*, the Proconsul, to approach with his Legions, he united the Forces. So two Generals and two Armies returned to *Annibal*; nor did they make the least delay to fight on either side, the Consul's Forces being now doubled, and the *Carthaginian* animated by his late Victory. *Sempronius* placed his Legions in the Front, and *Licinius*'s were put in the Reer. The Consul at the beginning of the Fight vowed to dedicate a Temple to the Goddess called *Fortuna Primigenia* [i. e. Fortune that has no Original from any thing else] if that day he chanced to vanquish the Enemy; and that Vow was attended with a successful Event: for the *Carthaginians* being routed and put to flight, there were above four thousand men slain, besides little less than three hundred that were taken alive, with forty Horses and eleven military Ensigns. *Annibal* being dismayed at this misfortune, led his Army away to *Croton*. At the same time *M. Cornelius*, the Consul, in the other part of *Italy*, kept *Etruria* in awe not so much by his Arms, as by the terror of his judicial Proceedings; though it were almost wholly inclined to *Magno*, and through him to the hopes of innovation. For he managed that affair, by order of the Senate, without any severity and respect of persons: and many Noblemen of *Etruria*, who either themselves had gone, or sent to *Magno* concerning the Revolt of that Country, were first condemned, being then present; but afterward through shame for what they had done, going into voluntary banishment of themselves, and being in their absence again condemned, they, having withdrawn their bodies, left their goods only, which might be confiscated, as a commutation for their punishment.

xxxvii.

Whilst the Consuls were about these affairs in several Countries, in the mean time the Censors, *M. Livius* and *C. Claudius* called over the Senate, and again reviewed them. Of whom *Fabius Maximus* was a second time *Princeps*, i. e. chosen Chief; and seven were taken notice of more than ordinary, though ne're an one that had late in a curule Chair. They earnestly and with the greatest care imaginable exacted the repairs of Holy places. They made a street from the *Forum Boarium*, or Beast-market, to the Temple of *Venus*, and about the *Fori publici* [i. e. publick Shops] ordering the Temple of the *Mater Magna* [or great Mother, i. e. the Earth] to be built in the Palace. They also raised a new Tax out of the Salt; which being formerly sold for a Sextans both at *Rome* and all over *Italy*, was continued for the same price at *Rome*, but higher rated in the lesser Cities and Burroughs, and of a different price in some other places. That Tax the people easily imagined was a device of *M. Livius*'s (one of the Censors) who was angry at the people, for that he had formerly been condemned by an unjust Judgment; besides, that they fancied that in the price of Salt the Tribes, by whose means he was condemned, were highest rated. Thence was he surnamed *Livius Salinator* [i. e. *Livy* the Salter.] The Survey was set up somewhat the later, because the Censors sent certain persons about all the Provinces to bring them word how many Soldiers and Citizens there were in all the Roman Armies. After which the Poll amounted with them to two hundred sixty five thousand men. *C. Claudius Nero* set up this *Lustrum* [or Survey of the People.] Then they took the Poll of the twelve Colonies (a thing never done before) by information of the Censors; that they might have publick Registers of what numbers of Soldiers and what stocks of Money they had. Then they surveyed the Knights, and both the Censors happen'd at that time to have each a publick Horse. When therefore they came to the Tribe called *Tribus Pollia*, in which *M. Livius*'s Name was, and the Cryer boggled to cite the Censor himself, *Nero* had him, Cite *M. Livius*; and whether out of an old grudge, or a vain, unreasonable pride that he then took in shewing his severity, He commanded *M. Livius*, because he had been condemned by the Judgment of the People, to sell his Horse. So *M. Livius* on the other hand, when they came to the Tribe called, *Tribus Narniensis* and his Collegues, ordered *C. Claudius* also to sell his Horse, for two reasons; the one, because he had born false witness against him; and the other, that he was not heartily reconciled to him. By this means there was a very ungentle contest between them, who should most fully the others reputation, though by the loss of his own. At the end of his Censorship, when *C. Claudius* had sworn to the Laws, and was gone up into the Treasury, among the Names of such as he left only tributary to the publick (and otherwise totally disfranchised) he gave his Collegue a Name. Then *M. Livius* came into the Treasury, and, except the Tribe called *Tribus Maecia*, which had neither condemned him, nor made either Consul or Censor after he was condemned, left all the Roman People, consisting of thirty four Tribes, disfranchised: because not only that they

they had condemned him, though innocent; but being condemned, had made him Consul and Censor: nor could they deny, either that they had offended once in their Judgment, or twice in their Assemblies. That among the thirty four Tribes *C. Claudius* also should be disfranchised. And if he had any precedent for making the same person twice disfranchised, he would leave *C. Claudius* particularly by name among those that were so punished. This contest of the Censors to reproach each other was very unbecoming: but their chastising the peoples inconstancy was worthy of the Censorian gravity of those times. By this means the Censors falling under envy, *Cn. Babius*, supposing that he had a good occasion to raise himself by their ruines, he as Tribune of the People, assigned them both such a day for their Tryal. But that matter was by consent of the Senate set aside, lest the Censorship in time to come might be obnoxious to the popular breath.

The same Summer *Clampetia*, a Town in the Country of the *Bruttii*, being taken by the Consul by storm, *Consentia* and *Pandosia*, with other meaner Towns, came and made a voluntary surrender. And when the time of the Assembly was now at hand, they thought fit rather to send for *Cornelius* out of *Etruria*, where there was no War, to *Rome*: and he made *Cn. Servilius Cæpio*, with *C. Servilius Geminus*, Consuls. Then the Prætorian Assembly was held: wherein were chosen *P. Cornelius Lentulus*, *P. Quintilius Varus*, *P. Aelius Petus*, and *P. Villius Tappulus*: the last two of which were created Prætors, though they were at that time Ædiles of the People. The Consul having ended, the Assembly returned into *Etruria* to the Army. Some of the Priests died that year, and in their places were put *Tib. Venerius Philo* High-Priest of *Mars*, who was created and inaugurated into the place of *M. Æmilius Regillus*, who died the year before: and in the room of *M. Pomponius Matho* the Augur and Decemvir were created, *M. Aurelius Cotta*, as Decemvir, and *Tib. Sempronius Gracchus*, as Augur, though he were but a very Youth, which was a thing mighty extraordinary in the conferring of the Priesthoods. That year there was a golden Chariot set up in the Capitol by the curule or chief Ædiles, *C. Livius* and *M. Servilius Geminus*: and the Roman Games were performed two days together, as the Plebeian ones also were by the Ædiles, *P. Aelius* and *P. Villius*: besides that there was a Feast called *Epulum Jovis* [or *Jupiters Feast*] upon account of those Games.

## DECADE III. BOOK X.

## The E P I T O M E.

5, 6. In *Africa* *Scipio* overcame the *Carthaginians*, *Syphax*, King of *Numidia*, and *Ardubal* in several Battles, by the assistance of *Masiniſſa*, took two Camps belonging to the Enemy, in which 40000 Men were cut off by Fire and Sword. 12. He took *Syphax* by means of *C. Lælius* and *Masiniſſa*. 13, 14, 15. *Masiniſſa* fell presently in Love with *Sophonisba* the Wife of *Syphax*, and Daughter of *Ardubal*, who was at the same time taken, and married her: for which being rebuked by *Scipio*, he sent her poison which she drank and died. 20, 25. It came to pass through *Scipio*'s many Victories, that the *Carthaginians* being driven to despair, called *Annibal* back out of *Italy* for a Guard to the publick Safety. 30, &c. And he departing out of *Italy* in the sixteenth year, crossed over into *Africa*, where he endeavoured by Parley to make a Peace with *Scipio*. 35. But being that they could not agree upon the Terms of it, he was conquered in a pitched battle. 37. The *Carthaginians* had a Peace granted to them upon their Petition. *Annibal* laid violent hands upon *Giſgo* as he was dissuading the People from Peace; and then excusing the temerity of that action, himself stood up and excited them to the same. *Magno*, who was wounded in the war that he had with the Romans in the Country of the *Infubrians*, as he came back for *Africa*, upon a Summons that he by certain Ambassadors sent to him, dyed of his wound. *Masiniſſa* had his Kingdom restored to him. *Scipio* returning into the City, made a noble and a splendid Triumph, which *Q. Terentius Culleo*, a Senator, followed, with a Cap upon his Head [as though he had been by *Scipio* redeemed from servitude.] *Scipio Africanus* (who whether through the favour of the Soldiers, or the love of the People, he were first so surnamed, is uncertain) was certainly the first General that ever was ennobled with the Name of a whole Nation vanquished by himself.

*Cn. Servilius Cæpio* and *C. Servilius Geminus*, who were Consuls (in the sixteenth year of the Punic War) having made report to the Senate concerning the War and the Provinces, the Senate thought fit, that the Consuls should either agree among themselves, or cast Lots, which of them should have the Province of the *Bruttii* against *Annibal*, with *Etruria* and *Liguria*. That he, to whose Lot the *Bruttii* fell, should have the Army of the Consul, *P. Sempronius*, *P. Sempronius* (for he also was continued in Commission as Proconsul a year longer) should succeed *P. Licinius*; and he come back to *Rome*; who was also accounted an excellent Warrior, besides his other accomplishments, in which no Citizen at that time out-did him, he having all humane good things amassed together, that either Nature or Fortune could supply. He likewise was of a Noble Family and rich, besides that he was very handsom and strong. He was also reckoned very eloquent; whether he were to plead a Cause, or upon any occasion, either in the Senate, or before the People, were to persuade or dissuade the Audience; being moreover well skill'd in the *Jus Pontificium* [the Law concerning Religion] but above all, his warlike Experience had qualified

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qualified him for the Consulate. What was decreed to be done touching one Army in the Country of the *Bruttii*, the same was also ordered as to the Army in *Etruria* and *Liguria*. *M. Cornelius* was commanded to deliver the Army to the new Consul; and himself had the Province of *Gaul* continued to him together with those Legions, which the Prætor *L. Scribonius* had had the year before. Then they cast Lots for the Provinces; the *Bruttii* falling to *Cepio*, and *Etruria* to *Servilius Geminus*. After that the Prætors took their chances; and of them *Petius Ailius* had the City, *Cn. Lentulus Sardinia*, *P. Villius Sicily*, and *Quintilius Varus Ariminum* with the two Legions, that had been under *Lucretius Spurius*. *Lucretius* also was continued in Commission, to rebuild the Town of *Genoa*, that had been demolished by *Mago the Carthaginian*. *P. Scipio* likewise, not in respect to the present juncture, but what he was then about, was to continue still in Commission, till he had made an end of the War in *Africa*; and a Supplication order'd to be publickly made, That his going over into the Province of *Africa* might prove of good consequence to the Roman People, the General himself and all his Army.

II. Three thousand Soldiers were sent over into *Sicily*, and because, what strength that Province had, was all carried over into *Africa*, lest any Navy should come out of *Africa*, they order'd the Sea-coast of *Sicily* to be guarded by forty Ships. *Villius* brought thirteen new Ships with him into *Sicily*, where the other old ones were refitted up again. Of which Navy *M. Pomponius*, who the year before was Prætor, being (continued in Commission and) made Admiral, man'd the Ships with fresh Soldiers that came out of *Italy*. The like number of Ships did the Senate decree for *Cn. Octavius*, who was another Prætor of the precedent year, with the same Power and Authority to defend the Coast of *Sardinia*. *Lentulus*, the Prætor, was commanded to put two thousand Men on board the Ships: and the Coast of *Italy* (because it was uncertain which way the *Carthaginians* would send their Fleet (but, to be sure, they would fall upon any part that they saw unguarded) was committed to the care of *M. Porcius*, a Prætor of the year last past, with the same number of Ships. The Consuls raised 3000 Soldiers for that Fleet by order of Senate, besides two City-Legions for the accidental necessities of the War. The *Spains* with the same Armies and Commissions were allotted to the old Generals, *Lentulus* and *L. Manlius Acidinus*. The Roman affairs that year were managed with 20 Legions in all, and 160 long Ships. The Prætors were order'd to go into their respective Provinces; and the Consuls commanded, That before they went from the City, they should set forth the *Ludi magni* [or great Games] which *T. Manlius Torquatus*, when Dictator, had vowed to perform in five year after that time, if the Republick continued in the same state. Then Prodigies, of which relations were brought from several places, created new superstitions in the minds of the people. Crows were believed in the Capitol to have not only gnawed Gold to pieces with their bills, but even to have eaten it. The Mice at *Antium* gnawed a Crown of Gold. About *Capua* a mighty swarm of Grasshoppers filled all the Country, so that people could not devise whence they should come. An Horse-Colt was foaled at *Reate* which had five feet, and at *Anagnia* there were fires first scatter'd, as it were, all over the Sky, but afterward a great blaze in the Heavens. At *Fruinone* a Bow encompassed the Sun with a small line; but soon after a greater Sun seemed with its orbit on the outside to inclose that very Circle. At *Arpinum* the Earth, in a Champaigne place, fell in and made a large hollow. As one of the Consuls was a sacrificing the first Victim, the head or tip was wanting in the Liver. Those Prodigies were taken care of by offering up of greater Sacrifices; and the Colledge of Priests directed what Gods they should offer them unto.

III. Those things being over, the Consuls and Prætors went to their several Provinces: but all had an eye to *Africa* (as if they had each of them had the particular care of it) either because they believed, that the main stress of the War lay there; or to gratifie *Scipio*, upon whom all the eyes of the City were at that time turned. Wherefore not only from *Sardinia* (as I said before) but from *Sicily* and *Spain* too, there were transported thither Cloaths, and Corn, and Arms also out of *Sicily*, with all other sorts of Provisions. Nor did *Scipio* remit the works of War at any time all the Winter long, but had his hands always full of business. He besieged *Utica*; his Camp being in sight of *Asdrubal*. The *Carthaginians* had launch'd their Ships, and had all their Fleet in a readiness to intercept the Roman Provisions. Amidst all these affairs he had not neglected even the means to reconcile *Syphax*; if perchance the Honey-Moons were now over between him and his Wife. But from *Syphax* there was more reason to believe that he would have Terms of Peace which the *Carthaginians* offered him, that the Romans should depart out of *Africa*, and the *Carthaginians* out of *Italy*, than, if they fought, there was any hopes of his revolting. All this affair was, I suppose, transacted more by Messengers (and so most Authors say) than by *Syphax* himself, though *Antias Valerius* tells us he came in person into the Roman Camp. The Roman General at first would scarce hearken to those Conditions; though afterward, to gain an opportunity for his Men to go into the Enemies Camp, he was more calm in his refusal, and gave them some hopes, that, by treating about it to and fro for some time, they might at last agree the matter. The Winter-quarters of the *Carthaginians* being built of materials which they gathered in an hurry out of the fields, were almost wholly

wholly built of wood. The *Numidians* especially kept in Hutts, for the most part, made of Reeds and Sedge, all about the fields without any order, and some of them that took up their Habitations without any Command from their Officers, lay even without the Trench and Bulwark. These circumstances being told to *Scipio*, gave him hopes that he might have occasion to burn the Enemies Camp.

He therefore sent, along with the Ambassadors that went to *Syphax*, certain Centurions that were the first Leaders in each part of the Army, men of known courage and skill, in the habit of Servants or Knaplack-Boys; who, whilst the Ambassadors were at the Parley, might straggle about the Camp several ways, to observe all the Avenues and Passes, with the situation and form not only of the Camp in general, but of each particular Quarter, as well where the *Carthaginians* as where the *Numidians* lay, and what distance there was between *Asdrubal's* Camp and that of the King: and likewise to find out by the manner of their Guards and Watches, whether they were more easie to be attack'd by night or by day. And then amidst their frequent conferences there were sometimes one part, and anon another of them sent, that by a greater number all things might be the better understood. When the thing having been several times discoursed of, had given more hopes every day than other, both to *Syphax* and the *Carthaginians* too, of a Peace by his means; the Roman Ambassadors said, They durst not return to their General, unless they had a positive answer. And therefore they desired him, that either he would resolve upon what he had declared, or consult *Asdrubal* and the *Carthaginians*, if he thought fit: for it was high time either to conclude of a Peace, or begin the War as fast as they could. But whilst *Syphax* consulted *Asdrubal*, and he the *Carthaginians*, not only the Spies had time enough to view all parts of the Camp, but *Scipio* also, to prepare such things as were conducive to his purpose: and from the discourse and hopes which they had of a Peace, a neglect (as it usually does) arose among the *Carthaginians* and *Numidians*, of taking care, that no Hostility were offer'd to them in the mean time. At last their answer was brought back, some things (because the Roman seemed very earnest for a Peace) being put too hard upon them in respect of that present juncture; which gave *Scipio* a good opportunity, according to his own hearts desire, to break off the Truce. And therefore the next day, when he had told the Kings Messenger, that he would propose it to a Council of War, he gave him this answer; That he himself was the only person that in vain contended for it, no one man else being for a Peace. Wherefore he might tell the King, that he could not hope for Peace with the Romans upon any other Terms, than by leaving the *Carthaginians*. He therefore broke off the Truce, that he might freely and with Honour execute his designs: and launching his Ships (it being now the beginning of the Spring) he put all sorts of Instruments and Engines of War on board them, as though he would have attack'd *Utica* from off the Sea. He sent two thousand Men to take possession of that Hill, which he had formerly been posted upon, above *Utica*; for fear, lest when he went himself against *Syphax* and *Asdrubal*, any Sally might be made out of the Town, and his Camp, left with a slight Guard, thereby attack'd.

These things being prepared, he called a Council, and bade the Spies declare what they had discovered, as likewise *Masimissa*, who knew all the Enemies methods; proposing at last himself, what he designed against the next night. Then he gave Order to the Tribunes, that when his Tent was cleared, and they had given the signal, immediately to draw the Legions out of the Camp. As he commanded, the Ensigns began to move out of the Camp a little before Sun-setting; and being almost till the first Watch a setting their Men in Array, they about midnight (for it was seven thousand paces off) came at an easie rate to the Enemies Camp. There *Scipio* gave *Lælius* one part of the Forces, together with *Masimissa* and the *Numidians*; commanding them to attack *Syphax's* Camp, and to throw fire into it. After which taking *Lælius* and *Masimissa* apart from one another, he conjured them, That they would supply by their diligence and care what foresight the night took from them. That he himself would attack *Asdrubal* and the *Punic* Camp: but he would not begin before he saw the fire in that of the King. Nor was that matter long deferred. For as soon as the fire was thrown and took in the next Hutts, he presently fell upon all the nearest parts, and from thence going on to the rest, dispersed himself through all the Camp. Thereupon arose a great conternation among the Enemies, as it must needs do, when in the night they saw so great a conflagration. But they thinking it to be an accidental, not an hostile, or a warlike fire, ran out unarmed to quench it, and fell into the hands of the Soldiers, especially those *Numidians*, whom *Masimissa* had planted in several convenient passes, according to his knowledge of the Kings Camp. The flame devoured many of them as they lay asleep: whilst as many more, who ran away headlong one over another to make their escape, were trodden to pieces in the narrow Avenues of the Gates.

When the Watchmen or Sentinels of the *Carthaginians* (who were the first that discovered it) and after them the rest, alarm'd by that nocturnal Tumult, saw the blazing flame, they also, by the same mistake, believed that it happen'd of its own accord. And the clamour that was raised amidst their wounds and slaughter, being not certainly known to proceed from that reason, (for it might arise from the conternation they were in at that time of night) deprived them of all means to find out the true cause. Wherefore each one

for himself, they all came out unarmed (as dreading nothing of an Enemy) at every Gate, the nearest way they could, carrying such things only with them, as were fit to quench the fire, and ran upon the Roman Army. Where being all slain, left even so much as one Messenger should escape, *Scipio* immediately made up to their Gates, which (as it uses to happen in such cases) were in the hurry at that time neglected, and having set fire to the next Huts, the spreading flame at first appeared as though it had been scatter'd in several places; but soon increasing, it crept into the contiguous Tents, and of a sudden put every thing into one common blaze. The Men and Beasts being findg'd at first, blocked up the passes of their Gates by their dishonourable flight, but straightway did the same with their dead bodies; and those that the fire did not consume, were taken off by the Sword: in so much that two Camps were destroy'd by one disaster. Yet both the Generals and of so many thousand Men, two thousand Foot, and five hundred Horse half arm'd, were great part of them wounded, and findged by the fire, escaped. There were killed and burnt full forty thousand men, six thousand taken; of which many were *Carthaginian* Noblemen, eleven Senators, with an hundred seventy eight military Ensigns, and above two thousand seven hundred *Numidian* Horse; six Elephants were taken, and eight cut off by Fire and Sword, besides a great quantity of Arms that was then lost, which the General set all on fire as a Sacrifice to *Vulcan*.

VII. *Asdrubal* ran away with a few about him to the next City belonging to the *Africans*; and thither also all the rest, that were alive, followed him: but soon after, for fear the Town might be surrendred to *Scipio*, he quitted it. Nor was it long before the *Romans* were received into the same with the Gates wide open: but they committed no Act of Hostility, for that the Inhabitants had made a voluntary surrender. After that they took and sack'd two other Cities; distributing the Plunder of them and what they saved out of the burnt Camps, from the fire, among the Soldiers. *Syphax* sat down about 8000 paces from thence in a place well fortified. *Asdrubal* went to *Carthage*, to prevent any effeminate Counsels, that might proceed from their fear there, since the late misadventure. And there the people were at first in so great a consternation, that they fancied *Scipio* would pass by *Utica*, and come immediately to besiege *Carthage*. Whereupon the *Suffetes* (who are a kind of Consuls in that place) called a Senate: in which they gave three several Opinions; the one, That it was best to send Ambassadors to *Scipio* for Peace; the second, That they ought to recal *Annibal* to defend his Country from that destructive War; and the third (which shewed even a Roman constancy in such ill circumstances) was, That they must recruit their Army, and desire *Syphax* not to lay down his Arms. This last Opinion, because *Asdrubal* was there present, and all those of the *Barchine* Faction were more desirous of a War, prevailed. Thereupon a Levy began to be made both in the City and the Country, and Ambassadors were sent to *Syphax*, who himself did all he could to renew the War: for his Wife had now perswaded him, not as before with blandishments, which yet are powerful enough to incline a Lovers mind, but with her prayers and for pity, begging of him with tears in her eyes, that he would not betray her Father and Country, or suffer *Carthage* to be consumed in the same flames, in which the Camps had been destroyed. The *Carthaginian* Ambassadors also brought him very seasonable good News, That four thousand *Celtiberians* were come up to the City of *Obba*, which his Officers had raised in Spain, being all brave lusty young Fellows, whom they met: besides that *Asdrubal* would be there in a short time with a considerable Force. He therefore not only gave the Ambassadors a very kind answer, but shewed them like a great multitude of *Numidian* Hinds, whom he had armed and mounted in that time, affirming, that he would raise all the Youth in his Kingdom, That he knew they were ruined by fire, not by fair fighting: and that he was the weaker in War, that could be vanquished by Arms. This was his Answer to the Ambassadors. So after a few days *Asdrubal* and *Syphax* again united their Forces, which consisted in all of about 30000 fighting Men.

VIII. When *Scipio* therefore thought that, as to *Syphax* and the *Carthaginians*, he had made an end of the War, and was intent only upon the taking of *Utica*, to the Walls whereof he then applied his Engines, he was diverted by the rumor of the Wars being again renewed: and thereupon leaving some small Party only for a shew of a Siege by Sea and Land, he with the Body of the Army marched toward the Foe. And first he sat down upon an Hill about 4000 paces from the Kings Camp: from whence the next day marching down into the great Plains (as they call them) which lie under that Hill, he spent all that day in making approaches to the Enemies Camp, and attacking them with light Skirmishes: but during the two days following that, they made only tumultuous Excursions upon each other to and fro, and did nothing worth a speaking of. The fourth day they both came into the field; the *Roman* placing the *Principes* [their main Body] behind the *Hastati* [Spearmen] and the *Triarii* [the best Soldiers in their Army] in the Reer, with the *Italian* Horse in the right Wing, and the *Numidians* and *Masiniissa* in the left. On the other side *Syphax* and *Asdrubal* with the *Numidians* were set against the *Italian* Horse, and the *Carthaginians* against *Masiniissa*; so that the *Celtiberians* were in the middle in opposition to the *Roman* Legions. Being thus array'd, they fell to it: and upon the first congress both the Wings, *Numidians* and *Carthaginians* too, were routed. For neither could the *Numidians*, who were

were for the most part Country-fellows, sustain the shock of the Roman Horse, nor the *Carthaginians*, who themselves were new Soldiers, endure *Masiniissa*, he being so terrible, besides other reasons, upon the account of the late Victory. By this means the main Body of the *Celtiberians* was naked, without the Wings on either side to cover it, but stood their ground; because there was neither any prospect of their being saved, if they ran away in places which they were unacquainted with; nor could they hope for pardon from *Scipio*, whom, though he deserved very well of them and their Country, they had come into *Africa* with mercenary Arms to oppose. Wherefore the Enemy being scattered and defeated round about, fell one over another and obstinately died: but when all the Streets of the day was turned upon them, *Syphax* and *Asdrubal* had some time to escape; but then night overtook the victorious *Romans*, who were now tired with slaughter, rather than fighting.

The next day *Scipio* sent *Laelius* and *Masiniissa* with all the *Roman* and *Numidian* Horse, together with the most expedite part of the Foot, to pursue *Syphax* and *Asdrubal*; whilst he himself with the strength of the Army subdued all the Cities round about, that were in subjection to the *Carthaginians*, partly by fear, partly by hope, and partly by force. For that reason *Carthage* it self was in a great fright, believing that *Scipio*, who had made use of his Arms against the people there about, and subdued their Neighbours, would very shortly attempt even *Carthage* it self. They therefore repaired their Walls, and fortified them with Ballions; each man for himself conveying out of the Country what he thought necessary for the holding out of a Siege. They seldom spoke of Peace, but much more frequently of sending Ambassadors to fetch *Annibal* home, the greatest part of them delirring that the Navy, which was prepared to receive the Provisions, might be sent to surprise the Fleet that lay so neglected at *Utica*, where it may be they might destroy the Naval Camp too, it being left with so small a Guard. They all inclined most to this advice; but yet they thought fit that Ambassadors should be sent to *Annibal* too: For though the Navy should have never so good success, and that the Siege at *Utica* should be in some measure raised, yet there was neither any other General besides *Annibal*, nor any Army but his, that could defend *Carthage*. The Ships therefore were the next day launched, and the Ambassadors went for *Italy*, all things being done by the instigation of Fortune in an hurry; whilst every man thought each neglect of his own to be so far a betraying of the publick safety. *Scipio* by this time having an Army at his heels, that was laden with the spoils of many Cities, sent the Captives and the other Booty into the old Camp at *Utica*, and being intent upon *Carthage* seized *Tunis*, which was forsaken by those that were set to guard it. That *Tunis* is about 15000 paces from *Carthage*, being a place well fortified not only with Works, but by Nature too; and stands so, that you may see that from *Carthage*, or *Carthage* from that; not only the City, but the Sea also that runs about it.

There as the *Romans* were in the heat of raising their Bulwark, they spied the Enemies Fleet coming from *Carthage* to *Utica*. Wherefore, omitting their work, they ordered their Men to march, and their Ensigns were posted away in all haste, lest their Ships being turned toward the Land and to a Siege, should be surpris'd when they were not ready for a Sea-fight. For how could a Fleet, that carried nothing but Engines and Instruments of Battery, withstand a Navy which was fitted and armed with all sorts of convenient Light and Sea-Utensils? especially when they were either made use of as Ships of burden, or so applied to the Walls, that they might facilitate the *Romans* ascent thereunto instead of a Mound and Bridges. For that reason *Scipio*, contrary to what is usual in Sea-fights, taking the Ships of War, which might have defended the rest, into the Reer of the Fleet next the Land, he planted a fourfold rank of Ships of burden as a Wall against the Foe, and kept them together, left in the tumult of the Fight their ranks should be disordered, with Masts and Sail-yards which lay a-crofs from Ship to Ship, and were fast tied to each other with strong ropes as it were in one single bond; with planks all over them, to make the ranks of the Ships passable; besides that under the very Bridges he made such spaces, as that in them the little Scout-ships could run up toward the Enemy, and be safely received again. Having put things thus tumultuously in a readiness, he man'd those Ships of burden with about 1000 choice Fellows, and stow'd in them a great quantity of darting Weapons, enough to hold out, though the Fight should continue a long time. They therefore, so prepared and set about the business, expected the Enemies approach. But the *Carthaginians*, who, if they had made haste, might have found all things in a confusion, and seized them at the first Onset, being dismay'd at their misfortunes by Land, and for that reason, though they were more powerful by Sea, distrusting their own ability, spent the day in slothfully cruising up and down, and about Sun-setting arrived at the Port, which the *Africans* call *Ruscinona*. The next day at Sun-rising they put their Ships in a fighting posture out at Sea, as though they had designed a Sea-fight, and that the *Romans* would have met them. And when they had waited a great while, seeing the Enemy did not stir, they at last attack'd the Ships of burden. But this Action was not at all like a Sea-fight, but most nearly resembled so many Ships attempting the Walls of a Town. For the Oncries [or Ships of burden] were somewhat higher than theirs; so that the *Carthaginians* from their Ships of War threw many Weapons

pons (it being upwards) to no purpose toward the Enemy that were above them; whilst the stroke from thence out of the Oneraries was heavier, and by reason of its very weight more steddly. The Scout-ships and other small Vessels, who ran forth through the spaces under the Bridges of Planks, were first overwhelmed even by the very force and bulk of the Men of War; and then too were inconvenient to their own Men, because, being mingled with the Enemies Ships, they often forced them to withhold the Weapons which they would have thrown, for fear they might happen to hit their Friends. At last great harping Irons began to be thrown out of the Punick into the Roman Ships. Which they being not able to cut, much less the Chains by which they hung and were thrown in, to the end that each Ship of War with her stern to the Ship of burden might drag them by that hook after her, you might have seen them cut the Ropes, wherewith they were tied to one another, and the rest of the Ships that were behind move after them. By this means chiefly all the Bridges were dissolved, and the Roman Soldiers that were on board them had hardly time to leap into other Ships: insomuch that there about six of those onerary Ships towed by the Enemies Poops to *Carthage*. At which the *Carthaginians* were more rejoiced than the thing deserved; but their success in that was therefore the more grateful to them, in that amidst their daily misadventures and sorrows they had some little glimmerings of good Fortune; besides that, it plainly appeared, the Roman Navy was not far from ruine, if their Commanders had not been idle, or *Scipio* not come up as he did.

XI. About the same time, when *Laelius* and *Masiniissa* in fifteen days were come into *Numidia*, the *Massylians* were overjoyed to see their King, whom they so long desired, and delivered him up his Fathers Kingdom. *Syphax*, seeing his Officers and Guards were driven thence, kept himself within his ancient Dominions, though he could not yet be at quiet. For his Wife and Father-in-law, seeing him mightily in Love, incited him still more and more; besides that, he so abounded in Men and Horses, that the Forces which he had in his eye over all his Kingdom, that had been in a flourishing condition for so many years, might have animated a Soul even less barbarous and tyrannical than his. Wherefore having mustered up all those that were fit for War into one Body, he divided the Horses, Arms and Weapons among them; distributing the Horsemen into Troops, and the Foot into Companies, as he had formerly of the *Romans* learnt to do. Then with that Army, which though it were no less than that which he before had had, was almost all raw and undisciplined Men, he marched toward the Enemy. And having pitched his Camp pretty near them, at first a few Horsemen went very cautiously from their Post to scout, but were forced back again with darts to their own Party: after which, they made excursions one upon the other; in which those that were worsted being incensed with indignation, gave occasion for others to come on: which is a provocation peculiar to Horse-engagements, when either hope of Victory to such as have the better on't, or rage, among such as are worsted, brings more of their fellow-Soldiers up to them. By that means therefore, though the Fight were begun by a few, at last all the Horse on both sides was very eager to fall on. And whilst the Horse alone were engaged, the shock of the *Massylians* (for *Syphax* sent forth great numbers of them) could hardly be endured: but soon after that, when the Roman Foot by running in between their own Horse, who made way for them, had strengthened their Body, and deterred the Enemy from pressing on so fast as before; the *Barbarians* at first rode somewhat slower, and then standing still, were almost confounded at this new sort of Fight; till at last they did not only give way to the Foot, but could not so much as stand against the Horse, when the Foot with their assistance had put fresh courage into them. And now the Ensigns of the Legions too drew near; whereupon the *Massylians* could not brook not only the first Onset, but not so much as the sight of them and their Arms: so far did either the remembrance of former misadventures or the present terror prevail upon them.

XII. Then *Syphax*, as he was charging up to the Enemies Troops, to try, if either by shame or his own danger he could stop their flight, had his Horse wounded under him in his full career, and falling down was taken Prisoner, and dragged alive (which was like to be a more joyful sight to *Masiniissa* than any body else) to *Laelius*. *Cirtha* was the Metropolis of *Syphax's* Kingdom: and thither a vast multitude of people were fled. But the slaughter in that Battle was less than the Victory, because the Horse alone had there engaged; by which means there were not above 5000 slain, and less than half that number taken, by an Attack made upon the Camp, whither the frightened multitude, when they had lost their King, betook themselves. Then *Masiniissa* said, Nothing could be more acceptable to him, than being victorious to see his Fathers Kingdom, which he at so great an interval of time had now recovered: yet that he must not be idle in prosperity any more than adversity. If *Laelius* would suffer him to go before to *Cirtha* with the Horse, and *Syphax* in Fetters, he should surprise and put them all into a great consternation; and that *Laelius* might come after, with the Foot, at his leisure. To which Proposal *Laelius* consenting, *Masiniissa* went before to *Cirtha*, where he ordered all the chief men of the City to be summoned to a Treaty. But they being ignorant what condition the King was in, he could not induce them either by telling them what had happened, by threats or by persuasion to submit, before the King was presented

sented before their eyes. With that, when they saw so horrid a spectacle, they all lamented his condition; and partly for fear forsook the Walls, partly by a sudden consent among those that sought to ingratiate themselves with the Conqueror, threw open the Gates. Thereupon *Masiniissa*, having placed a Guard at the several Gates and all the most convenient places on the Walls, left any of them should run away, rode up on a gallop to seize the Palace. Where, as he just came into the Porch, *Sophonisba*, *Syphax's* Wife and *Asdrubal's* Daughter, met him: and seeing *Masiniissa* amidst all the throng of Soldiers, who was remarkable not only for his Arms, but his other habit also, she, supposing (as it really was) that he was the King, threw her self at his feet, and said: *The Gods, your own courage, and the success you met with, have put it into your hands to do what you please with us; but if a Captive may make but one small request to him that is Lord both of her life and death, if she may touch his knees, or his victorious hand, I beg and beseech thee by the Majesty of a King, to which we had not long ago some pretensions; by the name and honour of the Numidian Nation, which once was common to thee and Syphax; by the Gods that preside over this Palace (who I hope will receive thee with better luck than they sent Syphax hence) grant me this Boon, that you would please, whatever your resolutions are concerning me, to do it your self in person, and not to suffer me to fall into the tyrannical and cruel hands of any Roman. If I had been nothing else but Syphax's Wife, yet I would rather try the justice and honour of a Numidian, and one that was born in Africa, my own Country, than of an Alien and a Foreigner. You know what a Carthaginian may reasonably fear (especially Asdrubal's Daughter) from a Roman. Wherefore if you cannot any other way, I beg and conjure you, that you would by death deliver me out of the clutches of the Romans.* She was very beautiful and in the flower of her age: wherefore when she took him by the hand and desired his promise, that she should not be delivered to any Roman; so that her address to him was now more like allurements than intreaties, the Conquerors fury sunk not only into pity, but (as the *Numidians* are much inclined to Venerie) he fell in Love with his Captive, and giving her his right hand in token that he would do what she required, walked into the Palace. But there he was at a plunge to think how he should perform what he had promised. Which being not able to resolve, he borrowed from Love a rash, impudent stratagem, and ordered all things to be provided for his Wedding that very day, that he might leave no room for *Laelius*, or even *Scipio* himself, to have any design upon her as a Captive, who was already married to *Masiniissa*. The Marriage being consummated, *Laelius* arrived; and was so far from dissembling his dislike of the fact, that he first of all endeavoured to force her out of the Marriage-bed, and send her with *Syphax* and the other Captives to *Scipio*: but afterward being overcome by *Masiniissa's* intreaties, who desired him, that he would leave the determination of that point to *Scipio*, which of the two Kings *Sophonisba* should make more happy: he sent away *Syphax* and the other Captives, and by the assistance of *Masiniissa*, took the other Cities of *Numidia*, which were then in the possession of the Kings Forces.

XIII. When the News was brought, that *Syphax* was come into the Camp, all the multitude ran out as it had been to see a Triumph. He went foremost, and all the *Numidian* Nobility followed after. Then, as much as ever each man could, they magnified *Syphax* and the renown of his Nation to increase the glory of their own Nation, saying, *That he was a King, to whose Majesty too the most potent people in the whole World (which were the Romans and Carthaginians) paid such deference, that Scipio, their General, went with two Gallies of five banks of Oars apiece out of his Province of Spain and from his Army, into Africa to desire an Alliance with him: whilst Asdrubal the Carthaginian General not only came himself into his Kingdom to wait upon him, but likewise gave him his Daughter in Marriage: so that he had at one and the same time two Generals in his power, a Roman and a Carthaginian. Who as they had by Sacrifices begged pardon of the immortal Gods, so did they both desire peace of him. That he was a Prince of such prodigious Power, that he drove Masiniissa out of his Kingdom, and reduced him to such a pass, that all his life was eclipsed by a rumor that he was dead, whilst he was fain to lurk in Caves and Woods, as wild Beasts do, and live by robbery.* The King being commended by such like Harangues of those that stood about him, was brought into the Prætorium [or Generals Tent] to *Scipio*: who was much concerned not only at the present condition of the man, compared with his former state, but upon the score of that friendship which they two had contracted, with the Promise and League which they had entered into both publick and private. The same considerations gave *Syphax* also the courage to speak to the Conqueror. For when *Scipio* asked him, *What he meant by only refusing an Alliance with the Romans, but making a War upon them too on his own accord?* He replied, *That he had, he must confess, done very ill, and was a mad man for it; but not then when he had already taken up Arms against the Romans; that was the end, not the beginning of his madness. That he was then mad, and then had cast all obligations, both private and publick, out of his thoughts, when he took a Carthaginian Woman into his house. That his Palace was set on fire by those nuptial Torches: for that fury and pest averted and estranged his Soul by all the endearments of Love; nor did she rest, till she had armed his hands against himself as well as his Guest and good Friend. Yet that amidst all his miseries and afflictions he had this comfort still, that he saw the same pest and fury was got into the house and family of a man that was, of all mankind, his greatest Enemy:*



and that Masinissa was not more prudent or constant than Syphax, whose youth too made him the more careless: and, for that reason, Masinissa certainly was more unwise, and shewed less government of himself than could be expected from him, in marrying of her.

XIV.

Having said thus, not only out of hostile hatred to Masinissa, but jealousy also, (for that he saw the Woman whom he loved in the keeping of his Rival) he made Scipio likewise much concerned. And besides that, the Marriage which he so hastily stole almost in Arms, before he had consulted or seen Lælius, made the accusation the more believed: for he did it in such an hurry, that the same day he saw the Captive Queen, he married her, and offered Sacrifice to his own Household Gods before those of another. But these things seemed the more unhandfom to Scipio, because, when he was a young man in Spain, no Captives beauty had moved him. As Scipio was revolving thus with himself, Lælius and Masinissa came in: whom after he had received with the like gracious countenance, and had given them very great commendations before a whole Prætorium full of people, he took Masinissa aside, and said to him to this purpose: Masinissa, I believe that you saw some good things in me, not only when you came at first into Spain to contract a friendship with me, but afterward also, when in Africa, you committed both your self and all your hopes to my protection. But there is no virtue, for which I seem to be a fit object of your affections, wherein I glory so much, as in the government and mastery I have over my lusts. And this I would have you also, Masinissa, add to your other extraordinary qualifications. For there is not (believe me) so much danger to be feared in our Age from armed Foes, as from pleasures that surround us on every side. He that by his temperance has bridled and tamed them, truly he has gained more glory to himself, and a greater Victory, than we have by conquering Syphax. What you did so stoutly and bravely in my absence, I not only am pleased to commemorate and remember; but as for other things, I had rather you should recollect them your self, than blush when I tell you of them. Syphax was both conquered and taken by the conduct and good fortune of the Roman People: wherefore not only he, but his Wife, Kingdom, Country, Towns, Inhabitants, and in short all that belonged to Syphax, is your Booty: and we ought to send both the King and his Wife, though she were not a Citizen of Carthage, though we did not know that her Father was the Enemies General, to Rome, for the Senate and People of that City to judge and dispose of her; who is reported to have alienated the King, our Ally, from us, and forced him headlong into Arms. Subdue your passion, and have a care you do not deform many virtues with one vice, and destroy the love you have gained by so many meritorious actions with a fault much greater than the cause of it.

XV.

When Masinissa heard that, he not only blush'd, but the tears also stood in his eyes; having said, That, for his part, he would be at the Generals disposal; and prayed him, that as much as possibly the thing would bear, he would consult his honour, which he had rashly engaged; as having promised, not to deliver her into any other mans hands, he went in a confusion out of the Prætorium into his own Tent. And there, when no body was by him, after he had spent some time in sighs and groans, which those that stood about the Tent could easily hear, at last giving a grievous groan, he called a trusty Servant of his, under whose custody (according to the custom of Kings) against a casual exigence of Fortune his Poyson was, and having mingled it in a Cup, bade him carry it to Sophonisba, and tell her therewithal; That Masinissa would willingly have performed his first promise to her, as an Husband ought to his Wife. But since they that were able to do it had taken that power out of his hands, he was resolved to make good his second promise; that she should not be, whilst alive, in the hands of any Romans; as being mindful of her Father, who was a General, her Country, and the two Kings, to which she had been married: and that she therefore should consult her own good. The Servant, carrying this Message, and the Poyson at the same time, when he came to Sophonisba: I accept, said she, this nuptial Present; nor is it unwelcome to me, if my Husband could do no more for me. Yet tell him this from me; That I should have dyed much better, if I had not been married at my Funeral. Nor was her passion greater, when she said so, than her concern was small, when she took the Cup and drank it off without any more ado. Which when Scipio heard of; left the young man, being troubled in mind, should do himself or any body else any injury, he presently sent for him, and one while comforting him up, another while he calmly chid him, that he revenged one rashness with another, and did a sadder thing than was any ways necessary to be done. The next day, that he might divert his mind from the present disturbance, he ascended the Tribunal, and ordered an Assembly to be called: in which, when he had saluted Masinissa by the Title of King, and praised him above the Skies, he presented him with a golden Crown, a golden Cup, a Chair of State, an Ivory Staff, a flower'd Gown, and a palm'd Tunick: to which he added this verbal Honour; That neither the Romans knew any thing more magnificent than a Triumph; nor had any that triumphed a more august Garb than that, of which the Roman People thought Masinissa the only Foreigner, that was truly worthy. After he had so done, he gave Lælius a very great Character and a Crown of Gold too at the same time. He likewise made Presents to other military men, according as they had behaved themselves. With those Honours the Kings mind was softened, and he put into great hopes, that when Syphax was once taken off, he should have all Numidia.

XVI.

Scipio having sent C. Lælius with Syphax, and other Captives to Rome, along with whom also went Ambassadors from Masinissa, himself removed his Camp back to Tunis, and per-

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fectd those Fortifications that he had begun. Mean while the Carthaginians, being filled not only with a short, but almost a vain joy, by reason of their present good success in opposing the Roman Navy, when they heard that Syphax was taken, in whom they had reposed more hopes, if possible, than in Asdrubal and all their own Army, were dismay'd, when they heard no body now speak any more for a War, and sent thirty of the ancient Nobility as Envoys to desire a Peace. For that was their great Council, and the best means they had to rule even the Senate it self. Who when they came into the Roman Camp and to the Prætorium, they threw themselves (using the fashion, I suppose, of that Country whence they originally came) prostrate on the ground. And their Speech was suitable to such an humble posture: For they did not excuse themselves, but laid all the original blame upon Annibal and such as favoured his ambition. They begged pardon for their City, which had been twice already overthrown by the temerity of its Citizens, but might again be restored through the bounty of their Enemies. That the Roman People sought for Empire over their conquered Foes, not their ruine: and that they were ready to serve them patiently, let their Commands be what they would. To which Scipio answer'd, That he came into Africa with that hope, which by the prosperous event of the War was increased, that he should carry Victory, not Peace back with him home: yet though he had a Victory just at hand, he did not refuse a Peace: that all the World might see, the People of Rome did not only with justice undertake, but also put an end to their Wars. But he would make these Terms of Peace with them; That the Captives, Renegades and Fugitives should be all sent back: that they should draw their Armies out of Gaul and Italy: that they should not meddle with Spain: that they should quit all the Islands that lye between Italy and Africa: that they should deliver up all their long Ships, excepting twenty; and give him 500000 bushels of Wheat, and 300000 of Barley. What sum of Money he enjoyned them to pay, is not agreed upon; for I find in some Authors that they were assessed at 5000 Talents, and in others 500 pounds of Silver bullion, and in others a double stipend to the Army. And upon these conditions, said he, I'll give you three days to consult, whether you are willing to conclude a Peace. If you like them, make a Truce with me, and send Ambassadors to the Senate at Rome. The Carthaginians, being thus dismissed, were of opinion that they ought not to refuse any Terms whatsoever (for they sought all means to delay the time till Annibal came over into Africa) and therefore sent some Ambassadors to Scipio, to make a Truce, and others to Rome, to desire a Peace, carrying along with them some few Captives, Renegades and Fugitives for a show, that the Peace might be the more easily obtained.

XVII.

Lælius with Syphax and the noblest Numidian Captives was come to Rome many days before; and told the Senate in order all that had been done in Africa, to their great joy at present, and their hopes for the future. Thereupon the Senate having advised of the matter, thought fit to send the King Prisoner to Alba; and keep Lælius there, till the Carthaginian Ambassadors came. Then they decreed a Supplication to be made for four days together. P. Lælius the Prætor, when the Senate was adjourn'd, and an Assembly immediately after called, went up with C. Lælius into the Rostra [the place for Orations]: where the people hearing, that the Carthaginian Armies were defeated, that a King of high Renown was conquered and taken, and that all Numidia was over-run with a mighty Victory; they could not contain their satisfaction in silence, but with shouts and other ways, as the Mob use, expressed their immoderate joy. Wherefore the Prætor immediately gave Order, That the Sextons should open all the Temples in the City, and give the people leave to go about, to salute all the Gods, and give them thanks all day long. The next day he brought Masinissa's Ambassadors into the Senate: Who first of all congratulated the Senate, that P. Scipio had been so successful in Africa; and next gave thanks, for that he had not only called Masinissa King, but also made him one, by restoring him to his Fathers Kingdom; in which, when Syphax was taken off, he was like to reign without any fear or molestation. And furthermore, that having praised him before a publick Assembly, he had also honoured him with several great Presents; of which Masinissa not only already had done, but always would do his endeavour to make himself seem worthy. That they desired the Senate by Decree to confirm the Name of King, together with those other favours and bounties which Scipio had conferred upon him; and, if they pleased, that Masinissa desired also, that the Numidian Captives, who were in custody at Rome, might be sent back: for that would be a great advantage to him among his Country-men. To which the Ambassadors received this Answer; That they, as well as the King, congratulated the success of their affairs in Africa; and that Scipio did well, and as he ought to do, in calling him King: as also, that whatever else he had done, that might be for Masinissa's honour, the Senate did both approve and commend. Besides which they decreed, That the Ambassadors should carry certain Presents to the King; to wit, two Purple Soldiers Cloaks, with each a golden Button, and a Tunick studded with the figure of a broad Nut-head: two Horses with Trappings, and two Suits of Arms for an Horseman, with Coats of Mail, and Tents and other military Furniture, such as it was the fashion to present to a Consul. The Prætor was order'd to send these things to the King: And to make the Ambassadors themselves each of them Presents of at least 5000 Ases [i. e. 290 L.] and their Retinue each of them 1000 Ases [i. e. 58 L.] with two Garments to the Ambassadors, but only one apiece to their Attendants and the Numidians, who, being let out of Prison, were to be restored to the King. Besides which there were Houses, places in the Theatre, and Banquets appointed for the Ambassadors.

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XVIII. The same Summer that these things were decreed at Rome, and done in Africa, P. Quintilius Varus, the Prætor, and M. Cornelius the Proconsul fought a set Battle in the Country of the Insubrian Gauls with Mago the Carthaginian. The Prætors Legions were in the main Body; whilst Cornelius kept his in the Reer, being himself on Horse-back in the Front: and before the two Wings the Prætor and the Proconsul exhorted their Soldiers to fill upon the Enemy as hard as they could. But seeing that they could not any ways move them, Cornelius told Quintilius; *Our Soldiers, you see, grow more unwilling to fight, and the Enemies fear is so hardened beyond all hope by the resistance which they have been able to make, that I am afraid it may turn to audacity. We therefore must of necessity raise a storm of Horse, if we would disorder them, and make them quit their ground: wherefore either do you maintain the fight in the Front, whilst I bring in the Horse, or I will manage the matter here in the Van, whilst you send forth the Horse of the four Legions against the Enemy.* The Proconsul being willing to take which part of the duty the Prætor pleased, Quintilius the Prætor with his Son, whose forename was Marcus, an active Youth, goes up to the Horse, and having commanded them to mount, sent them forthwith against the Enemy. The clamor raised by the Legions increased the tumult of the Horse: nor would the Enemies Army have stood their ground, had not Mago, upon the first motion of the Horse, brought Elephants which he had ready there, into the Battle. At the noise, smell and looks whereof the Horses being affrighted made their Riders aid to no purpose. And as, when they came hand to hand, where they could use their Javelin and Sword, the Roman Horse had more strength; so, at a distance, when the Horses were frightened, the Numidians had the advantage of them in slinging of their darts. Besides that too, the twelfth Legion of the Foot being great part of them slain, kept their Post more out of shame than by any strength they had: but they would long have kept it, had not the thirteenth Legion, brought out of the Reer into the Van, received the doubtful Battle. Mago also from the Reer opposed the Gauls to that whole Legion: but they being quickly routed, the Spear-men of the eleventh Legion drew themselves close up together, and set upon the Elephants, who were now putting the Body of the Foot also in disorder. Upon whom, standing very thick together, the Soldiers threw their Javelins without missing scarce so much as once, and turned them all back upon their own Party; though four of them died of their wounds. Then began the Enemies Body first to give way, the Roman Foot at the same time running upon them, when they saw the Elephants turn away, to increase their dread and tumult. But as long as Mago stood before the Ensigns, the ranks retiring very softly, kept up the tenour of the Fight; though when they saw him run through the thigh, and falling to be carried out of the Fight almost dead, they all immediately fled. There were 5000 of the Enemies that day slain, and eighteen military Ensigns taken. Nor was it an unbloody Victory this to the Romans; for 2000 and 300 of the Prætors Army with the far greatest part of the twelfth Legion were lost, among whom were two Tribunes of the Soldiers, M. Cosconius and M. Menius. Of the thirteenth Legion also, which came in at the latter end of the Fight, Cn. Helvius, a Tribune of the Soldiers fell whilst they were restoring the Battle, besides about eighteen Horse, all brave men, who were trod under feet by the Elephants, and with some Centurions, perished. The Fight too had continued much longer, if the Victory had not been given up, by reason that the General was wounded.

XIX. Mago in the dead of the next night going as far as he could for his wound, arrived after long journies near the Sea in the Country of the Ligurian Inganni. And there Ambassadors from Carthage, who some few days before came into the Sinus Gallicus [i.e. the Gulph of Lyons] applying themselves to him, and bade him, *as soon as possibly he could to go over into Africa, for his Brother Annibal (to whom also there were Ambassadors gone with the same Message) would do the same. That the Carthaginians were not in a condition to conquer Gaul and Italy.* Mago being moved not only by the Command of the Senate, and the danger his Country was in, but fearing also, lest the victorious Enemy would come upon him too fast, and the Ligurians themselves seeing Italy deserted by the Carthaginians, would revolt to them in whose power they were likely soon to be; and hoping at the same time, that his wound would not be jogged so much in sailing, as riding, but that there were all things more commodious for the Cure, he put his Men on board and set out, but was not got any farther than Sardinia, before he died of his wound. Some Ships also of the Carthaginians, being disabled in the main Sea by the Roman Navy, which was about Sardinia, were taken. These things were done by Sea and Land, in that part of Italy that lies toward the Alpes. The Consul Servilius having done no memorable thing in his Province of Etruria and Gaul (for thither also was he gone) but received his Father C. Servilius, and his Uncle C. Lutatius after sixteen years out of slavery, having them about him, the one on one side, and the other on the other, he returned to Rome with a private rather than a publick Triumph. Then there was a Proposal made to the People, *That C. Servilius should not suffer, for having been, contrary to Law, whilst his Father, who had sate in a curule Chair, was alive, Tribune and Aedile of the People, because he did not know of it.* Having preferred and passed this Bill, he returned into his Province. Then Consentia, Ussugum, Vergæ, Besidia, Hericulum, Syphenum, Argentanum, Clamptia, and many other mean people, seeing the Punick War

War decline, revolted to C. Servilius the Consul, who was at that time in the Country of the Bruttii. The same Consul also fought a set Battle with Annibal in the fields of Croton: where Valerius Antias says there were 5000 of the Enemies slain. But that is so great a number, that the story is either impudently feigned, or the truth negligently omitted. This only is certain, that Annibal did nothing more after that in Italy. For there came Ambassadors from Carthage to him too, to call him into Africa, at the same time, as it happen'd, when the others came to Mago.

'Tis said, that he heard the Ambassadors with great indignation and sorrow, inasmuch that he could hardly refrain from tears. But when they had done their Message; Now, said he, *they do not recal me tacitly, but openly, though they long ago drew me backward, by forbidding any Supplies or Money to be sent to me. Annibal therefore is overcome not by the People of Rome, whom he has so often maimed and routed, but by the malice and envy of the Carthaginian Senate. Nor will P. Scipio rejoyce and boast of this my dishonourable retreat so much, as Hanno, who oppress our Family (when by no other means he could) with the ruine of Carthage.* He had prepared his Ships before-hand, for that he in his mind prefiged this very thing. And therefore sending the useles crowd of his Soldiers, under pretence of a Guard into the Towns of the Bruttii, which though few were kept in subjection more by fear than love, he carried all the strength of his Army over into Africa; having basely killed a great many of the Italian race in the very Temple of Juno Lacinia, because, refusing to follow him into Africa, they had fled into that place for refuge, which to that day was never violated. They say, that no man hardly was ever more sorry to leave his Country when he went into banishment, than Annibal at his going out of an Enemies Country. That he lookt back oftentimes upon the Italian shore, accusing both the Gods and Men, and cursing himself too, that he did not lead his Army to Rome whilst they were yet reeking in blood just after the Victory at Cannæ. Saying also that Scipio was so bold to go to Carthage and take no notice of a Punick Enemies being in Italy, though he were Consul: whilst he himself having slain 100000 men at Thrasymenum and Cannæ, grew old with staying so long at Casilinum, Cumæ, and Nola. With these accusations and complaints in his mouth he was at last forced out of the long possession of Italy.

At the same time News was brought to Rome, that Mago and Annibal both were going off. Of which double congratulation the joy was the less, not only because the Generals seemed to have no great courage or strength to retain them, (though by the Senate they were so ordered to do) but also, because they were solicitous what would become of them, when all the streis of the War lay upon one General and one Army. At that time also came Ambassadors from Saguntum; bringing along with them certain Carthaginians, which they had laid hold on, with the Money which they brought over into Spain to raise Auxiliaries. They put 250 of Gold, and 800 pound of Silver in the Porch of the Senate-house. But the Senate having received the men, and put them in prison, gave the Ambassadors their Gold and Silver back again with thanks to them: besides that, they had Presents made to them, and Ships allowed, wherewith to return into Spain. Then the Seniors of the Senate began to say, *That men were less sensible of favours than injuries. That they remembered how much terror and dread Annibal's going over into Italy had given them. What tragical events, what sad misfortunes thereupon ensued? The Enemies Camp was seen from the City-walls. Then what vows did each particular person and all the people in general make? How often were they, lifting their hands to Heaven, heard to say; Would the day never come, wherein they should see Italy free from all Enemies, and flourishing in calm Peace? That the Gods at last had granted their request in the sixteenth year after they made it; and yet there was none that thought fit to give them thanks: for men are so far from remembering a kindness when it is once past, that they do not receive it as beboves them, when first offer'd.* Then they cry'd out from all parts of the Court, that P. Aelius the Prætor should propose it: whereupon it was decreed, *That for five days Supplication should be made in all Temples, and the greater sort of Sacrifices offer'd up, to the number of an hundred and twenty.* And now having dismissed Lælius, with Masinissæ's Ambassadors, when they heard that Ambassadors from Carthage that were coming to the Senate about a Peace, were seen at Puteoli, and that they would come from thence by Land; they thought good to recal C. Lælius, that the Treaty concerning Peace might be in his Prefence. Q. Fulvius Cillo, Scipio's Ambassador, brought the Carthaginians to Rome; who though they were forbid to come into the City, were entertain'd in the Villa publica [a part of the Campus Martius] and had an Audience of the Senate in the Temple of Bellona.

There they made much what the same Speech as before Scipio; turning all the blame off of the publick upon Annibal only. *That he past not only the Alpes, but the River Iberas also without any order from the Senate, nor did he make War upon the Romans only, but formerly too upon the Saguntines, all on his own head. That the Senate and People of Carthage, if men would consider things as they really were, had kept their League with the Romans inviolable. Wherefore they were commanded to desire nothing else, but that they might continue in that Peace, which they had last made with the Consul Lutatius.* When the Prætor, according to an ancient custom, had granted the Senators leave to ask the Ambassadors any questions that they had a

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mind to; so that the Seniors, that had been at the making of the League, asked some one thing, and some another; to which the Ambassadors (who were all but young Men) replied, They could not remember, it was so long ago, they all cryed out from every part of the Senate-house, *This was a Punick Cheat, to chuse such Ambassadors as should desire the old Peace, that they themselves could not remember.*

XXIII. Then putting the Ambassadors out of the Court, the several Opinions of the Senate began to be asked. *M. Livius* thought fit, That *C. Servilius* the Consul, who was nearer at hand, should be sent for, that he might be present at the Treaty of Peace. For since they could not have a matter of more importance, than that to fall under their consideration, he did not think it consistent with the dignity of the Roman People, that such a thing should be transacted in the absence of both or either of the Consuls. *Q. Metellus*, who three years before had been Consul and Dictator, said, That seeing *Scipio*, by slaying their Armies, and pillaging their Country, had driven the Enemy to such necessity, that they humbly sued for Peace: and that no man could better tell, what their design was in desiring that Peace, than he who was engaged in a War before the very Gates of Carthage: they ought to accept or refuse a Peace upon no other persons advice, save his alone. *M. Valerius* *Levinus*, who had been twice Consul, said, They were Spies, not Ambassadors, that were come from Carthage: and that they ought not only to command them to depart out of Italy, but send a Guard along with them to their Ships; as also to write to *Scipio*, not to remit the War. *Laelius* and *Fulvius* added; That *Scipio's* hopes of Peace too lay in not having *Annibal* and *Mago* recalled out of Italy. That the Carthaginians would make any pretence in the world, whilst they expected those Generals and their Armies; but when they were once arrived, they, forgetting all Leagues, though never so lately entered into, and heedless of the Gods themselves, would carry on the War. By this means they grew more inclined to *Levinus's* opinion; and the Ambassadors were dismissed without any Peace made, yea almost without an Answer.

XXIV. At that time *C. Servilius* the Consul, not doubting but he should have all the Honour of appealing Italy, crossed over into Sicily, as though he had pursued his routed Enemy *Annibal*, but resolved to go from thence into Africa. Which when it was related at Rome, the Senate first thought good, that the Prætor should write to the Consul, and tell him, That the Senate was of opinion, he ought to return into Italy: but after that, when the Prætor said, He would despoise a Letter from his hand, *P. Sulpicius*, who was created Dictator for that very end, according to the Authority of his greater Office, called the Consul back into Italy. The rest of his year he spent with *M. Servilius*, Master of the Horse, in going to all the Cities in Italy, which had been alienated by the War, and inquiring into the several reasons of their defection. In the time of the Truce an hundred onerary Ships with Provisions, under a Convoy of twenty Men of War, came over out of *Sardinia* from Prætor *Centulus*, the Sea being free both from the Enemy and storms. But *Cn. Octavius*, who came out of Sicily with two hundred Ships of burden, and thirty long ones, had not the same Fortune. For when he was come almost within sight of Africa with a prosperous course, first the Wind failed him; but soon after turning toward Africa, it disorder'd and scatter'd all his Ships. He himself with the Men of War, getting with much ado and hard tugging of his Oars through the mighty Surges, arrived at the Promontory of *Apollo*: whilst most part of the onerary Vessels got into *Ægimurus*, an Island, at the end of the Bay (next the main Ocean) where *Carthage* stands, about 3000 fathom from that City: but some were driven to a place called *Aque Calide* [i. e. hot Waters] over against the very City. All were in sight of *Carthage*; wherefore they ran from all parts of the City into their Forum, the Magistrates summoning a Senate, and the People grumbling at the Court-door, for fear so great a Booty as that should be lost out of their sight and power. To which when some opposed the promise of a Peace, which had been desired, and others the obligation of the Truce (for the time was not yet expired) the Senate and the People being well-nigh mingled in Council together, they at last agreed, That *Asdrubal* should go with a Navy of fifty Ships to the Island *Ægimurus*; and from thence gather together the Roman Ships that were dispersed about the Shores and Ports of it. So those onerary Ships that were deserted by the Seamens running away from them, were tow'd, first from *Ægimurus*, and then from the Waters, by their Poops to *Carthage*.

XXV. The Ambassadors were not yet come back from Rome, nor could they tell what the Senate of Rome's opinion was either of War or Peace; nor was the time of the Truce yet expired. Wherefore *Scipio* thinking it the greater indignity, that they themselves who desired a Peace and a Truce, should violate all hopes of Peace, and the obligation of the Truce too, sent *M. Rabius*, *L. Sergius*, and *L. Fabius* as Ambassadors immediately to *Carthage*: who being like to have been abused by a concourse of the Rabble, and seeing also that their return would be very dangerous, they desired of the Magistrates, who kept the Crowd off of them, that they would send some Ships after them. Thereupon they had two Gallies of three banks apiece allowed them, which when they were come to the River *Bagrada*, in sight of the Roman Camp, returned to *Carthage*. The Punick Navy was in Harbour at *Utica*; out of which three Gallies of four banks apiece (either by a private Order sent from *Carthage*, or of *Asdrubal's* own accord, who being Admiral, durst do such

such a thing, without any damage to the publick) from the main Sea surpris'd one of five belonging to the Romans, as she had just got beyond the Promontory. But they neither could hit her with their beaks, she slid away so fast from them, nor could their Soldiers leap out of their lower ones into her, who was an higher Vessel. Insomuch that she was bravely defended, as long as their Weapons lasted: which when they failed, and she had now nothing else to defend her, but the nearness of the Land, and the multitude that came out of the Camp down to the Sea-side, they rowed as hard as they could, and running her on ground, lost the Ship, but saved all the Men. Thus by one ill thing upon another, the Truce being without all doubt broken off, *Laelius* and *Fulvius* came from Rome along with the Carthaginian Ambassadors. To whom *Scipio* having said, That though not only the Truce was broken by the Carthaginians, but even the Law of Nations too was violated in his Ambassadors, yet he would do nothing to them that should be either unworthy of the Roman Government, or his own Morals, dismissed the Ambassadors, and prepared for the War. When *Annibal* was now come nigh to the Land, he bade one of the Mariners go up to the main top, to see what Coast they made; who telling him, that the Prow of the Ship lookt toward a demolished Sepulchre; he, being dissatisfied at that ominous name, bade the Pilot steer by that place, and so arriving at *Leptis*, he there put all his Men ashore.

These things were done that year in Africa. What follows must be referred to that year, in which *M. Servilius* *Geminus* (who then was Master of the Horse) and *Tib. Claudius* *Nero* were Consuls. But in the end of the precedent year, the Ambassadors of the associated Cities in Greece having made complaint, That their Country was wasted by the Kings Guards, and that their Ambassadors, whom they had sent into Macedonia to demand a Reprisal of their Goods, were not admitted to King Philip's presence; and also told them, that it was reported, Four thousand Soldiers were gone over into Africa under the Command of General *Sopater*, to be a Guard to the Carthaginians; and that a certain sum of Money was also sent along with them; the Senate thought fit to send an Embassy to the King, to tell him, that they lookt upon all these things contrary to the League that was between him and them. Whereupon they sent *C. Terentius* *Varro*, *C. Mamilius*, and *M. Aurelius*: to whom they allowed three five bank'd Gallies. This year was remarkable for a great fire (that burnt down all the *Clivus Publicus* [a street so called] to the very ground) the Waters being mightily out, and every thing to extraordinary cheap; for besides that all Italy was by Peace opened to them, *M. Valerius* *Falco*, and *M. Fabius* *Buteo*, who were the Curule Ædiles, distributed to the People through every street a great quantity of Corn that was sent out of Spain, at four Asses a Bushel. The same year *Q. Fabius* *Maximus* died, after he had lived to a great age: if at least it be true, that he was Augur sixty two years, as some Authors say. He was a Person truly worthy of that great Surname [Maximus, i. e. the greatest] yea even if it began in him: for he outdid his Fathers, and equalized his Grandfathers great Actions. Indeed his Grandfather *Rullus* was famous for more Victories and greater Battles; but *Annibal* is such an Enemy, that can alone compare with all those together. Yet this same *Fabius* was reckoned rather cautious than eager; and as you may doubt, whether he were in his Nature more given to make delays, or that such delays were, in the War then in hand, very convenient to be made; so nothing is more certain than this, That one man by his delays restored our Commonwealth, as *Ennius* has it. *Q. Fabius* *Maximus's* Son, was chosen Augur in his room; and in his place as Pontifex (for he had two Priesthoods) succeeded *Ser. Sulpicius* *Galba*. The Roman Games were celebrated one day, and the Plebeian Sports thrice all over by the Ædiles, *M. Sextius* *Sabinus*, and *C. Tremellius* *Flaccus*: who were both made Prætors, with *C. Livius* *Salinator*, and *C. Aurelius* *Cotta*. Divers Authors make it uncertain, who held the Assembly of that year; whether it was *C. Servilius* the Consul, or (because he was employed by Order of Senate at that time in *Etruria* to make inquiry into several Conspiracies among the Nobility there) *P. Sulpicius*, who was by him declared Dictator.

In the beginning of the next year, *M. Servilius* and *Tib. Claudius*, having summoned a Senate into the Capitol, propos'd the business of the Provinces. Among which they desired that for Italy and Africa they might cast Lots, because they both would fain have had Africa. But *Q. Metellus* was so active in that affair, that Africa was neither given nor denied. The Consuls were order'd to treat with the Tribunes of the People; That if they thought good, they might ask the People, which of them they would have to go and make War in Africa. Thereupon all the Tribes voted for *P. Scipio*. But notwithstanding the Consuls put the Province of Africa (for so the Senate had decreed) upon the chance of Lots. *T. Claudius* had the luck to have it, and was to go into Africa with a Fleet of fifty Ships, all five bank'd Gallies, and be in the same Commission as *Scipio*. *M. Servilius* had *Etruria*; *Caius* *Servilius* being continued in the same Province, if the Senate had a mind the Consul should stay in the City. As to the Prætors, *M. Sextius* had Gaul, and *P. Quintilius* *Varus* was to deliver to him the two Legions as well as the Province: *C. Livius* was to have the *Bruttii* and those two Legions, that *P. Sempronius* the Proconsul the year before commanded: *Cn. Tremellius* to have Sicily, and the two Legions there from *P. Villius* *Tappulus*, who was Prætor the year before. That *Villius* the Proprætor with twenty long Ships and a thousand Soldiers should defend the



Coast of Sicily: and that from thence with the other twenty Ships should carry the 1500 Men to Rome. C. Aurelius Cotta happen'd to have the City for his Province; and to the rest, according as each of them then had possession of Provinces and Armies, their Commands were continued. The Empire that year was defended with no more than sixteen Legions. But then, that they might appease the Gods, and so begin all that they had to do, it was decreed, That the Consuls, before they went to the War, should celebrate those Games, that T. Manlius the Dictator (when M. Claudius Marcellus and T. Quintus were Consuls) had vowed to set forth, with such greater Sacrifices as he had resolved on, if the Commonwealth for that five years continued in the same state. The Games therefore were performed in the Cirque four days together: and the Victims offered to such Gods as they were devoted to.

XXVIII. Amidst these things, both their hope and their fear increased each day, nor could they be sufficiently satisfied; Whether they ought most to rejoice, that Annibal, by departing out of Italy after sixteen years continuance there, had left the possession of it clear to the Roman People, or rather to fear his going over into Africa with an healthful and a stout Army. For the place, they thought, not the danger, was alter'd; Q. Fabius, who was lately dead, being us'd to prophesie, and that very probably, of a great Fight which they should have there: and that Annibal would be a more grievous Enemy in his own Country, than he had been in a foreign Land. Nor would Scipio now have to do either with Syphax, a rude and barbarous King, whose Army, of Fellows that were half Scullions, Statorius was wont to lead, or with his Father-in-law, Adrubal, a General more apt to run away than fight, or with tumultuary Armies raised in an hurry out of an half-armed crowd of Country-fellows; but with Annibal, who was almost born in his Fathers Tent (who was a very warlike General) nursed and brought up among Arms, a Soldier long ago, whilst yet a Boy, and a General, though hardly even yet a Man: who being already grown an old Man for his Conquests, had filled the Spaniards, the Gauls, and all Italy, from the Alpes to the Streights, with Monuments of his Exploits: and now had an Army at his heels, who had been Soldiers as long as himself; and were harden'd with enduring all sorts of labour, which it is hardly credible that men could ever undergo: that had been a thousand times embrued in Roman blood; and still bore the spoils not only of common Soldiers, but of Roman Generals also. That Scipio would meet many persons there, who had slain Roman Prætors and Generals too with their own hands, adorned with mural and vallare Coronets [i.e. Crowns that they had for first scaling a Wall, or getting up a Bulwark.] that had straggled through Roman Camps, and Roman Cities too, which they had taken. That there were now so many Fasces [bundles of Rods] belonging to the Roman Magistrates, as Annibal could shew, that he had taken from Generals that he had slain. Revolving these dreadful apprehensions in their minds, they themselves increased their own cares and fears; for that they had been us'd for some years past to have a War in several parts of Italy, which was protracted by such slow degrees, that they had no near prospect of seeing any end of it; but that now Scipio and Annibal, being Generals of an equal match, and fit to try the last push, had put all people into an expectation. And those also, who had a great confidence in Scipio, with hopes of Victory, the nearer view their minds had of it, the more concerned they were. The Carthaginians also were in the same condition; For they one while repented, when they considered Annibal, and the great Actions that he had done, that they ever desired a Peace; but another while, when they remembered that they had been twice conquered in set Battles, that Syphax was taken, themselves beaten out of Spain and Italy, and all by the sole courage and conduct of Scipio, they were terrified at the thoughts of him, as of a fatal General, born to be their ruine.

XXIX. Annibal was now come to Adrumetum: where taking some few days to refresh his Soldiers, after their having been tossed upon the Sea, he was alarm'd with fearful News, That all the parts about Carthage were full of Soldiers, and therefore hastied by great marches to Zama. Zama is five days journey from Carthage: from whence the Spies, that he sent before, being taken by the Roman Guards, and brought to Scipio; he committed them to the Tribunes of the Soldiers, and bade them, without any fear, to visit all parts of the Camp, ordering them to be carried which way they would. And then having asked them, Whether they had seen as much as they thought necessary? he order'd some Men of his to be their Convoy, and sent them back to Annibal. Annibal was not well pleased to hear any thing that they told him (for they said, among other things, that Masinissa also chanced to come that very day with 6000 Foot, and 4000 Horse) but was most dismay'd at the confidence of his Enemy, which he thought was not built upon an ill foundation. Wherefore though he himself were the cause of that War, and that by his coming he had broken the Truce, and frustrated the hopes of their mutual Leagues; yet, supposing that he might obtain an easier Peace, if he desired it, whilst his Army was still entire, than when it was conquered, he sent a Messenger to Scipio, to desire the favour of a Parley. Whether he did so of his own accord, or by publick advice, I cannot positively say. But Valerius Antius says, That he was overcome in the first Battle by Scipio, in which there were 12000 Soldiers slain upon the place, 1700 taken, and that the former Ambassadors with ten more came into the Camp to Scipio. Who not refusing to come to a Parley, both the Generals by consent advanced their Camps, that they might meet at a nearer distance. Scipio fate down not far from the City of

of Nadagara, that being a place convenient, as upon other accounts, so also, for that they could have water within a Darts cast of it. Annibal posted himself upon an Hill 4000 paces from thence, which was safe and otherwise very convenient, save only, that their watering place was a great way off. And in the midst between them both there was a Plain, that they might look all over, and see that there were no Ambuscades laid.

They therefore leaving their Arms at an equal distance behind them, came together with each of them an Interpreter, being not only the two greatest Generals of their time, but equal to any King or Commander that ever was heard of in any Country. For some small time they gazed upon each other, and silently stood almost astonish'd with mutual admiration: till Annibal first began; Since the Fates have so decreed, That I, who first made War upon the Roman People, and who so often had Victory even in my hands, should come of my own accord to desire a Peace; I am glad that I have happen'd to meet with you, above all men living, to beg it of. Nor will it be, amidst all their glories, the least of their commendations, that Annibal, to whom the Gods had given the Victory over so many Roman Generals, should yield to you; and that you should put an end to this War, which was more remarkable for yours, than for our misadventures. My Case presents you also with this strange turn of Fortune, that I, who took up Arms when your Father was Consul, and fought a set Battle with him, as Roman General, should now come to his Son unarmed to sue for Peace. It had indeed been best for our Forefathers, if the Gods had given them such minds, as that you might have been content with Italy, and we with Africa: for Sicily and Sardinia do not make even you amends for so many Navies, so in my Armies, and so many brave Generals as you have lost. But what is past may more easily be reprehended than amended. We have so far desired other peoples possessions, that we have fought for our own: nor was there only a War upon you in Italy, and upon us in Africa; but you also have seen, almost at your very Gates and upon your Walls, the Ensigns and Arms of your Enemies, and we from Carthage it self have heard the noise of a Roman Camp. What therefore we should most abominate, and you above all things wish, we come to treat of Peace whilst you are in prosperity: and we who are concerned in the Treaty are such sort of persons, not only whose greatest interest it is to have a Peace, but also to whom, whatsoever we do, our Cities will ratifie and confirm. We only want a mind that does not abhor the thoughts of quiet. For my part, my age has now instructed me (who am going an old Fellow into the Country, whence I came a meer Boy) nor only age, but prosperity and adversity, both have so far taught me, that I had rather follow Reason than Fortune. But I fear thy youth and perpetual felicity are too unruly both to endure the advice of quiet thoughts. For he does not easily consider the dubious events of Fortune, whom she hath never deceived. What I was at Thrasymenum and at Cannæ, that you are now. Fortune has never failed you, though you were hardly old enough to bear Arms when you were first put into Commission; for you attempted all things with the greatest audacity imaginable. You revenged your Fathers and your Uncles death, and from the misfortune of your Family receivedst signal renown for thy Courage and Piety; you have recovered the two Spains that were lost, and driven out four Punick Armies thence. Then being created Consul, when others had not courage enough to defend Italy, you went over into Africa, and having here slain two Armies, and at the same time taken and burnt two Camps, taken Syphax, a most puissant King, Prisoner, with so many Cities belonging both to him and us, hast drawn me also, who have staid there now full sixteen years, out of Italy. Your mind may well desire Victory rather than Peace. I know you have a great rather than an useful Spirit: and Fortune favour'd me too once as she now does you. But if in our prosperity, the Gods would infuse into us good thoughts, we should consider not only what had, but what might happen. But that you may forget all others, I am a sufficient example for you in all cases. For I who lately, having pitch'd my Camp between the River Anien and the City, you saw just ready to scale the Walls of Rome, am now before you (bereft of two stout Men that were my Brothers, and famous Generals) near the Walls of my almost besieged Country, to deprecate those things for the sake of mine own, wherewith I terrified your City. A man should always give least credit to the greatest Fortune. Now you are prosperous, and we in doubtful circumstances, you look upon Peace to be great and specious in you who grant it; but in us, who desire it, it seems rather necessary than honourable. Yet, let me tell you, a certain Peace is better and more safe, than a Victory we only hope for. The former is in their disposal, but the latter in the power of none but the Gods only. Do not venture the happiness of so many years upon the hazard of one hour. Consider not only your own strength, but the force of Fortune, and the common casualties of War. There will Swords and Men on both sides fall. Events answer our expectations no where less than in War. You will not add so much to that glory which, though you grant me a Peace, you now may have, if you should get the day, as you will lose, if any thing should happen contrary to your expectation. The Fortune of one hour may overthrow all the honour both that you have gained and that you hope for. All things, now we talk of Peace, are in your power (P. Cornelius) but then you must take such Fortune as the Gods will give you. Among the few examples of courage and success M. Atilius had been one of old in this same Country, if he had granted a Peace to our Forefathers, when they desired it: but he, by setting no bounds to his happiness, nor restraining his exorbitant Fortune, the higher he was raised, the greater was his fall. It is indeed his part that gives, not his that desires it, to make the Conditions of Peace; but perhaps we may not seem unworthy to lay a mulct upon our own heads. We are

are willing you should have all those things for which the War was first undertaken; to wit, Sicily, Sardinia, Spain, and all the Islands that are contained in the whole Sea between Africa and Italy. Let us Carthaginians, inclosed within the Shores of Africa, see you (since Heaven will have it so) govern those foreign Dominions by Sea and Land. I do not deny, but because we did not more sincerely of late desire and expect a Peace, you suspected our Punick way of dealing. But 'tis of great consequence, Scipio, to the preserving of a Peace, to take care by whom it be desired. And I hear, that your Senate also denied it for this reason, among others, that there were no Men of Quality concerned in the Embassy. But I am Annibal that now desire Peace of you; who would not yet make such a request, if I did not think it advantageous; and for the same advantage that I desired it, will I keep it. And as I, because the War was begun by me, suffer'd no man to repent of it, till the Gods themselves began to envy me; so will I endeavour, that no man shall repent of the Peace obtained by my means.

XXXI. To this the Roman General answer'd thus; I was not ignorant, Annibal, that their hopes of your arrival made the Carthaginians break off not only the present Truce, but decline the hopes of a future Peace. Nor dost thou indeed deny it, who withdrawst all things out of the former Conditions of Peace, save them alone which are long since in our power. But as it is your care to make your Country-men sensible what a burden they are cas'd of by your assistance, so I must endeavour to hinder them from having that which they formerly agreed to, now taken out of the Conditions of Peace, and made the reward of your perfidiousness. You who have still the same Conditions offer'd to you, are very unworthy if you desire to make advantage by your fraud. Neither did our Fathers before us make War for Sicily, nor we for Spain. No, the danger that the Marmertines our Allies were then in, and the sacking of Saguntum now moved us to take up just and pious Arms. That you provoked us, both you your self confess, and the Gods are our Witnesses, who also gave us success in that War according to justice and equity, as they now do and will do of this. As for my part, I both remember humane infirmity, and consider the force of Fortune, knowing that all we do is subject to a thousand mischances. But as I should owe my self to have acted very proudly and severely, if, before I was come into Africa, when you had of your own accord quitted Italy, and putting your Men on board several Ships, had come in person to desire a Peace, I should have slighted you; so now, when I have forced you, so much against your inclination, over into Africa, I am oblig'd by any ties of modesty to answer your request. Wherefore if any addition be made to those things, for which we were then like to conclude a Peace (you know what they are: the mullets due for taking our Ships and Provisions during the time of the Truce, and abusing our Ambassadors) I have somewhat to propose to the Council. But if even those things also seem grievous to you, prepare for War, because you could not endure Peace. Thus being come back from the Parley to their Party without concluding of a Peace, they declared, They had spent all their breath to no purpose; for they must dispute it with their Swords in their hands, and accept of such Fortune as the Gods would please to give them.

XXXII. Allsoon as they came into the Camp, they both gave Orders, That the Soldiers should make ready their Arms, and prepare their minds for the last push, whereby they were like to be Conquerors, not for one day only, but, if they succeeded, for ever. That they should know before the next day at night, whether Rome or Carthage should give Laws to the World. For not only Africa or Italy, but the whole Universe would be the reward of their Victory; though the danger would prove equal to the reward to those that happen'd to lose the day. For neither had the Romans any way to escape, as being in a foreign Country, wherewith they were unacquainted: and Carthage, which must now produce its last Auxiliaries, seem'd to be liable to present ruine. To this Combate therefore the next day march'd forth the two far most renowned Generals of two Nations that were the most opulent, and with them two the bravest Armies; with resolutions that day either to augment or overturn all the Trophies they had formerly erected. Their minds therefore were doubtfully divided betwixt hope and fear: and whilst they view'd one while their own, and another while the Enemies Army, by weighing their strength more with the outward eye, than that of reason, they were at once both glad and sorry. But what did not of its own accord come into their thoughts, the Generals by admonition and exhortations suggested. The Carthaginian remind'd them of the actions they had performed for sixteen years together in Italy, where they killed so many Roman Generals, and totally vanquished so many Armies, with the particular Exploits of every signal Person, that he had occasion to mention upon the score of his memorable behaviour in any Battle. Scipio discourf'd of the Spains, his late Battles in Africa, and the confession of the Enemy, how they were forced through fear to sue for Peace, but could not continue in it by reason of their natural perfidiousness. Besides which, he added the Conference between him and Annibal in private, which, because he was at his liberty to say what he pleas'd, he wrested whither he would. He likewise fortold them (that the Gods had given encouragement to them to go out to fight as to their Forefathers, when they formerly engag'd at the Islands called Ægateis, and therefore that) there would be an end of the War, and they should be at rest: that the Booty of Carthage was as good as in their hands, and that they should very shortly return into their Country, to their Parents, Wives, Children, and Household-Gods. All which he spoke with such an haughty carriage and pleasant aspect, that you would have thought he had already gained the Victory.

XXXIII. Then he plac'd the Spear-men first, and behind them the *Principes* [the first Soldiers in the

the Van of the Army who were furnished with a Javelin, &c.] and put the *Triarii* in the Reer. He did not set the Regiments each in close Order before their Ensigns, but the *Maniples* [or Companies] at some distance one from the other, that the Enemies Elephants might have room enough when they came in, so as not to break their Ranks. He plant'd *Laelius* (who had formerly been his Lieutenant, but that was Queltor by an Order of Senate, without drawing Lots for it) with the Italian Horse in the left Wing, and *Masiniſſa* with the *Numidians* in the right. He also fill'd up the wide spaces between the *Maniples* with the Velites of the *Antesignani* [or light-arm'd Soldiers that fought among those that were before the Ensigns] to whom he gave a charge, That at the coming up of the Elephants they should either retire directly behind the Ranks, or applying themselves to the *Antesignani*, by running to the right and left among them, should give the beasts way, to rush in upon the dangerous Weapons. Annibal, for a terror, set the Elephants (which were eighty in number, and more than he had ever had in any Battle before) first in Array: and after them the *Ligurian* and *Gallick* Auxiliaries, with the *Bulgarians* and *Mores* mixt among them. In the second Division of the Army he plac'd the *Carthaginians*, *Africans*, and the Legion of *Macedonians*: and then, leaving a small interval, he put the Italian Soldiers in the Reer, who were most of them *Bruttians*, that of force and necessity, more than any good will, had follow'd him out of Italy. He also rang'd the Horse all round the Wings, the *Carthaginians* in the right, and the *Numidians* in the left. His address to the Army was very various, being made to so many different sorts of men, whose Language, Manners, Laws, Arms, Garb, Complexion, and ground of War was no ways the same. The Auxiliaries, he said, should have a present and manifold reward out of the Booty. The Gauls were inflamed with a natural and peculiar hatred toward the Romans. The *Ligurians* had the fruitful Plains of Italy, being brought down out of craggy Mountains into great hopes of Victory, shewn unto them. The *Mores* and *Numidians* he terris'd with the tyrannical sway that *Masiniſſa* was like to bear over them: infusing several hopes and fears into the rest of them: and minding the Carthaginians of the Walls of their Country, their Household-Gods, the Sepulchres of their Ancestors, their Parents, Children, fearful Wives, and how they must expect either destruction and slavery, or to be Emperors of the whole World; but said no more thing to them that tended to promote either their hope or fear. And just as their General was saying this among his Country-men to the Carthaginian Officers that led their own People, and to the Foreigners also by Interpreters that were mingled among them, the Trumpets and Cornets sounded from the Roman Army; and there was such a noise set up, that the Elephants ran upon their own Men, especially in the left Wing, where the *Mores* and *Numidians* stood. *Masiniſſa* seeing that, with ease increased their dread, and bereft the Army on that side of all assistance from their Horse. But some few of the Beasts being unaffrighted, were driven up into the Enemy, and made a greater slaughter among the light-arm'd Soldiers, though they receiv'd many wounds themselves. For the light-arm'd Men retiring into the *Maniples*, and having made way for the Elephants, to save themselves from being trod to pieces, threw their Spears on both sides into them: nor were the *Antesignani* with their Javelins idle; till such time, as being by the Weapons which fell upon them from all parts, forced out of the Roman Army, they put to flight even the Carthaginian Horse in their own right Wing. *Laelius*, when he saw the Enemy in a confusion, supplied fresh matter of terror to them.

The Punick Army was now on both sides bereft of its Horse, when the Foot fell on, notwithstanding it was not equal to the Enemy either in hopes or strength. Besides which, (though it be a small thing to speak of, it was of great moment in the managing of the same affair) the clamour or shout the Romans made, was all of one tone, and consequently so much the greater and more terrible: whilst the Enemies voices were dissonant, because their Languages were so different. The Fight likewise on the Romans side was steddily, because they lay heavy upon the Enemy, not only through their own weight and strength, but that of their Arms too: whilst on the other side there was only more swiftness and agility than strength shown in their first Onset. Wherefore upon the first effort the Romans made the Enemy immediately give way; and then with their Elbows and Bucklers punching them on still, as they got ground upon them, they proceeded for some time without resistance, the Reer pressing on the Van, allsoon as they perceived the Enemies Body to move; which very thing also conduced very much to the routing of them. On the other hand, among the Enemies, the second Division of their Army, consisting of *Africans* and *Carthaginians*, were so far from enduring the Retreat of their Auxiliaries in the Front, that they gave back, left the Enemy, when they had killed the Vanguard, should have fallen upon them. Wherefore the Punick Auxiliaries immediately turned their backs upon the Romans, and facing their own Men, fled partly into the second Division, part of which they also flew for not receiving them; as being c'rewhiles not assisted by them, and then moreover excluded. And now there were in a manner two Battles, the Carthaginians being forced to engage not only with the Enemy, but their own Party also. Yet notwithstanding they did not let them into their Body, when they were so dismay'd and furious; but, closing their Ranks, turned them out into the Wings and the open Plains beyond the

the Army; because they were afraid to mingle men in such a consternation and so much wounded, with a fresh and steady Army. But the heaps of dead Men and Arms had so filled up the place, in which the Auxiliaries a little before had stood, that their passage that way was full as difficult, as it had been through the main Body of the Enemy. Wherefore the Spear-men, that were first, pursuing the Enemy over the Carcasses and Arms, through blood, as well as they could, put their Ensigns and their Ranks all into disorder. The *Principes* also began to waver, seeing the Division before them so confused. Which when *Scipio* saw, he order'd them to sound a Retreat to the Spear-men; and having drawn all the wounded into the Rear, he put the *Principes* and the *Triarii* into the Wings, that the main Body of the Spear-men might be the more secure and firm. Hence there arose a new Engagement; for they now came up to their real Enemies, who in the sort of Arms which they bore, their experience in War, their fame for the Exploits they had done, and the greatness of their hope, as well as danger, were equal to them. But indeed the Romans were above them both in numbers and courage; in that they had routed both the Horse and the Elephants, and having defeated the first Division of their Army, were now upon the second.

XXXV. *Lalium* and *Masinissa* having pursued the Horse, whom they had driven too off some distance, returning, fell seasonably on upon the Body of the Enemy that was now a flying. And that last effort of the Horse made the Enemy run. But many of them, being circumvented, were slain in the field; whilst others that were scatter'd all over the Plain, where the Horse prevailed, died in great numbers. There were slain that day, of Carthaginians and their Allies, above 20000: and almost the like number taken, with 133 military Ensigns and eleven Elephants, though the Romans lost not above 2000 men. *Annibal* who escaped with some few Horse-men got away to *Adrumetum*; having tried all ways both in the Battle and before, and gained, by *Scipio's* own confession, and that of all good soldiers, a great deal of credit by setting his Army in so good a posture at that time. For he placed the Elephants in the Van: whose fortuitous force, and intolerable shock might hinder the Romans from following their Ensigns, and keeping their Ranks entire, in which they placed most of their hopes. Then he put the Auxiliaries before the Carthaginians, lest they being a mixture of all Nations, who served for pay, not for love, might have any way to escape. And besides, that they might receive the first effort and shock of the Enemy, and if they did nothing else, at least with the wounds they received, spoil the edge of the Romans Swords. Behind them again, he set the Africans and Carthaginians, in whom he reposed his greatest hopes, that they, as they were equal in all other respects, might now, when they yet fresh engaged with men that were tired and wounded, become superiour: placing the Italians at some distance in the Rear of all, because he did not know, whether they were Friends or Enemies. Having given this last instance of his Courage and Conduct, *Annibal*, when he was got to *Adrumetum*, and from thence being sent for to Carthage in the six and thirtieth year after he came a Boy out of that City, he openly confessed in the Senate, That he was not only beaten in the Battle, but overcome in respect of the whole War; so that there was no hopes now left, save in their petitioning for a Peace.

XXXVI. *Scipio* immediately after the Battle, having taken and rifled the Enemies Camp, returned with a vast Booty to the Sea and the Ships; having News brought him, That *P. Lentulus* was arrived at Utica with fifty Ships of War, an hundred Oncriaries [or Ships of burden] and all sorts of Provisions. Wherefore supposing it the best course to augment as much as he was able the dread that Carthage was now in, having sent *Lalium* to Rome with the News of the Victory, he order'd *Cn. Octavius* to march by Land with the Legions to Carthage: whilst he himself joyning *Lentulus's* new Fleet to his own old one sailed from Utica to the Port of Carthage. But when he was come pretty near unto it, there came a Ship out adorned with white Linen Flags and Olive-branches to meet him: in which there were ten Ambassadors, of the best Men in the City, who, by *Annibal's* advice, were sent to desire a Peace. They therefore coming up to the Poop of the Admiral's Ship; toward which they held forth those Badges of Petitioners, desired and begged that *Scipio* would be favourable and merciful to them: but received no other answer than this, That they must come to Tunis; for thither he would remove his station. Yet he, having taken a view of the situation of Carthage, not so much to be satisfied in that at present, as to terrify the Enemy, returned to Utica, whither he recalled *Octavius* also. Then, as they were going to Tunis, News was brought them, That *Vermina*, *Syphax's* Son, was coming with more Horse than Foot to assist the Carthaginians. Part therefore of their Army with all their Horse was sent out: which setting upon the Numidians about the beginning of the Saturnalia [Feast of Saturn, answering to our Christmas] he soon routed them. And as they ran away, being intercepted on all sides by the Horse that surrounded them, there were 15000 of them slain, and 1200 taken Prisoners, with 1500 Numidian Horse, and 72 military Ensigns. The young King himself with some small number in the Tumult made his escape. Then they pitch'd their Camp at Tunis in the same place, as before, and thirty Ambassadors came from Carthage to *Scipio*: who (since their condition forced them to it) made much more moan than the former, but were heard with somewhat less pity, by reason of their late perfidiousness.

fidiousness. In the Council, though just anger incited all of them to destroy Carthage; yet they considering, not only how great an affair it was, but also how long the Siege against a City so well fortified and strong might continue; and likewise, that *Scipio* was concerned, for that he expected a Successor to come and reap the Glory of ending a War which had been accomplish'd by the labour and danger of another Person, they were all inclined to grant a Peace.

The next Day therefore, calling back the Ambassadors, whom they admonished with many reproofs for their perfidiousness, That now they had been instructed by so many misfortunes, they would at last believe there were Gods, and that an oath was an obligation, they gave them conditions of Peace, which were these, That they should live free under their own Laws, having the same Cities, the same Lands, with the same bounds as before the War, and that the Romans should that day cease from plundering their Country. That they should deliver up all the Renegadoes, Fugitives, and Captives, with all their Ships of War, excepting ten Gallies of three Banks apiece, and all the tamed Elephants that they had, without ever taming any more. That they should wage no War either in or out of Africa without the consent of the Roman People. That they should restore *Massinissa* to his Inheritance, and make a League with him. That they should provide Corn and Pay for the Soldiers, till such time as the Ambassadors came from Rome. That they should pay for fifty years together ten thousand Talents of Silver by such and such equal sums. That they should give a hundred Hostages, such as *Scipio* thought fit, not above thirty, nor under fourteen years of Age. That he upon these terms would grant a Truce if they would restore the Ships they had taken during the former Truce, and the things that were in them; otherwise, they should neither have a Truce, nor was there any hopes of a Peace. When the Ambassadors, who were bid to carry these conditions home with them, declar'd them openly in the Assembly, *Gisgo* stood forth to dissuade them from Peace; but being that he made his speech before the unfettered and cowardly Rabble, *Annibal* was vexed that he should talk at that rate at that time, and therefore catching hold of *Gisgo*, pull'd him down from the place where he stood. The sight of which unusual Action, in a City so free as that was, having moved the People to murmur, the Warrior being disturbed at the extravagant liberty which that City enjoy'd, said, I went from you at nine years of age, and came back at 36. By this time therefore I think I well enough understand all Military Arts (which my condition, sometimes private and sometimes publick, has taught me) but you must teach me the Privileges, Laws and Customs of the City and Court. Having excus'd his want of knowledge, he made a long speech for Peace, how reasonable and necessary it was. But the greatest difficulty was, that, out of the Ships which were taken in the time of the Truce, nothing appear'd besides the bare hulks of them; nor was it easie to inquire into the matter, because they who were said to have such Goods were Enemies to the Peace. However they ordered that the Ships should be restored, and the Men lookt after, That *Scipio* should set a value upon what was wanting, and the Carthaginians pay for it out of their common stock. There are some that say *Annibal* came out of the Army to the Sea, where having provided himself a Ship, he immediately went over to King *Antiochus*; and that when *Scipio* required, That *Annibal* should be first of all delivered into his hands, the Carthaginians made him this answer, That *Annibal* was not in Africa.

When the Ambassadors were come back to *Scipio*, the Questors or Purfers were ordered to make an Inventory of all the publick Stores that were in the Ships out of their Books of Accounts, and the private Owners, to tell what peculiarly belong'd to them; for all which, there was twenty five Thousand Pound of silver Bullion at present required, and a Truce granted to the Carthaginians for three Months, with an injunction, That they should send no Ambassadors all the time of the Truce any whither else than to Rome; and that whatever Ambassadors came to Carthage, they should not permit to go away, till they had informed the Roman General who they were, and what they came for. Along with the Carthaginian Ambassadors, there were sent to Rome *L. Veturius Philo*, *M. Marcius Ralla*, and *L. Scipio* the Generals Brother. After which time, Provisions coming out of Italy and Sardinia had made every thing so cheap, that the Merchants left the Marriners their Corn for the freight of it. They had been in a great consternation at Rome upon the first News of the Rebellion of the Carthaginians; and *Tib. Claudius* was ordered to go with the Fleet in all haste into Sicily, and thence into Africa; but the other Consul, *M. Servilius*, to stay at home till they heard in what posture the Affairs of Africa were. All things were carryed on very slowly in order to the raising and setting out the Fleet for the Consul *Tib. Claudius*, because the Senate thought *Scipio* a better judge, what terms of Peace ought to be given, than he was. Certain Prodigies also, that were told of just as the news of the Rebellion came, put them into a fright. At Cumæ, the circle of the Sun seemed to be lessened, and it rained stones; and about *Velitra* the Earth sunk into mighty Caverns, in which whole Trees were buried. At *Aricia*, their Forum, with the shops all about it, and at *Frusinone*, the Wall in some places, and a Gate, were burnt by lightning; besides that it rained stones in the Palace. That Prodigie was, after the Country fashion, expiated with Holy Rites that lasted nine Days, and the rest with the greater sort of Sacrifices. Among which also an unusual rising of Waters was thought to deserve their religious care. For the Tiber so overflowed, that the Games called *Ludi Apollinares* [in honour of *Apollo*] when the Cirque was overwhelmed, were prepared to be celebrated



celebrated without the Gate called *Porta Collina*, near the Temple of *Venus Erycina*. But upon the very Day that they were to be performed, a sudden serenity arising, the pomp that was beginning toward the Gate *Collina*, was recall'd and carried into the Cirque, they having news, *That the water was all flown out of it*; by which means the ancient feat being restored to that solemn spectacle, made the People overjoyed, and the Games more thronged.

XXXIX.

When *Claudius* the Consul was gone from the City, and was got between the two Ports called *Portus Cofanus* and *Portus Laurentinus*, a violent tempest, that arose, put him into a great fright. From thence coming to *Populoni*, after he had staid there till the storm was over, he went to the Isle of *Illa*, from *Illa* to *Corfica*, and from *Corfica* over into *Sardinia*. Where as he passed the Mountains called *Montes Insani* [the mad Mountains] a tempest much feverer, and in a worse place arising, scatter'd his Fleet; of which many Ships were shock'd and disabled, whilst some were broken to pieces. But the Fleet, though so much torn and haras'd, got into *Carales*, where as they were careening and mending of the Ships, the Winter came upon them, and the Year was gone about; so that, since no one propos'd his continuing in Commission, *Tib. Claudius* brought the Navy back to *Rome* upon the account of the Assembly, declared *C. Servilius Geminus* Dictator, and went into his Province. The Dictator made *P. Aelius* Master of the Horse. But Tempests often hindered the Assembly from being held, though it were appointed; so that, the old Magistrates being gone out of their Office on the sixteenth of *March*, and no new ones in their Places, the Commonwealth was without any chief Magistrates at all. *L. Manlius Torquatus*, the High Priest, died that Year, and in his room they put *C. Sulpitius Galba*. The Roman Games were all thrice repeated and performed by *L. Licinius Lucullus*, and *Q. Fulvius*, who were the *Ædiles*. The Clerks and Messengers belonging to the *Ædiles* being discovered to have privately carried Money out of the Treasury, were condemned for it, not without some reflexion upon *Lucullus*. *P. Aelius Tubero* and *L. Latorius*, who were *Ædiles* of the People, being unduly chosen, quitted their Places, after they had set forth Games, and upon that score made a Feast to *Jupiter*, and laid up three Ensigns in the Capitol, made out of the Silver taken for Mulets. The Dictator and the Master of the Horse celebrated the Games of *Ceres* by an order from the Senate.

XL.

When the Roman and the Carthaginian Embassadors came out of *Africa* to *Rome*, there was a Senate held in the Temple of *Bellona*, where when *L. Veturius Philo* had told them to their great joy, *That they had fought the last Battel they were like to have with Annibal and the Carthaginians*, and that they had at last put an end to that lamentable War, he added, *that Vermina also, son of Syphax (which was no small accession to their happiness) was overcome*. Whereupon he was ordered to go into the publick Assembly, and tell that good News to the People. Then all the Temples in the City were flung open for joy, and supplications ordered to be made for three Days together. The Embassadors from the Carthaginians and King *Philip* (for from him too there were Embassadors come) desiring to have audience of the Senate, had this answer by order of Senate from the Dictator, *That the new Consuls should give it them*. Thereupon an Assembly was held, and they chose for Consuls *Cn. Cornelius Lentulus*, and *P. Aelius* *Petrus*: for Prætors, *M. Junius Pennus*, who happened to have the City for his Province; *M. Valerius Falto*, who had the *Bruttii*; *M. Fabius Buteo*, who had *Sardinia*, and *P. Aelius Tubero*, who had *Sicily*. But they would not do any thing touching the Provinces of the two Consuls, till the Embassadors from the Carthaginians and King *Philip* were first heard. They foresaw in their minds that the end of one War would be the beginning of another. *Cn. Lentulus* the Consul had a great desire to have the Province of *Africa*, because he thought, if there were a War, he should gain an easie Victory; or if it were already finished, that he should have the honour of seeing so troublesome a War quite made an end of. He therefore said, he would not suffer them to treat of any thing else, before he had *Africa* assign'd to him; to which his Colleague consented, being a moderate and a prudent Man, who knew, besides that he could not in justice do it, he was not able to contend with *Scipio* in point of Glory and Renown. *Q. Minutius Thermus* and *Manius Glabrio*, Tribunes of the People, said, *That Cn. Cornelius attempted what Tib. Claudius the year before had to no purpose tryed. That the Senate had referred it to the People, who should be the Governour of Africa, and that all the thirty five Tribes had given that charge to P. Scipio*. The matter therefore having been bandied with many disputes, both in the Senate and among the People, was at last brought to this Issue, that they would leave it to the Senate. The Senators thereupon being sworn (for so it was agreed) thought fit, *That the Consuls should agree of the Provinces between themselves, or cast lots for them, which should have Italy, and which should have a fleet of fifty Ships. He that had the Fleet, was to go into Sicily; and, if they could not conclude a Peace with the Carthaginians, from thence into Africa. That the Consul should act by Sea; and Scipio by Land with the same Commission as before. But if the terms of Peace were agreed upon, that the Tribunes of the People should refer it to the Commons, whether they would have the Consul or P. Scipio to make the Peace; and who, if the victorious Army was to be brought out of Africa, should bring it. That, if they ordered Scipio to conclude the Peace and bring the Army out of Africa, the Consul should not go over from Sicily into Africa. And that the other*

Consul

Consul, who happened to have Italy, should receive the two Legions from *M. Sextius* the Prætor.

*P. Scipio* was continued in his Commission of General over those Forces, that he had, in the Province of *Africa*; and *M. Valerius Falto* the Prætor had the two in the Province of the *Bruttii*, which *C. Livius* the year before had been Commander of. It was further ordered, that the Prætor *P. Aelius* should have the two Legions in *Sicily* of *Cn. Tremellus*. One Legion was assigned to *M. Fabius* in *Sardinia*, which *P. Lentulus* the Prætor had formerly commanded. *M. Servilius* also was continued in his Commission of General over those two Legions, which he, when he was Consul the Year before, had commanded in *Etruria*. As for the *Spains*, *L. Cornelius Lentulus*, and *L. Manlius Acidinus* had been there already for some Years; but the Consuls should treat with the Tribunes, if they pleased, to ask the Peoples pleasure, who they would make Governour of *Spain*; and that he (whoever it was) should unite all the Roman Souldiers, that were in those two Armies, into one Legion, dividing the *Latine Allies* into fifteen Regiments, wherewith he should keep and maintain the Province; but *L. Cornelius* and *L. Manlius* should bring the old Souldiers into Italy. To Consul *Cornelius* was assigned a Navy of fifty Ships out of the two Navies of *Cn. Octavius*, which was in *Africa*, and *P. Villius*, which guarded the Coast of *Sicily*; of which he was to pick and chuse what he would. That *P. Scipio* should have the fifty long Ships, that he formerly had had; of whom, if he had a mind that *Cn. Octavius* should be Commander, as before he was, *Octavius* being Proprætor, should be likewise Admiral for that Year; but if he made *Lælius* Admiral, *Octavius* should go to *Rome*, and bring back those Ships that *Scipio* had no use of. *M. Fabius* also in *Sardinia* had ten long Ships allotted him; the Consuls being ordered to raise two City Legions, that the Commonwealth might be that Year maintained by fourteen Legions and a hundred long Ships.

XLI.

Then they spoke of the Embassadors from King *Philip* and the Carthaginians; of which they ordered the *Macedonians* to be first introduc'd. And they made different kinds of addresses; some, *To purge themselves from what the Embassadors sent from Rome to their King, had complained of, touching the plundering the Roman Allies*; and some, to accuse, not only the Allies of the Roman People, but *M. Aurelius* much more; who, of the three Embassadors sent to their Court, made a Levy by the way, and raised a War upon them, against the League, fighting several pitched Battels with their Prefects [i.e. Governours of Places or Provinces]: some again, to desire, that the *Macedonians*, and their General *Sopater*, who had fought for pay under *Annibal*, and being taken, were then Prisoners, might be restored. To all which *M. Furius*, who was sent out of *Macedonia* by *Aurelius*, for that purpose, answered, *That Aurelius* was left behind the rest, for fear the Roman Allies, tired out with being plundered and haras'd, should revolt to the King, and therefore did not go beyond the Consines of their Allies, but endeavour'd to revenge them of those that came to ravage their Country. That *Sopater* was one of the great Noble Men about the King, and was lately sent with four thousand *Macedonians* and Money too, into *Africa*, to aid *Annibal* and the Carthaginians. The *Macedonians* being interrogated upon these several points, they gave so perplexed an answer, that the Romans prevented them with this, *That the King had a mind to a War, and, if he went on, should shortly have his desire. That the League was violated by him in a double respect; not only, in that he had injured the Allies of the Romans, whom he haras'd with War and Hostilities, but had likewise assisted their Enemies with Succours and Money. And farther, that P. Scipio did nothing but his duty in looking upon them as Enemies, and keeping them under restraint, who, whilst they bore Arms against the Roman People, were taken Prisoners. That M. Aurelius also, not only consulted the honour and safety of the Commonwealth, but had obliged the Senate also, in defending their Allies by the Sword, since he could not do it by virtue of the League. The Macedonians therefore being dismiss'd with this unwelcome answer, the Carthaginians were call'd in, whose Ages and Dignities being considered (for they were the best Men in all *Carthage*) each Senator said, *They certainly came to treat of Peace. But Asdrubal* (whom his own Countrymen surnamed *Hædus*) was the most remarkable Person among them, being always for a Peace, and an Enemy to the *Barcine* Faction. Wherefore upon that account he had the more Credit, when he transferred the blame of the War off of the Commonwealth in general upon the ambition of some few. Who when he had made a long and various speech, one while to excuse their faults, and another while confessing some particular things, lest, if they impudently denyed things that were true and certain, they should be the more hardly pardoned; and anon, admonishing the Senate, *That they would use their success with modesty and moderation; for if the Carthaginians would have listened to him and Hanno, and made use of their opportunity, they should have submitted to those terms of Peace, which they then demanded. But Men had very seldom good Fortune and good Inclinations at the same time. That the Roman People were therefore unconquerable, because in their prosperity they forgot not to advise and consult; and indeed, it were to be wondered at, if they should do any otherwise. That Men, who were not used to it, when they had good fortune, grew mad for joy; but that it was now customary and almost obsolete for the Roman People to be happy in victory, who had increased their Empire full as much by sparing those they conquered, as by conquering. The rest made speeches rather to move pity, reminding the Senate, From what an height the Carthaginians were fallen; who, though they had lately gotten almost the whole World by strength of Arms, had now nothing else but the bare Walls of *Carthage*. That being inclosed therein, they could see no manner of thing either by Sea or Land that they could call their own. Yea, that they should**

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keep the City it self and their household Gods by no other means, than the People of Rome's not being too severe upon them. Hereupon when the Senate in general seemed to be moved with pity, they say, one of the Senators, who hated the Carthaginians for their perfidiousness, cried out, What Gods would they call to witness when they made a League, now that they had disappointed and affronted those to whom they formerly obliged themselves for the performance of what they said? The same Gods, said Asdrubal, as are so severe upon such as break Leagues.

XLIII. Seeing therefore they were all inclined to Peace, the Consul *Cn. Lentulus*, who had the Fleet for his Province, interposed against the order of Senate. Whereupon *M. Atilius* and *Q. Minutius*, Tribunes of the People, referr'd it to the Commons, Whether they would yield, that the Senate should order a Peace to be made with the Carthaginians. And desired them also to declare who should conclude that Peace, and who bring the Armies out of Africa. As soon as all the Tribes were ask'd about the Peace, they commanded, That *Scipio* should conclude the Peace, and likewise bring home the Armies. Upon which order of theirs, the Senate decreed, That *P. Scipio*, according to the opinion of the ten Embassadors, should make a Peace with the Carthaginians upon what terms he should think fit. Then the Carthaginians gave the Senate thanks, and desired, That they might go into the City and talk with their Countrymen, who were there in Prison. For there were among them some that were their Relations and Friends, being Noble-men, and some, to whom they had messages from their Friends. Which being allowed them, when they desired a second time, to have leave to redeem such of them as they thought fit, they were bid to tell their Names. Whereupon they having named about two hundred, the Senate ordered, That Embassadors from Rome should carry two hundred of the Captives, whom the Carthaginians pleas'd, to *P. Cornelius Scipio* in Africa, and tell him, that if the Peace were concluded on, he might restore them to the Carthaginians without ransom. The Heralds being commanded to go into Africa to make the League, had, by their own request, this order of Senate made, That each of them should carry his own flint Stones and his own vervain: that the Roman Prætor should command them to strike the League, and they ask him for vervain. That kind of Herb is used to be taken out of the Castle and given to the Heralds. The Carthaginians being thus dismiss'd out of Rome, when they came into Africa to *Scipio*, they made a Peace upon the terms that I before told you of; delivering the long Ships, Elephants, Renegadoes, Fugitives and Captives, to the number of four Thousand, among whom was *Q. Terentius Culleo*, a Senator. He ordered the Ships, when they were a good way out at Sea, to be set on fire (of which some say there were five Hundred of all sizes that were rowed) the sight of which fire so on a suddain, was as sorrowful a spectacle to the Carthaginians, as though even Carthage it self had been in a flame. The Renegadoes were punish'd more severely than the Fugitives, those that were Latines being beheaded, and the Romans hanged upon a Cross.

XLIV. Forty Years before there was a Peace made with the Carthaginians, when *Q. Lutatius* and *A. Manlius* were Consuls. The War began twenty three Years after, when *P. Cornelius* and *T. Sempronius* were Consuls, and was ended in the eighteenth Year, when *Cn. Cornelius* and *P. Aelius Pætus* were Consuls. After that, they report that *Scipio* would often say, That *Tib. Claudius* first of all, and after that *Cn. Cornelius's* Ambition, was the hinderance why that War did not end in the destruction of Carthage. But the Carthaginians finding it very difficult at first to raise the Money, now they were so exhausted by the Expences of so long a War, so that there was nothing but sorrow and wailing in the Senate, they say *Annibal* burst out of laughing; for which, when *Asdrubal Hædus* reproved him, he being himself the cause of all their grief, he replied, If as the face appears to the outward, so also a Mans Soul could be seen within, you would easily be convinced, that this laughter of mine which you reprove me for, did not proceed from joy, but almost madness it self wherewith I am possess'd upon such dismal thoughts as in my heart I conceive; and yet it is not so unseasonable neither as those your absurd and effeminate tears are. You should then have cryed, when our Arms were taken from us, our Ships burnt, and we forbid the making of any foreign Wars; for by that wound we fell; nor do you think that the Romans have so ordered things out of hatred to you. No great City can be long at quiet; if it have not an Enemy abroad, it finds one at home; as strong Bodies seem safe from all outward annoyances, but are oppressed by their own weight. We are so far sensible of the publick misfortunes, as concerns our own private affairs, in which nothing stings us more than the loss of Money. Wherefore when Carthage, being vanquished, was also pillaged, when you saw it unarmed, and destitute amidst so many armed Nations of Africa, none of you gave one groan; but now, seeing you must pay a tribute out of your private Estates, you make as much lamentation as at a publick funeral. I am very much afraid that you ere long will find you have cryed this day for your least misfortune. Thus spake *Annibal* to the Carthaginians. Then *Scipio* calling an Assembly presented *Massinissa*, besides his Fathers Kingdom, with the Town of *Cirta*, as also other Cities and Lands that the Roman People had then possession of as formerly belonged to the Dominions of King *Syphax*. He ordered *Cn. Octavius* to deliver the Navy which he conducted into Sicily, to *Cn. Cornelius* the Consul; and the Carthaginian Embassadors to go to Rome, to get what he had done according to the opinion of the ten Embassadors, confirmed by Authority of the Senate and consent of the People.

XLV. Having now made Peace both by Sea and Land, he shipped off his Army and went over to *Lilybæum* in Sicily. From whence sending great part of his Soldiers by Sea, himself went through Italy (which was no less joyced at the Peace than at his Victory; and where, not only

only all Inhabitants of the Cities came out to do him homage, but the Country People too with crowds fill'd up the Roads) and came to Rome, whereinto he was carried with the greatest Triumph that ever was seen. He brought into the Treasury a hundred thirty three Thousand Pound of silver Bullion, and gave forty Asles apiece to all his Souldiers. *Syphax* at that time was taken off by Death, being an example of humane frailty, rather than of triumphant Glory, who dyed not long before at Tyber, whither he had been from *Alba Polybius*, an Author of very good credit, says that this King was led in triumph. *Q. Terentius Culleo* followed *Scipio* in his Triumph with a Cap upon his Head, and respected him all his life after as the author of his Liberty. Whether the favour of the Souldiery or popular breath first gave him the fir-name of *Africinus*, or whether as that of *Felix Sulla*, and *Pompey the Great* fore fathers, it first arole from the usage of his fawning Familiars, I am not certain: But this is evident, that he was the first General who was ennobled with a fir-name taken from a Nation which he himself had vanquished; by whose example, other Families, not at all equal to him in Victories, made themselves Glorious Titles upon their Images, and famous Surnames.

## DECADE IV. BOOK I.

## The EPILOGUE.

14. Why the war against King Philip of Macedon, which had been intermitted, was renewed, these are the reasons: at the time of the Initia [i. e. holy Rites in honour of Ceres] two young Men of Acarnania, who had not as then been initiated, came to Athens, and went into Ceres's Temple with others of their own Country. For which, as though they had committed the greatest wickedness that could be, they were slain by the Athenians. Wherefore the Acarnanians, being concern'd for the death of their Countrymen, desired aid of King Philip in order to revenge it. 5. A few Months after the Peace was concluded with the Carthaginians, in the five hundred and fiftieth Year after the building of Rome, when the Athenian Embassadors, their City being besieged by Philip, came to desire the Senates assistance, the Senate agreed to give it them; but the Commons, who were tired with the continual fatigue of warfare, dissented from them. Notwithstanding the Authority of the Senate prevailed so far, that the People at last committed to *P. Sulpicius* the Consul, who having led an Army into Macedonia, engaged with Philip very successfully in several Horse Battels. 16, &c. The Abydenes being besieged by Philip, like the Saguntines, kill'd themselves and all their fellow Citizens. 21. *L. Furius* being Prætor overcame the Gauls of Infubria, that then rebell'd, and *Amilcar*, the Carthaginian, who made war in that Country in a set Battel. In that war *Amilcar* and thirty five Thousand Men were slain. 15, &c. It further shews the expeditions of King Philip, and *Sulpicius* the Consul, with the taking of several Cities by them both. 46. *Sulpicius* the Consul, made War with the help of King *Attalus* and the Rhodians. 49. *L. Furius* the Prætor triumphed over the Gauls.

I AM as glad, as if I also had been a sharer in the trouble and danger, that I am come to the end of the Punick War. For though I dare say, it is not convenient for one that writes all the Roman History, to be tired in the compiling each part of such a vast Work; yet when I consider, that sixty three Years (for so many they are from the first Punick War to the end of the second) has taken me up as much Paper as four Hundred eighty eight did from the building of the City to the time of *Appius Claudius's* being Consul, who first made War upon the Carthaginians; I already foresee, like those who going into the shallow Water next the Shore are entering into the Sea, that whatsoever steps I make forward, I shall still be plunged into a vaster depth, and as it were a main Ocean; yea, that that Work does even grow upon my hands, that seemed, when I had done all the first parts, to be much less. The Peace with Carthage was attended by a War with Macedonia, though not to be compared with the other, either in respect to the danger, the courage of the General, or strength of the Souldiers; and yet in regard to the renown of those ancient Kings, the celebrated Fame of that Nation, and the greatness of their Empire, which comprehended heretofore many parts of Europe, and the greater part of Asia, it was full as honourable. But the War, that had been begun against Philip nigh ten Years before, was laid down three Years since, the *Ætolians* having been the cause both of the War and Peace. But then the Romans having nothing to do, by reason that they had made a Peace with the Carthaginians, and being much displeased with Philip, for that he had not only not faithfully kept the Peace which he made with the *Ætolians* and others their Allies in the same Region, but upon the score of Auxiliaries and Money which they lately sent into Africa to *Annibal* and the Carthaginians, were farther infligated by the Petitions of the Athenians (whom he, having wasted all their Country, had forced into their Walls) to renew the War. Besides that, about the same time there came Embassadors from King *Attalus* and the Rhodians, to tell them, That the Cities of Asia also were solicited. To which the answer was, That the Senate would take care of Asia.

II. The Consultation touching the Macedonian War, was totally referr'd to the Consuls, who were then in the Field engaged with the Boii. In the mean there were three Embassadors sent to Ptolemy King of Egypt, whose names were C. Claudius Nero, M. Aemilius Lepidus, and P. Sempronius Tuditanus, to tell him that Annibal and the Carthaginians were overthrown; and give the King thanks, for that in their adversity, when even their neighbouring Allies deserted the Romans, he had been true to them: and to desire him, that if they were forced by injuries to undertake a War against Philip, he would preserve the same affection as formerly toward the Roman people. At the same time P. Aelius the Consul in Gaul, having heard that the Boii made Incursions into their Allies Confines before his arrival there, raised two Legions all o' the sudden upon the score of that tumult, to which having added four Regiments of his own Army, he order'd C. Oppius, Governour of the Allies, to go with this tumultuary Band through Umbria (which they call Tribus Sappinia) and invade the Country of the Boii; whilst he himself went the same way, but in the open rode, through the Mountains. Thereupon Oppius going into the Confines of the Enemy at first was very successful and secure in his ravagings of their Country. But soon after, though he chose a very convenient place near Castrum Mutilum [a Towns name] going to reap the Corn (which then was full ripe) before he had either inquired into the conveniences and inconveniences thereof, or set Guards strong enough to defend the rest whilst they were unarmed and about their work, he and his Reapers were all circumvented by a sudden Sally of the Gauls. Thereupon a dread seiz'd even the arm'd party themselves; and seven thousand men, who were stragling about the Corn, were all kill'd; among whom the Prefect C. Oppius himself was one. The rest being forced for fear to run into their Camp, from thence, without any certain Leader, but only by mutual consent among themselves, the next night, leaving great part of their Baggage behind them, they came through places almost unpassable to the Consul. Who having done nothing else that is remarkable in that Province, but wasted the Territories of the Boii, and made a League with the Ingauni of Liguria, return'd to Rome.

III. When he first called a Senate, they all desired, that he would do nothing of business before that which concerned Philip and the complaints of their Allies, and therefore report was presently made of it, so that in a full Senate it was decreed, That P. Aelius the Consul should send any one that he thought fit in Commission, to take the Fleet, which Cn. Octavius was then bringing back out of Sicily, and go over into Macedonia. M. Valerius Levinus the Proprætor being sent, and having received thirty eight Ships of Cn. Octavius near Visbo, crossed over into Macedonia. To whom when M. Aurelius the Embassador was come and had told him, what great Armies, and what a mighty number of Ships the King had got; as also how through all the Cities, not only on the Continent, but even in the Isles too, he, partly by going himself in person to them, and partly by his Embassadors, endeavoured to put the people all in Arms; and that therefore the Romans must be more industrious and nimble in their preparations for that War, lest, if they delayed, the King might then dare to do what Pyrrhus had formerly in a Kingdom somewhat less attempted; He made Aurelius send all this account in a Letter to the Consuls and the Senate.

IV. At the end of this Year, when there was a fresh Discourse concerning the Lands belonging to the old Souldiers, who had ended the War in Africa under the Conduct and happy Success of P. Scipio, the Senate decreed, That M. Junius, Prætor of the City, if he thought good, should choose ten men, to measure and divide all that part of the Samnite and Apulian Territories, that was the publick possession of the Roman people. Accordingly he chose P. Servilius, Q. Cæcilius Metellus, C. and M. Servilius (who were both surnamed Geminus) L. and A. Hostilius Cato, P. Villius Tappulus, M. Fulvius Flaccus, P. Aelius Petus, and Q. Flaminius. At that time P. Aelius holding the Consular Assembly, there were chosen for Consuls P. Sulpicius Galba, and C. Aurelius Cotta: and for Prætors, Q. Minutius Rufus, L. Furius Purpureo, Q. Fulvius Gillo, and Cn. Sergius Plancus. The Roman Playes were perform'd there very magnificently and with great preparations by the Curule Ediles, L. Valerius Flaccus, and T. Quintius Flaminius two dayes together: besides that they divided a vast quantity of Corn, which the Pro Consul had sent out of Africa, with the greatest fidelity and kindness among the people for four Asses a Bushell. The Plebeian Games too were thrice repeated quite through by the Ediles of the people, L. Apustius Fullo, and Q. Minutius Rufus, who from being Edile was made a Prætor: at which time likewise there is a Feast called Jupiters Feast, upon the score of those sports.

V. In the Year 550. from the Building of the City, when P. Sulpicius Galba, and C. Aurelius were Consuls, the War began with King Philip, some few months after the Peace was concluded on with the Carthaginians. The Consul P. Sulpicius propos'd that matter, first of all on the Ides of March, whereon they then took upon them the Consulship: and thereupon the Senate decreed; That the Consul should offer great Sacrifices to what Gods they pleas'd with this Prayer; That the design of the Roman people and Senate concerning the Commonwealth, and their entering upon a new War might succeed very happily to the Roman people, their Allies, and all the Latine Race. When they had done their Sacrifice and ended their Prayer, that they should consult the Senate touching the Commonwealth and the Provinces. At that time there came Letters very seasonably to excite their minds, from M. Aurelius the Embassador, and M. Valerius Levinus the Proprætor, with a new Embassy from Athens, to tell them, that the

the King was come very near to their confines, and that in a short time, not only their Country, but their City too would be in his hands, unless the Romans would assist them. Then the Consuls having declared, That the Religious Duty was rightly performed, and that the Gods assented to their Prayer; the Southsayers answered, That the entrails also were very good, whereby the propagation of their limits, and Victory and Triumph were portended: After which the Letters from Aurelius and Valerius were read, and the Athenian Embassadors had their Audience. Whereupon an order of Senate was made, That the Allies should be thanked for that, though they had been long solicited, they had not departed from their engagements, no not for fear of a Siege. But they said, they would give their answer concerning the sending of Auxiliaries, after the Consuls had cast lots for the Provinces; and that that Consul, who happened to have Macedonia for his Province, had propos'd to the People, that War might be declared against King Philip.

P. Sulpicius happened to have Macedonia, and therefore preferr'd a Bill, desiring the Commons, That they would be pleas'd to order, that War might be declared against King Philip and all the Macedonians under his Dominion, for injuries, and hostilities which he had offer'd to the Allies of the Roman People. Aurelius, the other Consul, happened to have Italy for his Province. And then the Prætors chose their Provinces, Cn. Sergius Plancus the City, Q. Fulvius Gillo Sicily, Q. Minutius Rufus the Bruttii, L. Furius Purpureo Gaul. The Bill concerning the Macedonian War was reject'd by almost all of them at the first Assembly. For as all People in general, being tired with a long grievous War, the toil and danger of which had been very tedious to them, complain'd of their own accord; so Q. Bibius, Tribune of the People, going in the old way of laying all the blame upon the Senate, accus'd them, That they still created one War out of another, for fear the People should ever enjoy the blessings of Peace. The Senate took that very ill, and reviled him mightily in the Senate for it, whilst every one of them exhorted the Consul, To summon a fresh Assembly for the passing of that Bill, and that he would chastise the sloth of the People; and give them to understand what a damage and disgrace the delaying of that War would prove to the Commonwealth.

The Consul therefore, calling an Assembly in the Campus Martius, before he put the Centuries to voting, made this speech before all the People, Romans, said he, I am apt to think you are ignorant, that you are at the present consulted, not to know, whether you will choose War or Peace (for Philip will not give you that liberty, seeing he prepares for a mighty War both by Sea and Land) but whether you will transport your Legions into Macedonia, or receive the Enemy into Italy. Of what importance this is, you had experience, if ever, in the last Punick War. For who doubt but that, if when the Saguntines were besieged and desired our aid, we had immediately lent it them, as our forefathers did to the Mamertines, we should have turned the whole War upon Spain; which by delaying to our great mischief we received into Italy? Nay without doubt we kept this very Philip, even after he had agreed with Annibal by Embassadors and Letters to come over into Italy, in Macedonia, by sending Lævinus with a Fleet to make an offensive War upon him. What therefore we then did, when we had Annibal our Enemy, and in Italy, shall we stick to do, now that we have driven Annibal out, and vanquished the Carthaginians? Shall we suffer the King to try our sloth in the sacking of Athens, as we did Annibal in the case of Saguntum? He will not come thence into Italy the fifth Month, as Annibal did from Saguntum, but the fifth day after he weighs Anchor from Corinth. Do not ye compare Philip with Annibal, nor the Macedonians with the Carthaginians, though you may certainly to Pyrrhus, I mean, to show how far one Man, or one Nation exceeds another. Epirus was always the least accession to the Kingdom of Macedonia, and is so to this day. Philip has all Peloponnesus under him, and Argos it self, which is enobled as much by the Death of Pyrrhus, as any other ancient famous event that happened there. Now compare our strength with his. How much more flourishing an Estate was Italy in, and in how much better plight the Commonwealth (whilst our Generals were safe, and so many Armies with them, whom the Punick War after that destroyed) when Pyrrhus set upon us, and even then shock'd us, coming victorious almost to the very City of Rome. Nor did the Tarentines only, and that part of Italy, which they call the greater Greece (who, a Man would think, had joyned with Pyrrhus upon the score of his Language, and that he call'd himself a Greek) but the Lucanians, the Bruttians and the Samnites revolted from us. And do you believe, that, if Philip come over into Italy, these People will be quiet or true to you? You know how they serv'd you afterward in the Punick War. No, those People will always revolt from us as long as they have any one to revolt to. If you have been loth to go over into Africa, you might have seen your Enemy Annibal and the Carthaginians to this day in Italy. Let Macedonia therefore, rather than Italy, be the seat of War; and let the Enemies Cities and Countrys be laid waste with Fire and Sword. We have already experienced, that our Arms are more successful, and much more powerful abroad than at home. Proceed then to voting, in the name of the Gods, and what the Senate have determin'd of, do you consent to. Not only the Consul, but the Gods too advise you to this; who, when I sacrific'd and pray'd, that this War might prove successful to me, to the Senate, to you, and our Latine Allies, together with the Armies and Fleets, that we are now setting forth, gave me all the signs of joy and prosperity that could be.

After this speech they went to voting, and, as the Consul had propos'd, consented to the having of a War. Thereupon a supplication was appointed by the Consuls for three days,

VI.

VII.

VIII.



days, pursuant to an order of Senate, and Prayers were made to the Gods in all Temples, That the War, which the People had consented should be levied against Philip, might meet with good and happy success. The Heralds also were consulted by the Consul Sulpicius, to know, whether they must order the War, that was to be declared against King Philip, to be denounced before himself in Person, or whether it were enough to do it in the confines of his Kingdom, at the next Garrison they came to; to which the Heralds made answer, that either way would serve turn. Thereupon the Consul had leave of the Senate to send which of the Heralds he thought fit, to declare the War against the King. After which they treated touching the Armies of the Consuls and the Prætors. The Consuls were commanded to raise two Legions, and to disband the old Armies. Sulpicius, to whom was assigned the Menage of a new and a mighty War, had leave to get as many Volunteers as he could out of that Army which P. Scipio had brought out of Africa, but should not take any one of the old Soldiers against their Wills. That the Consul should give L. Furius Purpureo, and Q. Minutius Rufus five Thousand of their Latine Allies; with which guards the one of them should defend the Province of Gaul, and the other that of the Bruttii. Q. Fulvius Gillo also was ordered to chuse out of that Army, which P. Aelius the Consul had commanded, all the youngest Soldiers, till he likewise had made up the number of five Thousand Allies and Latines; who, if occasion were, might be sent into several parts of Italy, which were infected with being concerned in the Punick War, from whence they had contracted great animosities. The Commonwealth that Year was like to use six Roman Legions.

IX. But as they were just in the midst of their preparations for the War, there came Embassadors from King Ptolemy, to tell them, That the Athenians desired aid of their King against Philip. But that, though they were common Allies to both, yet, unless he had the People of Rome's consent for his so doing, their King would send neither Fleet nor Army into Greece, to defend or offend any Body whatsoever; that he would either lye still in his own Kingdom, if the People of Rome could defend their Allies, or would, if they pleased, let the Romans be at quiet, and himself send Auxiliaries, that should easily be able to defend Athens against the power of Philip. The Senate returned the King thanks, and this answer, That the People of Rome designed to defend their Allies; and that, if they wanted any thing in order to the carrying on of that War, they would send the King notice of it, whose forces they knew to be the firm and faithful reserves of their Commonwealth. Thereupon the Embassadors had each of them five Thousand Allies by order of Senate sent to them. But when the Consuls were making the Levy, and all preparations for the War, the City, being in a Religious humour, as it most commonly was at the beginnings of new Wars (having already made Supplications and Prayers in all the Temples) left they should omit any thing that ever had upon such an occasion been done, commanded the Consul to vow Games and an Offering to Jupiter, that had Macedonia for his Province. But Licinius the High Priest put a stop to that publick vow, by saying he ought not to make such a vow of an Offering out of uncertain Money; Because that Money could not be made use of to carry on the War, but ought to be immediately laid up, and not mixt with other Money; which unless it were so ordered, his vow could not rightly be performed. In which case, though both the thing and the Author moved them; yet the Consul was commanded to refer it to the Colledge of Priests, whether a vow could be made of a sum uncertain. To which they answered, that it might, yea, that it was the best way. The Consul therefore made his vow in the same form (the High Priest saying it before him) wherein the vows of five Years were used formerly to be made; except that he then vowed to lay out upon his Games and his Offering as much Money as, when it was paid, the Senate should think fit. The great Games had been many times before vowed to be set forth at the expence of a certain sum, but those were the first that were so at an uncertain one.

X. But now, when all Peoples minds were set upon the Macedonian War, and that they feared nothing less at that time, immediately they had news brought them of a tumult in Gaul. For the Insubrians, Canomani, and Boii, having stirred up the Salii, Illuates and other Ligustine People, under the Conduct of Amilcar, who had halted, out of Asdrubal's Army, in those parts, had invaded Placentia: and having sack'd that City, and in their fury burnt great part of it, insomuch, that between their burning and otherwise destroying of it, they left not above two thousand Men alive, they had passed the Po, and were going to rife Cremona. But the misfortune of their neighbour City, which they had heard of, gave the Inhabitants timely warning to shut their Gates, and plant Guards about their Walls, that they might be at least besieged before they were taken, and have time to send to the Roman Prætor for assistance. L. Furius Purpureo, who then was Governour of that Province, having by order of the Senate disbanded all the rest of the Army, except five Thousand Allies and Latines, lay with those Forces in the very Confines of that Country about Ariminum. He then wrote to the Senate in what a tumult the Province was, That of two Colonies, which had escaped the tempest of the Punick War, the one was taken and rifled by the Enemy, and the other now attempted. Nor should he prove strong enough with his Army only to defend the labouring Hinds, unless he would expose five Thousand Allies to forty Thousand Enemies (for so many there were then in Arms) to be murdered by them, and by that great loss increase the Enemies courage, which was already too great since their destroying of the last Roman Colony.

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This Letter being read, they decreed, that C. Aurelius the Consul should order that Army, which he had charg'd to meet upon such a day in Etruria, should Rendezvous the same time at Ariminum; and that either he himself, if he could without any damage to the publick, should go and suppress the Gallick Insurrection; or write to L. Furius the Prætor, that, seeing the Legions were come to him out of Etruria, he should send five thousand Allies in their stead, to be in the mean time a Guard to Etruria, and go himself to raise the Siege from before the Colony. They also thought fit, that Embassadors should be sent into Africa, the same persons to Carthage and into Numidia too to Massinissa. To Carthage, to tell them, That a Citizen of theirs, called Amilcar, that was left in Gaul, they did not well know, whether out of Asdrubal's Army before, or Mago's afterward, made War there against the League; and instigated the Gallick and Ligurian Armies against the people of Rome: wherefore, if they had a mind to be at Peace, they must recal him and deliver him up to the Roman people. Wherewithal they were likewise bid to say, That all the Renegades were not restored to them, but that great part of 'em were seen in the streets at Carthage every day: whom they ought to seize, and get together, in order to their being sent to Rome. This was their Message to the Carthaginians. But they were ordered to congratulate Massinissa, for that he had not only recover'd his Father's Kingdom, but had increased it too by the addition of the most flourishing part of Syphax's Dominions. Besides which they were to inform him, That there was a War levied against King Philip, for assisting the Carthaginians, and molesting the Allies of the Roman people, during the War in Italy; whereby they were forced to send Fleets and Armies into Greece. And for that he by detaining their Forces, had been the chief cause of their going so late over into Africa. Wherefore they were bid to desire him, that he would send them, for the carrying on of that War, some Auxiliaries of Numidian Horse. They had large Presents to carry to the King, Golden and silver Vessels, a purple Gown, a palm'd Coat, with an Ivory walking-stall, a toga prætecta [i. e. a white Gown garded with purple] and a Chair of State; besides all which they were bid to promise him, that if he thought he wanted any thing to confirm and augment his Kingdom, the people of Rome would supply it with all their hearts upon the score of his merit. At the same time also came Embassadors from Vermina, the Son of Syphax, to the Senate, excusing his error, and youthfulness, and laying all the blame upon the Carthaginians, who deluded him. That Massinissa was become, instead of an Enemy, a Friend to the Romans; and that Vermina also would endeavour to shew, that neither Massinissa, nor any man else should outdo him in respect to the Roman people. And therefore to desire, that their King might be, by the Senate, stiled an Ally and a Friend to the Roman people. To which they had this Answer, that not only his Father Syphax had become, of a Friend and Ally, a sudden Enemy to the Roman people; but also that he himself had been bred from his very youth in perpetual hostility to the Romans. Wherefore he ought first to desire peace of the Roman people, before he should be call'd either King, Ally, or Friend by them. That the Romans used to give that Title to such as had deserved very greatly of them. That there would be Embassadors from Rome very shortly in Africa; to whom the Senate would give order, that they should offer Vermina terms of Peace; in which the Roman people should leave all to their disposal. And if he thought fit to have any thing added to, taken from, or alter'd in them, he must again apply himself to the Senate. The Embassadors sent into Africa upon that Errand were C. Terentius Varro, P. Lucretius and Cn. Octavius, to each of whom there was allow'd a Gally of five Banks of Oars on a side.

Then was the Letter from Q. Minutius the Prætor, whose Province was the Bruttii, read in the Senate; to this purpose: That the money at Locri was privately taken out of Proserpines Treasury in the night time, nor could they possibly find out who did it. Whereupon the Senate took it very ill, that they should not abstain from such sacrilegious actions; nor be deterred even by Plinius, who was so late and famous an instance both of the guilt and the punishment for it. Cn. Aurelius therefore was order'd to write into the Province of the Bruttii, to the Prætor, and tell him; The Senates pleasure was, that the inquisition concerning the treasure that was then stolen should be managed in the same manner, as it had been three years before by M. Pomponius, the Prætor. That what money they found, should be laid up in the same place again. If they found less, that they should make it up out of the goods of those that were guilty of the Sacrilege, or out of the publick stock, if that were not enough; and moreover, that particular Sacrifices should be made, if they thought fit, according as the Priests before had order'd them, to atone for that violation. At that time Prodigies also happen'd in many places, as 'twas reported. In Lucania they said the Heavens were all of a flame. At Privernum, that in a clear season the Sun was red all day long. And that at Lanuvium in the Temple of Juno Sospita a great noise was heard in the night time. There were also many monstrous Births of Animals talkt of. Among the Sabines there was an infant born, which they could not tell whether it were Male or Female. And another also there was of sixteen years of Age, whose Sex was doubtful. At Eruſinon a Lamb with a Pigs Head, at Sinuſſa an Hog with the Head of a Man: and in Lucania, in the publick Fields, a Colt with five Feet. All which were monstrous ugly, and seem'd to be the errors of nature mistaking one species for another: But above all the rest, those Hermaphrodites were most abominated, and therefore order'd immediately to be thrown into the Sea; as a little before that time, when C. Claudius and M. Livius were Consuls, the like monstrous Birth was disposed of. Notwithstanding

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ing they bid the *Decemviri* look into their Books concerning that portent. Whereupon the *Decemviri* out of their Books enjoined the same sacrifices, as had been before made upon the sight of that Prodigy. But besides that, they ordered an Hymn to be sung by twenty seven Virgins through the City, and a present to be made to *Juno Regina* [i. e. *Juno* the Queen of Heaven]. Of all which *C. Aurelius* the Consul, according to what the *Decemviri* had laid, took care. The Hymn (as *Livius* in their fore-fathers time, so) *P. Licinius Tegula* then composed.

XIII. Having made an end of all their Religious Duties (for the sacriledge at *Locri* also was traced quite through by *Q. Minutius*, and the money raised out of the goods of the guilty laid up in the Treasury) as the Consuls were making ready to go into their Provinces; a great many private Persons, to whom, out of the money that they had lent the Publick when *M. Valerius* and *M. Claudius* were Consuls, the third payment was that Year due, went to the Senate; because the Consuls seeing the publick stock would scarce suffice to defray the expences of the new War, which was to be carried on with such a great Fleet and such vast Armies, had told them, there was no money at present to pay them. The Senate could not endure their complaints, when they said, *That if the money which they lent to carry on the Punick War must be employed by the Commonwealth in the Macedonian War too, what would it be but confiscated for their kindness, as though they had been guilty of some great crime?* When therefore those private Persons desired nothing but what was just, and yet the Commonwealth was not able to discharge the Debt, they decreed, as a Mean between what was just and what was convenient for them, *That, seeing a great many of them said that Lands were commonly bought and sold every day, and they had an occasion to buy some, they should have the refusal of all the publick Lands between that and the fiftieth stone* [i. e. fifty miles off] *That the Consuls should set a value upon them, and the quit-rent of an As upon every Acre, to shew that they were the publick Lands; to the end, that if any one, when the People was in a capacity of paying them, would rather have their Money than the Land, he might restore the Land to the Publick.* The private Men were glad of those terms, and that Land was called *Trientius* [from *tres*, three] and *Tabulius* [from *Tabula*, the Table in which the account was] because it was given in lieu of the third part of the Money.

XIV. Then *P. Sulpicius*, after he had made his vows in the Capitol, going out of the City with the Lictors before him in a Generals Robe, came to *Brundisium*, where having taken the old Volunteers out of the African Army into the Legions, and chosen certain Ships out of the Consul *Cornelius*'s Fleet, the next day after he set sail from *Brundisium*, arrived in *Macedonia*. There the Athenian Embassadors applied themselves to him, desiring, *That he would come and deliver them from the siege which then was laid against them.* Whereupon *C. Claudius Cento* was presently sent to *Athens* with twenty long Ships and a good number of Soldiers. For it was not the King himself that besieged *Athens*; he, at that time, was most intent upon *Abydos*, after he had tryed his strength with the *Rhodians* and *Attalus* in two Sea-Fights, in neither of which he had any good fortune. But that which gave him the greater courage, besides his natural audacity, was the League he had made with *Antiochus* King of *Syria*; and that he had shared with him in all the riches of *Egypt*, which, when they heard of *Ptolemy*'s Death, they both look'd very eagerly after. Now the *Athenians* had brought the VVar with *Philip* upon themselves upon no good ground at all; retaining nothing of their ancient condition except their resolution and courage. Two young Men of *Acarnania* (in the time of the *Initia* [Feasts dedicated to *Ceres*]) who were not initiated went in with the crowd into *Ceres* Temple, not knowing any thing at all of the Religious usage in that case. Wherefore their speech soon betrayed them, by their asking several absurd questions: and thereupon being carried before the Priests of the Temple, before whom it was plainly proved that they came thither by mistake, they were put to Death as for an hainous Offence. Which barbarous and hostile Act the *Acarnanians* told *Philip* of, and obtained of him, that he would assist them with Macedonian Auxiliaries to make VVar upon the *Athenians*. And that Army, having first of all laid wast the Attick Territories with Fire and Sword, returned into *Acarnania* with all sorts of Plunder. That was the first provocation they received; but after that, they, by publick Decrees of their City, declared a just War. For King *Attalus* and the *Rhodians*, who followed *Philip* as he retired into *Macedonia*, when they came to *Agina*, the King [i. e. *Attalus*] crossed over the *Piræus* [the chief Port of *Athens*] to renew and confirm his alliance with the *Athenians*. VWhereupon all the City running out to meet him with their VVives and Children, and the Priests with their Robes and Ensigns, yea, even the very Gods themselves almost walked forth to receive him, as he came into the City.

XV. Immediately the People were summoned to an Assembly, that the King might say what he pleased before them; but afterward, *They thought it more for his honour, that he should write to them what he thought fit, rather than either, when present, blush at the relation of what good things he had done for the City, or at the shouts and exclamations of the multitude, who would by their immoderate praises put his modesty out of countenance.* Now in the Letters, that he sent into the Assembly, there was, first, *A commendation of his kindnesses shown to that City, which was his Ally: Secondly, Of the Actions he had performed against King Philip: and lastly an*

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*Exhortation to take up Arms, as long as they had himself, the Rhodians, and, at that time, the Romans on their sides. That they hereafter would seek such an occasion, if they now let that slip, when it was too late.* Then the *Rhodian* Embassadors had Audience, who had done them a very fresh piece of service, in that they had sent back four long Ships belonging to the *Athenians*, that the *Macedonians* had lately taken, and they retaken. Wherefore by general consent a War was decreed against *Philip*: and immoderate honours paid to *Attalus* first, and then to the *Rhodians*. And then was the first mention made of the Tribe, which they called *Attalis*, being to be added to the ten old ones. The *Rhodians* on the other hand had a Crown of gold presented to them upon the score of their valour, and were made free of the City, as they had formerly made the *Athenians*. After these things King *Attalus* went to the Navy at *Agina*, whilst the *Rhodians* sailed from thence to *Cia*, and so along through the Isles to *Rhodes*, making an Alliance with them all by the way, except *Andrus*, *Parus*, and *Cythus*, which were in the possession of the *Macedonians*. Certain Messengers, that he sent into *Etolia*, and Embassadors, that he expected from thence, kept *Attalus* for some time at *Agina* without doing any thing at all: in which time as he could not get them to fight, because they desired a Peace with *Philip* upon any terms whatsoever, so, on the contrary, had he and the *Rhodians* made a brisk attack upon *Philip*, they might have had the glory of having themselves delivered *Greece*. And then again by suffering him to go over into *Hellepont*, and, taking possession of the most convenient places in all *Greece*, to re-inforce himself, they cherish'd the War; and gave the glory of waging and ending of it wholly to the *Romans*.

*Philip* behaved himself more like a King; who though not able to endure the shock of *Attalus* and the *Rhodians*, was not for all that affrighted at the *Roman* War which was then at hand, but sending *Philocles*, one of his Prefects with two thousand Foot, and two hundred Horse to ravage the Country of the *Athenians*, and committing the Fleet to *Heracles*, to go to *Maronea* withal, went himself by Land the same way with two thousand Foot, and two hundred Horse of his most expedite Souldiers. And indeed he took *Maronea* upon the first Assault. Thence he marched to *Enna*, which he attempted at first with great difficulty, but at last took, by the treachery of one *Ganymede* *Prolomies* Prefect. After which he got possession of several Castles, *Cypsela*, *Doriscum*, and *Serrheum*. From whence going to *Chersonesus* he took *Eleus*, and *Alopeconesus* by Surrender. *Callipolis* also and *Madytos* were surrender'd, with other Castles of less note. But the *Abydenes*, besides that they did not admit his Embassadors, shut their Gates against the King. And his attempt upon those people gave *Philip* a long diversion, nor had their Town been taken, if *Attalus* and the *Rhodians* had made any halt. For *Attalus* sent only three hundred Souldiers to their relief, and the *Rhodians* but one Gally of four Banks on a side, out of his Fleet, that lay at *Tenedus*. Yea afterward when they could hardly hold out the Siege, and *Attalus* himself came that way, he only made a show of aid at some small distance, assisting his Allies neither by Sea nor Land.

The *Abydenes* at first, planting their Engines of War upon the Walls, did not only beat them off that came to assault them by Land; but made the station where their Ships also lay uneasy to the Foe. After which, when part of their Wall was broken down, and the Enemy had now Mined under it, all on a sudden, as far as the opposite Wall, they sent Embassadors to the Kings for terms of Surrender. Whereupon they agreed, *That the Rhodian Gally with its Naval Allies, and King Attalus's men should freely pass away; and they themselves would march out of their City with each of them one Garment apiece.* To whom seeing *Philip* would not afford any hopes of Peace, unless they would grant all that he desired; the Answer sent by that Ambassy, through indignation and despair, so far enraged them, that they, growing as mad as the *Saguntines*, caused all their Matrons to be shut up in the Temple of *Diana*, and their Freeborn Boyes, and Girls, and Infants, with their Nurseries, in a *Gymnasium* [or place of Exercise:] their Gold and Silver to be carried into the Market-place; their precious attire to be thrown into two Ships, the one a *Rhodian*, and the other a *Cyzicene*, that were in their Harbour: the Priests and their Victims to be brought thither, and Altars set in the midst of it. And there they first chose out such persons, who, when they saw their Army all slain as they fought before the ruined Wall, should kill their Wives and Children: throw all the Gold, and Silver, and the Garments that were in the Ships into the Sea: and set fire, in as many places as they could, to the Buildings, both private and publick. To which they were obliged by an Oath which the Priests repeated in an execrable Form before them; and all that were able to bear Arms were sworn, not a man of them to stir from the place, till they had got the Victory. They therefore out of reverence to the Gods fought so pertinaciously, that when the night was ready to part them, the King, affrighted at their resolution, retreated first. The Nobility, who underwent the greatest part of the Fatigue, seeing some few, though very much wounded and tired, yet alive, sent the Priests in their Sacred Robes at break of day to *Philip* to surrender the City.

But before the Surrender was made, *M. Aemilius*, though the youngest of those *Roman* Embassadors, that were sent to *Alexandria*, came by consent of the other three, when they heard that *Abydos* was Besieged, to *Philip*; complaining, *that he made an offensive War upon*

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Attalus and the Rhodians, besides, that even at that time he attempted Abydos. To which the King making Answer, That he was set upon by Attalus and the Rhodians without any provocation: *Æmylius* reply'd; What? and did the Abydenes too set upon you without provocation? At which the King, being not used to hear truth, thought his Language too pert to be used before a King, and told him; *Your Age, Beauty, and above, your name, as a Roman, makes you too saucy. I would have you first remember their Leagues and keep the Peace you made with me. For if you provoke me to it, I am resolv'd, you shall find that the Kingdom and name of the Macedonians may be as Renowned in War as that of the Romans.* Then dismissing the Ambassador, Philip took all the Gold and Silver, that was there heaped up together; but lost the Booty of the men. For the multitude were so enraged, that, on a sudden, thinking them betrayed, who died in the fight, and upbraiding each other with perjury, especially the Priests, who had made a Surrender to the Enemy of those very men alive that they had devoted to Death, ran all forthwith and kill'd their Wives and Children, together with themselves, by all ways of Death that were. The King amazed at their Fury, restrained the violence of his Souldiers, and declar'd, he would give the Abydenes three dayes time to die in; in which space the conquered committed more outrages upon themselves than the insulting Conquerours before had done. Nor was there any one of them taken Prisoner, unless he were hindered from destroying himself either by being in Bonds, or some other necessity. Philip having put a Guard into *Abydos* returned into his Kingdom. But even now, when the destruction of the *Abydenes* (as that of *Saguntum* did *Annibal*) had animated Philip for the Roman War, the news met him; That the Consul was already come into *Epirus*; having put all his Land-Forces into *Apollonia*, and all his Naval Forces into *Corcyra*, for Winter Quarters.

XIX. In the mean while the Embassadors that were sent into *Africa*, concerning *Amilcar*, General of the Gallick Army, had this Answer from the *Carthaginians*; That they could do no more than banish him, and confiscate his Estate. That they had sent back all the Renegadoes and Fugitives which they could find out: and, that about that matter, they would send Embassadors to Rome, to satisfy the Senate. And that they sent two hundred thousand Bushels of Wheat to Rome, and as many to the Army in *Macedonia*. From thence the Embassadors went into *Numidia* to the Kings; giving the Presents to *Massinissa*, and telling him what they had to say. Thereupon he would have given them two thousand Horse, but they accepted of only one thousand; which he himself took care to have Shipped off; and sent them with two hundred thousand Bushels of Wheat, and as many of Barley, into *Macedonia*. The third part of their Embassy was to *Vermina*: who going to the very Frontiers of his Kingdom to meet the Embassadors, he let them write down what terms of Peace they pleased. For he said, That any kind of Peace between him and the Roman people would be good and just. They therefore gave him terms of Peace, for a confirmation whereof they bad him send Embassadors to Rome.

XX. At the same time *L. Cornelius Lentulus* the Pro-Consul returned out of *Spain*, who having told the Senate what things he had perform'd with courage and success for many years together, and desired to enter into the City in Triumph; The Senate lookt upon what he had done to deserve a Triumph: but they had no precedent for it; that any one, who was not either a Dictator, a Consul, or a Prætor, when he performed such and such exploits, had ever triumph'd. Now he was Pro Consul of *Spain*, and not Consul or Prætor. Yet they condescended so far, that he make his Entry into the City *Ovant*; though *T. Sempronius Longus*, Tribune of the People, was against it, saying, that that was equally as much against the Custom of their Ancestors, and all Precedents. But at last overcome by the unanimous consent of the Senate, the Tribune was fain to yield; and by an order of Senate *L. Lentulus* came into the City *Ovant*. He brought, as booty, along with him, forty four thousand pounds of Silver Bullion, and of Gold two thousand four hundred pounds, giving each of his Souldiers a hundred and twenty *Asses* apiece.

XXI. By this time the Consuls Army was brought from *Arretium* to *Ariminum*, and five thousand of the Allies of the Latine Race were coming over out of *Gaul* into *Etruria*. Wherefore *L. Furius* making great marches from *Ariminum* against the Gauls who then were a besieging *Cremona*, he pitched his Camp fifteen hundred paces from the Enemy. He had a good opportunity to have done his business, had he gone straight on and attacked the Enemies Camp. For they santered and stragled about the Country, without leaving any strong Garison there behind them. But he feared his Souldiers were too weary, because they had marched so very fast. Thereupon the Gauls, being recalled by the shouts of their own Party, left the Booty that they had gotten, and made back to their Camp; coming the next day into the field. Nor did the Romans delay the fight; though they had hardly time to set their men in Battalia, the Enemy ran in upon them with such speed. The right Wing (for he had an Army of Allies divided into Wings) was planted in the Van, and the two Roman Legions in the Reer. *M. Furius* Commanded the Right Wing, *M. Cæcilius* the Legions, and *L. Valerius Flaccus* the Horse, being all of them Lieutenants. The Prætor had with him two Lieutenants, *Cn. Letorius*, and *P. Titinius*, by whose help he might be able to look about him and be ready for all the Enemies sudden efforts. First then the Gauls with

with all their whole Body gathered into one place, hoped to overthrow, and rout the right VVing, which was in the front; but seeing they had no success in that attempt, they endeavoured to wheel about from their Wings and enclose the Enemies Army; which to such a multitude against so few, seemed very easie. VVhen the Prætor saw that, he also went about to dilate his Army, and therefore drew the two Legions out of the Reer to the right and left, in order to cover the VVing that fought the Front; and vow'd to build a Temple in honour of *Jupiter*, if that day he routed the Enemy. After which he ordered *L. Valerius*, that on the one side, he should send forth the Horse that were in the two Legions, and on the other side, those of the Allies against the Enemies VVing, or suffer them to surround or circumvent their Main Body. And at the same time he himself, as soon as he saw the Gauls Main Body grown thin, after the widening and spreading of their VVings, commanded his men, at their close Order, to attack them and break their Ranks: by which means, the Wings were beaten by the Horse, and the main Body by the Foot. Whereupon of a sudden, the Gauls being slain in great numbers on every side, turned their backs, and ran toward their Camp as hard as they could drive. Whither the Horse first pursuing them, and by and by the Foot also, they made an attack upon their Camp. Little less than six thousand men made their escape thence; there being killed and taken above thirty five thousand, with eighty military Ensigns, and Gallick Waggons laden with much Booty, to the number of above two hundred. *Amilcar* the *Carthaginian* General fell in that Battle, and three noble Generals of the Gauls. Of the *Placentine* Captives there were full two thousand Freeman delivered back to the Inhabitants.

This was a great Victory and the cause of much joy at Rome; concerning which, when the Letters came, a supplication was decreed to be made for three Days together. There fell, of Romans and their Allies, in that Battel, two Thousand, many of them belonging to the right VVing, upon which the Enemy at first made their fiercest Attack. Now, though the Prætor had almost made an end of the VVar, yet *C. Anselmus* the Consul also, having perfected what was to be done at Rome, going into *Gallia*; took the Victorious Army from the Prætor; whilst the other Consul, being coming into his Province about the latter end of Autumn, wintered near *Apollonia*. *C. Claudius* and the Roman three-bank'd Gallies (as I told you before) who were sent, from the Navy, that was in Harbour at *Corcyra*, to *Athenis*, being arrived at the *Pyræus*, revived the hopes of their Allies, who were now in a very desponding condition. For neither were those incursions by Land, that used to be made from *Corinth*, through *Megara*, into their Country, any longer continued, nor durst the Thieves and Pirates of *Chalcis* (that had infested, not only the Sea, but all the Maritime Country also belonging to the *Athenians*) pass *Suntium*, or appear in the open Sea without the streights of *Euripus*. Besides these there came three Rhodian four-bank'd Gallies, and there were three Attick open Ships, on purpose to defend the Sea Coast. VVith this Navy, though *Claudius* was of opinion that the City and Country of *Athenis* might be for the present sufficiently defended, he had a greater thing offered to him by mere chance.

Certain banished Persons that were driven from *Chalcis* by injuries which they received at Court, brought him word, That *Chalcis* might be taken without the trouble of fighting for it. For the Macedonians, because there was no fear of any Enemies being near them, straggled up and down, and the townsmen, relying upon the Macedonian Garrison, neglected the keeping and securing of their City. By their advice therefore he set out; but though he came so soon to *Suntium*, that he might by day-light have got as far as the entrance into the streights of *Eubæa*, yet left, if he pass'd the Promontory [or Cape] he might be discovered, he kept his Navy in the same station till night. As soon as it was night he moved; and sailing gently to *Chalcis*, a little before day, in that part of the City that is least inhabited, he with a few Men scaled and took the adjoining Tower, and the Wall about it. Then finding, in some places, the Sentinels asleep, and in others no Sentinel at all, they went forward to those places where there were more Houses; and there having kill'd the Watch, and broke open the Gate, they let in the other multitude of their own Souldiers. Whereupon they ran all about the City, increasing the tumult by setting fire on the Houses, that were about the Market Place. The Kings store-houses also and his Armory were burnt, with great quantities of VVarlike Instruments and Engines. Then there began to be made a slaughter both of such as fled, and such as made resistance too in all parts: nor was there any one, fit to bear Arms, that was not either slain or put to flight; besides, that *Sopater* also, an *Acaranian*, who was Governour of the Garrison, was kill'd; by which means all the spoil was first carried into the Market Place, and then put on board the Ships. The Prison likewise was broken open by the Rhodians, and the Captives let out, whom Philip had put into it, as the safest place to secure them. After that, having thrown down the Kings Statues, and cut off their Heads, they gave the signal for a retreat, and went on board their Ships, returning to the *Pyræus*, from whence they came. Now had there been such a number of Roman Souldiers, as that *Chalcis* might have been kept, and the Athenian Garrison not left unmanned, the taking of *Chalcis* and *Euripus* from the King at the very beginning of the War had been of great consequence; for, as by Land the streights of *Thermopylae* are the barriers of *Greece*; so, by Sea, is that of *Euripus*.

Philip



XXIV.

Philip was then at *Demetrias*, where when the news came of the destruction of that associated City, though it were too late to help them, yet he, desiring revenge (which is next to Aid) set forth immediately with five Thousand Foot, and three Hundred Horse, and went as fast as he could till he came near *Chalcis*, not doubting in the least but he might surprize the *Romans*. But being disappointed in his hopes of that, and, when he came, seeing nothing but an hideous spectacle of an allied City, that was half demolished, and still smoaking; he left some few, scarce enough to bury them that were kill'd in the Battel, and going full as fast as he came by a Bridge over the *Euripus*, marched through *Boeotia* to *Athens*, supposing that a like event would answer a proportionable enterprize. And so indeed it had, had not a Scout (which sort of Men the Greeks call *Hemerodromi*, because they run a great way in one day) who discovered the Kings Army from a certain Watch-Tower, gone before Midnight to *Athens*: where he found the same drowziness, and the same negligence, that some few dayes before had betrayed *Chalcis*. But the General of the *Athenians*, and *Dioxippus*, Colonel of a Regiment of Auxiliaries, that fought for pay, being soon alarm'd at the frightful News, call'd all their Souldiers into the Market-place, and ordered the Trumpet to give such a signal from the Castle, that all people might know, the Enemy was come. Thereupon they ran from all parts to the Gates, and then to the Walls. And some few hours after, *Philip*, though a little before day, approaching near the City, when he saw a great many Lights, and heard the noise of men as in a consternation (which in such cases is very usual) he made an halt, Commanding his Army to sit down and rest themselves: for he resolved to use open force, since Policy would not do his business. Then he came to that part of the City called *Dipylon*; which is a Gate in the Front of the City, somewhat bigger and wider than the rest: and within as well as without it, broad streets; whereby not only the Townsmen could lead an Army from the Market-place to the Gate, but without also the way that led for a thousand paces together into the Academy, afforded room enough for the Enemies Horse and Foot. That way the *Athenians*, with the Guards of *Attalus*, and *Dioxippus's* Regiment, having set their Army in Array within the Gate, bore forth their Ensigns. Which when *Philip* saw, supposing that he had his Enemies at his mercy, with the long-wished-for slaughter of whom he might now glut himself (for he hated no City of *Greece* more than that) he exhorted his men, that they would look upon him, whilst they fought; and know, that there the Ensigns, there the main body of the Army ought to be where the King was: and with that he rode in full Career up toward the Enemy, being heated not only with anger, but vain glory too; for that the Walls being fill'd with vast numbers of people that came to look on, he thought it a brave thing for him to be seen so warmly engaged in the fight. Then riding up somewhat before the Army with a few Horsemen to attend him into the midst of the Enemies, he not only very much encouraged his own men, but put the Foe into as great a fright. For having wounded a great many of them with his own hand, both near him and at a distance, he himself pursued them to the very Gate; and though he kill'd a greater number of them in that narrow pass, made a safe Retreat from his rash Enterprize; because those that were upon the Towers of the Gate forbore to throw their Weapons down, lest they should hit their own men too, who were mingled among the Enemies. After that, the *Athenians* keeping their men within the Walls, *Philip* founded a Retreat, and pitched his Camp at *Cynosarges*, where was the Temple of *Hercules*, and a place of Exercise, with a Grove round about it. But this *Cynosarges*, and the *Lycaum* with all things else that were either sacred or pleasant about the City, were set on fire; and not only the Houses but the Sepulchres also demolish'd; nor had they, through the violence of their fury, any respect either to divine or humane Laws.

XXV.

The next day, the Gates, that had been first shut, being on a sudden flung open; because the Guards of *Attalus* entred the City from *Aegina*, and the *Romans* from the *Piræus*; the King removed his Camp from the City about three thousand paces. From whence going to *Eleusis*, in hopes to surprize the Temple and the Castle too, that joins to and encompasses the Temple, he found the Watches well attended, and a Fleet coming from the *Piræus* to their relief; wherefore, omitting that attempt, he marched to *Megara*, and thence straight to *Corinth*: where hearing that there was a Council of the *Achaens* held at *Argos*, he, without the *Achaens* knowledge, came into the Assembly. Now they were consulting about a War against *Nabis*, Tyrant of the *Lacedæmonians*; who having transferred the Sovereign Power from *Philopæmenes* to *Cycliades*, a General not at all equal to him, and seeing the *Achaen* Auxiliaries much weakened, had renewed the War, and was then a wasting the Neighbouring Countries; being terrible now even to the Cities also. Against this Enemy, seeing they consulted how many men they should raise out of each City; *Philip* promised them, That, as to *Nabis* and the *Lacedæmonians*, he would take the trouble off their hands: nor would he only save the Territories of their Allies from being any longer pillaged, but also, by leading his Army immediately that way, would turn all the terror of the War upon the *Laconians*. This Speech of his was mighty grateful to them; but then he told them: But, Gentlemen, I ought so to defend you with my Arms, as in the mean time not to leave my own Dominions without any Guard at all. Wherefore, if you please, raise so many men, as may serve to defend *Oreum*, *Chalcis*, and *Corinth*; that, when my Towns behind me are safe, I may the better make War against

against *Nabis* and the *Lacedæmonians*. The *Achaens* were well aware what his design was in making that kind promise, and offering his assistance against the *Lacedæmonians*; for he proposed the getting the *Achaen* Youth out of *Peloponnesus*, as so many Hostages to engage their Nation in the Roman War. To which *Cycliades*, General of the *Achaens*, thinking it to no purpose to speak, said only this, that by the Laws of the *Achaens* it was not lawful to propose any other thing in Council, but what they were called together about; and so making a Decree for the raising of an Army against *Nabis*, he dismissed the Council with the same Courage and freedom that he held it, though before that time he was lookt upon to be one of King *Philip's* Creatures. *Philip* therefore being frustrated in his great hopes, raised some few Volunteers, returned to *Corinth* and so into *Attica*.

At that very time when *Philip* was in *Achaia*, *Philocles*, the Kings Prefect coming out of *Eubœa* with two thousand *Thracians* and *Macedonians*, to ravage the Confines of the *Athenians*, he passed over the Mountain *Cytheron* over against *Eleusis*. Where sending half of his men round about to plunder the Country, he lay with the rest close in a place very fit for an Ambuscade; that if any Sally should be made from the Castle of *Eleusis* upon his men, whilst they were at their work, he might surprize the Enemy as they came thronging out. But his Ambuscade was discovered; and therefore, having recall'd those Souldiers that were gone a plundering, and put them in a way to attack the Castle, he went to *Eleusis*; but coming back from thence much wounded, he joined himself to *Philip*, who was then coming out of *Achaia*. The King himself also attempted to take that Castle. But the Roman Ships coming from *Piræus*, with a Guard, that was admitted into it, forced him to desist from the Enterprize. After that having divided his Army, the King sent *Philocles* with part of it to *Athens*, and with the rest went himself to *Piræus*: to the end, that whilst *Philocles*, by drawing near their Walls, and threatening them with an Assault, kept the *Athenians* within their City, he might have an opportunity to take the *Piræus*, when it was left with so small a Guard. But his attempt upon the *Piræus* was full as difficult, as that upon *Eleusis*, because there were almost all the same persons to defend it. Wherefore from the *Piræus* he immediately marched to *Athens*: from whence being repulsed by a sudden eruption of the Foot and Horse, between the two half demolished Walls, that join the *Piræus* to *Athens*, he desisted from attacking the City; and having again divided the Army between himself and *Philocles*, went to pillage the Country. But having committed the former outrage, by demolishing of the Sepulchres about the City; he caused all the Temples of their Gods, that were lookt upon as sacred in any Village, to be burnt and demolished. The Country of *Attica* being very curiously adorned with that sort of works, by reason both of its native Marble, and the ingenuity of its Artificers, gave occasion to this mad action of his. For he was not content only to demolish the Temples and overturn the Statues, but he ordered the stones also to be broken a pieces, lest, if they were left whole, they might serve to repair the Ruines. And when his fury (was not so much satisfied, as it) wanted matter to work upon, he went out of the Enemies Country into *Boeotia*, nor did he do any thing else worth the speaking of in *Greece*.

The Consul *Sulpicius* at that time was Encamped between *Apollonia* and *Dyrrbachium*, near the River *Apfus*: whither he sent for *T. Apufius* his Lieutenant, and dispatched him away with part of the Forces to plunder the Enemies Confines. Whereupon *Apufius* having pillaged all the Borders of *Macedonia*, and taken *Corrhagum*, *Gerrhunium*, and *Orgessus*, three Castles, at the first Effort, came to *Antipatria*, a City situate in a very narrow avenue. Where first, calling out the chief men of the place to a Parley, he endeavoured to persuade them to put themselves under the protection of the *Romans*: but afterward seeing that they slighted what he said, as trusting in their numbers, their Walls, and the situation of their City, he stormed, and took it; killing all those that were of Age, and giving all the plunder to the Souldiers; besides, that he demolished the Walls, and burnt the whole Town. This dreadful news made *Codrion*, a Town sufficiently fortified and strong enough, surrender it self to the *Romans* without any more ado. Where having left a Guard, he took *Ilion* (a name more known upon the account of a City so called in *Asia*, than upon the score of this Town) by force of Arms. But as the Lieutenant returned to the Consul with a vast Booty, one *Athenagoras*, a Prefect of the Kings, setting upon his Reer, whilst he passed a certain River, put the hindmost of his men into disorder. Upon whose shouts and consternation, the Lieutenant riding swiftly back again, made the Army face about; and having placed the Baggage in the middle, set his Army in Array; but the Kings men could not endure the shock of the *Romans*. Many of them were slain, and more taken: so that the Lieutenant leading his Army safe back to the Consul, was thence sent forthwith to the Fleet.

The War being begun with such success, the petit Kings and Princes, that border upon *Macedonia*, came to the Roman Camp; *Pleuratus* son of *Scordiletus*, *Aminander* King of *Athamanes*, and of the *Dardanes*, *Bato* son to *Longarus* (*Longarus* had waged War upon his own account against *Demetrius Philip's* Father;) Who promising their assistance, received this answer from the Consul, That when he brought his Army into *Macedonia*, he would make use of the *Dardanes* and of *Pleuratus* as Auxiliaries, imploying *Aminander* to instigate the

the *Ætoli*ans. To *Attalus's* Embassadors (for they also were come thither at the same time) he gave order, That the King their Master, should stay for the Roman Navy at *Agina*, where he wintered; and joining it, should engage Philip, as he had done formerly in a Sea Fight. Nor did Philip prepare more slowly for the War, being now got into *Macedonia*, sending his Son *Perseus*, a very Boy (and some of his Favourites to instruct and guide the Lads nonage) with part of his Forces to besiege the Streights that are at *Pelagonia*. Then he demolished *Sciathus* and *Peparethus*, lest they might prove a prey and a reward to the Enemy; sending Embassadors to the *Ætoli*ans, lest that Nation, being disturbed at the coming of the Romans, should revolt. Now there was a Convention to be of the *Ætoli*ans upon a set day, which they call *Panætolium* [a meeting of all the *Ætoli*ans] at which, that they might be present, not only the Kings Embassadors made great haste, but *L. Furius Purpureo* also sent from the Consul, came in quality of an Embassador. Embassadors likewise from the *Athenians* met at that Convention.

XXIX. But first the *Macedonians*, with whom they had made the latest League, had Audience, VVho, seeing there was no new matter, said, They had nothing of News to tell them; for upon the same grounds that they, having tried how useless the Roman Alliance was, had made a Peace with Philip, they ought still to keep it since it was once concluded. Or would you, said one of the Embassadors, rather imitate the licentiousness (shall I say?) or levity of the Romans; who, though they formerly gave order for this answer to be made to their Embassadors at Rome, Why do you, *Ætoli*ans, come to us, without whose advice or consent you have made a Peace with Philip? yet now (the very same People) desire, that you would take their part in a War against Philip. They formerly pretended they took up Arms for your sakes and in your quarrel against him; but now they will not suffer you to be at Peace with Philip. They went over first into *Sicily* to assist *Mellana*; and a second time to free *Syracuse* from being oppressed by the *Carthaginians*. Yet they themselves are Lords of *Mellana* and *Syracuse*, yea, and all *Sicily* now, having made it a Province tributary to their Rods and Axes. That is to say, as you, at *Naupactum*, call a Council by your Laws, and by Magistrates chosen by you, to make whom you please your Ally or Enemy, and determine upon Peace or War as you think good; so do the Romans appoint all Councils or Conventions in the Cities of *Sicily*, at *Syracuse*, *Mellana*, or *Lilybæum*. The Roman Prætor holds the Assembly, and by his Authority they are summoned together. There they see him on an high Tribunal giving Laws to them, and encompassed with a company of Lictors. The Rods are ready for their Backs, and the Axes for their Necks; besides, that every year they have a new Lord over them. Nor ought they, or can they wonder at that, when they see the very Cities of Italy, as *Rhegium*, *Tarentum*, and *Capua*, not to mention the neighbouring places, out of whose ruins the City of Rome was augmented, submit to the same slavery. *Capua* indeed it self, the Sepulchre and Monument of the *Campanians*, remains, though its People are dead and banished thence; but it is a maimed place, without a Senate, without a People, and without Magistrates; a monstrous thing; which it was more cruelty to leave so inhabited, than if it had been totally destroyed. It is a madness, if Foreigners, who are divided from them more in their Languages, Manners, and Laws, than by Seas or Tracts of Land, have these places in possession, to hope that any thing will continue in the same state. Does Philips Reign seem any way to obstruct their liberty; who, though he were no more severe upon you than you deserved, and desired nothing of you but peace and friendship, wants that Peace which he made with you, at this very day? Accustom your foreign Legions to those Countries, and take their yokes upon your necks; you will too late when 'tis in vain, after you have got the Romans to be your Lords, desire Philips alliance. Some slight differences for a time may divide the *Ætoli*ans, the *Acarnanians*, and the *Macedonians*, men of the same language, and as little a matter makes them friends again; but with Aliens, and Barbarians, all the Greeks, not only at present have, but always will maintain eternal Hostility; for they are Enemies, not by accident, but by nature. But my Speech shall end where I began. You are the very same Persons, who three years ago resolved upon a Peace with the same Philip, and these are the very same Romans, who, not only then were against that, but would now dissolve this Peace which you have made and concluded. But I see no reason, that you should alter any thing in a determination, wherein fortune has made no manner of alteration.

XXX. After the *Macedonians*, the *Athenians* (by consent and order of the Romans) who had suffered great indignities, and could more justly inveigh against the Cruelty and Barbarity of the King, were introduced. They deplored the wasting and miserable ravaging of their Country: Nor did they (as they said) complain, that they had suffered hostilities from an Enemy. For there were certain Laws of War; according to which it was just for them both to act and suffer. That their Corn should be burnt up, their Houses demolished, and whole droves of men as well as Cattle taken from them, was rather their misfortune than an ill thing done by the Foe. But they complained, that he who called the Romans Aliens, and Barbarians, should so far violate all Laws both divine and humane, as, in the former plunder to wage a Cursed War, as it were, with the infernal, and, in the second, with the Cœlestial Gods. For all the Monuments and Sepulchres in their Confiners were demolished, the manes [or Ghosts] of all their dead stripped there, nor any mans Bones covered with Earth. That they had Temples too, which their Ancestors, who heretofore dwelt in Villages, had consecrated in these small Forts and Hamlets, and did not leave without Potaries even after they were united [by Theseus] into one City. That about all those Temples

Philip

Philip had thrown destructive flames; and that the Images of their Gods lay half-burnt, with their Heads off, among the ruined Timber. And such as he had made the Country of *Attica*, which once was gloriously adorned and opulent; such, if he might, he would in time make *Ætolia* and all Greece. That their City too had like to have been as much defaced, had not the Romans come. For with the same wicked intent he aimed at the very tutelæ Gods of their City, and the Protectress of their Castle *Minerva*, as he did at *Eleusis*, at the Temple of *Ceres*, and in *Piræus*, at the Temple of *Jupiter* and *Minerva* both; but being repulsed, not only from their Temples, but even from our Walls by force of Arms, exerted his rage upon such holy places as were left defenceless, save by the sanctity of them. Wherefore they desired and be g'd of the *Ætoli*ans, that, in pity to the *Athenians* (since they had the immortal Gods to be their Leaders, and the Romans also, who, next to the Gods, were the most powerful Commanders) they would levy a War against Philip.

Then the Roman Embassador spoke: The *Macedonians* (said he) first, and then the *Athe-* XXXI. *nians*, have quite altered the whole frame of what I had to say. For the *Macedonians*, though I came to complain of injuries done by Philip to so many Cities, that are allied to us, by accusing the Romans, have made it more eligible to me to make a defence, than an accusation; and the *Athenians*, by relating his wicked and inhumane behaviour toward the Gods, both *Infernal* and *Cœlestial*, have left no room for me, or any body else to make any farther objections. You may imagine that the *Cianians*, *Abydenes*, *Æneans*, *Maronites*, *Thalians*, *Parians*, *Samians*, *Lari-* *lians*, with the *Mellianians* also from *Achaia*, complain of the same things; and they with much greater reason, whom he was more capable of hurting. Now, as to what he has objected against us, it is so far from needing a defence, that it rather deserves the greatest commendations than any excuse. He laid *Rhegium*, and *Capua*, and *Syracuse* to our charge. To *Rhegium*, I confess, in the time of the War with *Pyrrhus*, we, at the request of the *Rhegians* themselves, sent a Legion to assist them; who made themselves Masters of that City, that they were sent to defend. But did we approve of that injustice? No, we persecuted that wicked Legion; which when we had subdued and forced to give our Allies satisfaction at the expence of their Necks, we restored their City, Country, and all they had, with their Liberties and Laws, back to the *Rhegians*. When the *Syraculans* were oppressed by Foreign Tyrants, (to make their oppression appear the more grievous) after we had assisted them, and been fatigued for three years together, both by Sea and Land, in attacking well fortified Cities, seeing that the *Syraculans* themselves chose rather to be enslaved to Tyrants, than to be taken by us, we took and restored their City, when we had freed it, with the same Arms. Nor do we deny, that *Sicily* is our Province, or that some Cities that were on the *Carthaginians* side, unanimously making War against us, as their Allies, are stipendiary and tributary more to us. But on the other hand we would have both you and all People else to know, that we have made each of their conditions proportionable to their deserts. Must we repent for punishing the *Campanians*; an act which they themselves cannot complain of? These People, after we had fought for them against the *Samnites*, almost seventy years, to our great loss; after we had obliged them to us first by a League, secondly by intermarriages (and consequently by all the bonds of consanguinity) and lastly, by making them free of our City; these very People (I say) in the time of our misfortunes, were the first in all Italy, who, having barbarously murdered our Garrison, revolted to *Annibal*; and then, being incensed that we should besiege them, sent *Annibal* to attack Rome. Now if neither their City, nor so much as a man of them were yet alive, who could say, but they had suffered according as they deserved? More of them through consciousness of the ill things, which they had done, kill'd themselves, than were put to death by us. And from the rest, we only so far took away their Town and Country, that we still allowed them an habitation: letting their innocent City stand as secure, as that, whosoever at this day sees it, will find no sign at all of its being stormed, or taken. But what do I talk of *Capua*? when we granted a Peace and liberty even to *Carthage* after we had conquer'd it? Our greatest danger is, left by pardoning those we conquer too easily, we incite more people for that very reason to try the fortune of War against us. So much in our defence and against Philip: whose domestick Parricides, and slaughters of his nearest Relations and Friends, with his Lust, more inhumane (if possible) than his Cruelty, you who live nearer to *Macedonia*, are better acquainted with, than we are. As for you, *Ætoli*ans, we undertook a War upon your account against Philip; and you made a Peace with him without our knowledge. But perhaps you'll say, that when we were engaged in the *Punic* War, you were forced for fear to admit of Terms of Peace from him, who then was more powerful; and that we also, having greater things upon our hands, our selves omitted the War, that you had laid down. 'Tis true: but now by the bounty of the Gods, seeing the *Punic* War is made an end of, we bend all our strength against *Macedonia*, and you have good opportunity of restoring your selves into our Friendship and Alliance; unless you had rather perish with Philip, than conquer with the Romans.

When the Roman had said this, all of them were inclined to the Roman side; but *Damocritus* Prætor of the *Ætoli*ans, who, as the report goes, had received money from the King [Philip] assenting to neither party, said, That nothing was so injurious to publick Counsels as hastiness. For it was attended with swift repentance, though too late, and to no purpose; since counsels hurried so precipitately on, could not be either recalled or amended. But that a time might be now appointed for that deliberation, whereof he thought they ought to wait the maturity or ripeness. And since the Laws provided, that they should not treat of War or Peace, but in a *Panætolick*, or a *Pylaick* Assembly [of all the *Ætoli*ans, and at *Pylæ* or *Thermopylæ*] he therefore

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XXXII.

advised them immediately to resolve, that the Prætor, when he had a mind to treat of Peace or War, should without any design fairly summon an Assembly; and that whatever was then proposed or decreed should be as valid, and of the same force, as if it had been the act of a Panætolick or Py-læick Council. The Embassadors being thus dismissed without any positive Answer; he said, He had taken the best course for the safety of their Nation; for now they would be on that side which happened to have the best luck. These things were done in the Council of the *Ætolians*.

XXXIII. Mean while Philip made preparation for the War both by Sea and Land, drawing all his Naval Forces to *Demetrias* in *Thessaly*; supposing that *Attalus* and the Roman Fleet would move from *Ægina* in the beginning of the Spring, he made *Heracles* Admiral of the Navy (as he had done formerly) with a charge to look to the Sea Coast. But he himself mustered up all the Land Forces he could; believing that he had gotten two great Auxiliaries from the *Romans*, the *Ætolians* on the one side, and the *Dardanes* on the other, whilst his Son *Perseus* blocked up the streights at *Pelagonia*. The Consul in the interim did not prepare for, but actually wage a War; leading his Army through the Confines of the *Dassaretians*, where he kept the Corn, that he brought from his own Winter-Quarters, entire, because that Country afforded supplies sufficient for his Souldiers. The Towns and Villages surrendered themselves, partly of their own freewill, and partly for fear: some being also taken by storm, and others found to be deserted by the *Barbarians*, who fled into the adjacent Mountains. After which he pitched his Camp at *Lycus* near the River *Bevus*; from whence he sent for Corn to all the Storehouses of the *Dassaretians* that were thereabout. Philip saw all People round about in a consternation and great fear; but not knowing which way the Consul was bent, sent a Party of Horse to find out whither the Enemy intended. The Consul was at the same loss. For though he knew the King was gone out of his Winter Quarters, he knew not what Country he was bound for. Wherefore he likewise had sent some of his Horse, as Scouts, to watch his motions. Which two adverse Parties, after they had a long time straggled about the *Dassaretian* Territories to and fro, at last met in the same road. Whereupon they both knew, as soon as they heard the noise of the Men and Horses, though at a good distance, that the Enemy was at hand; so that before they came in sight of one another, they made ready their Horses and Arms. Nor did they stick to fall on as soon as they each saw their Enemy. And being, as it happened, very equal both in number and Courage (for they were chosen men on both sides) they fought with equal strength for some hours, till they and their Horses being quite tired, they drew off, not knowing who had the better on it. There were slain of the *Macedonians* forty Horse, and of the *Romans* thirty five. Nor did they ever the more inform either the King or the Consul, in what part of the Country the Enemies Camp was. But that was known by Fugitives, which their levity of inclination to inquire into the affairs of both Enemies produces in all Wars.

XXXIV. Then Philip supposing that he should not only ingratiate himself with the *Macedonians*, but also make them the readier to undertake any dangerous Enterprize for him, if he took care to bury the Horsemen, who were fallen in that Expedition, commanded them to be brought into the Camp, that they might all see the pomp of their Funeral. Nothing is so uncertain, or unaccountable as the minds of the mobile. For that which he thought would have made them more ready to engage in any fight, struck them with terror and dullness. For they who being used to fight with the *Greeks* and *Illyrians*, with Spears and Darts, had rarely seen any Wounds made with Lances; when they beheld their Bodies lye so with their Arms, and their Heads cut off, their Bowels out, and other dreadful Wounds; they were generally affrighted to think, against what Weapons, and what Men they must engage. Yea the King himself was dismay'd, having never yet fought the *Romans* in a pitched Battle. Wherefore recalling his Son, and that Party which was at the streights of *Pelagonia*, he made way for *Pleuratus* and the *Dardanes* to come into *Macedonia*. But he himself with twenty thousand Foot, and four thousand Horse (the Fugitives being his Guides) marched toward the Enemy, and a little more than two hundred paces from the Roman Camp, fortified a Bank near *Athacus*, with a Trench and a Bullwark: under which seeing the Roman, he, they say, admired not only the structure of it in general, but the particular divisions of it, how they lay in such order, and kept such a regular distance; saying, that no one would think that the Camp of *Barbarians*. The Consul and the King kept their men within their Mound for two days, in expectation the one of the others coming forth; and the third day the Roman drew all his Forces into the Field.

XXXV. But the King being afraid to put the hazard of the whole Battle upon so sudden a push, sent four hundred *Trallians* (who are a people in *Illyria*, as I told you elsewhere) and three hundred *Cretans* (to which Foot he added an equal number of Horse) under the Command of *Athenagoras*, one of his great Courtiers, to provoke the Enemies Horse. By the *Romans* on the other hand, whose main Body was little more than five hundred paces off, were sent out a Party of light-arm'd Foot, and near two Troops of Horse; that their Foot and Horse might equal the Enemy even in number too. Thereupon the Kings men believed they should see such a sort of fighting as they had been used to; that is to say, that the Horse mutually following, and flying from each other, would sometimes use their Weapons, and sometimes turn their backs; that the swiftness of the *Illyrians* would be of use for

for Excursions and sudden Attacks: and that the *Cretans* would sling their Darts at the Enemy as they came furiously up to them. But the sharp as well as resolute onset which the *Romans* made, put them besides that way of fighting. For just as though they had engaged with their whole Army, not only the light-armed men having first flung their Spears, came up hand to hand and fought with their Swords, but the Horse also, as soon as they were once got into the Foe, made their Horses stand still, whilst they, partly off their back, and partly dismounting, so as to mingle with the Foot, maintained the Battle. By which means neither was the Kings Horse equal to that of the *Romans*, being unaccustomed to a standing fight, nor his Foot neither (being only swift, wandering, and almost half-naked) able to cope with the Enemies light-arm'd men, who had a Shield and Sword, and were sufficiently armed both to defend themselves and offend the *Macedonians*. These therefore could not endure the shock; and for that reason, relying upon nothing, save their swiftness, they fled back into their Camp.

Then, intermitting one day, the King, being to ingage with all his Horse and light Ar- XXXVI. mour, had planted the Shieldmen, whom they called *Peltastæ*, between the two Camps in an Ambuscade, commanding *Athenagoras* and the Horsemen, That if they were like to come to an open Battle, they should try their fortune; if not, that by retiring gradually, they should draw the foe to the place where the Ambuscade lay. Accordingly the Horse gave back; but the Captains of the Shieldmen, by not staying long enough to expect the signal, but alarming their Men before the time, lost the opportunity of doing the business with success. The Roman therefore, being victorious in that open fight, and delivered from the wile of their Ambuscade, retreated into his Camp. The next day the Consul came into the Field with all his Forces, having placed his Elephants in the Front, which kind of Auxiliaries the *Romans* then first used, as having many of them which they took in the *Punic* War. But seeing the Enemy lay still within their Bullwark, coming up thither, he reproached them for their Cowardise; and since even by that means he could not provoke them to fight, he, considering, that, whilst their Camps were so near to one another, it would be dangerous Foraging (for the Enemies Horse would soon set upon his Souldiers as they dispersed themselves about the Country) removed his Camp about eight thousand paces from thence, to a place called *Ostolophus*, where he might get Provisions with greater safety. But when the *Romans* were a Foraging in an adjacent place, the King at first kept his men within their Works, that the Enemy might grow more negligent and bold. Whom when he saw come forth in vast numbers, he marched forth in haste, with all his Horse, and the *Cretan* Auxiliaries, as fast as the swiftest Foot could keep pace with them that rode, and got with his Ensigns between the Foragers and the Roman Camp. Where dividing his Forces he sent some in pursuit of the straggling Foragers, with a charge, to leave never a man of them alive; and with the rest himself staid behind to block up all the Avenues, by which he thought the Enemies might return to their Camp. Now therefore there was nothing but death and flying for it all over the Country; nor was there as yet any one, that came back to the Roman Camp to bring the news of it: because those that ran homeward fell into the hands of the Kings men, and there were more slain by them that blocked up the passes, than those that were sent out for the purpose. But at last some, that escaped through the midst of the Enemies, being in a consternation themselves, occasioned a Tumult rather than brought any certain Relation of it into the Camp.

The Consul commanding the Horse to relieve those distressed persons all wayes that they XXXVII. possibly could, himself drew the Legions out of the Camp, in a square Body, up to the Enemy; whilst the Horsemen, who were dispersed about the Fields, ran to and fro out of the way, being deceived by different noises that they heard from contrary places. But part of them met the Enemy, and they fought them in several places at the same time. The Kings Party made the fiercest resistance; for that was not only of it self almost a compleat Army for multitude of Horse and Foot, but a great many *Romans* also, because it lay in the mid way, were got among them. The *Macedonians* too had the better of it upon another account; because the King himself was present to encourage them. The *Cretan* Auxiliaries likewise wounded a great many by surprize, as being set in close order and prepared to fight against men that were dispersed and confused. Now had they observed any measure in their pursuit, they might have advantaged themselves, not only in respect to the glory of that present conflict, but the whole menage of the War: but following on too eagerly out of a greedy desire they had to kill the Enemy, they light upon the Roman Cohorts, or Regiments, that were gone before along with the Tribunes of the Souldiers. Then the flying Horsemen also, when they first saw the Roman Ensigns, turned back upon the Foe, who came in disorder after them; so that the Fortune of the Battle was quite changed all in a moment, and they ran away who so lately were in pursuit. By this means many of them, who stood to it, were slain, and many others, as they fled away. Nor did they only die by the Sword, but several of them being thrown into the Fens perished, they and their Horses, in the deep mud. The King also was in danger, for his Horse being wounded, with whom he fell Headlong to the ground, he had like to have been caught whilst he was down: but a Trooper saved him, who immediately himself alighted and mounted the King upon his Horse. The Trooper



Trooper afterward being not able, on Foot, to keep pace with the flying Horse, was cut to pieces by the Enemy, who came up with greater speed when they saw the King fall. The King when he had rode all about the Fenns, both pervious and pathless, in great consternation, at last, though most people despaired ever again to see him alive, came safe to the Camp. Two hundred Macedonians perished in that fight, about an hundred were taken, and eighty Horses very well caparison'd, were brought thence, with spoils of Armour at the same time.

XXXVIII There were some, who this day accused the King of rashness and the Consul of sloth. For they say, That Philip should have lain still, when he knew, That the Enemy, by exhausting all the Forage round about them, would, in a few dayes, have been reduced to extrem want: and that the Consul, when he had routed the Enemies Horse and Light armour, and almost taken the King himself, ought to have marched immediately to the Enemies Camp: for that, in such a consternation, they would not have continued there, but he might have made an end of the War in a moment. But that was easier, as most other things are, to say than to do. For if the King had engaged with all his Foot Forces too, perhaps, amidst the tumult, when they all, being conquer'd and terrified, had ran out of the Battle into their Works, over which the Enemy would probably have pursued them, the King might have been forced out of his Camp. But now, since all his Foot stayed behind in the Camp, and that there were Guards and Sentinels planted before the Gates, and in all convenient places, what would the Consul have done, but imitated the rashness of the King, who a little before, ran out in pursuit of the Roman Horse in such confusion? For even the Kings first design, when he attacked the Foragers that were dispersed about the Fields, was not to be found fault with, if he had set any bounds to his success. But 'tis the less to be wonder'd at, why he should try his Fortune for this reason also, because he had heard, That Pleuratus and the Dardans, were come with vast numbers out of their own Territories into Macedonia: with whose Forces if he should have been surrendred, it might have been supposed that the Romans would with ease have made an end of the War. Wherefore Philip, believing that, after two unfortunate Engagements with his Horse, his stay in the same Camp would be much more dangerous, and having a mind to remove without the Enemies knowledge, he sent an Herald, before Sun-setting, to the Consul, to desire a Truce for so long as he could bury his dead Horsemen; but cheated the Enemy, and went away silently at the second Watch, leaving many Fires behind him through all his Camp.

XXXIX. The Consul was now refreshing himself, when the news was brought to him, that the Herald was come, and what he came for. But he having only this Answer given him, That the next morning he should have his Audience, the King had what he desir'd, that night and part of the next day being given him to make his advance. He therefore marched over the Mountains, where he knew the Romans with their heavy Armour would not come. The Consul at break of day, having granted the Truce and dismissed the Herald, when he perceived, not long after, that the Enemy was gone, not knowing which way to follow him, spent some dayes in the same place a Foraging. After that, he removed to Stuberæ, and gathered all the Corn that was in the Country together out of Pelagonia. Thence he went forward to Pellina, having not yet found out, whither the Enemy was gone. In the mean time Philip who Encamped first of all at Bryannum, went thence cross the Country, and put the Enemy into a sudden fright. The Romans therefore moved from Pellina, and pitched their Camp by the River Osphagus. The King also himself fate down not far from that place, having drawn a Line upon the Banks of the River, which the Inhabitants call Erigonum. From whence, being told for certain, that the Romans would march toward Eordæa, he went before, to seize the streights, lest the Enemy should get through that pass which was so narrowly inclosed. And there he blocked up some places with a Bullwark, some with a Trench, some with heaps of Stones, in the nature of a Wall, and others with whole Trees, as the place required, or materials lay convenient for him; making the way (as he thought) which in its own nature was very rough, by Works that he raised in all the Avenues, unpassable. There were a great many Woody places all about, very incommmodious to the Macedonian Phalanx especially [i.e. a Body of Souldiers of a form peculiar to the Macedonians] who, unless they could keep their long Spears like a Bullwark before their Shields (which to do would require an open Plain) were of no use at all. Their Swords also, which were of such a vast length, among the Branches of the Trees, that stood in their way on all sides, hindered the Thracians. The Cretan Regiment only was of use to them; and yet even that too, as, when an Horse or its Rider lay open to them, they could hit them with their Darts, so against the Roman Shields, they had neither force enough to strike through, nor were their Bodies exposed in any part to that kind of Artillery. Wherefore, when they found by experience that to be a foolish sort of Weapons, they set upon the Enemy with Stones that lay in great quantities all over the Vale. That clattering upon their Shields, which made more noise than Wounds, detained the Romans for some time as they were coming up. But soon after despising such trifles, they went part of them with their Shields close over their Heads, through the opposing Enemies; and part of them who going a little about had got to the top of the Hill, forced the frightened Macedonians from their Posts, and,

and, since the places thereabout were so rough, that they could not escape, cut off a great many of them.

The Consul therefore, having passed the streights with less opposition than he proposed to himself, he marched into Eordæa; where, when they had waited all the Country, he went into Elimeæ. Thence he made an inroad into Orestis [a Country] and attack'd a Town called Celetrum, situate in a Peninsula [Land that is almost an Island, save only one neck, that joins it to the Continent] about which Town there is a Lake, except on one side, where a strait neck of Land leads you to the Continent. The Inhabitants therefore at first, relying upon the very situation of the place, refused to submit, and shut their Gates; but soon after, when they saw the Ensigns coming near, and that the Romans were got, by putting their shields close over their Heads [which they call'd, *Tektada*, as looking somewhat like the back of a Tortoise, or rather, a multitude of Tortoises join'd together] up to the Gate. and that the streights were full of the Enemy, would not put it to the hazard of a fight, but were frighted into a surrender. From Celetrum he went on into the Country of the Dassaretians, where he took the City Pelium by storm, carrying thence all the slaves with other Booty, but dismiss'd the freemen without ransom, and gave them their Town again, not but that he put a strong guard into it, because it was very conveniently situate for the making IncurSIONS into Macedonia. Thus having marched through all the Enemies Dominions, the Consul led his forces back into peaceful Places about Apollonia, whence the War first began. For the Ætolians, the Athamans, the Dardans, and so many several Wars breaking out in divers places one upon the neck of another, had diverted Philip; who, in opposition to the Dardans, that were now marching out of Macedonia, sent Athenagoras with his nimblest Foot and the greater part of his Horse, commanding him to lye very hard upon their rear, and pressing them behind to make their army the more slow in their motion forward home. Damocritus the Prætor, who had formerly occasioned that delay in their resolutions concerning a War at Naupactum, had now himself in the next Council perswaded the Ætolians to take up Arms; after he had heard of the Horses engaging at Oolophus; the coming over of the Dardans and Pleuratus with the Illyrians into Macedonia; the arrival of the Roman Fleet at Oreum, and, against so many Macedonian Countries as lye round about, a Sea siege also near at hand.

These reasons brought Damocritus and the Ætolians over to the Romans; and thereupon marching, forced, with Amynander, King of the Athamans, joyned to them, they besieged Cercinium. The Inhabitants had shut their Gates, whether by force or freely, is uncertain, because they had a party of the Kings Soldiers to guard their Town. However, within a few days, Cercinium was taken and burnt. Those that survived out of that great Massacre, were carry'd away, both slaves and free-men too, among the rest of the booty. That terrible news made all those that lived round the fenn Bæbe, leave their Cities and fly into the Mountains. But the Ætolians, for want of plunder, departed thence and went into Perrhæbia, where they took Cyretia by storm, and rifled it in a miserable manner; but accepted of a voluntary surrender and an alliance with the Inhabitants of Malleæ. From Perrhæbia Amynander advised them to go to Gomphi, to which City Athamania is so near, that they might take it without any great difficulty. Then the Ætolians made toward the fertile Fields of Theffaly for plunders sake; and Amynander followed them, though he did not approve either of their exorbitant devastations, or the pitching of their Camp at a venture in any place, without any distinction, or care to fortifie it. Wherefore, lest their rashness and negligence might be the cause of any miscarriage to him and his Men, when he saw them encamping in the Plains under the City Phecadum, he seiz'd a bank a little more than five Hundred Paces from thence, though defended with no great fortification whereupon to post his Soldiers. Now since the Ætolians, save that they plundered all before them, did not seem to think they were in an Enemies Country; some of them stragling half-arm'd about the Fields, and the rest, who lay in the Camp without any Guards, sleeping and drinking, turning the day into night, Philip surpriz'd them. Of whose coming, when some that were in the Fields came trembling to bring the news, Damocritus and the rest of the Commanders were in a great fright, it being then noon, as it fell out, when many of them, whose Bellies were full, were fallen asleep. At that news therefore they waked one another, and bad them take up their Arms, sending some to call those back who were straggled for forage about the Country. And thereupon so great was their consternation, that some of the Horsemen went out without their Swords, and many of them did not put on their Coats of Mail. Thus being hurried forth, scarce full six Hundred in all, both Horse and Foot, they light into the hands of the Kings Horse, who were too many for them every way. Wherefore they were defeated at the first onset; and having scarce offered to fight, ran shamefully back to their Camp; though some of them, which the Horse intercepted from the body of those that fled, were slain and taken.

Philip, when his Men were come near to the Bulwark, ordered the Trumpets to sound a retreat; for the Horses and their Riders too were both tyred, not only with fighting, but with the length of their Marches and their extraordinary haste that they made. Wherefore he commanded the Horse to go by Troops, and, in their turns, the maniples of light-armour, to

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water and to dinner; keeping some still with him, expecting the coming of the Foot who marched much slower, by reason of the weight of their Arms. Who when they came, he ordered them too, that, setting up their Ensigns, and laying down their Arms before them, they would immediately refresh themselves, sending two and two, or three and three, at most, out of the *Mamples* to water together; whilst the Horse and Light-Armour stood ready Array'd, if the Enemy should move one way or other. The *Ætolians* (for now that multitude which had been scattered about the Fields, was come again into the Camp) set Guards about the Bullwark and the Gates, as though they would have secured their Fortifications, and were themselves very much animated to see, from that safe station, their Enemies lye so still. But when the *Macedonian* Ensigns were removed, so that they began to come in Battalia toward the Bullwark, the *Ætolians* presently all left their Posts, and, through the hinder-part of the Camp ran to the Bank, into the *Athamanean* Camp; in which confused flight, many of them were taken and slain. Philip not doubting, but that, if he had had Day-light enough, he might have forced the *Athamaneans* out of their Camp, having spent that day in the Battle first, and then in plundering the *Ætolian* Camp, sat down under a Bank in the adjacent Plain, resolving next Morning, as soon as it was light, to set upon the Enemy. But the *Ætolians*, in the same fright wherein they had left their own Camp, the next Night fled thence dispersed several wayes. *Amynder* was most useful, by whose Conduct the *Athamaneans*, who knew the wayes over those high Mountains, through paths unknown to all Mankind besides, whilst the Enemy pursued them, marched into *Ætolia*. Some few, that ran they knew not whither, fell into the hands of the *Macedonian* Horse, whom Philip had sent at break of day (as soon as he saw the Bank forsaken) to pursue the Enemy.

XLIII. At that time also *Athenagoras*, the Kings Prefect, having over-taken the *Dardans*, as they were going home, first put their Reer into disorder: though afterward when the *Dardans* had faced about and put their men into a fighting posture, they engaged as in a pitched Battle. When the *Dardans* began again to march forward, the Kings men teased the *Dardans*, (who had no such sort of Auxiliaries, but were loaded with heavy, cumbersome Armes) with their Horse and Light-Armour; besides, that the very place it self was also assitant to them. Yet but a very few of them were kill'd, though several were wounded, nor was there any man taken, because they did not go out of their Ranks, but fought and retired in close order. Thus had Philip recovered the losses that he sustained in the *Roman* War, by giving a check to those two Nations in these two very seasonable Expeditions, which he undertook with great Courage, and very good success. And after that too another accident lessened the number of his *Ætolian* Enemies. *Scopas* a Nobleman of that Country who was sent by King *Ptolomy* from *Alexandria* with a great quantity of gold, carried six thousand Foot and Horse, whom he hired to fight for pay, away with him to *Egypt*. Nor would he have left ever a young man in *Ætolia*, had not *Damocritus*, by putting them one while in mind of the present War, and another while of the future solitude (which whether he did out of care for his Country, or malice to *Scopas*, because he himself was not so well-bribed, is uncertain) chastized and kept part of the Juniors at home. These things were done that Summer by the *Romans* and Philip.

XLIV. The Navy that came from *Corcyra* in the beginning of that same Summer with *Apustius* the Lieutenant, having passed by *Malca*, about *Scyllaeum*, in the Country called *Ager Hermionicus*, joined King *Attalus*. Whereupon the City of *Athens* poured forth all that hatred to Philip, which for a long time through fear it had concealed, in hopes of the present aid which they were like to have. Nor are there in that City men ever wanting, that are ready to incense the people; that being a sort of Cattle, which as in all free Cities, so especially in *Athens*, where Eloquence is most prevalent, are cherished by the favour of the Mobile. Thereupon immediately they preferred a Bill, and the people passed it; That all the Statues and Images of Philip, with the Titles thereof, as also those of his Ancestors, both Men and Women, should be removed and defaced: and that the Festivals, sacred Rites and Priests, that had been instituted, appointed, or made in honour of him or his Ancestors, should be all profaned. That the places too, in which any thing was set up, or written, as an Inscription, in honour of him, should be accursed, nor ought after that time ever placed or dedicated in them, which was to be put or dedicated in an holy place. That their publick Priests, as often as they had occasion to pray for the people of *Athens*, their Allies, Armes, or Navies, should so many times detest and curse Philip, his Children, his Kingdom, and his Land and Sea-Forces, together with all the whole race and name of the *Macedonians*. To which Decree there was this addition made; That if any man, after that time, should propose any thing, that tended to the stigmatizing, or dishonouring of Philip, the people of *Athens* would admit of it every syllable, be it what it would; and that if any one, on the contrary, should say or do any thing to take off ignominy from him, or to his honour, he that killed such a person, should be acquitted of course. The last Clause was; That all those things, that had been formerly decreed against the *Pisistratidæ* [or Family of *Pisistratus*, a Tyrant of *Athens*] should be in force against Philip. But the *Athenians* waged War against Philip by Letters and words only, in which alone their strength lies.

XLV. *Attalus* and the *Romans*, being gone from *Hermione* to *Piræus*, when they had stayed there some few days, and were as much offended at the immoderate honours bestowed upon their

their Allies, as at the Decrees which the enraged *Athenians* made against the Enemy, they sailed from *Piræus* to *Andrus*. Where as they rode in the Port called *Gaureleon*, they sent certain Messengers, to try the Townsmens inclinations, whether they would rather voluntarily surrender their City, or stand a bruff for it. But they returning Answer, that the King had a Garrison in their Castle, so that they were not at their own disposal, the King and the *Roman* Lieutenant, when they had landed their men and all the Engines which they had for the attacking of Towns, drew near to the City at several distant places. The *Roman* Ensigns and Arms, which before that time they never saw, together with the spirit of the Souldiers, coming so briskly up to their Walls, put the *Greeks* into a greater fright than ordinary. Wherefore they ran immediately into the Castle; so that the Enemy took possession of the City; but when they had continued in the Castle for the space of two days, relying upon the strength of the place, more than their own Arms, both they and the Garrison yielded upon condition, That they might be transported with each of them one Garment to *Delium* in *Beotia*. The City it self then the *Romans* delivered to King *Attalus*; but themselves carried away the spoil and Ornaments thereof. *Attalus*, lest the Island should be totally deserted, persuaded most of the *Macedonians*, and some of the *Andrians*, to stay there. After that, those persons, who by compact had been transported to *Delium*, were recalled by the Kings Promises, as being the more inclined to believe him, because they had a mind to return into their own native Country. From *Andrus* they crossed over to *Cythus*; where having spent some dayes to no purpose in attacking the City, seeing it was scarce worth their while to take it, they went their wayes. At *Prasie* (a Town upon the Continent in *Attica*) twenty Ships of the *Issians* were joined to the *Roman* Fleet, which were sent to plunder the *Carystian* Territories. The rest of the Navy lay at *Garestum*, a famous Port of *Eubœa*, till the *Issians* returned from *Carystum*. Then all of them setting Sail together, through the main Ocean, passed by the Island of *Scyros*, and arrived at *Icu*. Where being detained some few dayes by a strong Northwind, as soon as the weather grew a little calmer, they put over to *Scyathus*, a City that Philip had lately ruined and rifled. There the Souldiers, stragling about the Fields, brought back to their Ships all the Corn and other things that they found fit to eat. But there was no plunder left, nor had the *Greeks* deserved to be rifled. Thence going to *Cassandra*, they first took *Mendis*, a Village on the Sea-Coast belonging to that City: and then, having passed the Cape, in order to bring their Fleet about to the very Walls of the City, they were almost drowned in a storm which then arose; by which means being dispersed, and having lost a great part of their Artillery, they got as fast as they could ashore. That Tempest too was an omen [a foreboding sign] to them to make them fight by Land. When therefore they had gathered all their Ships into one place, they landed their men, and attacked the City, but being repulsed with many Wounds (for there was in it a strong Garrison of the Kings) they retreated from that vain Enterprize, and went over to *Canastum* in *Pallene*. From whence passing by the Cape of *Torona*, they sailed towards *Acanthus*. Where having first wasted the Country, and then taken the City it self by storm, they plundered it. Then going no farther forward (for their Ships were already laden with spoils) they returned to *Scyathus*, and thence for *Eubœa*, from whence they came.

Then leaving their Fleet there they entered the *Malian* Bay with ten Ships, to go and confer with the *Ætolians* about the management of the War. *Sipyrrhicus* an *Ætolian* was the chief person employed in that Embassy, who came to *Heraclea* to advise with the King and the *Roman* Lieutenant. *Attalus* was required, according to the League, to send out a thousand men: for he owed them that number now that they had engaged in a War against Philip. But that was refused; because the *Ætolians* themselves had formerly showed themselves very backward to go and plunder *Macedonia*, at that time, when Philip being a burning up all things both sacred and profane about *Pergamus*, they might have drawn him thence to defend his own Country. By this means the *Ætolians* were dismissed with hopes rather than aid, though the *Romans* promised them all the assistance that could be. *Apustius* returned with *Attalus* to the Fleet; where they began to consult about the taking of *Oreum*; a City very well fortified, not only with Walls, but, because it had been formerly attempted, with a strong Garrison too. Twenty *Rhodian* Ships, with close Decks [men of War] had joined them after the taking of *Andrus*, under the Command of the Prefect [Admiral] *Agessimbrotius*; which Fleet they ordered to Harbour at *Zelasum* (a Cape of *Isthmia*, opportunely seated on the other side above *Demetrias*) that if the *Macedonian* Ships should move from thence, they might secure those parts. *Heracles* the Kings Admiral was with his Fleet at *Demetrias*; but resolved to make no attempt by force so much as upon occasion, if, through the Enemies negligence, he had an opportunity. The *Romans* and King *Attalus* attacked *Oreum* in several places, the *Roman* upon that side, where the Castle stands to the Sea, and the Kings men against the Valley which lies between the two Castles, where the City is also divided by a Wall. And as their Posts were distant, so also the matter of their attacke was very different. For the *Romans* used Tortoises [sheds of Boards to keep off Arrows, &c.] and Hurdles, with battering Rams, which they applied to the Walls; whilst the Kings men used Cross-Bows, huge Slings, and all other sorts of Warlike-Engines, throwing vast Stones, and making Mines, with all other devices that they had tried in the former attack.

But

But now there were not only more *Macedonians* there than before, to defend that City, but they had likewise more Courage, having been chastized by the King for their former fault, and being mindful of both his threats and promises for the future: insomuch that the *Romans* had little hopes so suddenly to take it. Wherefore the Lieutenant thinking it the best way to employ himself elsewhere in the mean time, left men enough to finish the Works, and so crossed over into the adjacent parts of the Continent: where he, by his sudden arrival took *Larissa* (not that famous City, so called, in *Thessaly*, but another, whom they name *Cremaste*) all but the Castle. *Attalus* also surprized *Ageleon*, whilst the Inhabitants, at the time when the other City was besieged, feared nothing less. But when the Works at *Oreum* were finished, the Garrison within being quite tired out with continual labour, and watching day and night, besides their Wounds, part of their Wall also was struck down with a battering Ram, and had gaps in it at several places. So that the *Romans* brake through in the night time over those ruined places, and another way above the Port into the Castle. *Attalus* at break of day, having the signal given him by the *Romans*, himself also marched into the City, after the Walls were part of them demolished. Whereupon the Townsmen and the Garrison fled into the other Castle, from whence two days after they made a Surrender. The City fell to the Kings share, but the Captives to the *Romans*.

XLVII. By this time it was the Autumnal Equinox; and the *Eubæan* Bay, which they call *Cela*, is look'd upon by the Mariners as a dangerous place at that time to pass. Wherefore desiring to get out of it before the stormy Winter came, they went back to *Pyræus*, from whence they had set out to the War. *Apollonius*, having left thirty Ships there, sailed by *Malea* to *Corcyra*; but the King stayed till the *Initia* [Feasts celebrated in honour of *Ceres*] were over, because he had a mind to be present at that solemnity. Which being over, he likewise went back into *Asia*, having sent *Agememnon* and the *Rhodians* home again. These things were done that Summer by Sea and Land against *Philip*, and his Allies, by the Roman Consul and Lieutenant, with the assistance of King *Attalus* and the *Rhodians*. The other Consul, *C. Aurelius*, when he was come into the Province at the conclusion of the War, did not conceal his animosity against the Prætor, for having carryed on the business in his absence. Wherefore, sending him into *Etruria*, he himself led the Legions into the Enemies Country, and pillaging all before him, made War upon them so as to gain more spoils than glory by it. *L. Furius*, besides that he had nothing to do in *Etruria*, had a great desire to triumph for his Conquest over *Gaul*; which he thinking he might the more easily obtain in the Consuls absence, came unexpectedly to *Rome*, and had a Senate summoned in the Temple of *Bellona*; where having told what exploits he had done, he desired, *That he might ride into the City in Triumph*.

XLVIII. With great part of the Senate he prevailed not only upon the score of what mighty things he had done, but the favour which they had for him. But the Seniors all denied his Triumpling; not only because he had acted with another mans Army, but also, because he had left the Province out of a greedy desire of stealing an opportunity to triumph: for which he had no precedent. The Consular Party especially said, *That he ought to stay till the Consul came*. For he might by pitching his Camp before the City, and being as a Guard upon the Colony, have chosen to fight, and protracted the time till the Consul had come; and therefore what he, as Prætor had not done, the Senate ought to do. Wherefore they desired, that they would stay till the Consul came; because, when they heard the Consul and Prætor both Face to Face they might better judge of the case. But great part of the Senate were of opinion, that they ought only to take notice of nothing more, than whether he did such and such things whilst he was invested with lawful authority, and by his own conduct. For (said they) when of two Colonies, that were set up as barriers to restrain the tumults in *Gaul*, the one was rifled and burnt, and the fire like to catch, as it were among contiguous Houses, in the other Colony, which was so near it, what could the Prætor do? For if he must have done nothing without the Consul, either the Senate were to blame who committed the Army to the Prætors Conduct (since the order of Senate, if they had been minded that the business should be done not by the Prætors but the Consuls Army, might have ended thus; That it should not be managed by the Prætor but by the Consul) or the Consul, who, when he had ordered his Army to march out of *Etruria* into *Gaul*, did not meet it at *Ariminum*, that he might have been present in that War, which could not lawfully be managed in his absence. That the time of War could not endure long waiting, and the delays of every Commander: and a man must fight sometimes, not because he had a mind to it, but because the Enemy forces him. That the fight it self and the event of it ought to be considered. That the Enemy was routed and slain, their Camp taken and rifled, and the Colony delivered from the Siege; the Captives belonging to the other Colony recovered and restored to their Friends again, and that the War was made an end of in one Battle. That not only men rejoiced at that Victory, but there were supplications also made to the immortal Gods for three dayes together: and that the publick business was well and happily, not basely and rashly managed by *L. Furius* the Prætor, to whose Family the fates themselves seemed to commit the Conduct of the Gallick Wars.

XLIX. With this kind of Speeches made by himself and his Friends in favour of the Prætor, who was then present, was the majesty of the absent Consul overcome: and the Senate decreed in full Assembly, that *L. Furius* should triumph. Thereupon *L. Furius* the Prætor rode in Triumph

Triumph whilst he was yet in his Office. He brought into the Treasury three hundred and twenty thousand pounds of Brass money, and of Silver a hundred and seventy thousand pounds; but there were neither any Captives led before his Chariot, nor spoils carried before him, nor Souldiers that followed after. For it was evident, that all other things, except the Victory, belonged to the Consul. Then those Games, which *P. Cornelius Scipio* had vowed to set forth when he was Pro-Consul in *Africa*, were performed with great preparation. And then also there was a Decree made concerning his Souldiers, that look how many years each of them had served in Spain or *Africa*, they should for each year have two Acres of Land apiece; which Land the Decemviri should set out. After that *C. Terentius Varro*, *L. Quintius Flaminius*, and *P. Cornelius Scipio*, the Son of *Cneius*, were made Triumviri, to supply and make up the number of the *Venusine* Colony, because in the War with *Annibal* the strength of that place was much impaired. They therefore sent more fresh Inhabitants to *Venusia*. The same Year *C. Cornelius Cethegus*, who was Pro-Consul in *Spain*, defeated a great Army of the Enemies in the *Sedetane* Dominions. 'Tis said, that there were fifteen thousand Spaniards slain in that Battle, and seventy eight military Ensigns taken. *C. Aurelius* the Consul, being come from his Province to *Rome* to hold the Assembly, did not complain, as they thought he would have done, *That he was not expected or stayed for by the Senate*, so that he might have had the opportunity of discoursing with the Prætor face to face: but that the Senate had Decreed a Triumph in such a manner, that they would not hear any man but him who was to triumph; no not those that had been engaged in the War. That their Ancestors therefore appointed the Lieutenants, Tribunes of the Souldiers, Centurions and private Sentinels also to be present at each Triumph, that the truth of those things that he had done, who had that honour paid him, might publicly appear. Instead of which, there had not been (not only never a Souldier, but not) so much as a Snapjack Boy of that Army which had fought with the Gauls, whom the Senate could ask, what truth or falsehood the Prætor had told them. Then he set the day for the Assembly, in which *L. Cornelius Lentulus*, and *P. Villius Tappulus*, were chosen Consuls: *L. Quintius Flaminius*, *L. Valerius Flaccus*, *L. Villius Tappulus*, and *Cn. Babius Tampilus* being then also created Prætors.

Provisions also were that year very cheap: for *M. Claudius Marcellus*, and *Sex. Aelius Patrus* distributed a great quantity of Corn among the people at two Asses a Bushel; and set forth the Roman Games with great preparation, which they were a whole day in performing: laying five brazen Ensigns, made out of the mulct-money, up in the Treasury. The *Plebeian* Games too were all played thrice over by *L. Terentius Massa*, and *Cn. Babius Tampilus*, the *Ædiles*, the latter of which two was designed for Prætor. There were likewise Funeral Games performed that Year for four dayes together in the Forum, upon the account of *M. Valerius Leuinus's* Death, by his two Sons, *Publius* and *Marcus*, with a Fencing prize by them also set up, at which there were twenty five pair of Combatants. Then also *M. Aurelius Cotta*, Decemvir of the sacred Rites, died; in whose place they put *Manius Acilius Glabrio*. At that Assembly also there were by chance both the Curule *Ædiles* chosen, who could not immediately enter upon their Office. For *C. Cornelius Cethegus* was created in his absence, when he was at his Province in *Spain*: and *C. Valerius Flaccus*, whom they had created whilst present, because he was *Flamen Dialis* [or *Jupiter's* High-Priest] could not swear to observe the Laws: now it was not lawful for any man to bear any Office above five dayes, but he that had sworn to keep the Laws. Wherefore when *Flaccus* desired to be acquitted from the obligation of the Laws, the Senate decreed, *That if the Ædile would provide such a person, as the Consuls should approve of, to swear for him*, the Consuls if they thought fit, should treat with the tribunes of the people, in order to refer it to the people. Thereupon he produced his Brother *Valerius*, who was designed to be Prætor, to swear for him: and then the Tribunes proposed the matter to the people, who resolved, *That it should be as good, as if the Ædile himself had sworn*. Touching the other *Ædile* also there was an Act made by the Commons (at the request of the Tribunes, to know what two they would send into *Spain*, with Commission to the Armies) that *C. Cornelius*, the Curule *Ædile*, should come home to bear his Office, and that *L. Manlius Acidinus* should depart that Province after many years continuance there; *Cn. Cornelius Lentulus*, and *L. Stertinus* being ordered to go into *Spain* with the Commission and Character of Pro-Consuls.



## DECADE IV. BOOK II.

## The E P I T O M E.

1. There are a great many Prodigies spoken of in divers Countries. 9. Among which, that in the Poop of a long Ship in Macedonia, a Laurel-Tree sprung up. T. Quintius Flaminius, being Consul, fought with success against Philip in the streights of Epirus. 12, 13. Whom Quintius having defeated, forced to return into his own Kingdom again. The same Quintius harassed that part of Thessaly which Borders upon Macedonia, by the assistance of the Aetolians and Athamans. L. Quintius Flaminius, the Consuls Brother, took all Euboea and the Sea-Coast in the Sea-fight, with the help of King Attalus, and the Rhodians. The Achæans were taken again into favour. 20, 23. The Conspiracy entered into by the Slaves, to free the Carthaginian Hostages, was frustrated. 26. The number of the Prætors was augmented, so as that there were six chosen. Cornelius Cethegus being Consul routed the Insubrian Gauls in a Battle that he had with them. 30. They made an alliance with the Lacedæmonians, and their Tyrant Nabis. Afterward you have several relations of Cities that were taken in Macedonia.

I. **T**HE Consuls and Prætors, having entered upon their several Offices on the Ides of March, had their several Provinces allotted to them. L. Lentulus had Italy, and P. Villius Macedonia: the Prætors, L. Quintius, the City, Cn. Bebius Ariminum, L. Valerius Sicily, and L. Villius Sardinia. Lentulus the Consul was ordered to raise new Legions, and Villius to take the Army from P. Sulpicius: and had leave (to make up the complement thereof) to raise as many Souldiers, as he thought good. The Prætor Bebius had those Legions which C. Aurelius the Consul had so committed to him, that he was to keep them till another Consul came with a new Army. Who as soon as he should come into Gaul, that all the old Souldiers should be disbanded and sent home, excepting five thousand of the Allies; they being enough to Guard the Province about Ariminum. The Prætors of the Year foregoing were continued in Commission; Cn. Sergius, that he might take care for the assigning of their shares of Land to those Souldiers who had served for many years in Spain, Sicily and Sardinia: and Q. Minucius, that he might make an end of those Inquisitions concerning the Conspiracies, which, when he was Prætor, he with so much fidelity and care, had been employed in: and to send those, whom he had convicted and caused to be carried Prisoners to Rome, to Locri, to receive their punishment; taking care likewise, that what had been taken out of the Temple of Proserpine, might be restored with expiatory Sacrifices for that crime. The Latine Festivals were renewed by Decree of the Chief Priests: because the Ardean Embassadors had complained in the Senate, That they who were Latines had not flesh given them in the Alban Mount, as they were used to have. Then there was news brought from Snesia, that the two Gates, and the Wall between them, were burnt by lightning; but by the Formian Embassadors, that Jupiters Temple, and so likewise by the Ostians, that Jupiters Temple with them was so burnt; but from Velitra, that Apollos and Sanguis Temples both were so served; and that hair grew up in the Temple of Hercules. From the Bruttians Q. Minucius the Pro-Prætor wrote word, that there was a Colt foaled with five Feet, and three Cock- Chickens with three Feet apiece. After which there was a Letter came from P. Sulpicius the Pro-Consul out of Macedonia, in which among other things there was this remark, that a Laurel-Tree sprung up in the poop of a Ship.

II. Upon the account of the former Prodigies the Senate ordered, That the Consul should make the greater sort of Sacrifices to what Gods he thought good: but for the last only the Soothsayers were called into the Senate, and according to their Answer supplication was appointed to be made one whole day, and religious duties were perform'd at every Altar and Temple in the City. The Carthaginians first brought the money, imposed upon them as a stipend for the Souldiery, that year to Rome. Which money seeing the Questors declared to be nought, and having tryed it found the fourth part to fly away, the Carthaginians were fain to borrow money at Rome, to make up what was lacking. Whereupon when they desired that their Hostages, if the Senate pleased, might be restored to them, an hundred of them were accordingly sent home: besides, that they gave them hopes of having the rest, if they continued faithful to the Romans. And when those Hostages, that were not restored, desired, that they might be carried from Norba, where they were uneasy, to any other place, the Senate gave them leave to remove to Signia and Ferentinum. The Gaditanes also, upon their Petition, had the immunity granted them, not to have a Prefect or Governour sent to their Town of Gadeis, contrary to the Agreement between them and L. Marcus Septimus, when they first put themselves under the protection of the Romans. And when the Narnian Embassadors complained, that they had not their full number of Inhabitants, but that there were some got in among them, who, though they were not of their race, pretended to be part of the Colony, L. Cornelius the Consul was ordered to create Triumviri upon the score of those matters. Accordingly he created P. and Sextus Atilius (whose Surnames both were Patris) and Cornelius Lentulus.

Lentulus. But though the Petition of the Narnians, wherein they desired to have their Colonies number augmented, was allowed, the Cofans met not with the same success in the same affair.

When they had made an end of what they had to do at Rome, the Consuls went to their Provinces, P. Villius, at his coming into Macedonia, was received with a fierce mutiny among the Soldiers, which having been sometime before raised, had not been sufficiently stilled in the beginning. Those were the two Thousand Men, that had been brought out of Africa, after Annibal was quite vanquished, into Sicily, and thence almost an Year into Macedonia for Volunteers. But they said they were not willing to come, For they drew back when the Tribunes were going to put them a-board; but however, whether they had put themselves into that service by force or free-will, they had born the brunt of it, and now it was time to put some end to that Campaign. That they had not seen Italy in many Years, but were grown old under their armour in Sicily, Africa, and Macedonia. That they were quite tired out with labour and toil, having lost all the blood in their veins through the wounds that they received. To which the Consul said, They gave a good reason for their being disbanded, if they had made their address with modesty; but that, neither that, nor any thing else could be the just cause of a mutiny among them. Wherefore, if they would stay by their Ensigns, and obey him, he would write to the Senate touching their being dismiss'd, and that they would obtain their ends by modesty sooner than by stubbornness.

At that time Philip attacked Thaumaci [a Town] as fiercely as he could with Mounds and Engines planted against it; yea, was just going to apply his ram to the Walls, but was forced from his enterprize by a sudden fall of the Aetolians, who, under the command of Archidamus, having got through the Macedonian Sentinels into the Walls, made constant eruptions night and day, one while upon the Guards, and another while into the Works. In which the very nature of the place was assistant to them. For Thaumaci is situate, as you go from Pyla and the Malian Bay through Lamia, on an high place, just by the streights called Gale. And if you travel over the rougher parts of Thessaly, where the Roads are hard to find, they will so strangely through the several Vallies there; when you come to this City, there is such a large Plain laid open, as it were a vast calm Sea, before your view, that you can hardly see to the end of it. From which strange situation of that Town it is called Thaumaci [from Thauuma, i. e. a Wonder]. Nor is this City secure in its height only, but also by its being seated upon a steep Rock cut smooth on every side. These difficulties, and its not being worth so much toil and hazard, made Philip desist from the attempt. Besides, it was now just Winter too, when he departed thence, and led his Forces back to Winter Quarters in Macedonia.

And there the rest all the time they had to rest themselves, refreshed both their Minds and their Bodies; but Philip, by being at ease from the daily fatigues of marching and fighting, was so much the more intent upon, and solicitous for, the general event of the War; not only fearing the Enemies, that press'd him both by Sea and Land, but being jealous of the affections, sometimes of his Allies, and otherwhiles of his own Countrymen; lest the former should revolt out of hopes of an alliance with the Romans; or the latter be desirous to make any Innovation. Wherefore he sent Embassadors into Achaia also, not only to exact an Oath from that People (for so they had agreed, To swear fealty to Philip every year) but likewise to restore to the Achæans, Orchomenon, Heraa, and Triphylia; and to the Megalopolitans, Aliphera, being they challenged it and said, It never was a City belonging to Triphylia, but ought to be restored to them, because it was one of those that were allotted to the building of Megalopolis. By which means he confirmed his alliance with the Achæans. Then he reconciled the Macedonians with Heraclides. For seeing that he was the greatest grievance in all his Kingdom, as being loaded with so many accusations, he put him in Prison, to the great joy of all the People. After which he made preparations for the War with as much care as ever he had done in all his time before, and disciplined both the Macedonians and the mercenary Soldiers; sending, in the beginning of the Spring, all the foreign Auxiliaries, with what light armour he had, under the command of Athenagoras through Epirus into Chaonia, to seize those streights near Antigonis, which the Greeks call Sthena [i. e. narrow passes]. And himself in a few days after following with an heavier Army; when he had viewed all the situation of the Country, he thought the fittest place to encamp in, to be by the River Aous. Which River runs between the two Mountains, one of which the Natives call Aëropus, and the other Asinaus, in a narrow Vale, with a very strait passage upon the bank of it. And of those Hills, he ordered Athenagoras to take possession of, and to fortifie Asinaus, whilst he himself pitched his Camp in Aëropus. Where the Rocks were smooth and steep, a small guard was kept; but where it was less secure, he fortified some parts with Trenches, some with Bulwarks, and others with Turrets. There was also a great quantity of Engines (that they might be able at a distance to repel the Foe) planted in convenient places; besides that the Kings Tent was set before the Bulwark on the top of the Hill, for a terrour to the Enemy, and an encouragement to his own Men.

The Consul, being informed by Charopus an Epirote, where the King with his Army lay, after he had wintered in Corcyra, came in the beginning of the Spring over into the Continent, and marched toward the Enemy. When he was about five Thousand Paces from the

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Kings Camp, leaving his Legions in a fortified Place, himself went forward with the number of his Men to view the Country, and the next day held a Council, to advise, Whether he should attempt to make his way through the Streights that the Enemy was then possessed of, though it were like to cost him a great deal of trouble and hazard; or bring his Men about the same way that Sulpicius the year before had come into Macedonia. But whilst he was in this deliberation, which held him several days, there came a Messenger and told him, That P. Quintius was made Consul, and having by lot gain'd the Province of Macedonia, was now got over as fast as he could into Corcyra. Valerius Antias says that Villius went into those Streights, and because he could not go in a direct Road (the ways being all block'd up by the King) following the Vale, through the middle of which runs the River Aous, he made a tumultuary Bridge to the bank upon which the Kings Camp lay, and marching over it engag'd them in a set fight; that the King was routed, put to flight, and forced from his Camp; twelve Thousand of the Enemy were slain in that Battel, two Thousand two Hundred taken Prisoners, besides one Hundred thirty two military Ensigns, and two Hundred and thirty Horses. As also, that a Temple was vow'd [i. e. religiously designed to be dedicated] to Jupiter, in that Battel, if the business succeeded well. But the other Greek and Latine Authors, whose Annals I have read, do not mention any thing memorable that was done by Villius, but say also, that T. Quintius the succeeding Consul manag'd the whole War.

VII.

Whilst these things were transacted in Macedonia, the other Consul L. Lentulus, who staid at Rome, held an Assembly for the creating of Censors. Upon which occasion, though a great many famous Men stood for the Office, yet P. Cornelius Scipio Africanus, and P. Atilius Patus were made Censors. These two lived very lovingly together, and took a survey of the Senate without branding e'r a one of that Society. They likewise let out the Tolls of things that were sold at Capua and Puteoli, as also the Toll of the Camp at Puteoli [that formerly was] where the Town now stands; and sent three Hundred Inhabitants thither (for that was the number appointed by the Senate) selling the Land belonging to Capua under Tifata [a Mountain]. About the same time L. Manlius Acidinus departing out of Spain, was hindered by M. Portius Leca, Tribune of the People, from coming home overt, though he had obtained the favour of the Senate; and therefore, making his entrance into the City as a private Person, he brought into the Treasury twelve hundred Pound of Silver, and near thirty Pound of Gold. The same Year Cn. Babius Tamphilus, who had received the Province of Gaul from C. Aurelius who was Consul the Year before, having entered very rashly into the Confines of the Insubrian Gauls, had like to have been circumvented with his whole Army: for he lost above six thousand six hundred men; so great a damage did he receive from that War which now began to be slighted. That accident brought L. Lentulus the Consul from the City: who as soon as he came into the Province, which was full of uproar, having received the frightened Army, he chid the Prætor very severely, bidding him depart the Province and go to Rome. But the Consul himself did not do any memorable exploit, as being called back to Rome to hold the Assembly, which was obstructed by M. Fulvius, and Manius Curius, Tribunes of the People; who would not suffer T. Quintius Flaminius to stand for the Consulship, when he was yet but Questor: saying, That noble men now nascent the Aediles and Prætors Office, nor did they by degrees of honour, and approving themselves in several Stations rise gradually to the Consulship, but by leaping over the middle continued the highest to the lowest employments. From a Debate in the Campus Martius the business came into the Senate; who gave their opinions and said, they thought it reasonable, that the people should have full power to chose whom they pleased, provided he desired no honour but what he lawfully might stand for. The Tribunes submitted to the Decree of the Senate: and there were chosen for Consuls T. Quintius Flaminius, and Sex. Atilius Patus. Then they held the Assembly for Prætors; in which were chosen L. Cornelius Merula, M. Claudius Marcellus, M. Portius Cato, and C. Helvius, who had been Tribunes of the People. By them the Plebeian Games were renewed, and a Feast made to Jupiter upon the score of those Games: the Roman Games being at the same time set forth by the Curule Aediles, C. Valerius Flaccus, Jupiters High-Priest, and C. Cornelius Cethegus, with great preparation. Ser. and C. Sulpicius Galba the Chief Priests died in that Year: in whose places M. Aemilius Lepidus, and Cn. Cornelius Scipio were elected, and put.

VIII.

Sex. Atilius Patus, and T. Quintius Flaminius the Consuls, at the entrance upon their Office having had a Senate in the Capitol, that Court decreed, That the Consuls should either agree between themselves, or cast Lots for the Provinces of Macedonia and Italy; and that he to whose share Macedonia fell, should raise, as a Supplement to the Legions, three Thousand Roman Foot, and three Hundred Horse; and likewise of the Latine Allies, five Thousand Foot, and five Hundred Horse. To the other Consul they assign'd all the new Forces. L. Lentulus, who was Consul the Year before, was continued in Commission, and charged not to stir out of his Province, or bring away the old Army, before the Consul came with the new Legions. The Consul then cast Lots for their Provinces; of which Atilius happened to have Italy, and Quintius Macedonia. The Prætors, L. Cornelius Merula had the City, M. Claudius, Sicily, M. Porcius, Sardinia, and C. Helvius, Gaul. Then also they began to make a Levy. For besides the consular Armies, the Prætors were also ordered to raise new Forces: for Marcellus, to go into Sicily,

Sicily, four Thousand Foot of the Latine Allies, and three Hundred Horse; and for Cato, to go into Sardinia, of the same sort of Soldiers, three Thousand Foot, and two Hundred Horse; so that both these Prætors, when they were come into their Provinces, disbanded all their old Foot and Horse. After that the Consuls brought the Embassadors from King Attalus into the Senate: who having told the Court, That their King was always ready to assist the Romans with his Navy, and all the Forces he had both by Sea and Land, and had to that time done what the Roman Consuls commanded with all expedition and obedience, they added, That now, they fear'd, he could not do so any longer for King Antiochus, who had invaded Attalus's Kingdom when it was destitute of Sea and Land Forces. Wherefore, that Attalus desired the Senate, if they had a mind to employ his Navy and his other Forces in the Macedonian War, that they would themselves send a Guard to secure his Kingdom; if not, that they would permit him to return home with his Fleet and what forces he had left, to defend his own Country. To which the Senate caus'd this answer to be given, That whereas King Attalus had assisted the Roman Generals with his Fleet, and other Forces, the Senate took it very kindly; but that they would neither send any Auxiliaries to Attalus against Antiochus, who was the Ally and Friend of the Roman People; nor detain Attalus's own Auxiliaries any farther than should stand with his convenience. That the Roman People had always used foreign Soldiers according to the pleasure of those foreign Allies that sent them; and that both the beginning and end of their Action was at the disposal of them, who were so kind as to assist the Romans. But they would send Embassadors to Antiochus, to tell him, that the People of Rome did then employ Attalus his Ships and Soldiers against Philip, their common Enemy; and that he would gratifie the Senate very much, if he would not meddle any farther with Attalus's Dominions, but desist from the War. That it was fit all Kings, that were Allies and Friends of the Roman People, should preserve Peace among themselves also.

The Consul, T. Quintius, having so made the Levy, that he chose out those Soldiers of known Courage, who had served in Spain or Africa, was now making all hast into his Province, but was detain'd by Prodigies, that he heard of, being fain to stay at Rome to take care of certain Religious Duties upon that account. The publick street at Veii, and the Forum with Jupiters Temple at Luvuvium, were burnt with Lightning: Hercules's Temple at Ardea; and at Capua, the Wall, certain Turrets, and the Temple which is called Alba. At Arretium the Heavens seemed to be all on Fire: and the Earth at Velitra fell in with a vast hollow for the space of three Acres. At Sueffa Aurunca, they said, there was a Lamb with two Heads, and at Simessæ, a Pig with a Mans Head. Upon the score of those Prodigies there was a supplication made one whole day; the Consuls being employed in the performance of the Divine Rites. But having appeased the Gods they went into their Provinces. Atilius, with C. Helvius the Prætor into Gaul; and delivered the Army that he received from Lentulus, which he ought to have disbanded, to the Prætor, resolving himself to carry on the War with those new Legions, that he had brought with him: but he did nothing worth our taking notice of. T. Quintius also, the other Consul, being come over from Brundisium sooner than former Consuls were used to do, lay at Corcyra with eight thousand Foot, and eight hundred Horse. From whence he crost over in a Fire-bank'd Gally into the Borders of Epirus, and marched toward the Roman Camp by great Journeys. Then sending away Villius, he staid some few dayes whilst his Forces came after him out of Corcyra, and held a Council: whether he should attempt to go streight through the Enemies Camp; or, not venturing upon an enterprize attended with so much trouble and danger, should rather go into Macedonia by way of the Dalfaretians and Lycus [a Town so called] a safe rode, though about. And that opinion had prevailed, had not he feared, lest, when he was so far from the Sea, by letting the Enemy escape him, if (as he had formerly) the King would defend himself in Defarts and Woods, the Summer might be spent without any action. Wherefore be it how it would be, he resolv'd in that very place, though so inconvenient for him, to attack the Foe. But indeed he resolv'd to do so, before his Council had told him, or he found out the way how he should do it: for they spent forty days without any attempt in sitting down within sight of the Enemy.

Then Philip had hopes of making a Peace through the mediation of the Epirotes, and therefore in a Council that he called, there were, for the carrying of the affair, Pausanias their chief Magistrate, and Alexander Master of the Horse, who brought the Consul and the King to a Parley at that place, where the River Aous is the narrowest. The Substance of what the Consul demanded was this; That Philip would draw out all his Guards out of the several Cities; and restore all the goods that could be found, to those persons, whose country and Cities he had plundered; and set a competent value indifferently upon the rest. To which Philip made answer; That the condition of his Cities was very different; as for those that he had taken, he would set at liberty: but as to those that were delivered to him from his Ancestours, he would never quit the just and hereditary possession of them. If those cities that he had had war with, complained of any damage by them sustained, he would reserve the arbitration of it to any people, with whom they both had peace. The Consul replied; there was no need of a Judge or Umpire in such a case; for who did not know, that the injury sprung from him, who was the first aggressor? And that Philip, though never provoked by any body whatever, was himself the original cause of all that violence, which in that war had been committed. After that, when they came to discourse of what Cities should

IX.

X.

should be set at liberty, the Consul named the *Theſſalians* first of all. At which the King was so incens'd with Indignation, that he cryed out, *What, T. Quintius, could you injoin me to do that were more grievous, if I were a conquered King?* and with that he flung away from the Parley. Thereupon they could hardly forbear from engaging each other with darts and such like Weapons at a distance, since they were parted by the River running between them. The next by excursions from their stations, there were first a great many light skirmishes in the Plain which was wide enough for that purpose; but soon after, the Kings Men retiring into the narrow and rough places thereabouts, the Romans also out of an eagerness to fight them got in thither too. On the Roman side, their Order, Military Discipline, and a sort of Arms fit to streighten the Foe, was their advantage; and on the Enemies side, the Places, the vast Engines and Cross-bows, planted upon almost all the Rocks as it were upon Walls. But when they had received a great many Wounds on both sides, and some also, as in a form'd Battel, were slain, night came on and put an end to that Fight.

XI. When things were in this posture, a certain Shepherd sent from *Charopus*, a Noble Man of *Epirus*, was brought to the Consul, who told him, *That he kept sheep in that Lawne, where the King was now encamped; that he knew all the turnings and by-ways in all those Mountains. If therefore he would send a party along with him, he would lead them a very convenient easie way till they came upon the very heads of their Enemies: but told them withal, that Charopus said, He would have him give credit to what he delivered, only so far, as that the effecting of the matter might be in the Consuls, and not in the Shepherds power.* Hereupon the Consul being more inclinable, than daring to believe the fellow, and having a mind fill'd both with joy and fear, he was moved by the authority of *Charopus*, and resolved to try the event of what was favourably offered to him. And to prevent all suspicion, he, for the next two days, continually provoked the Enemy, planting his Men on all sides, and putting fresh Men into the places of such as were tired. Then he chose out four Thousand Foot and three Hundred Horse, whom he committed to the Conduct of a Tribune of the Soldiers, bidding him lead the Horse as far as the ways would suffer it; and when the Horse could go no farther, to place them in some Plain. That the Foot should go which way the Guide directed them; and when, according to his promise, they came upon the Heads of the Enemy, they should give a sign by smoak; but not set up a shout before they had received that sign, and they might suppose thereby that the Battel was begun. He likewise ordered them to march in the night (for the Moon at that time happened to shine all Night long) and in the Day time to refresh themselves with Victuals and Sleep, delivering the Guide to the Tribune, with a great many promises of a vast reward, if he proved honest, but bound at the same time. And having thus dismiss'd these Forces, the Roman was so much the more intent upon taking the Enemies Stations.

XII. In the mean time when the Romans upon the third day made a sign with smoak, that they had taken and were then seiz'd of the Hill, which they designed, the Consul, having divided his Forces into three parts, came and stood in the midst of the Vale with the strength of all his Men, drawing the Enemies right and left Wings toward the Enemies Camp. Nor were the Enemies more slow to meet him; but whilst through their greedy desire of fighting they ran beyond their Fortifications, the Roman was far too hard for them, not only in courage and skill, but in their sort of Weapons also. But when the Kings Men, many of which were wounded and slain, retreated into places either naturally or artificially fortified, the danger turned upon the Romans, who went into places that were cumbersome, and too narrow well to receive them. Nor had they escaped thence without being punished for their rashness, had not first of all a shout which they heard behind them, and after that also the Fight which was by that time begun, made the Kings Men mad with sudden dread. Thereupon part of them ran away as fast as they could; and part of them, who stayed behind, rather because they had no way to make their escape, than out of any heart that they had to fight, were circumvented by the Foe who prest upon them both before and behind. The whole Army might have been destroyed, if the Conquerors would have pursued them that fled away; but the narrowness and roughness of those places hinder'd the Horse as their heavy armour did the Foot. The King at first fled as fast as he could in some disorder, and without looking back: but when he was got forward about five thousand paces, supposing by the roughness of the passage (as it really was) that the Enemy could not follow him, he stopt upon a certain Bank, and sent his men over all the Hills and Vales, to gather the straglers into a Body. And having lost not above two thousand men, all the rest, as though they had followed some Ensign, met together, and in a full Body marched toward *Theſſaly*. The Romans having pursued them as far as it was safe for them, killing and spoiling the slain, rifled the Kings Camp, which, even without any Body to defend it, was very inaccessible: and continued that night in their own Camp.

XIII. The next day the Consul pursued the Enemy through those very streights, where the River runs between the Vales. The King came at break of day to a place called *Castra Pyrrhi* [i. e. *Pyrrhus's Camp*] which is in *Triphylia* a part of *Melotis*. Thence the next day he went forward a great way (fear forcing him) to the Mountain *Lingus*. The Mountains of *Epirus*, are between *Macedonia* and *Theſſaly*, lying Westward from the latter, and Southward

ward from the former; covered with frequent Woods, though on the tops of them there are large Plains and constant running streams. There the King for some dayes was Encamped, but wavered in his mind, whether he should go immediately into his own Kingdom, or return into *Theſſaly*. But he at last being most inclined to send his Army into *Theſſaly*, went the nearest way he could to *Tricca*, from whence he passed through the Cities that were in his rode as speedily as he might. There he raised all the men that could follow him, burnt their Towns; and gave the Owners leave to carry all they could along with them; making the rest free plunder to his Souldiers. Nor could they have suffered any thing more severe from an Enemy, than what they did from him though their Ally. For what he did was tedious even to *Philip* himself; though he however had a mind to deliver at least the Bodies of his Allies out of a Country, that was likely in a short time to be the Enemies. For that reason he laid waſt several Towns, as *Phacium*, *Ireſia*, *Eubhydrium*, *Eretria*, and *Palaphatus*. But marching toward *Thera*, he was shut out: wherefore because it required some stay, if he would have taken it, and he could not spend so much time, he let it alone and went over into *Macedonia*. For there was a report that the *Aetolians* were very near: who having heard of the Battle, that was fought by the River *Aous*, and first laid waſt the adjacent Country about *Sparchia* and *Macra Come* (as they call it) went over thence into *Theſſaly*, and made themselves Masters of *Cymine* and *Angea* upon the first attack. But from *Metropolis*, as they were spoiling the Country, they were repulsed by a concourse of Townsmen, who came together to defend the walls. Then going to set upon *Callithera*, the more hardly endured the like effort of the Townsmen: and having forced them, that sallied forth, back into their walls, they were content with that victory, because there was no very great hopes of taking it, and went their wayes. Then they took and rifled two villages called *Theuma* and *Calathana*, gaining *Achorra* by surrender. *Xynia* also was deserted by the Inhabitants in the same fright. And this fugitive multitude of the *Xynians* light into the hands of a Guard belonging to the *Athamanes*, which was set to secure their foraging, by whom this disordered and unarmed rout were all killed. *Xynia* being deserted was rifled. After that the *Aetolians* took *Cyphara*, a Castle that lies very conveniently upon *Dolopia*. Now all these things were done by the *Aetolians* on a sudden, within a few Days; nor did *Amynder* and the *Athamanes*, after they heard of the Romans success, lye still.

But *Amynder*, because he durst not trust his own Soldiers, desiring a small supply from the Consul, went to *Gomphi* and the streights that divide *Athamania* from *Theſſaly*. Then going to *Gomphi*, which the Inhabitants defended very bravely for some days, he rear'd his Ladders against the Walls, and forced them at last to a surrender. This surrender of *Gomphi* put all the *Theſſalians* into a great fright. Whereupon the Inhabitants, or possessors of *Argens*, *Pherinus*, *Thimar*, *Lifina*, *Simon*, *Lampisus*, and other small Castles hardly surrendered themselves. But whilst the *Aetolians* and the *Athamanes*, being delivered from all fear of the *Macedonians*, made anothers Victory their Booty; and that *Theſſaly* was waſted by three Armies at one time, not knowing which to call their Foe, and which their Friend; the Consul, having got through the streights, which the flight of the Enemy had opened, into the Country of *Epirus*, though he knew, what side all the *Epirotes*, except Prince *Charopus*, favoured; yet seeing they did all they could to satisfy him, he look'd upon them as they were at present, rather than as they had been, and by being easie to pardon past faults, reconciled their affections for the future. Then having sent Messengers to *Coreyra*, for the onerarie Ships to come in the Bay called *Sinus Ambracius*, he himself went forward with short Marches, and the fourth Day encamped upon the Mountain *Cerceanus*, sending for *Amynder* also thither with his Auxiliaries; not so much because he wanted his assistance, as to have some body to lead him into *Theſſaly*. For the same reason likewise a great many of the *Epirotes* were taken in as Volunteers among those Auxiliaries.

XV. The first City that he attacked in *Theſſaly* was *Phaleria*, in which there was a Garrison of two Thousand *Macedonians*. Who at first resisted with all the force they had, as much as Arms and Walls could defend them. But the Siege continuing very brisk both day and night without any intermission, the Consul believing that would be a great point gained against the rest of the *Theſſalians*, if the first could not sustain the shock of the Romans; and therefore he resolved to conquer the stubbornness of the *Macedonians*. When he had taken *Phaleria*, there came Embassadors from *Metropolis* and *Piera*, to surrender their Cities, who upon their humble Petition were pardoned. *Phaleria* was rifled and burnt. From thence we went to *Aeginum*. Which place when he saw to be secured even with a small Guard, and almost impregnable, having thrown some few darts into the station next to him, turn'd his Army toward *Gomphi*. And then going a little out of the Road into the Plains of *Theſſaly*, when he saw that his Army wanted all sorts of necessaries, for that he had spared the Country of *Epirus*, he sent scouts to enquire, whether the onerarie Ships were come to the Port of *Leucas*, or into the *Ambracian Bay*, and then dispatched away his Regiments by turns to *Ambracia* for Corn. Now from *Gomphi* to *Ambracia*, though it be a difficult and a cumbersome passage, yet it is but a very little way. Wherefore within a few days, they got so much Provisions thence by Sea, that their Camp was full of all sorts of necessaries. From thence he marched to *Atrox*, which is about ten Thousand Paces from *Larissa*, situated upon



upon the River *Penens*, and its Inhabitants originally *Perrabians*. The *Thessalians* were not at all disinclined at the first arrival of the *Romans*. And *Philip*, as he durst not go forward into *Thessaly*, so being encamped within the Lawne, called *Tempe*, as each place was gradually attempted by the Enemy, he sent them private aid as occasion serv'd.

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About the same time, when the Consul first pitched his Camp against *Philip* in the streights of *Epirus*, *L. Quintius* (the Consul's Brother) whose charge it was in the Senate to take care of the Fleet and secure the Sea Coast, going over with two five-bank'd Gallies to *Coryra*, when he heard that the Navy was gone from thence, he thought it no time to stay, but having overtaken them at the Island *Zama*, dismiss'd *Apustius*, whose Successor he was, and sail'd very slowly (for he towed those Ships most of the way, which followed with Provisions) to *Malea*. From *Malea*, bidding the rest to make what hast they could after him, he himself went before with three five-bank'd Gallies to *Piræus*, where he received the Ships that *L. Apustius* the Lieutenant had left for a Guard to *Athens*. At the same time two Fleets that came out of *Asia*, the one with King *Attalus* (consisting of twenty four five-bank'd Gallies) and the other from *Rhodes*, being twenty Ships of War, of which *Agessimbrotus* was Admiral. These two Fleets, being united about the Island of *Andrus*, came over into *Eubœa*, which is divided from that Island by nought but a narrow Gulph. There they first plundered the Carystian Territories; and after that, when *Carystus* seem'd secure enough in a Garrison sent thither in all hast from *Chalcis*, they proceeded to *Eretria*. Thither also came *L. Quintius* with those Ships that had been at *Piræus*, when he heard of King *Attalus's* arrival, and gave order, That what Ships of his own Navy were come, should sail into *Eubœa*. Thereupon *Eretria* was assaulted very briskly; for, not only all the Ships in those three united Fleets brought all sorts of warlike Instruments and Engines to sack Cities withal along with them, but the Fields too afforded a plentiful provision of Materials for the raising of new Works. The Townsmen at first were very active in the defence of their Walls, but soon after some of them being tired and wounded, besides that they saw part of their Wall o'rthrown by the Enemies Works, they were inclined to surrender. But there was a Garrison in it of *Macedonians*, whom they fear'd no less than they did the *Romans*; and *Philocles* the Kings Præfect, or Governour, sent Messengers from *Chalcis* to tell them, That he would be with them time enough, if they would but hold out the Siege. This hope and fear together forced them to protract the time beyond what they were either willing or able to do. But afterward when they heard that *Philocles* himself was repulsed and ran back in a consternation to *Chalcis*, they sent Envoys immediately to *Attalus*, desiring his Pardon and Protection. Whilst therefore, being intent upon the hopes of Peace, they the more slowly performed the duties of War, opposing armed Guards on that part only, where the Wall was broken down, and neglecting all the rest; *Quintius*, in the night time, on that side that was least suspected, making an attack, scaled and took the City. The whole crowd of the Townsmen with their Wives and Children ran into the Castle; but soon after came to a surrender. There was not much Money, or Silver and Gold: but there were a great many Ensigns, old Tables of Art, and ornaments of that kind more than could be expected in such a City, considering their other stock.

XVII.

Then they went back to *Carystus*, where, before the Forces were landed, all the People left the City, and ran into the Castle: from whence they sent Agents to beg the protection of the *Romans*. Whereupon the Townsmen had their Lives and Liberties immediately granted them: but the *Macedonians* were to pay each of them three Hundred Sesterces as a ransom, and march away without their Arms. They therefore being redeemed at that rate, went over into *Bœotia* unarmed. Then the Naval Forces, having within a few days taken two famous Cities in *Eubœa*, sailing about a promontory of *Attica*, went toward *Cenchreae*, a Port belonging to the *Corinthians*. The Consul in the mean time had a longer and a more severe Siege of it than any body expected, and the Enemy made resistance on that part, where he least imagined they would have done. For he supposed, That all the difficulty would lye in demolishing the Wall; and that, if once he had made a breach for his Soldiers to march through into the City, he should rout and kill the Enemy, as People use to do when they take Cities. But when he had battered down part of the Wall with his Rams, so that his Men went over the very ruins into the City, that was but as it were the beginning of a new and a fresh toil. For the *Macedonians* that were in Garrison there, being not only numerous, but choice Men too, and thinking it would be a mighty honour to them, if they could defend the City by dint of Arms and Courage, rather than by the help of Walls, so doubled their Ranks and strengthened their main Body within, that when they saw the *Romans* coming over the Ruines, they beat them out again through a narrow difficult pass that would hardly give them room to retreat. That the Consul took very hainously; and considering that that dishonour did not tend to the hindrance of his taking one City only, but had an influence upon the issue of the whole War in general, which many times depended upon very small and trivial circumstances; having clear'd the place, which was incumbered with the ruins of the Wall, he apply'd to it a Tower of a mighty height, which would carry a great number of armed Men upon the several floors that were one above another in it, and send forth several Regiments in Battalia, by turns to break through, if they could,

could, the *Cuneus* [i.e. Wedge, a Body of Men in form of a Wedge] of the *Macedonians*, which they themselves call a Phalanx. But in Places so narrow, the space that was broken down in the Wall being not very wide, the sort of Arms that the Enemy used and their manner of fighting was more convenient. For when the *Macedonians* had put themselves into their close order, with their Spears of a vast length before them, so thick, that their Bucklers joyn'd together and made, as it were, a Testudo [i.e. a Military Engine in form of a Tortoise] the *Romans*, who, seeing it was to no purpose to sling their Javelins at them, had drawn their Swords, could neither come near them, nor cut off their Spears; or if they perchance had cut, or broken e'r an one off, the staff of it with its sharp broken end between the Iron points of those Spears, that were still entire and fill'd up and kept the fence still as strong as before. Besides which, the remaining part of the Wall that was yet standing, preserv'd both their flanks; nor could they conveniently either give back, or make any fally forth; a thing which usually put the ranks into disorder. But to animate them the more yet, there was another thing that happened by mere chance. For there was a Turret, built upon the Mound, before the Earth was grown firm, with one wheel sunk so deep into a rut, that it hung all on one side, so that the Enemies thought it would fall, and the Soldiers who stood upon it were even distracted for fear.

Seeing therefore that nothing succeeded, as he would have it, the Consul was unwilling to have any comparison made either between the Souldiers, or their sorts of Weapons; and at the same time had no good prospect, either of taking the Town, or any means of Wintering so far from the Sea, and in places that were already laid wast by the misfortunes and ravage of the War. Wherefore quitting the Siege, because there was never a Port on all the Coast of *Acarnania* and *Ætolia*, that would at once both contain all the Ships of burden, that brought in Provisions for the Army, and afford Huts for the Legions to winter in; *Anticyra* in *Phocis*, lying toward the Bay of *Corinth*, was lookt upon as most conveniently situated, not only because there they should not be far from *Thessaly*, and the Enemies Quarters, but also, because *Peloponnesus* was over-against them, divided from it by a small Arm of the Sea, *Ætolia* and *Acarnania* being behind them, and *Locris* and *Bœotia* of each side. In *Phocis* he took *Phanotea* upon the first Assault, without fighting for it; nor did *Anticyra* hold out very long. Then he became Master of *Ambrysus* and *Hyampolis*; but *Daulis* because it stood upon a high Hill, was impregnable, either by scaling or any other works. But yet by pelting those that were in Garrison there with Darts and such like Weapons that they had to throw upon them, when they had provoked them to fally forth, with running away from and pursuing them by turns, so as to have some light Skirmishes though to little or no purpose, they brought them to that degree of contempt and negligence, that the *Romans* prest in with them at the Gate as they made their Retreat. Six other mean Castles of *Phocis* came into their hands through fear more than by strength of Arms. *Elatia* shut their Gates; resolving, unless they were compelled to it, not to admit the *Roman* General or his Army into their Walls.

But whilst the Consul was a besieging *Elatia*, he had hopes of a thing of far greater consequence; to wit, that the *Acheans* would revolt from the King and enter into an Alliance with the *Romans*. For they had expelled *Cycliades*, the Head of that Faction that were for *Philip*; and *Arifstæus*, who had a mind to have that Nation make a League with the *Romans*, was then the chief Magistrate. The *Roman* Fleet then lay at *Cenchreae*, with *Attalus* and the *Rhodians*, where they were all in Consultation how to attack *Corinth*. He therefore thought it the best way, before they went about that affair, to send Embassadors to the *Acheans*, with a Promise, that if they would revolt from the King, they should have *Corinth* into the antient Council of that Nation. Accordingly by advice of the Consul there were Embassadors sent to the *Acheans* from his Brother *L. Quintius*, *Attalus*, the *Rhodians* and *Athenians*; and at *Sicyon* they had their Audience. Now the inclinations of the *Acheans* were very various: for the *Lacedæmonian*, a grievous and continual Enemy, scared them on the one hand, as the *Romans* did on the other: besides, that they were obliged both by ancient and late kindnesses received from the *Macedonians*; though they suspected the King himself upon the score of his Cruelty and perfidiousness, and valued him not upon what he just then did for them, but foresaw that he would be a Tyrannical Master to them after the War was ended. Nor were they only ignorant what each particular person in their Senate, or in the publick Assemblies of all the Nation delivered as their opinion; but even they themselves could not well tell, what in their own minds they desired or wished for. The Embassadors therefore being introduced to men of such unstable resolutions, had leave to speak; the *Roman* Embassador, whose name was *L. Calpurnius* first, and King *Attalus's* Embassadors next, and after them the *Rhodians*. Then *Philip's* Embassadors too had their Audience: and last of all the *Athenians* were heard, to the end that they might confute what the *Macedonians* said. They most of them inveighed severely against the King, for that no men had undergone more hardships, or suffered so severely as they had. And that Assembly was adjourned a little before Sun-setting, the day being spent in continued Speeches made by so many Embassadors.

20. The next day the Council was called again, in which when the Cryer had, as the Custom

XX.

Custom is among the Greeks, giving leave, by authority of the Magistrates to any one, that would, to speak, and no one came forth: they stood a good while silent looking upon one another. Nor was it any wonder, that they, who by meditating voluntarily upon things repugnant one to another, were grown stupid, should be disturbed at these long Speeches that were made from Morning till Night, with all the nicety and subtlety that was to be imagined. At last Ariston the Prætor (or chief Magistrate) for fear he should dismiss the Assembly without saying any thing, spoke thus: Where, said he, is now that animosity, Achæans? that makes you in your Feasts and publick Meetings hardly able to refrain from fighting one another, when any mention happens to be made of Philip and the Romans? Now in a Council appointed on purpose for that business and nothing else, though you have heard the Speeches of the Embassadors on both sides, though the Magistrates propose it to you, and the Crier invites you to speak, you are dumb. If care for the publick good cannot, yet the different respects methinks that you bear to this or that Party, might open some of your mouths. Especially seeing there is no man so dull, as that he can be ignorant, that now is the time for every man to give his opinion what he thinks most advisable, before we resolve upon any particular. When it is once decreed every man is bound to defend that as a good and useful League, which before displeased him. This Exhortation of the Prætors did not fail of making any body speak, but even of extorting from that great Assembly, though made up of so many several Nations, so much as a hum or murmur.

XXI.

Thereupon Ariston the Prætor began again; Achæans! said he, you do not want counsel more than tongues; but every one of you is loth to consult the publick good with the hazard of your own safety. Perhaps I also should hold my tongue, if I were a private person. But now, as I am Prætor, I consider that either we should not have given the Embassadors their Audience in a publick Council, or not sent them thence without an Answer. Yet how can I make an Answer, but by having your resolutions upon the matter? And since never an one of you either will or dare give his opinion, let us take the Speeches made yesterday by the Embassadors instead of your opinions; as if they had not requested what was for their own advantage, but persuaded us to what they thought for our interest only. The Romans, the Rhodians, and Attalus desire an Alliance and a Friendship with us; and think it just for us to assist them in the War which they are now engaged in against Philip. Philip on the other side puts us in mind of our Alliance with him, and the Oath that we took, requiring one while that we be of his side, and telling us another while that he is content we should not concern our selves at all of either side. Does no body know, why they that are not yet our Allies desire more than he that is? Why, this proceeds not from Philips modesty, nor the impudence of the Romans. No; the Achæan Ports both add to and diminish the confidence of the Demandants. We see nothing belonging to Philip except one Embassador; but the Roman Fleet lies at Cenchræa, with the spoils of all the Cities in Eubœa, besides, that the Consul and his Legions are divided from us by nothing but a small Arm of the Sea, and over-running all Phocis and Locris. Do you wonder, why Cleomedon, Philips Embassador, treated so diffidently with us of late, to induce us to take up Arms for the King: when, if according to that very League and Oath that he pretends we are obliged by, we should demand of him the assistance of Philip against Nabis, the Lacedæmonians and the Romans, he would not only not be able to find a Guard to defend us, but not know even what to say in answer thereto. No more than Philip himself the last Year, who having tried, by promising to levy War against Nabis, to draw all our Youth hence into Eubœa, when he saw that we would neither allow him that assistance, nor be concerned in the Roman War, forgot that alliance he now brags of, and left us as a prey and spoil to Nabis and the Lacedæmonians. Besides, I did not think Cleomedons Speech to be at all consistent in it self. For he slighted the Roman War, and said the event of it would be the same as that of the former War, that they had with Philip. Why then does he at a distance desire our aid rather than present defend us, his old Allies, at once from Nabis and the Romans? Us did I say? Yea, why did he suffer Eretria and Carystus to be so taken? Why so many Cities of Thessaly in the same manner? Why Locris and Phocis? Or why does he let Elatia be so attack'd at this time? Why went he from the streights of Epirus, and those impregnable Barriers upon the River Aous? Was it force or fear, or his own choice that made him quit the Post that he was in there, and march quite away into his own Kingdom? If upon his own inclination he left so many Allies to be pillaged by their Enemies, how can he deny but that his Allies ought to look to themselves? If for fear, he ought to pardon our fear also. If he retreated because he was Conquer'd, why then, how is it likely, Cleomedon, that we Achæans should endure the shock of the Roman Arms, which you Macedonians were not able to bear? Shall we believe you, that the Romans do not come against us now with greater Forces than formerly, rather than believe our own Eyes? They then assisted the Ætolians with a Fleet; but had neither a Consular General, nor an Army to carry on that War. The Sea-Port Towns belonging to Philip's Allies were in a fright and an uproar. But the Inland places were so secure from the Roman Arms, that Philip pillaged the Ætolians, when 'twas in vain for them to implore the Romans aid. But now the Romans having made an end of the Punic War, which they endured for sixteen years within the very Bowels, as it were, of Italy, did not only send Auxiliaries to the Ætolians to assist them in their War, but were themselves Commanders in person both by Sea and Land against Macedonia. This is now the third Consul that makes War upon that Country with all the strength he can. Sulpicius engaged in Macedonia it self with the King, and defeated him, laying waste the most opulent part of his Kingdom. And now of late Quintius, when Philip was posted at the Barriers of Epirus, relying

relying upon the nature of the place, the Fortifications thereof, and the Army that was with him, forced him from his Camp; and then pursuing him into Thessaly, took the Kings Garisons and Cities that were his Allies, almost before the Kings own Eyes. Admit that to be false which the Athenian Embassadors just now said touching the Kings Cruelty, Avarice and Lust, nor let us concern our selves for what wicked actions he was guilty of in Attica, against all the Gods Cœlestial and Infernal; much less for what the Cicianians and Abydenes have endured, who are so far from us: Yea, if you please, let us forget even our own Wounds; the slaughter and plunder committed at Messena in the middle of Peloponnesus; and how Garitenes, a Gentleman that entertained him very kindly at Cyparissia was kill'd, contrary to all right and reason, almost in the very midst of a Feast; as likewise, how Aratus, both Father and Son, of Sicyon (though he used to call the unhappy old Gentleman Father) and the Sons Wife also carried away into Macedonia, to be his Whore: besides which let all his other violations both of Virgins and Matrons be buried in Oblivion. Supposing Philip to be free from all these Vices, for fear of whose Cruelty is it, that you are all so silent? Let us imagine that we were discoursing with Antigonus an extraordinary mild and just King, who deserved very well of us all; would he, think you, desire us to do what even in that case were impossible? Peloponnesus is a Peninsula, joining to the Continent by a narrow neck of Land called an Isthmus, and exposed to nothing more than a Naval War. If an hundred Ships of War, and fifty of a lighter sort with open Decks, with thirty Issack Barks, should begin to waste the Sea-Coast, and attack the Cities that lie unguarded, even upon the very shore, shall we betake our selves into the Inland Countries, as though we were not harassed with an intestine War, that gnaws almost our very bowels? When Nabis and the Lacedæmonians press so hard upon us by Land, and the Roman Fleet by Sea, where shall I find the Kings assistance, and the Macedonian Guards? Or shall we our selves defend with our own Arms, the Cities that shall be attacked? For we defended Dymæ very bravely in the former War. The misfortunes of other people afford us Examples enough: and therefore let us not seek how we may prove an Example to them. Do not refuse, because the Romans voluntarily desire our Friendship, to grant them that which you ought to have wished and sued for by all means. For they being forced, you see, by fear in a Foreign Country, and having a mind to lie under the umbrage of your aid, fly to your Alliance for protection, that they may be received into your Harbours, and make use of your provisions. They have the Sea at their Command, and make whatever Land they arrive at immediately their own Dominions. That which they desire, they can force; but because they have a mind to spare you, they will not suffer you to give any cause for your own ruine. For as to what Cleomedon said just now, as the middle and the safest way for you to take, that is to say, that you should be quiet, and not take up Arms, that is not a middle, but no way at all. For besides that you must either accept of, or condemn the Roman Alliance; what shall we be (without adhering firmly to some side, as men that wait for the event of things, so as to apply our Counsels to the fortune of the War) but a prey to the Conquerour? Do not disdain what is offered you, though so freely, since it is that which you ought to have wished for with all your hearts. It will not be always in your power to do, as now you may, either one or the other. The same occasion will not often nor long present it self. You for a long time have rather wished than dared to deliver your selves from Philip. But now those people who would set you at Liberty, have crossed the Seas without any pains or danger to you, with great Navies and Armies. If you despise their Alliance, you are mad; for you must necessarily have them either for your Friends or Enemies.

XXII.

After this speech of the Prætors there was an humm set up, by some, to signifie their assent, and by others to reprove those that did assent. And now not only each particular Person, but all the Nations were at variance among themselves: besides that, between the Magistrates of that Nation (they call them *Demiurgi*, being ten in number) there was as brisk and hot a dispute as between the Mobile. Of whom five said, They would propose the making of an alliance with the Romans, and give their Votes accordingly; whilst the other five said, There was a Law, that made it criminal either to propose before the Magistrates, or decree anything in Council, that was contrary to an alliance with Philip. And this Day too was spent in brangling; so that there was but one Day of the due time for a Council to last, remaining (for the third Day the Law ordered that the Decree should pass) upon which they were so very hot, that Parents could scarce keep their hands off of their Children. One Rhisiasus of Pellene had a Son called Memnon, a *Demiurgus* [one of those ten Officers] of that Party; which was against reciting of the Decree, or having their opinions all ask'd. He therefore having a long time conjur'd his Son, To let the Achæans consult the publick safety, and not go about by his stubbornness to ruine the whole Country: seeing his intreaties did no good, he swore he would kill him with his own hand, and not look upon him as a Son but an Enemy; till he at last by threats so far prevailed over him, as that the next Day he sided with those that were for proposing the business. Who being now a good many, all the several Nations almost approving of it, and declaring what they were going to decree, the Dymeans and Megalopolitans with some of the Argives, before the Bill was pass'd, rose up and left the Council; nor did any Body either admire at, or disapprove of what they did. For Antigonus had restored the Megalopolitans, who in the memory of their Grandfathers had been beaten thence, into their Country; and to the Dymeans, who were lately taken and rifled by the Roman

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Army,

Army, Philip (giving order that they should be redeemed where-ever they were in slavery) gave back not only their Liberty, but their Country too. And as for the Argives, they, besides that they believe the Macedonian Kings to be come originally from them, were many of them obliged to Philip upon several private accounts, and by familiar friendship. For these reasons, because the Council was inclined to make an Alliance with the Romans, they went out, and they were pardoned for so doing, because they had been obliged, not only very much, but very lately too, by several kindneses that the Macedonians had done them.

XXIII. The rest of the Nations belonging to the *Achaens*, when their opinions were demanded, confirmed an alliance with *Attalus* and the *Rhodians* by a present Decree just then, but deferred it to the Romans, because without the Peoples consent it could not be ratified, till such time as Embassadors could be sent to Rome. At the present they agreed to send three Embassadors to *L. Quintus*, and remove all the *Achaean* Army to *Corinth*, which City it self *Quintus* was then attacking after he had taken *Cenchreae*. And they indeed encamped over against that Gate, which leads to *Sicyon*. The Romans fell upon that side of the City toward *Cenchreae*, and *Attalus* leading his Men over through the *Isthmus* attack'd it first more slowly from *Lechaum*, the Port of the opposite Sea, as hoping to see a mutiny between the Townsmen and the Kings Guards. But seeing that they all defended it, the Macedonians as though it had been their own common Country, and the *Corinthians* by making *Androsthenes* Governour of the Garrison, whom they obeyed for his humanity and justice in his Office, as if he had been one of their own Citizens and chosen by majority of Votes; so that the Assaults only hopes now lay in force, Arms and Works, and therefore they raised vast Mounds before the Walls on every side. A Ram on that side where the Romans made their Attack, had beaten down some part of the Walls. To which place, because it was now bereft of all fortifications, the Macedonians ran in throngs to defend it, upon which there happened to be a bloody Battel between them and the Romans. And first of all, the Romans were easily kept off by mere Multitude, but when the Auxiliaries belonging both to the *Achaens* and *Attalus* were slain, the fight was pretty equal, nor could any body doubt, but the Romans would easily force the Macedonians and Greeks to quit their Ground. There were a great number of Italian Fugitives, who, part of them out of *Annibals* Army came over for fear of being punished by the Romans, and followed Philip, and part of them were Sea Men, who having left their Fleets revolted to the hopes of a more honourable Warfare. Despair of being pardoned, if the Romans overcame, made these Men rather mad than bold. There is the Promontory of *Juno* over against *Sicyon*, which they call *Asrae*, that runs a great way out into the Sea: from whence *Philocles*, one of the Kings Praefects, having passed over to *Corinth*, almost seven Thousand Paces, led fifteen Hundred Men after him through *Bootia*. There were Barks ready from *Corinth* to take that Guard in and carry them to *Lechaum*. Whereupon *Attalus* advised them, To set fire of their Works and presently quit the Siege. But *Quintus* was more pertinacious in the Enterprize. Yet even he, when he saw the Kings Guards posted at every Gate, so that it was not easie for them to sustain the shock of a sally out of the Town, was of *Attalus's* opinion. Thus without effecting their design, and having dismiss'd the *Achaens*, they returned to their Ships; *Attalus* went for *Piraeus*, and the Romans for *Cercyra*.

XXIV. Whilst these things were carried on by their Naval Forces, the Consul having pitched his Camp in *Phocis* near *Elatia*, endeavoured to do the business first by way of Parley and Conference with the Nobility of that City; but when they told him, They had not power to do any thing at all, for that the Kings Men were more numerous and strong than the Townsmen, then he attacked the City with Works and Arms on every side. When he applyed the Ram to the Wall, as much of it as between the Towers was knock'd down, having left the City defenceless, and that with a great crash and noise as it fell; not only the Romans march'd in through the new breach, but also from all parts of the Town ev'ry one left their stations, and ran together to that place that was so throng'd by the Enemy. The Romans at the same time clamber'd over the Ruines, and brought their Ladders up to the standing Walls: and whilst the heat of the fight fix'd not only the Eyes but the Minds of the Enemies upon that one part only where the conflict was, the Wall was scaled in several other places, and the Soldiers clamb over into the City. Upon the hearing of which tumult, the Enemy, being affrighted at it, left the place which they, so many of them together defended, and fled all for fear into the Castle, with the unarm'd Rabble at their heels. By this means the Consul took possession of the City. Which when he had rifled, he sent certain Persons into the Castle, who were to promise the Kings Men their lives, if they would go away without their Arms, and their liberty to the *Elatians*; upon which having given his solemn word for the performance he after some few days was Master of the Castle.

XXV. But when *Philocles*, the Kings Praefect, came into *Achaia*, not only *Corinth* was free'd from the Siege, but the City of the *Argives* also was betrayed to *Philocles* by certain Princes, or Noblemen therein, after they had first try'd how the vulgar stood affected. They had a custom, on the first day of their Assemblies, as an Omen, for the Praetors to pronounce the Names of *Jupiter*, *Apollo*, and *Hercules*; to which Law, there was an addition made, That King Philip should be joined with them; whose name seeing the Cryer did not add, now that they had

had made a Peace with the Romans, there was first an hum set up by the multitude; and soon after a great noise made by those that pronounced *Philips* name, as being willing he should enjoy his legal honour, till at last his name was repeated with a general assent. In confidence of this favour, *Philocles* being sent for thither in the night time seized an Hill, that stood above the City (which Castle they call *Larissa*) and planting a Guard there, as he went down to the Town below it by break of day, in an hostile posture, an Army ready in *Battalia* met him. For there was a Garison of *Achaens* lately put into that place, consisting of about five hundred Youths chosen out of all their Cities. Over which *Enesidemus* a *Dymaan*, was chief Commander. To him the Kings Praefect sent this advice; that he would march out of the City: (for that they were not equal even to the Townsmen only, who were of the Macedonians side, much less when the Macedonians were added to them, whom even the Romans themselves could not endure to cope with at *Corinth*) which though at first it not at all moved either their Captain or them, yet sometime after, when they saw the *Argives* come arm'd on the other side in a great Body, foreseeing nought but certain destruction, they nevertheless seem'd resolv'd to undergo any hazard, if their Commander had but stuck to them. But *Enesidemus*, for fear all the flower of the *Achaean* Youth and their City should be lost together, having bargained with *Philocles* that they might march off, himself continued in the same place where he was arm'd, and with a very small number to attend him. Whereupon when *Philocles* sent a Messenger to ask him, what he meant? he, standing mute with his Shield before him, made Answer, That he was resolv'd to die arm'd in defence of that City which was committed to his charge. Thereupon by the Praefects Order the *Thracians* threw their Darts in upon them and kill'd them every man. So that after the alliance was made between the *Achaens* and the Romans, two of the most famous Cities in the World, *Argi* and *Corinthus*, were in subjection to the King.

XXVI. These things were performed by the Romans in Greece by Sea and Land that Summer. But in *Gaul* there was no memorable exploit done by *Sex. Julius* the Consul: who though he had two Armies with him in that Province, one which he kept still, but ought to have disbanded (that had been under the Command of *L. Cornelius* the Pro-Consul) of which he made *C. Helvius* the Praetor, General, and another that he brought thither; yet he spent almost the whole year in reducing the *Cremoneses* and *Plancontians* back into those Colonies, from whence by the fortune of War they had been dispersed. Now as *Gaul* that Year was at quiet beyond all expectation, so about the City [of Rome] there had like to have been an Insurrection made by the slaves. For the *Carthaginian* Hostages were then in Custody at *Setia*, and had with them, as being Noblemens Sons, a great number of Slaves: who were the more, not only by reason of the late *African* War, but because the *Setines* also themselves had bought several Captives of that Nation which were taken Prisoners. When therefore they had formed their Conspiracy, they sent some of that number to sollicite the other Slaves, that were in the Country near *Setia*, as well as about *Norba* and *Circeii*. And when they had gotten all things in a readiness, they had resolv'd to set upon the people, when they were intent upon seeing certain Games, which were to be in a day or two at *Setia*: and when they had taken *Setia* by slaughter, and that sudden tumult, to make themselves Masters of *Norba* and *Circeii*. News was brought to Rome of this their design, to *L. Cornelius Merula*, then Praetor [or Governour] of the City. Two Slaves came to him before day, and told him in order all that had been, or was intended to be done. He therefore, having Commanded them to be kept in Custody at his own House, and called a Senat to whom he declared what the Informers said, was immediately ordered to go and inquire into, and suppress that Conspiracy. Accordingly he went with five Lieutenants, and by the way forced all he met with an Oath to take up Arms and follow him. By means of which tumultuary Levy having raised almost two thousand men, he came, without telling any of them whither he was a going, to *Setia*. Where having soon laid hold upon the Heads of the Conspiracy, he so surpris'd them, that the Slaves ran all out of the Town: But he sent a Party to pursue and find them out all over the Country. In this affair the service of the two informing Slaves, and one Freeman, was very extraordinary; to the latter of which the Senat ordered an hundred thousand pounds for a Reward; and to the Slaves twenty five thousand pounds, with their Liberty, which was paid them out of the Treasury. Not long after, out of the remains of that same Conspiracy, news was brought, that the Slaves were like to seize *Prenefte*. Thereupon *L. Cornelius* the Praetor marching thither, punished nigh five hundred persons that were in that Plot. Mean while the City was in a fright, that the *Carthaginian* Hostages and Captives should attempt such things; insomuch that there were Watches kept at Rome in every street, of which the inferiour Magistrates were to take care, and the *Triumviri* injoin'd to have a stricter Eye over the Prison belonging to the Stone-quarries, [whither Slaves, &c. were sent to work.] Besides which the Praetor sent Letters all over *Laticium*, to Command, that the Hostages should be kept in private, and not suffered to stir abroad; and that the Captives being bound in Fetters of no less than ten pound weight, should be in no other than the publick Gaol.

That year Embassadors from King *Attalus* laid up as an offering in the Capitol, a golden Crown of two hundred forty six pound weight, and gave the Senat thanks, for that *Antiochus*,



chus, by the persuasions of the Roman Embassadors, had drawn his Army out of *Attalus's* Dominions. The same Summer there came two hundred Horsemen, ten Elephants, and two thousand Bushels of Wheat from King *Masiniſſa* to the Army that was in *Greece*. There were also sent out of *Sicily* and *Sardinia* great quantities of Provision and Cloths to the same Army. *M. Marcellus* at that time was Governour of *Sicily*, and *M. Porcius Cato* of *Sardinia*; who, though he were a religious and an innocent man, was lookt upon as a little too harsh in restraining of Usury. For he expelled all Usurers out of that Island, and either retrenched or quite took off the charge which the Allies were usually at to maintain the Prætors. At this time *Sext. Ailius* the Consul being come back out of *Gaul* to *Rome*, to hold the Assembly [for chusing of Consuls] made *C. Cornelius Cethegus*, and *Q. Minucius Rufus* Consuls. Two dayes after, the Assembly was held for chusing of Prætors: in which there were (more than ever before) six chosen, the Provinces did so increaſe, and the Empire grew so much larger. Their names were *L. Manlius Vulſo*, *C. Sempronius Tuditanus*, *M. Sergius Sillus*, *M. Helvius*, *M. Minucius Rufus*, and *L. Atilius*. Of whom *Sempronius* and *Helvius* were Ædiles of the People, as *Q. Minucius Thermus*, and *T. Sempronius Longus* were the Curule [or chief] Ædiles. The Roman Games were performed four times that Year.

XXVIII.

Now *Cn. Cornelius* and *Q. Minucius* being Consuls, their first business was to dispose of the Provinces between themselves and the Prætors. But the Prætors had the precedence in that transaction, whose choice was to be managed by lots. In which affair *Sergius* happened to have the jurisdiction of the City, and *Minucius* a Foreign one: *Atilius* to have *Sardinia*, *Manlius* *Sicily*, *Sempronius* the hither *Spain*, and *Helvius* the farther. But when the Consuls were ready to part *Italy* and *Macedonia* between them, *L. Oppius*, and *Q. Fulvius*, Tribunes of the people obstructed it; for that *Macedonia* was a Province that lay a great way off: nor had any thing to that day been a greater obstacle to the War, than that the former Consul was recalled before he had well begun his business, in the very moment when he strove to carry on the War. That it was now four years since the War with *Macedonia* was resolv'd upon. That, in seeking out the King and his Army, *Sulpicius* had spent the greatest part of that year. That *Villius*, even when he was going to engage the Enemy, was recall'd without doing what he design'd. That *Quintius* was kept at *Rome* the better part of his year upon the score of Religion; yet that he ordered his affairs so well, that if he had either come sooner into that Province, or the Winter had been a little later, he might have made an end of the War. Nay even now, though he were ready to go into his Winter Quarters, he was making such provisions (people said) for the War, that, unless a Successor disturb'd him, he would in all probability perfect it the next Summer. By these kind of Speeches they so far prevailed; that the Consuls said, they would submit to the pleasure of the Senate, if the Tribunes would do the same. Wherefore seeing both sides gave way to a free debate; the Senate decreed that the Consuls should both have *Italy* for their Province; and continued *T. Quintius* in Commission, till a Successor should come. The Consuls had two Legions assign'd to them; being order'd also to make War against the *Cisalpine Gauls*, who had revolted from the Roman People. *Quintius* had a supply granted, to be sent into *Macedonia*, of five thousand Foot, three hundred Horse, and of Naval Allies three thousand, of all which *L. Quintius Flaminius*, he that was Admiral of the Fleet, was made Commander. The Prætors had eight thousand Allies and Latines assign'd them to go for *Spain*, and four hundred Horse; that they might dismiss the old Souldiers which were there; with a Command, that they should settle the bounds of the farther and the hither Province: whilst *P. Sulpicius* and *P. Villius*, who had been Consuls in that Province, were sent as supernumerary Lientenants into *Macedonia*.

XXIX.

But before the Consuls and Prætors went into their Provinces, they thought fit to take some care about the Prodigies [that then happen'd.] For the Temple of *Vulcan* and *Pluto*, at *Rome*, as the Wall and the Gate of *Fregella*, were fired by Lightning; it grew light of a sudden at *Frasino* in the night time; there was a Lamb at *Asculum* with two Heads and five Feet; at *Formia* two Wolves came into the Town, and tore some people that they met to pieces; and at *Rome* there was a Wolf that came in not only to the City, but even the very Capitol it self. At that time *C. Atilius*, Tribune of the People propos'd, That five Colonies might be sent to the Sea-Coast; two to the mouths of the Rivers *Vulturnus* and *Liternus*: one to *Puteoli*, and one to the Castle or Garrison of *Salernum*; to which they likewise added *Buxentum*. Thirty Families were ordered to be sent in each Colony, and three persons chosen to carry them thither, that should continue in that Office three years together, whose names were *M. Servilius Geminus*, *Q. Minucius Thermus*, and *T. Sempronius Longus*. Then both the Consuls having made an end of the Levy and other Affairs, divine and humane, which they had to do, went into *Gaul*. *Cornelius* straight toward the *Insubrians*, who were then in Arms, and assist'd by the *Cenomanes*; but *Q. Minucius* to the left side of *Italy*, toward the lower Sea; where drawing his Army away to *Genoa*, he began the War in *Liguria*. The Towns of *Clasidium* and *Litubium*, which both belonged to the *Ligurians*, with two Cities of the same Nation called *Celela* and *Cerdicia*, surrendered themselves. And now all places on this side the *Po*, except the *Boii*, belonging to the *Gauls*, and the *Ivates*, belonging to the *Ligurians*, were under his Command: of whom they said, that fifteen Towns, and twenty thousand Souls surrendred themselves.

From

From thence he led his Legions into the Territories of the *Boii*, whose Forces were not long before gone over the *Po*, where they had joyned the *Insubrians* and the *Cenomanes*; for they had heard, that the Consuls resolv'd to unite their Legions, and therefore they also were willing to strengthen their Army by putting themselves and their Allies into one Body. But when they happened to be told, that one of the Consuls was burning the Country of the *Boii*, they were streight all in a tumult. For the *Boii* desired, that they would all come in to their assistance; and the *Insubrians* said, they would not forsake their own Country. By which means their Armies were divided; and whilst the *Boii* went home to defend their own Dominions, the *Insubrians* with the *Cenomanes* sat down together upon the Banks of the River *Mincius*. Below that place five Thousand Paces did the Consul *Cornelius* likewise encamp upon the same River. From whence sending spies into all the Villages of the *Cenomanes*, and to *Brivina*, which was the chief City of that Nation, when he found, that the young men had taken up Arms without the consent of the Seniors, and that the *Cenomans* had not sided with the Rebels by publick allowance of all the *Insubrians*, he procur'd a Conference with the head men among them, in which he began to discourse, and did all he could to make the *Cenomans* revolt from the *Insubrians*, so as, that they should either take up their Ensigns and return home, or come over to the Romans. But though that would not be granted, yet this they promis'd the Consul, that they would either stand Neuters in the Field, or more than that, if there were occasion, would assist the Romans. The *Insubrians* knew nothing of this Agreement; and yet they had some suspicion, that their Allies would prove false to them. For which reason, when they had led their men out into the Field, they durst not commit either of the Wings to the *Cenomans*, lest if, through treachery, they should have given back, they might turn the whole Fortune of the day, and therefore placed them behind the Ensigns in the Rear. The Consul in the beginning of the Battle vow'd to build a Temple to *Juno Sospita* [*Juno* the Preserver of, &c.] upon condition that their Enemies were that day routed and put to flight. Whereupon the Souldiers gave a shout, saying, they would make the Consul perform his Vow, and with that ran in upon the Foe. The *Insubrians* were not able to bear the first assault; for some Authors say, that the *Cenomans* also, who in the midst of the fight on a sudden set upon their Rear, put them into a double fright both before and behind; and that there were slain in the middle between both Armies thirty five thousand men; five thousand seven hundred taken Prisoners (among whom was *Amilcar*, General of the *Carthaginians*, who had been the cause of the War) an hundred and thirty military Ensigns carried off, besides above two hundred Waggons. The Towns that had complied with the Revolters, surrendered themselves to the Romans.

XXXI.

*Minucius* the Consul had first over-ran the *Boian* Territories with extraordinary devastations; but, when they had left the *Insubrians*, and were come back to defend their own, kept himself within his Camp, supposing he must then have a set Battle with the Enemy. Nor had the *Boii* declined the fight, had not the News, which was brought them, of the *Insubrians* being defeated, quite damped their Spirits. Wherefore leaving their General and their Camp, they disperſed themselves about their Villages, each man to defend what he had, and totally altered the Enemies measures in the manage of the War. For having now no hopes of determining the matter at one bout, he began again to plunder the Country, burn the Houses, and take the Towns. At that time *Clasidium* was set on fire: and from thence were the Legions led toward the *Ligurian Iuates*, who were the only people that would not submit. And that Nation too, as soon as they heard, that the *Insubrians* were Conquer'd, and that the *Boii* were thereupon so affrighted, as that they durst not so much as try the fortune of a Battle, made their Surrender. About that time there were Letters brought from the Consuls to *Rome* concerning their success in *Gaul*; which *M. Sergius* the City Prætor read first in the Senate, and then, by order of that House, to the People: upon which there was a Supplication appointed to be made for four dayes together.

It was now Winter, and just at that time, when *T. Quintius*, having taken *Elatia*, was gone into his Winter Quarters in *Phocis* and *Locris*, that a sedition broke out at *Opus*. In

XXXII.

which one Faction sent to the *Ætolians* who were the nearer, and the other, the Romans [to assist them.] The *Ætolians* came first, but the stronger Faction, shutting out the *Ætolians*, and sending a Messenger to the Roman General, continued Masters of the City till he came. A Garrison of the Kings had possession of the Castle; who could not be induced to stir from thence either by the menaces of the *Optimians*, nor the Authority of the Roman Consul who commanded it. The reason, why they were not presently Besieged, was this; that an Herald came from the King, to desire time and place for a Parley. That was a request which the Consul could very hardly grant: not but that he desir'd that the War might seem to be made an end of, partly by force of Arms, and partly upon conditions too. For he did not yet know, whether he should have a Successor sent him out of the new Consuls, or (which he had ordered his Friends and Relations, as much as possible, to endeavour) whether he should be continued in Commission. However he thought a Parley might be convenient; that he might have his choice either, if he staid, to dispose things toward a War, or, if he went off, toward a Peace. For this purpose therefore they chose the Sea-

shore

shore in the *Malian Bay*, near *Nicea*. And thither came the King from *Demetrius* with five Barks and one Man of War; attended by the *Macedonian Nobility*, and a famous *Achaean* who was banish'd his Country, call'd *Cycliadas*. With the Roman General there was King *Amynder*, *Dionysodorus*, *Attalus's* Embassador, *Agessimbrotus*, Admiral of the *Rhodian Fleet*, *Phaneas* Prince of *Ætolia*, and two *Achaean*s, *Aristamus* and *Xenophon*. Among these persons the Roman marching on to the extremity of the breach, and seeing the King come only into the Prow of his Ship, that stood at Anchor there, told him, We may discourse with, and hear each other more commodiously when we are nearer, if you will but come a shore. To which the King making Answer, that he should not take his advice, *Quintius* reply'd; Why, who is it, that you are afraid of? The King made this proud and King-like return; I fear no person, but the immortal Gods; but I dare not trust all those that I see about you, and, of all, the *Ætoli*ans least. Why, said the Roman, All men that meet to parley with an Enemy, are in equal danger as to that, that they may be betray'd. That's true, said the King, but then the reward of their treachery is not equal, if they should deceive each other, *Phaneas* and *Philip*. For it is not so hard for the *Ætoli*ans to put another Governour in the place of *Phaneas*, as it is for the *Macedonians* to find another King when I am gone.

XXXIII. After these words had past, they were all silent, till the Roman began and said, he thought it fitting for him to speak first, who desired the Conference: to which the King reply'd, That it was his part to begin, who prescribed, not who accepted the terms of peace. Whereupon the Roman told him, He would be very plain with him; for he design'd to say such things, as that unless he perform'd them, there was no likelihood of a Peace. That the King must draw his Guards out of all the Cities in Greece; restore their Captives and Fugitives to all the Allies of the Roman people; deliver back to the Romans those places in *Illyrium*, that he had taken possession of after the peace was concluded on in *Epirus*; and give up those Cities to *Ptolomy* King of *Ægypt*, which he had invaded after the death of *Ptolomy Philopator*. That these were the terms which he and the Roman People would make: but that it was also very just, that the demands of their Allies too should be heard. For King *Attalus's* Embassador demanded the Ships and Captives that were taken in the Sea fight at *Cius*; complaining that *Nicephorium* and the Temple of *Venus*, which he had plundered and laid wast, were restored as though they had never been violated. The *Rhodians* demanded back *Peræa* (a Country upon the Continent, opposite to their Island, to which it anciently belong'd) and required, that his Garrisons should be drawn out of *Jassus*, *Bargyllæ* and *Euromie*, and in *Hellepont* from *Sestus* and *Abydos*: as also, that *Panopolis* should be restored to the *Byzantians* with all its ancient immunities, and that all the Mart-Towns and Ports of *Asia* should be set at liberty. The *Achaean*s redemanded *Corinth* and *Argi*: but as *Phaneas*, Prætor of the *Ætoli*ans, who desired much what the same thing as the Roman, (that the *Macedonians* should depart out of Greece) and that those Cities that were formerly theirs might be restored to the *Ætoli*ans; a certain Nobleman of *Ætolia*, call'd *Alexander*, who (among them) was reckoned a very Eloquent Person, went on with his Speech and said, He had held his tongue a great while, not that he thought they had done any thing to the purpose in that Conference, but for fear of interrupting any of his Allies who was a speaking. But now he could not forbear to tell them, that *Philip* did neither talk of Peace with any sincerity, nor ever make War with true Courage. That in his Parleys he was deceitful, and sly: that in War he durst not come to a fair push for it, or fight a pitch'd Battle, but running away used to burn and plunder all the Towns before him, and though he were Conquer'd, destroy the reward of those that got the Victory. That the ancient Kings of *Macedonia* did not use to do so, but were wont to engage in the open Field, to spare the Cities as much as they could, that their Empire might be the more opulent. For what policy was it by destroying those things, for the sake whereof a War is Proclaimed, to leave a mans self nothing but blood and slaughter? That *Philip* had wasted more Cities in *Thessaly* the year before, that belong'd to their Allies, than all that ever were Enemies to that Country. Nay, that he had taken more from the *Ætoli*ans themselves when he was their Ally, than since he was their Enemy. That he had possessed himself of *Lyfimachia*, after he had beaten out the Governour and the Garrison belonging to the *Ætoli*ans. That he had likewise utterly ruined and razed *Cius*, a City under their jurisdiction. That by the same fraud he now also had *Thebes*, *Phthiæ*, *Echinus*, *Larissæ* and *Pharissalus*.

XXXIV. *Philip*, being moved at what *Alexander* said, put his Ship nearer to the Shore, that he might be the better heard. But when he began to inveigh most bitterly against the *Ætoli*ans, *Phaneas* interrupted him, and said, The business did not depend upon words; they must either conquer, or obey better Men than he was. Ay, answered *Philip*, one that cannot see his way before him; deriding the imperfection of *Phaneas's* eye-sight. For he was naturally more apt to gibe, than becomes a King: nor could he even when he talk'd of the most serious matters forbear scurrility. But then he began to be very angry, That the *Ætoli*ans, as though they were Romans, should bid him depart out of Greece, who could not tell which were the bounds of it. For in *Ætolia* it self, the *Agæzi*, the *Apodeotæ*, and the *Amphilochi*, who are a great share of it, were not properly any part of Greece. Can they justly complain, that I did not let their Allies alone? when they themselves observe this ancient custom as a Law; to let their Youth go for Soldiers even against their own Allies, save that they do not publicly allow of it: and the adverse Armies on both sides have many times *Ætolian Auxiliaries* on both sides? Nor did I take

*Cius*,

*Cius*, but only assisted *Prulias*, my Friend and Ally, who was besieging of it: and defended *Lyfimachia* from the *Thracians*. But because necessity forced me from keeping of that City to look after this War, the *Thracians* are now possessed of it. So much for the *Ætoli*ans. Now to *Attalus* and the *Rhodians* I do not rightfully owe the least thing in the World. For the War was first raised not by me, but by them. Yet, out of the respect I have for the Romans, I will restore *Peræa* to the *Rhodians*, and his Ships to *Attalus*, with all the Captives that shall appear. But as to the restoring of *Nicephorium*, and the Temple of *Venus*; what can I answer to such demands? unless (which is the only way that Groves and Woods can be restored) that I'll be at the charge of planting them afresh: since the Kings are pleased to desire an Answer to all their several demands. The latter end of his Speech was against the *Achaean*s; in which, beginning first with *Antigonus*, and then proceeding to what he himself had deserved of that Nation, he bid them read over their decrees, which contain'd all honours, both divine and humane [to be paid to him] to which he added [by way of comparison] their late resolution concerning the Army, wherewith they had revolted from him [to the Romans] inveighing bitterly against their perfidiousness; but yet, he said he would give them *Argos* again. That he would discourse with the Roman General concerning *Corinth*, and desire to know of him, whether he thought it reasonable, that he should quit those Cities only, which he himself had taken in time of War, and was in that right still possessed of, or even those also, which he had received from his Ancestors.

As the *Achaean*s and *Ætoli*ans were going to reply to what he had said, it being nigh Sun- XXXV. setting, the Conference was adjourn'd till next day, and *Philip* return'd into the Harbour from whence he came, as the Romans and their Allies did into their Camp. The next Morning *Quintius* came to *Nicea* (for that was the place agreed upon) at the time appointed. But there came not so much as any Messenger from *Philip* for several hours: till at last, when they despair'd of his coming, the Ships on a sudden appear'd. And then *Philip* told them; That, seeing such hard and unworthy things were imposed upon him, he, not knowing what to do, had spent all that day in deliberating about that affair. But it was generally believed, that he deferred his coming till that time of day on purpose, that the *Achaean*s and *Ætoli*ans might not have time enough to make their Answers. And indeed he himself confirm'd that belief, by desiring, that all others might be sent away (lest the time should be taken up in wrangling) and he alone be admitted (to make some end of the business) to speak with the Roman General. That proposal at first was not accepted of, lest the Allies should seem to be excluded: but afterward, seeing he would not be deny'd, the Roman General by universal consent, removing all the rest, walkt along with *Appius Claudius*, Tribune of the Soldiers to the very Sea side, and the King, with two, that he had with him the day before, came a shore. Where when they had discoursed each other privately for some time, they parted. Now it is not certainly known, what account *Philip* gave his people of that interview; but *Quintius* made this report to his Allies: That in regard to the Romans, *Philip* would retire from all the Borders of *Illyricum*, would send back the Fugitives, and all the Captives that he could find. That he would restore to *Attalus* his Ships, and with them the Seamen that were taken in them: and to the *Rhodians* that Country which they call *Peræa*: but would not stir from *Jassus* and *Bargyllæ*. That he would give the *Ætoli*ans *Pharissalus* and *Larissæ* again; but not *Thebes*. And in justice to the *Achaean*s, would not only quit *Argos*, but *Corinth* also. But this design of his pleased none of all the Allies, out of whose Dominions he either would or would not depart. For they said, they lost more than they got by it; nor should they ever lay aside their animosities, till he had drawn his Guards out of all Greece in general.

The whole Assembly so loudly declar'd this, (one striving to out-roar the other) that XXXVI. *Philip*, though he stood a great way off, heard what they said. Wherefore he desir'd of *Quintius*, That he would defer the whole matter till the next day; at which time he would certainly either persuade them, or be himself persuaded into another opinion. Thereupon the shore near *Thronium* was appointed for their meeting; to which they came very early. And there *Philip* desired *Quintius* with all that were then present, not to destroy his hopes of peace, and at last desired time, to send Embassadors to the Senate at Rome, telling them, that he would either obtain a peace upon these conditions, or accept of any terms that the Senate should offer. That did not by any means please the rest; for they said, His design was only to gain time, by that delay, to reinforce himself: and *Quintius* also said, That was very likely indeed, if it had been Summer, and a season fit for action. But that now, since the Winter was come, they could lose nothing by giving him time to send his Embassadors to Rome. For neither would any of those things, which they agreed upon with the King, stand good, without the approbation of the Senate; and besides that, he had an opportunity (whilst the Winter continued, and made it necessary for them to lie still) to learn of the Senate what they resolved to do. To this his Opinion, the rest also, who were the principals of the Allies, submitted; and granting a Truce for two Months, resolved themselves likewise to send, each of them, Embassadors, to advise the Senate, that they might not be circumvented by the Kings Politicks. But it was added, as Surplusage to the Truce, that the Kings Guards should be all immediately drawn out of *Phocis* and *Locris*. *Quintius* sent *Aminander*, King of the *Athamans*, and (to make a shew of an Embassy) *Q. Fabius* (his Sisters Son) *Q. Fulvius*, and *Appius Claudius* along with the Embassadors of the Allies.

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When

XXXVII. When they came to *Rome*, the Embassadors from the Allies, were heard before those from the King. Now the rest of their Speeches was spent in invectives against the King; but they moved the Senate most of all, by demonstrating the situation of the Sea and Land in that Country: so far that it appeared to all of them, *That if the King were Master of Demetrias in Thessaly, of Chalcis in Eubœa, and of Corinth in Achaia; Greece could not be free: and that Philip himself did not more contumeliously, than truly, call those Cities the Fetters of Greece.* Then the Kings Embassadors were admitted, who at the beginning of a long Speech, had this short question put to them, *Whether the King would quit those three Cities, or no?* which interrupted them; they denying, *that they had any Commission to answer to that particular point.* Thus were the Kings men dismissed without concluding of a Peace; and *Quintius* had full power granted him to make either Peace or War, as he thought good. When therefore it sufficiently appear'd, that the Senate were not weary of the War, he himself also, being more desirous of War than Peace, would never grant *Philip* the favour of a Conference after that time, nor admit of any Embassy, but what should tell the Senate, that *Philip's* Forces were departed out of all *Greece*.

XXXVIII. *Philip*, seeing that he must needs fight for it, and that he ought to muster up as much force as he could from all parts; especially from the Cities of *Achaia*, a Country far remote from *Macedonia* (though he were yet more solicitous for *Argos* than *Corinth*) he thought it his best course to let *Nabis*, Tyrant of *Lacedæmon*, have *Argos* in Trust, as it were; so as that he should restore it to him again, if he happen'd to be Victorious, but keep it himself, if any thing happened contrary to his hopes or expectations. In order whereunto he writes to *Philocles*, who was Governour of *Argos* and *Corinth*, *to go and wait upon the Tyrant.* Accordingly *Philocles*, besides that he carried a Present along with him, added, as a pledge of the future Friendship between the King and the Tyrants, that the King had a mind to marry his Daughters to *Nabis's* Sons. The Tyrant at first said, *He would not accept of that City on any other terms, than that the Argives themselves by their Decree would send for him to the relief of their City.* But afterward, when he heard that they in full Assembly, not only despised, but also abominated the very name of a Tyrant, thinking with himself, that he had got a sufficient reason now to pillage them, *He bad Philocles deliver the City into whose hands he pleas'd.* Thereupon, in the night time, when all people were secure, the Tyrant was received into the City: where at break of day he seiz'd all the chief places, and shut the Gates. Some few of the Nobility escaped upon the first commotion; whose Fortunes were plundered in their absence: and those that staid there, had their gold and silver taken from them. Great Impositions were laid upon the Inhabitants, and those that paid their money readily were dismissed without any affront or corporal torture; but those that were suspected to hide or keep back any thing, were punished with all the severity that slaves could undergo. After which, he called an Assembly, and proposed two Laws; one, for the remitting of old Debts, and another for dividing of the Lands equally to each man his proportion: which were two Firebrands to them, that were studious in innovation to kindle and incense the Mobile against the Nobility.

XXXIX. Now when *Argos* was in the hands of *Nabis*, the Tyrant never minding from whom, or upon what condition he had received that City, sent Embassadors to *Quintius* at *Elatia*, and to *Attalus*, who wintered at *Agina*, to tell them, *That Argos was now in his possession; and that, if Quintius would come thither to a conference, he did not doubt but all things would go according to his mind.* *Quintius*, that he might deprive *Philip* of that Garrison also, having consented to come, sent to *Attalus*, to come from *Agina* and meet him at *Sicyon*, whilst he himself crossed over from *Anticyra* with ten five-bank'd Gallies (which at that very time his Brother *L. Quintius* had by chance brought thither from their Winter Quarters at *Coreyra*) to the same Port. *Attalus* was already there, who by saying, *That the Tyrant ought to come to the Roman General, not the Roman wait upon the Tyrant*, brought *Quintius* over to his opinion, not to go into the very City of *Argos*. Not far from the City there is a place called *Mycenica*, in which they agreed to meet. *Quintius* came with his Brother and some few Tribunes of the Soldiers; *Attalus* with a Kingly retinue; and *Nicostratus*, Prætor [or Chief Magistrate] of the *Achaens*, with a small number of Auxiliaries. There they found the Tyrant waiting for them with all his Forces; and as he marched forth arm'd, with a Guard about him, almost into the middle of a plain that lay between them, so *Quintius*, with his Brother and two Tribunes, and *Attalus*, attended only by the *Achæan* Prætor, and one of his Nobles, came unarm'd to meet him. The beginning of the Tyrants speech to them was an excuse, that he should come to the Conference arm'd, and with a Guard of armed Men about him, when he saw the Roman General and the King without Arms. For he said, he did not fear them, but the banish'd Argives [that were under their Command]. Then when they began to talk of terms of friendship, the Roman requir'd two things; the one, *That he would make an end of the War with the Achæans*; and the other, *That he would send Auxiliaries along with him against Philip.* To which last thing he consented; but instead of Peace with the *Achaens*, they had only a Truce granted them, till the War with *Philip* should be made an end of.

XL. There was also a Debate, rais'd by King *Attalus*, concerning *Argos*; the King affirming that

that *Nabis*, when *Philocles* had Knavishly betrayed the City to him, as basely kept it; and *Nabis*, that he was sent for by the *Argives* themselves to defend them. Thereupon the King requir'd, that an Assembly of the *Argives* might be summoned, to know the truth of that matter. Nor did the Tyrant refuse it: but the King said, *He ought to draw all his Guards out of the City, and leave the Assembly free, without any Lacedæmonians mingled among them, to declare what the Argives sentiments were.* To which the King reply'd, *That he would not*; so that this Debate came to no issue; but they departed from the Conference; the Tyrant giving the Roman six hundred *Cretans*, and making a Truce between him and *Nicostratus*, Prætor of the *Achaens*, for four months. From thence *Quintius* went to *Corinth*; and came up to the Gate with his Regiment of *Cretans*, that *Philocles* the Governour of that City might see, the Tyrant was revolted from *Philip*. Then *Philocles* himself also came to a Parley with the Roman General: who advising him to go immediately and deliver up the City, receiv'd such an Answer, *that he might perceive, he had rather deferred it, than that he denied the doing of it.* From *Corinth* *Quintius* went over to *Anticyra*; and thence sent his Brother to make an attempt upon the *Acarnanians*. *Attalus* went for *Argos* to *Sicyon*. And there not only that City augmented the former honours which the King had with the addition of new ones; but the King also, besides that he had sometime before redeemed for them a piece of Land, sacred to *Apollo*, with the expence of a great sum of money, at that time too, left he should pass by a City that was in amity and alliance with him, without some mark of his munificence, presented them with ten Talents of Silver, and sixty thousand Bushels of Corn: and so he went back to the Fleet at *Cenchrea*. In the mean time *Nabis*, having set a strong Guard upon *Argos*, return'd to *Lacedæmon*; where considering that he himself had sufficiently plundered the Men, he sent his Wife to *Argos* to pillage the Women. Accordingly she, sending sometimes for the Ladies one by one, and sometimes several of them, that were related, together to her House, by Flatteries and threats got from them, not only all their gold, but, at last, all their Cloaths too, and fine Attire.

## DECADE IV. BOOK III.

### The E P I T O M E.

**T**IT. *Quintius Flaminius* the Pro-Consul made an end of the War with *Philip*, whom he defeated in a pitched Battle at *Cynocephala* in Thessaly. *L. Quintius*, the Pro-Consul's Brother admitted the *Acarnans* to a Surrender, after he had taken *Leucas*, their chief City. *C. Sempronius Tuditanus* the Prætor was slain, with his whole Army, by the *Celtiberians*. *Attalus*, who by reason of his sudden indisposition was carried from *Thebes* to *Pergamus*, died. Peace was granted to *Philip* upon his request, and liberty thereby given to all *Greece*. *L. Furius Purpureo*, and *Claudius*, being Consuls, subdued the *Boii*, the *Insubrians*, and the *Gauls*: for which *Marcellus* triumphed. *Annibal* having in vain endeavour'd to raise a War in *Africa*, for which he was accus'd to the Romans by Letters from the heads of the contrary Faction, for fear of the Romans, who had sent Embassadors to the *Carthaginian* Senate about that affair, went over to *Antiochus*, King of *Syria*, who at that time was providing for a War against the Romans.

**T**Hese things pass'd in the Winter; and in the beginning of the Spring, *Quintius* having sent for *Attalus* to *Elatia*, and being desirous to subdue *Bœotia*, which to that time was in a wavering condition, went through *Phocis* and pitched his Camp five thousand paces from *Thebes*, which is the Metropolis of *Bœotia*. From thence the next day, with the Souldiers belonging to one Ensign, *Attalus*, and the Embassadors that were come to him in great numbers from all places, he went forward toward the City, commanding the Spearmen of that Legion (which were two thousand) to follow him at the distance of a thousand paces. When he was about half way thither, *Antiphilus* Prætor of the *Bœotians* met him: the rest of the Inhabitants waiting, to see him and the King come, upon the City Walls. There were but a small number of Arms and Souldiers in sight to attend them; for the windings of the Roads and the Vales, that lay between, covered the Spearmen, who came after. When he was now come near to the City, he slacken'd his pace, as though he would salute the Company, that came forth to meet him. But the true reason of his so doing was, that the Spearmen might overtake him. The Townsmen, since the Lictors drove the Crowd before them, saw not the Body of armed men, who immediately followed, before they came to the Generals Inn. Then, as though their City had been betrayed and taken by the contrivance of *Antiphilus* the Prætor, they all stood amazed. For it was manifest, that the *Bœotians* had no room left for a free consultation in that Assembly, which was appointed to be on the next day. However they concealed their grief, which to no purpose, and not without some danger, they must have shewn. In the Assembly *Attalus* spoke first.



II. He began with what his Ancestors and he himself had deserv'd, not only of all Greece in general, but particularly of the *Bœotians*: but being now more crazy and infirm, than to endure the fatigue of making Speeches, he stopt of a sudden and fell down. Thereupon, whilst they carried the King away, the proceedings were interrupted. After him *Aristæus* Prætor of the *Acheans*, was heard with so much the more Authority, in that he perswaded the *Bœotians* to nothing else, but what he had formerly told the *Acheans*. Some few things were added by *Quintius* too, who extolled the Roman integrity more than their Arms or Wealth. Then a Bill, which was preferred by the Dicæarch [Chief Justice] of *Plataeæ*, and read, concerning an Alliance to be made with the Romans, was accepted and passed by the Votes of all the Cities of *Bœotia*, none daring to oppose it. *Quintius* having tarried at *Thebes* so long, as *Attalus's* unexpected circumstances requir'd, when he saw that there was no present danger of his Life, but only of a weakness in his Limbs, left him behind till he was well, and returned to *Elatia*, from whence he came. Where, having now made the *Bœotians*, as the *Acheans* formerly, his Allies (seeing he had all things secure and quiet belind him) he bent all his thoughts against *Philip*, and the remaining part of the War.

III. *Philip* likewise, at the beginning of the Spring, finding that his Embassadors brought him no hopes of Peace from *Rome*, made a Levy through all the Towns in his Kingdom, though he had but very few young men left. For their continual Wars for many years together, had so taken off the *Macedonians*, even in his time, that a great number of them were destroy'd, not only in the Sea-fights against the *Rhodiens*, and *Attalus*, but in the Land-fights too against the Romans. For this reason he was fain to list Boyes of sixteen years of Age for Souldiers, and recall some that were discharg'd from the Wars, if they had any strength left, to their old imployment. By which means having filled up his army, he at the Vernal Equinox muster'd all his Forces at *Dium*; where, being Encamp'd, he waited for the Enemy, but spent all his time in exercising of his men. In the mean time coming from *Elatia*, passed by *Thronium* and *Scarpheæ*, to *Thermopylæ*. There he called an Assembly of the *Ætolians*, which was summon'd to *Heraclea* [a place hard by] to consult what Auxiliaries they should follow the Romans with to the War. When he knew his Allies resolutions, he went forward upon the third day from *Heraclea* to *Xymia*, and Encamping on the Confines of the *Ænians* and *Theffalians*, staid for the *Ætolian* Auxiliaries. The *Ætolians* made no delay; but two thousand Foot, and four hundred Horse came after him under the Command of *Phaneas*. Thereupon, lest they should doubt of what he had waited for, *Quintius* immediately remov'd his Camp. And when he was got over into the *Phthian* Territories, five hundred *Gortinians* of *Creet*, under the Conduct of *Cydatus*, and three hundred *Apollonians*, all arm'd much alike, came and join'd him; as *Amynander* also with twelve hundred *Athamans* not long after did. *Philip*, hearing that the Romans were gone from *Elatia*, and being now to fight for all he had, thought it his best way to encourage his men; and therefore, having minded them oftentimes of the valour of their Ancestors, and the glory which the *Macedonians* had gain'd in War, he came now to those particulars which then were most dreadful to them, and to raise them even in those circumstances into some hopes of Victory.

IV. To the defeat which they receiv'd in the Straights near the River *Amu*, when the *Alacædonian* Phalanx [a Body of sixteen thousand Foot, peculiar to that Nation] was in a Contention, he oppos'd the Romans being beaten by main Force to *Atrææ*: and yet even there too, that they did not keep possession of the streights of *Epirus*, which they had blocked up, it was the fault, first, of those who were negligent in their Watches, and secondly, in the fight it self, of the Light-arm'd and mercenary Souldiers. For the *Macedonian* Phalanx would not only have stood their ground, but for ever continued invincible then had the place been convenient, and the fight regular. They were sixteen thousand men, and those the very strength of the Kingdom. To which were added two thousand Half Moon-Shield-Men, whom they call *Peltastæ*, with a like number of *Thracians* and *Illyrians* (out of *Tral-lia*) besides almost a thousand hired Souldiers from several Nations, that came in as Auxiliaries, and two thousand Horse. With these Forces the King waited for the Enemies coming. And the Romans had almost an equal number; only in the quantity of their Horse (because the *Ætolians* join'd them) they out-did the *Macedonians*.

V. *Quintius* having removed his Camp to *Thebes* in *Phthioris*, where he had some hopes that the City would be betrayed to him by *Timon*, who was Governour of it, came up to the Walls with a few of his Horse and Light-arm'd men. But there his hopes were so much frustrated, that he was fain not only to fight those that fallied forth, but to run a great hazard also, had not the Foot and Horse both been quickly alarm'd and come in time to his assistance. Seeing therefore that nothing succeeded according to his rash Conceptions, he desisted from making any farther attempt upon the City at that time: but knowing very well that the King was in *Theffaly*, though he had not yet certain notice which part of it he was come into, he sent his men all over the Country to cut and prepare Palisadoes for the making of Mounds and Fences. Now the *Macedonians* also and the *Greeks* too used Palisadoes, or stakes; but not such as were either with any convenience portable, or fit for Fortification.

Fortifications. For they cut down bigger and more branchy Trees than the Souldiers could well carry along with their Arms, and when they had fortified their Camp by placing such Trees before it, 'twas an easy matter to spoil their Fence. For seeing that the Trunks of those great Trees stood very thin, and that a great many strong Branches came out of them, which a man might easily take hold of, two or three young Fellows, at most, joining together might pull out one Tree. Which being done, the Fence lay open, like a Gate, nor could they easily stop the gap. On the contrary, the Romans for the most part cut light and forced stakes, of three, or, at most, of four Branches; not only that the Souldiers, hanging their Arms at their backs, might well carry several of them at a time, but they likewise fix and weave the Boughs into each other so thick, that it can neither be discern'd which is the particular Sprig of each stake, nor do the sharp Spars, being let in one through another, leave room enough for ones hand to go between; so that you can neither take hold of any one of them to pull it out, nor if you could, were it possible for you to remove it, the Boughs do so bind and fasten one the other: Besides that, if one should chance to be pluck'd out, it maketh not so great a breach but that 'tis easily fill'd up with another.

The next day *Quintius* (his Souldiers carrying each of them a stake that they might be ready to Encamp in any place) going forward a little way, and sitting down about six thousand Paces from *Pheræ*, sent Scouts to see in what part of *Theffaly* the Enemy was, or what he was a going to do. The King was near *Larissa*, where being inform'd that the Roman was removed from *Thebes* to *Pheræ*, he had a desire to have the Conflict over as soon as might be, and therefore drawing on toward the Enemy, he pitch'd his Camp about four thousand paces from *Pheræ*. The next day they both march'd forth as fast as they could to take possession of the Hills above the City, but stopt at almost an equal distance from that Summit, which they design'd for, within sight of one another; where they waited patiently till the Messengers came again, whom they had sent back into their Camp, to advise what they should do, now that the Foe had so unexpectedly met them. And that day indeed they never fought at all but were recall'd into their Camp. The next day about the same Hills there was an Engagement of Horse: in which the Kings Party were put to flight through the signal performances of the *Ætolians*, and forced into their Camp. The Fields thereabout being planted with great numbers of Trees, was a great hinderance to both of them, as were the Gardens also, in those Suburban places; besides, that the wayes were streightned with heaps of Stones, and in some places block'd up. Wherefore the Generals both at once resolv'd to depart out of that Region, and, as though they had agreed upon't, both went to *Scotussa*: *Philip*, in hopes of having Corn from thence; and the Roman, that by getting there first he might have an opportunity to spoil the Enemies Foraging. For a whole day (the Hills running between them with a continued ridge all the way) they march'd without seeing one another in any place. The Romans Encamp'd at *Eretria* in *Phthiotis*, and *Philip* upon the River *Onchestus*: nor did they even the next day (*Philip* having pitch'd his Camp at *Melambium*, as they call it, near *Scotussa*, and *Quintius* about *Theridium* in *Pharsalia*) certainly know, either one or the other, where the Enemy lay. The third day there was first some Rain, and then a Fog as dark as night, which put the Romans in fear of an Ambuscade.

*Philip*, that he might hasten his Journey, shewed no sign at all of fear, though after the rain, such a darkness covered the ground, and therefore order'd his Ensigns to be born forward. But such a thick darkness had enveloped the day, that neither the Ensign-Bearers could see their way, nor the Souldiers the Ensigns: infomuch that the whole Army wandering in nocturnal maze, as it were, after uncertain clamours, was all put into disorder. When they were got over the Hills call'd *Cynocephala*, having left a strong Guard there of Foot and Horse too, they pitch'd their Camp. Mean while, though the Roman kept in the same Camp at *Theridium*, yet he sent ten Troops of Horse and a thousand Foot to see where the Enemy was; admonishing them, to have a care of Ambuscades, which that obscure day even in open places would hinder them from discovering. When they came to the Hills where the Enemy lay, both Parties, being mutually frighted at each other, stood still as so many Statues. But soon after, having sent Messengers back to the Generals at their several Camps, and when the first terrour, which proceeded from their unexpected sight of one another, was over, they no longer declined the fight. The Battle was first begun by some few that ran out before the rest, and after that augmented by fresh reserves of those that defended them who were beaten. In which, when the Romans, who were by no means equal to the Foe, had sent Messenger upon Messenger to their General, to tell him how hard they were put to it, five hundred Horse, and two thousand Foot, most of them *Ætolians*, with two Tribunes of the Souldiers, that were speedily sent, recover'd their declining Fortune: so that the *Macedonians*, upon this turn, being sore prest, were fain, by Messengers, to implore the Kings assistance. But he, who expected nothing less that day than Battle, by reason of the darkness that so universally over-spread the air, having sent great part of his men of all sorts a foraging, was for some time at a stand, and knew not what to do; though not long after, the Messengers being very urgent with him, now that the Clouds were

VI.

VII.

were dispers'd from off the tops of the Mountains, and the *Macedonians* were in view, who were forced among the rest into a very high Mountain, where they defended themselves more by the situation of the place than with their Arms, supposing (be it how it would be) that it was best for him to put all upon one push, rather than lose one part by not defending of it, sent *Athenagoras*, who commanded the hired Souldiers, and all his Auxiliaries (except the *Thracians*) together with the *Macedonian* and *Thessalian* Cavalry. At their arrival the *Romans* were beaten off the Hill, nor did they make any resistance till they came down into the more even Vale. But to hinder their flying in disorder, the *Aetolian* Horse contributed very much: They being then the best sort of Horsemen in all *Greece*; though for Foot they were out-done among their Neighbours.

VIII. This news was told with more joy than the success of the fight would bear; for many of them ran one after another, back out of the fight, and cry'd out, that the *Romans* being consternated were put to flight: which affirmation of theirs induced *Philip* (though before he were unwilling and dilatory, saying, that it was rashly done; and that he did not like the time nor place) to draw all his Forces out into the Field. The *Roman* also, perswaded more by necessity than opportunity, did the same. He left the right Wing in the Reer, having placed the Elephants before the Ensigns, and with the left, join'd to the Light-armour, march'd up to the Foe: telling them at the same time; *That they were to fight with the same Macedonians, whom at the streights of Epirus, when they were hedg'd in with Mountains and Rivers, they (conquering the natural difficulty of those places) had forced from their Post and utterly routed: with them, whom formerly, under the Conduct of P. Sulpicius, they had overcome, as they lay in the Avenue going into Eordæa. That the Kingdom of Macedonia had been supported by Fame, not by strength: but that that Fame too was now at last quite vanished.* By this time they came to their own Party, who stood in the bottom of the Vale, and, upon the approach of the Army and the General renewed the fight, making a sudden Effort, whereby they forced the Enemy to give way. *Philip* with the Shield-men, and the right Wing of the Foot (the strength of the *Macedonian* Army, whom they call'd [a Phalanx]) march'd up as fast as he could to the Enemy; Commanding *Nicanor*, one of his Nobles, immediately to follow him with the other Forces. When he came first up to the top of the Hill, and saw by some few Bodies and Arms of the Enemies which lay there, that the fight had been in that place, that the *Romans* had been beaten thence, and were now giving Battle near the Enemies Camp, he was exceeding glad of it: though not long after, when his men gave way, and the consternation was turn'd the other way, being uncertain whether he should secure his Forces in his Camp again, he was for some time at a stand. But when he had paused a while, seeing the Enemy drew near, and, besides that they were all slain that turn'd their backs, nor could be saved unless they were defended, yea that he himself had not leisure safely to retreat, he was forced, before some part of his men were come up, to run the risque of the whole business of the War, and therefore placed his Horse, and Light-armour, that had been in the fight, in the right Wing: commanding the Shield-men and the *Macedonian* Phalanx, to lay by their Spears, whose length was an hinderance to them, and use their Swords. And at the same time also, left the Body of them should be easily broken in upon, he took half of them from the Front inward, and made them doubling to stretch out their Ranks, so as that the Body of them might be long, rather than broad: he ordered them likewise so to close their Ranks, that all the men and arms might join to one another.

IX. *Quintius* having taken those, that were in the fight, in between the Ensigns and the Ranks, gave the signal with a Trumpet. Whereupon they say there was seldom ever heard such a shout as at the beginning of that fight was rais'd. For it happen'd that both the Armies set up their Huzza together: and not only those, who at that time were engaged, but the reserves also, and those who then were coming into the fight. In the Right Wing the King (whose chief help was the circumstance of place) fighting from the higher ground, had the better of it: whilst in the left, even then when the Reer of the Phalanx was at hand, being it was in disorder and not compos'd for fighting, they were in a consternation. The main Body, which was nearer to the Right Wing, stood and lookt on as if they had not been concern'd in the Battle: and the Phalanx that came up, more like an *agmen* than an *acies*, as being more fit for a March than an Engagement, was scarce got up to the top of the Hill. *Quintius* therefore, though he saw his own men in the Right Wing give way, put the Elephants first upon the Enemy, and attacked them as they stood thus discompos'd; supposing that the routed part of them would draw the rest along with them. And so it proved, for the *Macedonians* immediately turn'd their backs, being frighted with the first view of the Beasts. The rest also follow'd them, when one of the Tribunes of the Souldiers, joining with all the Souldiers belonging to twenty Ensigns, and leaving that part of their own Forces, which must in all probability needs win the day, wheeled about with a short Circuit, and set upon the Right Wing of the Enemy, that was running away. He might indeed have put any Army into disorder by setting upon them in the Reer: but besides that, their general consternation was so much the greater, in that the *Macedonian* Phalanx being heavy and immoveable, could neither turn themselves about, nor would the *Romans* (who

(who a little before when they fought against the Front of them, gave way, lying then very hard upon their Reer) let them. But besides this, they were the less able to make resistance upon the score of the place too; for they had quitted the top of the Hill, from which they first fought (whilst they pursued the *Romans*) to the Enemy that was wheeled about upon their Reer. They therefore for some time were slain in the midst between the Enemies, but soon after a great many of them throwing down their Arms ran away.

*Philip* with a few Foot and Horse first took an higher Hill among the rest, to see what fortune his men in the left Wing had: but when he saw they were all running away as fast as they could, so that all the Hills round about glitter'd with Ensigns and Arms, he himself also went out of the Field. *Quintius* having pursued them very close, when he of a sudden saw the *Macedonians* advancing their Spears, not knowing what they intended by it, was concern'd at the novelty of the thing, and stop't his Ensigns: but when he heard that it was the custom of the *Macedonians* so to do, if they had a mind to surrender themselves, he design'd to give them quarter. But the Souldiers, being ignorant, not only, that the Enemies declin'd the fight, but likewise what the Generals mind was, made an attack upon them, and killing the foremost, put the rest into a confused flight. Mean while the King made toward *Tempe* as fast as he could; where he halted at *Gonni* for one day, to receive those that happen'd to escape alive out of the Battle. The *Roman* Conquerours in hopes of Booty, thronged presently into the Enemies Camp; but they found it for the most part already rifled by the *Aetolians*. There were that day slain eight thousand of the Enemies, and five thousand taken Prisoners; with the loss of about seven hundred *Romans*. If we will believe *Valerius*, who extravagantly augments the accounts of all things, there were forty thousand of the Enemies that day slain, and (which is a more modest lie) five thousand seven hundred taken, with two hundred forty one military Ensigns. *Claudius* also tells us, that there were thirty thousand of the Enemies slain, and four thousand three hundred taken Prisoners. Now I have not given the greatest credit to the least number, but follow'd *Polybius*, who gives an accurate account, not only of all the *Roman* affairs, but more especially of all great actions that have been done in *Greece*.

*Philip* having muster'd up all those, that by the various Fortune of the Fight, being scatter'd about, had yet made a shift to follow him, and sent several Messengers to *Larissa*, to burn the Royal Records, lest they should fall into the hands of the Enemy, retired into *Macedonia*. *Quintius* having sold the Captives and the Booty, part of which he gave to the Souldiers, went to *Larissa*, before he yet well knew what Country the King was gone into, or what he intended. Thither came an Herald from the King, under pretence, to desire a Truce, till such time as they could bury the dead, that were slain in the Battle, but really and truly to beg leave that he might send Embassadors [to him.] The *Roman* granted both these requests; and likewise bad the Herald tell the King, *He would have him be of good Courage. Which words most mightily offended the Aetolians, who were fill'd with indignation, and complain'd, That the General quite alter'd by being Victorious. That before the fight he used to communicate all things both great and small with his Allies, who now were privy to none of his Counsels: for he did all things as he pleased himself; seeking an occasion to contract a private friendship with Philip; and though the Aetolians had born all the brunt of the War, the Roman would turn all the benefits of Peace to his own peculiar advantage.* They indeed did not question but they had lost some honour; but why they should be neglected, they could not tell. They believ'd that *Quintius*, who was a man of a Soul invincible against such desires, had a mind to some of the Kings gold: and he on the other side was very angry (and that deservedly too) with the *Aetolians* for their insatiable covetousness of Booty, and their arrogance, in taking all the glory of the Victory to themselves; a vanity, whereby they offended the Ears of all men that heard them; besides that, when *Philip* was taken off, and the strength of the *Macedonian* Monarchy broken, he foresaw that the *Aetolians* would be reckon'd Lords of all *Greece*. For which reasons he was very diligent and industrious to make them cheaper and of less esteem among all Nations.

There was a Truce granted to the Foe for fifteen dayes, and a Conference appointed to be had with the King himself: before which time he call'd the Allies to an Assembly. Where having declar'd to them what terms of Peace he thought fit to make, *Amynder* King of the *Athamans* gave his opinion in brief thus; *That he ought so to make a Peace, that Greece, even in the absence of the Romans, might be strong enough to maintain both that and its liberty.* But the *Aetolians* were somewhat rougher; who having made some small Preface, said, *The General did well and regularly in communicating his Counsels touching peace to them, who had been partakers with him in the War. But he was utterly mistaken, if he thought that he should either leave a lasting Peace to the Romans, or liberty to Greece, unless he either slew Philip, or at least drove him out of his Kingdom: both which he might very easily do, if he would use his fortune.* To which *Quintius* reply'd; *That the Aetolians did neither remember what the Romans custom was, nor indeed talk consonantly to their opinion: for that they themselves in all former Councils and Conferences had always discourst of conditions of Peace, for that they had no mind to fight it out even to the death; and the Romans, besides their ancient custom of giving quarter to those they had conquer'd, had given an extraordinary instance of their clemency in granting a Peace to Hannibal*

Hannibal and the Carthaginians. But to pass by the Carthaginians, as oft as they came to any Conference with Philip himself, they never proposed, or mention'd his quitting of his Kingdom: was the War grown now unexpiable [not to be atoned for] because he was conquer'd in a set Battle? That they ought to engage an armed Enemy with minds full of malice, but that in respect to a Conquer'd Foe, he had the greatest Soul that was the most merciful. That the Kings of Macedonia seemed to obstruct the liberty of Greece; yet, if that Kingdom and Nation should be removed, that the Thracians, Illyrians, and, after them, the Gauls, unciviliz'd and savage people, would overrun all Macedonia and Greece; and at last perswaded them, Not to remove those that were next to them, thereby to make room for greater and more grievous Enemies to come upon them. Whereupon when Phaneas, Prætor of the Ætolians, interrupted him and said, if Philip escap'd that time, he would e're long renew the War with much greater force, He reply'd, Do not raise a tumult, when you should advise with us. He shall be ty'd up to such terms of Peace, that it shall not be in his power to make War.

XIII.

This Council being dismiss'd, the next day the King came to the streights, that go into Tempe; that being the place appointed for the Conference: and the third day there was a full Assembly of the Romans and their Allies. In which Philip very prudently omitting those things (which in the former Conference had either been commanded by the Romans, or required by the Allies, and) without which no Peace could be obtain'd, of his own free will rather than to have them extorted from him, said, he would grant them all, and refer the rest to the Senate. By which concession, though he seem'd to have stop't the mouths of his greatest Enemies, yet Phaneas, the Ætolian, when all the rest were silent, ask'd him, But, Philip! What say you to us? Will you give us back Pharsalus, Larissa, Cremaste, Echinus, and Thebes in Phthiotis? Whereupon when Philip answer'd, that he would not hinder them from having it again; there arose a dispute between the Roman General and the Ætolians concerning Thebes: for Quintius said, it belong'd to the Roman people by the Laws of War; for that, when they were yet disengaged from all sides, he brought an Army to their City Walls, and invited them to enter into an Alliance, whilst they were free to revolt from the King, but they prefer'd the Kings Friendship before that of the Romans. Phaneas on the other side thought it reasonable, that according to the rules of Confederacy, all that the Ætolians had before the War, should be restor'd to them, and said, it was so at first provided in the League, that the Booty of the War, and all that could be carry'd or driven off, should be the Romans, but the Lands and Cities that were taken should be the Ætolians. But you your selves, said Quintius, brake the Laws of that Alliance, when you left us and made a Peace with Philip: which if it still continu'd, yet that would be the Law of the Cities which were taken; That the Cities of Thessaly came and voluntarily submitted to our jurisdiction. This was spoken with the assent of all the Allies, though it were not only grievous at present for the Ætolians to hear, but was soon after also the cause of a War, and of great mischiefs to them. Quintius therefore agreed with Philip, that he should give him his Son Demetrius and some of his Friends, as Hostages, with two hundred Talents; and for other things, that he should send Embassadors to Rome. For this purpose there was a Truce granted of four months continuance; in which time, if they could not obtain Peace of the Senate, Quintius engag'd to return the Hostages and money back to Philip again. They say, that the Roman General had no greater reason to hasten the Peace, than for that it was well known, Antiochus was providing for a War, and design'd to come over into Europe.

XIV.

At the same time, and, as some say, the same day at Corinth the Achæans routed the Kings General Androsthenes in a set Battle. For Philip resolving to make that his defence against the rest of Greece, had not only detain'd all the chief of them (whom he call'd forth under pretence of conferring with them, touching how many Horse the Corinthians could supply toward the War) as Hostages, but likewise, besides five hundred Macedonians, and eight hundred that were made up of all sorts of Auxiliaries, who had been there before, had sent thither a thousand Macedonians, twelve hundred Illyrians, with eight hundred Thracians and Cretans, who fought on both sides. To these were added Boeotians, Thessalians, and Acarnans, to the number of a thousand, all with Shields, and of the Corinthian youth as many as made up six thousand armed men; all which gave Androsthenes the Courage to go into the Field. Niceratus, Prætor of the Achæans, was at Sicyon with two thousand Foot and one hundred Horse, but seeing himself too weak both in the number and the sort of his Souldiers went not out of the Walls. The Kings Forces, both Foot and Horse, stragling about, wasted the Pellenian, the Phliasian, and the Cleonean Dominions; till at last upbraiding the Enemy with their Cowardise, they went over into the Sicyonian Confines: besides that they sailed about and plunder'd all the Sea-Coast of Achaia. But whilst the Enemy were so extravagant, and, as people, that think themselves secure, use to be so careless of what they did, Niceratus having some hopes of attacking them before they were aware of him, sent a secret Message through the Neighbouring Cities, what day, and how many armed men he would have meet him out of every City at Apelaurnum, a place in Stympalia. Accordingly they were all ready at the day appointed, and he, setting out immediately from thence went through the Phliasian Territories, in the Night, to Cleone, before any of them knew what he intended. Now there were with him five thousand Foot, consisting

sisting partly of Light-armour, and three hundred Horse. Out of which number having sent a Party to see which way the Enemy were bent, he waited till they came back to inform him.

Androsthenes knowing nothing of all this, went from Corinth, and Encamped at Nemea, which is a River, that parts the Corinthian and the Sicyonian Borders. And there, having dismissed the one half of his Army, he divided the other half into three parts, commanding all the Horse to straggle about and pillage the Pellenian, Sicyonian and Phliasian Dominions. Now therefore these three Parties went several wayes. Which when it was told to Niceratus at Cleone, he sent a strong Band of mercenary Souldiers before, to seize the streights through which you go into the Corinthian Territories, planting Horse to march before the Ensigns, and himself immediately follow'd with a double Body of men. For on the one side march'd the mercenary Souldiers, with the Light-armour, and on the other, the Shieldmen, with the strength of the Forces of all the other Nations. And now the Foot and Horse were not far from the Camp, when some of the Thracians making an attack upon the Enemies, that were stragling and wandering about the Fields, put all the Camp into a sudden fright. The General trembled, who having never seen the Foe, but very rarely (upon the Hills before Sicyon, from whence they durst not come down into the Plains) could not believe that they would ever have approach'd so near Cleone. Wherefore he order'd that the straglers should be recall'd by sound of Trumpet, and himself straight giving the word of Command to his men to handle their Arms, march'd out at the Gate with a thin number of Souldiers, whom he marshall'd upon the River. But being that the rest of his Forces could scarce be got together and disciplin'd, they could not bear the first onset of the Enemies. The Macedonians were not only more than any of the rest about the Ensigns, but they made the hopes of Victory for a long time doubtful: till at last being left destitute by the flight of the rest, and seeing that two Armies prest them several wayes, the Light Armour on the Flank, and the Shieldmen and Targeteers in the Front, they also finding themselves over-born, at first gave ground; and then, being still pursued with the same force, turn'd their backs, and throwing away their Arms (since they had now no hopes left of defending their Camp) made toward Corinth. Niceratus sending the mercenary Souldiers to pursue these, and the Horse, with the Thracian Auxiliaries, against those that were pillaging the Sicyonian Dominions, made a great slaughter on every side, full as great as in the fight it self. Some also of those that had ravaged Pellene, and Phlius, coming back in disorder, and knowing nothing of the matter, as they return'd toward their own Camp, fell into the hands of the Enemies; and part of them imagining what the business was, by their running to and fro, had so divided themselves all over the Fields, that they were circumvented and taken by the very Hinds themselves as they wander'd about the Country. There fell that day fifteen hundred men, three hundred were taken; and all Achaia was then delivered from a great fright.

XV.

Before the Battle at Cynoscephale, L. Quintius having sent for the Nobility of Acarnania to Corcyra, which was the only Greek Nation that had continued in amity with the Macedonians, made there some progress toward a commotion. But there were two very great reasons, that kept them to their Alliance with the King; the one, their natural fidelity, and the other, their fear and hatred toward the Ætolians. The Council was appointed to meet at Leucas. But neither did all the people of Acarnania come thither, nor were all those that did meet, of the same mind. However the Nobility and Magistrates together so far prevailed as to make a private Decree for an Alliance with the Romans. That all, who were absent, took very ill, and amidst this disturbance and dissatisfaction of the Nation, there were two Noblemen of Acarnania, (Androcles, and Echedemus by name) sent from Philip, who not only prevailed to abrogate that Decree concerning an Alliance with the Romans, but also, that Archelaus and Bianor, both Noblemen of that Nation (for that they had been promoters of that opinion) should be condemn'd in the Council for Treason, and that Zeuxidas the Prætor, for having proposed that matter, should be turn'd out of his Office. The persons condemn'd did a rash, but, as it fell out, a very successful action. For when their Friends perswaded them to submit to the present juncture of affairs, and get them gone to the Romans at Corcyra, they resolv'd to throw themselves upon the mercy of the Mobile, and either by that means to mitigate their anger, or to undergo what fortune should offer. Whereupon when they came into a full Assembly, at first there arose a murmur and a grumbling noise from such as admired to see them come in; but by and by there was as deep a silence, as well out of reverence to their former dignity as pity to their present condition. Then having leave likewise granted them to speak, they began very humbly, but in the process of their Speeches, when they came to acquit themselves of the crimes laid to their charge, discoursed with as much confidence as innocence would afford. At last taking the boldness even to make some complaints, and to reprove not only the injustice, but the cruelty that had been put upon them, they so far moved the Audience, that they unanimously annull'd all those Decrees, that had been made against them; not that they thought themselves ever the less obliged to retain their Alliance with Philip, and refuse all Friendship with the Romans.

XVI.



XVII. These things were decreed at *Leucas*, which was the Metropolis of *Acarmania*, where all the people met in Council. Wherefore when the news of this sudden change was brought to *Corcyra*, to Lieutenant *Flaminius*, he immediately set out with a Fleet for *Leucas*, and came to an Anchor at a Port which they call *Herens*. From thence he came up to the Walls with all sorts of Instruments and Engines, that are used in the taking of Cities; supposing that he might make them submit upon his first terrible appearance. But when he saw no sign of Peace, he began to form Engines, erect Turrets [to make an Assault] and to plant his battering Ram near the Walls. Now all *Acarmania*, lying between *Stolia* and *Epirus*, looks toward the West, and the *Sicilian Sea*. *Leucadia*, which is now an Island, divided by a narrow arm of the Sea, which was cut through by Art, from *Acarmania*, was then a Peninsula, joining Westward by a small neck of Land to *Acarmania*. That neck of Land was almost five hundred paces long, though not above a hundred and twenty broad, and upon this streight was *Leucas* built, upon an Hill Eastward and toward *Acarmania*; but the lower part of the City was plain, and lay to that Sea, whereby *Leucadia* is divided from *Acarmania*. For that reason 'tis to be taken either by Sea or Land. For not only the narrow Chanel, which parts that and the Continent, is more like to a Pool than a Sea, but the Plains all thereabout are fit for Tillage, and easy to raise works upon. Wherefore the Walls in several places at once were either undermin'd or knock'd down with the Ram. But the City was not more liable to an Assault, than the resolutions of the Enemy were Invincible. For they laboured day and night to repair the breaches, and fill up the gaps that were made in the Walls; being very eager to engage in the fight, and to defend their Walls with their Arms rather than themselves with their Walls. And they had protracted that Siege beyond the expectations of the Romans, had not some banish'd persons of *Italian* Extract, who lived at *Leucas*, let the Souldiers into the Castle. Yet then also (though they ran down in a great tumult from that higher place) did the *Leucadians* for some time resist, with a Body, form'd as for a pitch'd Battle, in the Market-place. In the mean time not only the Walls were scaled and taken in several places, but they got over the heaps of Stones and Ruins into the City. By which time also the Lieutenant himself had with a great number circumvented those that were a fighting; of whom part were slain in the middle between the Enemies, and part, throwing down their Arms, surrender'd themselves to the Conquerour. And some few days after, when they heard of the Battle that was fought at *Cynocephale*, all the people of *Acarmania* came and surrender'd themselves to the Lieutenant.

XVIII. At the same time now that fortune inclin'd all things at once the same way, the *Rhodians* also (to regain that part of the Continent from *Philip*, which they call *Perea*, and had been long possess'd by their Ancestors) sent *Pausistratus*, the Prætor, with eight hundred *Acheans*, that were Foot Souldiers, and about nineteen hundred more, that were Auxiliaries gather'd up out of several Countries, and in different Habiliments of War, *Gauls*, *Nisians*, *Pisians*, *Tamians*, *Areans*, out of *Africa*, and *Laodiceans* out of *Asia*. With these Forces *Pausistratus* lay at *Tendebe*, a place very convenient in the Territories of *Stratonicea*, whilst the Kings men, that were at *Thera*, knew nothing of it. There came also very seasonably, as an addition to that aid, which he had gotten, a thousand *Achean* Foot with a hundred Horse; commanded by *Theoxenus*. *Dinocrates* the Kings Prefect, in order to recover the Castle, first remov'd his Camp to the very Wall of *Tendebe*, and from thence to another Castle, which was in the Territories of *Stratonicea* likewise, call'd *Astragon*. Where summoning all their Forces out of the Garisons, who were mightily disabled, together with the *Thessalian* Auxiliaries from *Stratonicea* it self, he march'd forward toward *Alabanda* where the Enemy then lay. Nor did the *Rhodians* decline the fight; but being both their Camps were near to each other, came presently into the Field, *Dinocrates* placed five hundred *Macedonians* in the right Wing, and the *Agrians* in the left; taking into the main body those that he had muster'd up out of the several Garisons, who were most of them *Carians*, and cover'd the Wings with the Horse. The *Rhodian* Regiment had the *Cretan* and *Thracian* Auxiliaries in the right Wing, and in the left the mercenary men, who were a chosen Band of Foot: in their main Body the Auxiliaries made up of several Nations, all the Horse and Light armour that were, being set about the Wings. That the two Armies only stood upon the Bank of a Torrent, that flow'd between them with a small stream; and, having thrown some few Darts, retired into their Camps. But the next day, being march'd in the same order, they had a far greater fight than was proportionable to the number of those that were engaged in it. For they were not above three thousand Foot, and about a hundred Horse; who fought not only with equal numbers, and Armour all alike, but with proportionable Courage too, and equal hopes. The *Acheans* first having got over the Torrent, made an attack upon the *Agrians*; whereupon almost the whole Army ran over the River. But the fight continu'd for a long time doubtful, till the *Acheans* who were themselves a thousand in number, made four hundred of the Enemy give way. Then all the right Wing began to yield; though the *Macedonians*, as long as they kept to their ranks, and stood like a close Phalanx, could not be stir'd. But when their left Flank being unguarded, they began to throw their Spears round about them upon the Enemy, who came

came athwart to attack them, they were presently put into disorder, and making first a tumult among themselves, soon after turn'd their backs; till at last, throwing away their Arms, and running for it as fast as they could, they made toward *Bargylla*. *Dinocrates* also fled the same way: and the *Rhodians*, having pursued them as long as 'twas day-light, retreated to their Camp. Now it is very evident, that, if the Conquerours had gone immediately to *Stratonicea*, that City might have been taken without any more ado. But they lost that opportunity, whilst they spent time in recovering the Castles and Villages of *Perea*. In the mean time, the minds of those that were Ingarison'd at *Stratonicea*, were fortified; besides, that *Dinocrates* also not long after enter'd their Walls with those Forces that were left. For from that time it was to no purpose to besiege or attack that City; nor could it be taken till some time after by *Antiochus*. These things pass in *Thessaly*, *Achaia*, and *Asia* about the same time.

*Philip* hearing that the *Dardans* were come into his Dominions out of contempt to him for having relinquish'd his Kingdom, and had wast'd the upper parts of *Macedonia*; though he were hard put to it in almost all the World, now that Fortune was so severe to him and his Party, yet thinking it worse than death to be forced from the possession of *Macedonia*, he made a sudden Levy through the Cities of that Kingdom, and with six thousand Foot, and five hundred Horse, near *Stobus* in *Paonia*, surpriz'd the Foe. And there he slew a great number of men in the fight, but a greater, that were stragled about the Country for plunder. Those that could readily escape, and did not so much as try the fortune of the day, return'd into their own Country. He therefore having made that one Expedition much more successfully than to answer the rest of his Fortune, had thereby repaired the Courage of his men, and went back to *Thessalonica*. Now the *Punic* War was not so seasonably made an end of, left at the same time they should be forced to engage with *Philip* also, as, since *Antiochus* was now raising War in *Syria*, *Philip* was overcome. For besides, that it was more easy to cope with them severally, than if they had join'd their Forces into one Body; *Spain* too at the same time put themselves into a posture of War. *Antiochus*, though, having the Summer before reduced all the Cities, belonging to *Ptolomy*, in *Celestria*, into his own hands, he was gone to Winter at *Antioch*, yet was not afterward for all that the more at ease. For he with all the strength of his Kingdom, having muster'd up vast Forces both by Land and Sea, and sent before him, in the beginning of the Spring, his two Sons, *Arduus* and *Mithridates*, with an Army by Land (whom he order'd to stay for him at *Sardis*) himself set forth with a Fleet of a hundred men of War, and other small Vessels to the number of two hundred, designing not only to make some attempts upon the Cities that lay upon the Sea-Coast of *Cilicia* and *Caria*, which were surrender'd to *Ptolomy*; but likewise, to assist *Philip* (for the War was not yet made an end of) both with his Land and Sea Forces.

The *Rhodians* did many brave exploits as well by Sea as by Land, according to the fidelity they profess'd toward the Roman People, and the Dignity of the Greek Nation in general: but there was nothing more magnificent, than that they, that Summer, being no way frighted at the fatal War which then hung over them, sent Embassadors to the King, That they would meet him at *Nephelida* (a promontory of *Cilicia*, famous for an ancient League made with the *Athenians*) if he would not keep his forces there; not out of any hatred to him, but that he might not joy with *Philip*, and be an obstacle to the Romans whilst they were setting *Greece* at liberty. *Antiochus* at that time was besieging *Coraceum*; for that Town unexpectedly shut their Gates and kept him in action, after *Zephyrium*, *Soli*, *Aphrodisias*, *Corycum*, *Selinus* (to which he pass'd by a promontory of *Cilicia*, called *Anemurium*) with all the other Castles upon that Coast had, either for fear, or freely, without fighting for it, surrendered themselves. There the *Rhodians* had their audience; whose Embassy, though it were such as it might have incensed the King, yet he restrained his passion, and told them, That he would send Embassadors to *Rhodes*, with Commission to renew that ancient friendship with that City, which he himself and his Ancestors had formerly contracted, and to bid them not to fear the Kings coming. For it should not be any damage, or disadvantage to them or their Allies, since he was resolv'd not to incur the displeasure of the Romans. Of which, not only his late Embassy to them, but the honourable decrees of the Senate, and their answers to him were a good argument. At that time it happened, that the Embassadors came back from *Rome*, who had their audience and were dismiss'd, according as the time required, whilst the event of the War against *Philip* was yet uncertain. As the Kings Embassadors were transacting of this affair in the *Rhodian* Assembly, there came a Messenger, That the War was made an end of at *Cynocephale*. Whereupon the *Rhodians*, being freed from all fear of *Philip*, resolv'd to meet *Antiochus* with a Fleet. But yet they did not neglect that other business, of defending the liberty of the allied Cities belonging to *Ptolomy*, which were in danger of a War from *Antiochus*. For they sent Auxiliaries to some of them, admonishing and advising the rest concerning the Enemies designs; and were the cause of liberty to the *Cainians*, *Minidians*, and *Halicarnassians* and *Samians*. But it is not worth while to prosecute the whole relation of what particular things were done in these places, since I am scarce able to give you an account of those actions which more properly concern the Roman War.

At the same time also, King *Attalus*, who was sick at *Thebes*, being carried to *Pergamus*, died.

died in the seventy first year of his Age, after he had Reigned forty four Years. To this man fortune had given nothing that might make him hope for the Kingdom, excepting riches. But by using them at once both prudently and magnificently he so brought it about, that he himself first, and afterward others also, thought him not unworthy of the Kingdom. He therefore, having conquer'd the Gauls in one Battle (which Nation was by reason of their late arrival there more terrible than ordinary to Asia) took upon him the name of King, to the greatness of which he always made his spirit equal. He govern'd his Subjects with the greatest justice imaginable; and religiously kept his promise with his Allies. He left behind him a Wife and four Children; being mild and munificent to his Friends. He left his Kingdom so firm and stable, that the possession of it defended to the third Generation.

XXII. This being the state of things in Asia, Greece, and Macedonia, when the War with Philip was scarce yet ended, nor a Peace thoroughly concluded on, there arose a great commotion in the farther Spain; which was then the Province of M. Helvius. He thereupon by Letters acquainted the Senate, that the two petty Kings Colcas and Luscinus were up in Arms; that seventeen Towns resolv'd to rise with Colcas, and with Luscinus, those strong Cities, Cardo and Bardo, besides all the Sea Coast, who, having not yet declar'd themselves, were resolv'd to second their Neighbours motions. When this Letter was read by M. Sergius the Prætor, whose jurisdiction lay between the Citizens and Foreigners, the Senate decreed, that, after the Assembly for Prætors was over, that Prætor who happen'd to have Spain for his Province, should make report to the Senate as soon as possible concerning the War in Spain.

XXIII. About the same time the Consuls came to Rome, who, holding a Senate in the Temple of Bellona, and desiring to triumph for their successful Achievements in the War, has this request return'd upon them by C. Atinius Labeo, and C. Ursinius, Tribune of the people, That they might treat touching a triumph separately; for they would not endure that such a thing should be proposed in common, lest their honour should be equal, where their merit was disproportionate. And when Atinius said, that Italy was the joint Province of them both, where he and his Colleague did every thing by common consent and agreement; to which Cornelius added, That the Boii who came over the Po against them, to assist the Insubrians and the Cænomans, were by his Colleague, who wasted all their Villages and Country, turn'd back to defend their own Territories; the Tribunes reply'd, That Cornelius, they confessed, had done such mighty things in the War, that they could no more doubt that he ought to triumph, than that they ought to pay due honours to the immortal Gods; but yet that neither he nor any body else was so powerful, either in their favour, or his own abilities, as that when he had obtain'd a triumph for himself, he should impudently grant the same honour to his Colleague upon a bare request. That Q. Minucius had been engaged in some light skirmishes, scarce worth the mentioning, in Liguria; and had lost a great many Souldiers in Gaul. And then they named two Tribunes of the Souldiers, T. Invenicius, and Cneus, Labeo's Brother; who, in an unfortunate Battle, with many other stout men, both of their own Country and Allies, were slain: [saying] That some few Towns were indeed surrender'd, but that was only for a blind and a colour at that present juncture, there being no caution given along with them. These Debates between the Consuls and the Tribunes lasted two days, till the Consuls, overcome by the perseverance of the Tribunes, propos'd their business separately one after the other.

XXIV. Cneus Cornelius had a triumph decreed him by general consent, the Placentines and Cremoneses conferring their favour also upon him, and giving him thanks, whilst they remember'd, that they were freed from a siege by his assistance, and many of them, that were with the Enemy, redeemed from slavery. Q. Minucius, when he had hardly begun to propose his triumphing, seeing all the Senate against him, said, He would triumph in the Alban Mount, not only according to the privilege of a Consular General, but by the example of many brave men. Cn. Cornelius triumph'd over the Insubrians and Cænomans whilst he was yet in his Office. At which time he carried along with him many military Ensigns, and a great quantity of Gallick spoils, in Waggons that he had taken through [the streets.] Many noble Gauls were led before his Chariot, among whom some say, Amilcar, General of the Carthaginians, was one. But that which caus'd the Placentines and Cremoneses to gaze so much upon him, was the crowd of Husbandmen, with Caps on, that follow'd his Chariot. He brought in this triumph along with him two hundred thirty seven thousand five hundred Ounces of brass money, and of Silver, with the Picture of a Chariot stamped upon it, seventy nine thousand two hundred. He also gave his Souldiers, Centurions and Horsemen each man as much as his Colleague had given them.

XXV. After this triumph the Consular Assembly was held; in which L. Furius Purpureo, and M. Claudius Marcellus, were created Consuls. The next the Prætors were made; Q. Fabius Buteo, Tib. Sempronius Longus, Q. Minucius Thermus, Manius Acilius Glabrio, L. Apustius Fullo, and C. Lælius. At the latter end of that year there came a Letter from T. Quintius, That he had fought with Philip a pitch'd Battle in Thessaly; in which the Enemies Army was routed and put to flight. This Letter was first read in the Senate by Sergius the Prætor, and afterward by consent of the Senate, in a publick Assembly of the People. With that there was a supplication order'd to continue for five days, upon the account of their success in the War:

War: and in a short time after Embassadors came both from T. Quintius and the King. The Macedonians were carried out of the City into the Villa publica [a publick place in the Campus Martius] where they were splendidly entertain'd; and at the Temple of Bellona there was a Senate held. There was not much said, before the Macedonians declar'd, that their King would do whatever the Senate thought fitting. Thereupon there were ten Embassadors pitch'd upon (according to ancient custom) by whose advice L. Quintius the General was to propose terms of Peace to Philip, it being added as a Proviso in that Decree, that P. Sulpicius and P. Villius should be two of them, who had, when they were Consuls, been Governours of the Province of Macedonia. At that time the Cossanes requested that the number of their Colony might be increased, and a thousand were accordingly order'd to be added to them: provided, that there should be never a man amongst them who had been an Enemy after M. Cornelius and T. Sempronius were Consuls.

The Roman Games or Playes were that year not only set forth in the Circus and the Theatres, by the Curule Ediles, P. Cornelius Scipio, and Cn. Manlius Vulso, more magnificently than ever, but were also beheld with more joy by the people, upon the score of their success in the War; and whereas those were all acted over three times, the Plebeian sports were seven times repeated; being made by Acilius Glabrio, and C. Lælius. Out of the silver paid for mulcts, there were three brazen Ensigns made, that were consecrated to Ceres, Liber, and Libera. Now at the beginning of the Consulship of L. Furius, and M. Claudius Marcellus, when they came to treat concerning the several Provinces, and the Senate decreed, that they should both of them have Italy as their joint Province, they desired, that they might have Macedonia too. Marcellus, who was the more desirous of the two to have that Province, by saying, that the Peace [made with the Macedonians] would prove a Cheat, and was nothing but a pretence; for that the King, if the Army were once carried thence, would renew the War, had stagger'd the Senate in their opinions. And perhaps the Consuls had carried it, if Q. Marcins Rex, and C. Atinius Labeo, Tribunes of the People, had not said they'd interpose: unless they themselves had first propos'd to the people, whether they were for having peace with Philip. That propos'd was first made to the Commons in the Capitol, where all the thirty five Tribes consented to it. And that they might the more generally rejoice at the establishing of a Peace in Macedonia, there was sad news brought out of Spain, and a Letter publish'd, That C. Sempronius Tuditanus the Pro-Consul was defeated in a Battle in the hither Spain, where his Army was routed and put to flight, many famous men falling in the field: and that Tuditanus, who was carried out of the fight with a grievous wound, not long after expired. To both the Consuls the Senate therefore decreed the Province of Italy with the same Legions that the former Consuls had, and that they should raise four new Legions; two to be sent whither the Senate thought good, and the other two to go along with T. Quintius Flaminius, who was to rule his Province with the same Army, being continued in Commission by a Decree the year before. Then the Prætors chose their Provinces; L. Apustius Fullo had the City jurisdiction, Manius Acilius Glabrio, that between the Citizens and Foreigners, Q. Fabius Buteo the further Spain, Q. Minucius Thermus the hither, C. Lælius Sicily, and Tib. Sempronius Longus Sardinia. It was also decreed, that the Consuls should give Q. Fabius Buteo, and Q. Minucius, who happen'd to have the Spains for their Provinces, each of them a Legion, out of those four that they had rais'd, which they thought fit; with four thousand Foot, and three hundred Horse of the Allies and Latines. All which were order'd to go into those Provinces as soon as possible. The War brake out in Spain five years after the Punick War, and all commotions there had been once made an end of.

But before these Prætors went to the War (which was almost a new one, seeing the Spaniards then first took up Arms on their own heads, without any Punick Army or General) or that the Consuls stirr'd from the City, they were order'd, as it is the custom, to take some care of the Prodigies which were related. L. Julius Sequestris going into the Country of the Sabines, was, he and his Horse too, struck dead with a Thunderbolt. The Temple of Feronia in Capena was burnt with Lightning; at the Temple of Moneta the Heads of two Spears were on fire; and a Wolf, that came in at the Gate called Porta Esquilina, the most populous part of all the City, when he was come down into the Forum, had escap'd almost untouched out of the Vicus Tuscus [the Tuscan-Street] and Equimelium, through the Gate call'd Porta Capena. These Prodigies were atoned for with the greater sort of Sacrifices.

At the same time Cn. Cornelius Lentulus, who had been Governour of the hither Spain before Sempronius Tuditanus, having enter'd the City Ovant [i. e. with a lesser sort of triumph] by order of Senate, carried before him fifteen hundred and fifteen pound of gold, twenty thousand pound of Silver, with thirty four thousand five hundred and fifty pound of coined silver Deniers. L. Stertinius, though he did not so much as attempt to triumph, brought into the Treasury, out of the farther Spain, fifty thousand pound of silver; and out of the spoils made two Arches in the Beast-Market, before the Temple of Fortune, and of the Goddefs call'd Mater Matuta, and one in the Circus maximus, great cirque or ring, setting golden Ensigns upon the top of each of them.

These things pass'd in the Winter. Quintius at that time Winter'd in Athens, of whom seeing

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XXIX.

seeing the Allies demanded many things, the *Bœotians* desir'd, and obtain'd their request, that those who were of their Nation, and in *Philip's* service, might be restored to their own Country. That they easily gained of *Quintius*, not that he thought them worthy of such a kindness, but because now that *Antiochus* was grown suspicious, he ought to make all the interest he could in the several Cities for the Roman side. But when the Captives were return'd, it soon appear'd, how little the *Bœotians* were obliged by it. For they not only sent Messengers to *Philip*, to give him thanks for the restitution of their men, as if he and not *Quintius*, or the Romans, had deliver'd them; but likewise in the next publick Assembly that they had, they made one *Brachyllas* Captain General of all *Bœotia*, for no other reason, than that he had been Colonel of those *Bœotians* that fought under *Philip*; passing *Zeuxippus*, *Pisistratus* and others, who had been promoters of an Alliance with the Romans. That these men not only took very ill at present, but were afraid also for the time to come, when they saw such things done even now whilst the Roman Army sat just at their Gates; what would become of them, when the Romans were gone into Italy; if *Philip* were so near, to assist his Allies, and plague all others of a contrary party.

XXX. Wherefore whilst they had the Roman Arms so near them, they resolv'd to take off *Brachyllas* the chief of all the Kings Faction. And having taken a convenient opportunity for it, as he came home again drunk from a publick Feast, attended by a parcel of effeminate Fellows, who for mirth sake had been at the same place, he was set upon by six men in Arms (of which three were of *Italian* Extract, and three *Ætolians*) and kill'd. His Company ran away, and upon an outcry which they made there was a great tumult all over the City, of people running up and down with lights in their hands. But the Murderers escaped at the next Gate. At break of day there was a full Assembly summon'd by the Crier into the Theatre, as though some discovery had been made who were the Assassins. But it was openly declared there, that he was kill'd by his own Company, and those obscene Fellows that were about him: though in their minds they design'd to make *Zeuxippus* Author of the murder. Notwithstanding at present they thought fit to get them laid hold on that had been with him, and examine them first. Who whilst they were upon their Tryal, *Zeuxippus* coming into the Assembly with the same intention to purge himself of that imputation, said, they were mightily in the wrong who thought that such effeminate Fellows could be guilty of so barbarous a murder. And having argued very much to that purpose, he made some people believe, that if he had been guilty he never would have expos'd himself to the Mob, nor have mention'd any murder when no body provok'd him to it: though others did not doubt, but that by offering himself so freely, and impudently speaking of it first, he had a mind to obviate the suspicion of his being guilty. The innocent Wretches, who not long after were tortur'd, knowing how all the people stood affected, made use of their sentiments for a discovery; and named *Zeuxippus* and *Pisistratus*, without giving any reason, why they should be thought to know any thing of it. Yet *Zeuxippus* fled with one *Stratonides* in the night time to *Tanagra*, standing in fear more of his own Conscience, than the information of such men as knew nothing of the matter. *Pisistratus* despising the Evidence, staid at *Thebes*. *Zeuxippus* had a Servant who was his confidant and instrument in all the whole affair, who *Pisistratus* so much fear'd would turn Informer, that by his very fear he made him so. He sent a Letter to *Zeuxippus*, to take off his Servant, who was conscious of their crimes: for he did not think him so fit to keep counsel, as he was to do the business. Now he that carried this Letter was order'd to deliver it as soon as possible to *Zeuxippus*; but he, because he could not readily come to speech with *Zeuxippus*, deliver'd it to that very Servant, whom he believed to be of all others the most faithful to his Master, telling him, it came from *Pisistratus*, concerning a thing that mightily concern'd *Zeuxippus*. The Servant being smitten in Conscience said he would deliver it presently, but open'd it, and having read it over ran in a fright to *Thebes*. Whereupon *Zeuxippus* being concern'd at his mans running away in that manner, went to *Athens*, as a place more secure for a person in banishment. *Pisistratus* was put upon the Rack, and to some torment, whereby he was punish'd for his fault.

XXXI. That murder incens'd all the *Thebans* and *Bœotians* into an execrable hatred of the Romans, That *Zeuxippus*, one of the chief Men in their Nation, should be guilty of such an action. But they had neither strength nor a General fit to renew the War. Wherefore (which was next to making War) they turn'd Robbers, and fell upon some Soldiers, that were their Guests, and other that were straggling about their Winter Quarters upon several occasions; laying ambuscades upon the Roads at such and such cunning places with which they were well acquainted, whilst some part also were carry'd into Inns that were left empty on purpose and there made away with. At last they did those kind of things not out of hatred only, but for the lucre of booty also; because most of the Soldiers that had Money in their pockets were by permission of their Officers wandering to and fro where they saw good [or had a Furlow to go where they pleas'd.] But when at first some few, and then more still were daily missing, all *Bœotia* began to get an ill name, and the Soldiers were more afraid to go out of their Camp than they would have been in an Enemies Country. Thereupon *Quintius* sent Embassadors over all the Cities to inquire into their Robberies, who found many

Foot.

Foot-Soldiers about the Fenn near *Cope*, where they took up several dead Bodies out of the Mud and Marshes, that had stones or other things tied to them to make them by the weight thereof sink to the bottom. Many exploits were found to have been done at *Acrophia* and *Coronea*. With that *Quintius* first order'd the offenders to be deliver'd up into his hands; and for five hundred Souldiers (so many were made away with) that the *Bœotians* should pay as many Talents. But they refusing to do either one or the other, and excusing their Cities with words only, to wit, that there was nothing done by publick consent, he sent Embassadors to *Athens*, and into *Achaia*, to declare before his Allies, that he was about to persecute the *Bœotians* with a just and a pious War: and having order'd *P. Claudius* to go with part of the Forces to *Acrophia*, he with the other part beset *Coronea*; the Country being first ravaged by the two Armies that went from *Elatia* two several ways. The *Bœotians* being mightily dishearten'd at this misfortune, when they had fill'd all places with terror and confusion, sent Embassadors [to him:] who were kept so long without the Camp, till the *Achaens* and *Athenians* also came thither. Now the *Achaens* had more authority in their requests, and resolv'd, if they could not have obtain'd a Peace for the *Bœotians*, to assist them in the War. By help of the *Achaens* therefore the *Bœotians* had the liberty to go and talk with the Romans, who, having order'd them to deliver up the Criminals, and pay thirty Talents for a Fine, granted them a Peace; and so retreated from the Siege.

A few dayes after there came ten Embassadors from *Rome*, who by common consent granted *Philip* a Peace upon these terms following; That all the Greek Cities, whether in Europe or Asia, should enjoy their liberty and their own Laws. That look which of them had been under the jurisdiction of *Philip*, he should draw all his Forces out of them; out of those that were in Asia, as *Eumomus*, *Pedasa*, *Bargyllæ*, *Jassus*, *Mycina*, *Abydus*, *Thallus* and *Perinthus*: for they would have them also to be free. Concerning the liberty of the Cians, that *Quintius* should write to *Prusias*, King of *Bithynia*, what the Senate and the ten Embassadors would have done. That *Philip* should restore their Captives and Fugitives to the Romans, and deliver up all his Ships of War: yea and one Royal Ship also of an almost unweildy bigness, which was rowed with sixteen Banks of Oars. That he should not have above five hundred armed men, nor so much as one Elephant. That he should not make any War beyond the Confines of *Macedonia*, without the Senates consent. That he should give to the Roman People a thousand Talents; the one half in hand, and the other half by several payments within ten years then next ensuing. *Valerius Antias* sayes, that he was to pay a Tribute of four thousand pounds of silver for ten years, and in hand thirty four thousand two hundred and twenty pounds. The same Author sayes, it was moreover put as a particular and exprefs Proviso in these Articles, That he should not wage War with *Eumenes Attalus's* Son, who was then newly come to the Crown. In confirmation of all this there were Hostages taken, among whom was *Demetrius Philips* Son. *Valerius Antias* sayes farther, That *Attalus*, though absent, had the Island *Ægina*, and Elephants presented to him, the *Rhodiens* *Stratonicea* in *Caria*, with other Cities that had been in *Philip's* hands: and that the *Athenians* had *Parus*, *Imbrus*, *Delus* and *Scyrus* surrender'd to them.

Now though all the Cities of Greece approved of this Peace, yet the *Ætolians* above all others were privately discontented at the Decree of the ten Embassadors, and said, That they in what they did had only made a vain pretence of liberty. For why must some Cities be deliver'd up to the Romans without being named? and others be named, which yet without being deliver'd up were order'd to be free? unless they would have those in Asia to be free, which are by the very distance of them more secure; but those in Greece not particularly taken notice of, as *Corinth*, *Chalcis*, *Oreum*, *Eretria* and *Demetrias*. Nor was their accusation altogether vain. For there was some doubt made concerning *Corinth*, *Chalcis*, and *Demetrias*; because in the order of Senate, by which the ten Embassadors were sent from *Rome*, the other Cities of Greece and Asia were freed without all dispute; but about these three Cities the Embassadors were bid to resolve what they in their own Conscience thought most conducive to the good of the Common wealth. At this time there was King *Antiochus*; who, they did not doubt, would come over into Europe as soon as ever his affairs were put into a posture that he liked. Wherefore they had no mind that such convenient Cities as those should lie open for him to take footing in. From *Elatia* *Quintius* crossed over to *Anticyra* with the ten Embassadors, and thence to *Corinth*: where he held a Council of them and said over and over, That Greece must be set at liberty, if they meant to rebate the *Ætolians* tongues, or ever desired to see the Roman name truly loved and valued by all men: and that, if they would believe him, he came over the Sea to deliver Greece, not to transfer the Sovereign Power from *Philip* to himself. The rest said nothing against that, touching the liberty of the Cities; but that it was safer for them to remain some little time under the protection of the Roman Empire, than instead of *Philip* to have *Antiochus* for their Lord and Master. At length it was thus decreed; That *Corinth* should be restored to the *Achaens*, and yet there should still be a Garrison in the Castle; that *Chalcis* and *Demetrias* should be retain'd till their care concerning *Antiochus* was over.

The time appointed for the *Isthmian* Games was now come; which were always used to be very much frequented, not only by reason of the natural inclination the Nation hath to that sort of shoves, in which you may see all kind of Exercises and Tryals, either of sleight, or strength, or nimbleness; but likewise because there was a general meeting of all

Greece;



Greece, which upon the score of the places convenience, through two opposite Seas, at that time flock'd thither. Now therefore being all big with expectation, what condition Greece was like to be in, and what their Fortune would be, some did not only muse in silence, but spoke out also. The Romans fate together to see the show: whilst the Cryer, with a Trumpeter, as the custom is, march'd forth into the midst of the Space, where in a solemn form the Games are usually Proclaimed, and having commanded silence, with his Trumpet pronounced these following words: *The Senate and People of Rome, together with Quintius their General, bid all the Corinthians, Phocians, Locrians, and the Island Eubœa, with the Magnetians, Thessalians, Perrhæbians, Achæans, and Phthians (now that King Philip and the Macedonians were conquer'd) be at liberty, and live without any Laws but their own.* He reckon'd up all the Nations that had been under Philip's jurisdiction: and at the hearing of the Cryers Voice there was more joy than the people could well contain. They could scarce believe they heard what was Proclaimed; but stood in admiration one looking at the other, as if they had been in a Dream. As to what concern'd each single man, they not believing even their own Ears, enquir'd of those that were next to them. Whereupon the Cryer was call'd back again (every one desiring not only to hear but to see the Proclaimer of their liberty) and order'd to pronounce the same words a second time. By which means their joy being now grounded upon a sure foundation, there was such a shout, with such applause set up, and so often repeated, that it was very apparent, there is nothing which the World calls good, more grateful to the multitude, than liberty. After that the Games were huddled over in haste, so as that no mans mind or eyes were fix'd upon the Show: one tide of joy upon that single account had so much over-whelmed the sense of any other pleasures.

XXXV. But when the Games were over, they almost all ran toward the Roman General: inasmuch that whilst the crowd rush'd in upon him, out of a desire to do him reverence, or kiss his hand, and threw Crowns with Ribbands to them toward him, he was himself in danger. But he was thirty three years old, and therefore not only the vigour of his youth, but the joy that he conceiv'd from the signal glory which he had gain'd, supply'd him with strength enough. Nor was joy of all people extraordinary at the present only, but they recall'd and continu'd it for many dayes by grateful thoughts and Speeches: *That there was a Nation in the World, which waged War at their own charge, and with the hazard of their own Lives, to set others at liberty. Nor did they do so to such as border'd upon their Confines, their next Neighbours, or Countries that were upon the Continent with them; but cross'd the Seas; lest there should be any Government in the World that were not just, and that natural, moral and civil right might every where get the upper hand. That by the single Voice of a Cryer all the Cities of Greece and Asia were set at liberty. Which to hope for was an argument of a bold Spirit; but to effect a demonstration of great Courage and Fortune.*

XXXVI. After this Quintius and the ten Embassadors gave Audience to the Embassies of the several Kings, Nations and Cities. But first of all King Antiochus's Embassadors were call'd in; who having said much what the same that had been said at Rome, that is, made a fair and specious pretence without any reality, receiv'd now no perplex'd Answer, as they had done before, when Philip being secure and potent, things were in a doubtful condition, but were plainly told, *That their King must march out of all those Cities in Asia, that had belong'd either to Philip or Ptolomy; nor meddle with any that were free, or Greek Towns.* But above all, that he must not either come over into Europe himself, or send his Forces over. Having dismiss'd the Kings Embassadors, they began to call a Convention of the several Nations and Cities. Which was done so much the sooner, for that the Decrees of the Ten Embassadors particularly mention'd, the several Cities concern'd. To the Orestians (which are a people of Macedonia) for that they first revolted from the King, were restored their own Laws. The Magnesians also, the Perrhæbians and the Dolops were declared to be free. To the Thessalians, besides the liberty that was granted to them, the Phthians, Achæans were likewise put in subjection, save only Thebes and Phalsalus, two Towns in that Region. But they refer'd the Ætolians (who desir'd that Pharsalus and Leucas might be restored to them according to their League) to the Senate at Rome. They granted leave to the Phocians and Locrians to act jointly as before, by virtue of a Decree: and the Achæans had Corinth, Triphylia and Hærea, (which is also a City of Peloponnesus) restored to them again. The ten Embassadors gave Oreum and Eretria to King Eumenes, Son of Attalus: but Quintius being against it, the matter was referred to the Senate, who gave their liberty to those Cities, and to Carystus besides. Lycus and Partheni were given to Pleurathus, which are two Cities of Illyrium formerly under Philip: Amynder being order'd to keep those Castles that in the time of the War he had taken from Philip.

XXXVII. The Convention being dismissed, the ten Embassadors, when they had divided their Provinces among themselves, went each of them several wayes to set the Cities at liberty: P. Lentulus to Bargylla, L. Stertinus to Hephestia, Thasus and the Cities of Thrace; P. Villius and L. Terentius to King Antiochus, and Cn. Cornelius to King Philip. Whom when he had enjoined to some other things of less moment, he ask'd him, *Whether he could admit of advice, that was not only profitable but for his security also?* To which when the King reply'd, *that he would not only take it, but thank him too, if he said any thing that might be for his advantage;*

age; he perswaded him very earnestly, *that since he had obtain'd a Peace, he would send Embassadors to Rome, to desire an Alliance and a Friendship with the Senate; lest if Antiochus should stir one way or other, he might seem to have waited for, and catch'd at an opportunity to make War.* Philip was met at Tempe in Thessalia; where he made an Answer, that he would presently send Embassadors; and thereupon Cornelius came to Thermopyla, where a full Assembly of all Greece (called the Pylaicum) is usually on set dayes held. There he admonish'd the Ætolians more than any others, *that they would continue faithful and constant in their friendship to the Romans.* Upon which some of the Ætolian Nobility complain'd, *that the Romans did not shew the same affection to their Nation since the Victory, as they had done in the War: whilst others more vehemently accused and upbraided him, saying, That it was not only impossible for the Romans to have conquer'd Philip without the Ætolians to assist them, but they could not so much as have come into Greece without them.* To which the Roman forbore to Answer, lest the matter should have proceeded to a quarrel, and only said, *they would be sure to have all the justice imaginable done them, if they sent Embassadors to Rome.* Whereupon by his advice they pitch'd upon Embassadors: and thus was the War with Philip made an end of.

Whilst these things pass in Greece, Macedonia and Asia, a Conspiracy of the Servants had like to have put Etruria into a Warlike posture. But Manius Acilius the Prætor (who had the jurisdiction between Citizens and Foreigners) being sent to inquire into, and suppress it, with one of the two City Legions, overcame some of them that were gather'd to an head, in open fight (of which many were slain, and many taken) but drubbing others who were the chief Conspirators, hang'd them up upon Crosses; restoring the rest to their former Masters. The Consuls went into their Provinces. But when Marcellus was just got into the Confines of the Boii, and since his Souldiers were now quite tired with marching a whole day together, was Encamping upon a certain Bank, Corolamus King of the Boii, set upon him with a great Army, and kill'd to the number of three thousand men. In that tumultuary Battle there fell some very eminent persons; among whom were the Prefects of the Allies, T. Sempronius Gracchus, M. Junius Sullanus, and two Tribunes of the Souldiers of the second Legion, A. Ogulnius and P. Claudius. Notwithstanding the Romans made all the haste they could to finish the Fortifications of their Camp, and kept it, so that the Enemy, though they had been successful in the late fight, attempted it to no purpose. After that for some dayes together, Marcellus kept in the same Post, till he had cured his wounded men, and recover'd his Souldiers Courage from the fright they had been put into. Thereupon the Boii being a Nation that cannot endure to stay long in a place, got away into their Forts and Villages: and Marcellus immediately passing the Po, march'd into the Territories of Comum, where the Insubrians, who had perswaded the Comians to take up Arms, were then Encamped. The Legions join'd Battle upon the rode: in which the Enemy at first charged up so briskly, that they made the Antesignani [those Souldiers that were before the Ensigns] give way. Which when Marcellus perceived, he fearing lest if they were once removed they might be absolutely routed, opposed the Marsian Regiment, and sent all the Troops of Latine Horse out to meet the Foe. By whose first and second effort the violence of the Enemy was so far rebated, that the rest of the Roman Army being thereby encourag'd, first stood their ground, and then fell fiercely on. Nor could the Gauls any longer endure the shock, but turn'd their backs and ran away as hard as they could drive. Valerius Antias tells us, *that in that fight there were above forty thousand men slain; four hundred and seven military Ensigns taken, with four hundred thirty two Waggon, and a great many gold Chains, one of which being of a great weight, Claudius sayes, was laid up as an offering in the Temple of Jupiter in the Capitol.* The Gallick Camp was that day taken and rifled; and so was Comum within a few dayes after. After that twenty eight Castles revolted to the Consul. But this also is a doubt among Writers, whether the Consul led his Army first into the Country of the Boii, or the Insubrians, to obliterate the memory of an unfortunate, with a successful Battle; or whether the Victory gain'd at Comum were disparaged by the defeat which he receiv'd among the Boii.

About the time that these things were transacted with such variety of Fortune, L. Furius Purpureo, the other Consul, came through Umbria into the Boian Dominions. Where when he was got near to a Castle called Mutilum, fearing lest he might be hedg'd in by the Boii and Ligurians together, he marched back the same way that he came, till by a long Circuit about (through an open, Champaign Country, which was for that reason the more secure) he met with his Colleague; who joining his Forces with him, they first of all ravaged all the Boian Territories as far as the Town called Felsina. But that City, the other Castles, and most of the Boii, except the youth, which were in Arms upon a very great occasion (and then were retired into the pathless Woods) came and submitted to them. Then they led their Army into Liguria, whether the Boii, supposing that they might surprize the Romans (who were negligent in their marching) because they themselves seem'd to be at a great distance from them, follow'd through by wayes. But not over-taking them, they presently cross'd the Po in Boats, and having pillaged the Lævians and the Libyans, as they return'd back again, in the very Confines of Liguria, laden with the spoil of the Country, they light

upon the Roman Army. With that they engaged more suddenly and sharply than if they had come prepared to fight at a time and place appointed for it. There it appear'd, what force passion had to instigate mens minds. For the Romans were so much more desirous of slaughter than of Victory, that they scarce left the Enemy a Messenger to carry the news of their defeat. For that action upon the receipt of the Consuls Letters at Rome, there was a Supplication order'd for three dayes together. Soon after Marcellus came to Rome, and had a triumph granted him by general consent of the Senate: so that he triumph'd in the time of his Office over the Insubrians and Comians. But he left the hopes of a triumph upon the score of the Boii to his Collegue; for that though he himself had been unfortunate in a Battle against that people, his Partner had met with better success. Many spoils were brought along in the Enemies Waggon that he had taken, with many military Ensigns, three hundred and twenty thousand pounds of brasse money, and of silver stamped with a Chariot, two hundred thirty four thousand pound. Out of which he gave to each Foot-Souldier eight hundred *Asses*, and three times as much to every Horseman and Centurion.

XL. The same Year King Antiochus, happening to Winter at Ephesus, endeavoured to reduce all the Cities of Asia to their old form of Government: for the rest, he supposed, either because they were situated in Champaign Places, or that they had but little confidence in the Walls, Arms, or Youth, would easily receive his Yoke. Smyrna and Lampsacus were then at Liberty; and therefore there was some danger, lest, if he should wink at them, whom he fear'd, the other Cities in *Aeolus* and *Ionia* would follow the example of Smyrna, and those in *Hellepont* of Lampsacus. He therefore sent from Ephesus to besiege Smyrna, and commanded, that the Forces which were at *Abydus*, save only a small guard that they should leave there, should be drawn out to attack Lampsacus. Nor did he only terrifie them by force, but by his Embassadors also, speaking kindly to them, and rebuking them for their rashness and stubbornness, endeavoured to make them hope, That they should shortly enjoy what they desired; and said, That then it would be sufficiently evident not only to them, but to all others, that they had gain'd their liberty of the King very fairly, and not by any subtilty or surprise. To which they replied, That Antiochus ought not either to wonder or be angry, if they could not well endure to have their hopes of liberty differ'd. After this, in the beginning of the Spring he setting sail from Ephesus went to *Hellepont*, but sent his Land Forces over to *Madytum*, a City of *Chersonesus*, where he joyn'd his Sea and Land Army into one Body. And seeing that they had shut their Gates, he invested the Walls with Soldiers; but as he was making his Works ready, and planting his Engines against them, they surrendered, being followed by all the other Cities of *Chersonesus*, who through the same principle of fear were induced to do the same thing. Thence he went with all his Land and Sea Forces together to *Lyfimachia*; which when he found deserted and almost all turn'd into heaps of rubbish (for the Thracians had taken, and sack'd, and burnt it some few Years before) he was desirous to repair so noble a City that was so well situated. Whereupon he began with all the care imaginable, not only to rebuild the Walls and Houses [that were down] but likewise, partly to redeem the *Lyfimachians* that were in slavery, and partly to seek out and get together such as were fled and scattered about *Hellepont* and *Chersonesus*; besides that he added new Inhabitants also, through hopes of advantage which he propos'd to them, and used all means he might to make it populous. And that he might remove their fear of the Thracians, he himself went with one half of his Land Forces to plunder the adjacent parts of *Thrace*, leaving the other half and all his Seamen to assist at the rebuilding of the City.

XLI. At this time also C. Cornelius, who was sent to decide the Controversies between the two Kings, Antiochus and Ptolomy, resided at *Selymbria*; and, of the ten Embassadors, P. Lentulus from *Baryllis*, with P. Villius and L. Terentius from *Thassus* came to *Lyfimachia*; where L. Cornelius likewise from *Selymbria*, and after a few days Antiochus too out of *Thrace* came and met him. The first interview between him and the Embassadors, as their invitation also afterward, was kind and hospitable. But when they began to talk of their business and the present state of Asia, their minds were exasperated. The Romans said, That all he had done, since he set sail with his Fleet from Syria, was contrary to the Senates inclinations, and that they thought it reasonable, he should restore to Ptolomy all those Cities, that had been subject to him. Nor did they think it tolerable that he should have those Cities neither, which, when they were in Philip's possession, Antiochus had seized whilst Philip was employed in the War against the Romans; that is, that the Romans should have taken so much pains, and undergone so many dangers for so many Years together, and Antiochus have the reward of it. But though his coming into Asia might be winked at by the Romans, as not at all concerning them, yet now, when he was come with all his Sea and Land Forces over into Europe, how far was he from declaring open War against the Romans? But he indeed, though he came into Italy it self, would deny [that he had any such design].

XLII. To this the King replied, and told them, He saw very well long before that time, that the Romans were very inquisitive into the Actions of King Antiochus; but never considered, how far they themselves ought to go by Land and Sea: That Asia did not at all belong to the People of Rome; nor ought they any more to inquire, what Antiochus did in Asia, than Antiochus, what the Roman People

People did in Italy. As to Ptolomy, from whom they complained that he had taken such and such Cities, he not only was at present Ptolomy's Friend, but endeavour'd also shortly to contract an affinity with him. Nor did he seek for any spoils out of Ptolomy's broken Fortune, or was come with his Army into Europe, to oppose the Romans, but to recover the Cities in *Chersonesus* and *Thrace*. For he was the rightful Lord of them, it being originally the Kingdom of *Lyfimachus*: upon whose defeat all that had been his, and by the Law of Arms became *Seleucus's*, he thought belong'd to him. That, when his Ancestors were taken up with looking after other things, Ptolomy first had possess'd himself of some part of them, and then Philip usurp'd the rest; as some of the nearest parts of *Thrace*, which without doubt belonged to *Lyfimachus*. That he came to reduce those places to their ancient condition: and to rebuild *Lyfimachia*, which the Thracians had demolished, that his Son *Seleucus* might make that the seat of his Kingdom.

When these disputes had continued for some days, there was a report spread abroad, XLIII. without any known Author for it, concerning the Death of Ptolomy, so that there was no end made of those discourses. For both sides pretended that they heard so. Thereupon L. Cornelius, who was sent Embassador to the two Kings, Antiochus and Ptolomy, desired a convenient space of time to go and speak with Ptolomy; that he, before any disturbance was made in the new possession of that Kingdom, might come into Egypt; whilst Antiochus thought that Egypt would be his, if he had then an opportunity. He therefore, having dismiss'd the Romans, and left his Son *Seleucus* with his Land-Forces to rebuild *Lyfimachia*, according to his design, himself sail'd with all his Fleet to Ephesus; where having sent Embassadors to *Quintius*, who should pretend to treat with him concerning an Alliance, he coasted along by Asia, and came into Lycia. But there though he knew that Ptolomy dwelt then at *Patara*, yet he omitted the design of sailing into Egypt. Notwithstanding he went toward Cyprus; but when he was past the *Chelidonian* Promontory was laid for some small time, by a mutiny among his Seamen, in *Pamphylia*, near the River *Eurymedon*. From thence he was going to the head (as they call it) of the River *Sarus*, but a mighty tempest arose and drown'd both him and all his Fleet. Many of his Ships were cast on Shore, and many others so swallow'd up by the Sea, that never a man escap'd to the Land. A great number of men were lost at that time, not only of Sailors, and private Souldiers, but even of his most eminent Friends. Wherefore having gather'd up the reliques of the wreck, seeing that he could not possibly get to Cyprus, he returned to *Seleucia* with a much less Army than he brought from home. There when he had order'd his Ships to be haled up into the Docks (for it was now Winter) he himself went on to winter at *Antiochia*. And in this posture were the two Kings affairs.

That was the first year that ever there were *Triumviri Epulones* [i.e. Three Officers created to take care of the sacred Feasts at the time of Sacrificing] made at Rome; whose names were C. Licinius Lucullus, T. Romuleius (who propos'd the Law for their being created) and P. Porcius Leca. To these *Triumviri* also, as to the chief Priests, was allow'd by the same Law the wearing of a white Gown guarded with Purple, called *Toga praetexta*. But the City Questors, Q. Fabius Labeo, and L. Aurelius, that year had a great contest with all the Priests in general. They had need of money, because they were to pay the last payment of the money lent toward the carrying on of the War to those private persons [of whom it was borrow'd.] The Questors therefore demanded of the Augurs and Priests the arrears of contribution which in the time of the War they had not paid. Thereupon the Priests appealed to the Tribunes, but all in vain; for the stipend or aid-money was exacted from them for all those years that they had not paid it. The same Year two of the chief-Priests dy'd, and two more were put in their rooms, M. Marcellus the Consul in the place of C. Sempronius Tuditanus, who died, whilst he was Praetor, in Spain, and L. Valerius in the room of M. Cornelius Cethegus. Q. Fabius Maximus also, the Augur, or Soothsayer died very young, before he had served an Office in the State; nor was there any Augur that year put in his place. Then the Consular Assembly was held by M. Marcellus the Consul, in which there were created Consuls L. Valerius Flaccus and M. Porcius Cato. After that they chose the Praetors, who were C. Fabricius Luscinus, C. Atinius Labeo, Manlius Vulso, Ap. Claudius Nero, P. Manlius and P. Porcius Leca. The Curule Aediles, who were M. Fulvius Nobilior, and C. Flaminius, distributed ten hundred thousand Bushels of Wheat among the people at two *Asses* the Bushel; which Corn the Sicilians had brought to Rome out of respect to C. Flaminius himself, as well as to his Father. But Flaminius let his Collegue partake with him in the peoples thanks for it. That year the Roman Games were not only magnificently set forth but perform'd quite through thrice over. The Aediles of the people, Cn. Domitius Aenobarbus, and C. Scribonius, chief Curio [i.e. Alderman] brought a good many Graziers to justice before the people; of whom there were three condemn'd: and out of their Fines they built a Temple to *Faunus* in an Isle [that was in the Tiber.] The Plebeian Games were celebrated for two days, and there was a Feast upon the same account.

When L. Valerius Flaccus, and M. Porcius, the day that they enter'd upon their Office, XLIV. had propos'd to the Senate the division of the several Provinces, the Senate thought fit, that since there was a War bro'g out in Spain only, for which reason of consequence they should want

both a Consul General, and a Consul Army, the two Consuls should either agree between themselves concerning the hither Spain and Italy for their Provinces, or cast Lots for them. He that happen'd to have Spain, should carry along with him two Legions, five thousand Allies of the Latine Nation, and five hundred Horse, with twenty long Ships. That the other Consul should raise two Legions, which were enough to keep the Province of Gaul in awe, since the Insubrians and Boians were subdu'd the year before. Cato chanced to get Spain, and Valerius Italy: and then the Prætors chose their Provinces. C. Fabricius Luscinus had the City, C. Atinius Labeo the Foreign jurisdiction, Cn. Manlius Vulso Sicily, Ap. Claudius Nero the farther Spain, P. Porcius Leca Pisa (that he might be on the back of the Ligurians) and P. Manlius was sent as an assistant to the Consul into the hither Spain. T. Quintius, now that not only Antiochus and the Atolians, but Nabis also, Tyrant of Lacedemon, was suspected, was continu'd in Commission a year longer, and to have two Legions. To which if there was any supplement wanting, the Consuls were order'd to raise men, and send them into Macedonia. Ap. Claudius the Prætor had leave to raise (besides the Legions which he had of Q. Fabius) two thousand Foot and two hundred fresh Horse. And the like number of new Horse and Foot was granted to P. Manlius for the service in the hither Spain, with the Legion that had been commanded by the Prætor Minucius. P. Porcius Leca also had two thousand Foot, and five hundred Horse out of the Gallick Army, allotted him for the defence of Etruria about Pisa; Sempronius Longus being continu'd in Commission at Sardinia.

XLVI. The Provinces being thus divided, the Consuls before they went from the City, did sacrifice upon the score of the Spring, by order of the chief Priests: that being a thing which A. Cornelius Mammula the Prætor had vow'd to do by the Senates approbation, and the peoples consent, and was done twenty one years after it was vow'd, when Cn. Servilius and P. Flaminius were Consuls. At the same time C. Claudius, Son of Appius [surnamed] Pulcher, was chosen Augur in the place of Q. Fabius Maximus, who died the year before, and was then inaugurated [i. e. install'd.] Now when all people were admiring, that the War rais'd in Spain should be neglected: there was a Letter brought from Q. Minucius, That he had fought a successful pitch'd Battle, at a Town call'd Turba, with Budares and Belsides, the Spanish Generals, in which he had slain twelve thousand of the Enemies, taken Budares Prisoner, and routed all the rest. Which Letter being read, they were in less fear of Spain, from whence they expected a mighty War. But all their cares, after the arrival of the ten Embassadors, were employ'd upon King Antiochus. For they told them (after they had first given an account of the transactions between them and Philip, and upon what terms they had granted him a Peace) that there was no less fear of a War to come upon them yet from Antiochus. That he was come over with a vast Navy, and a great Land Army into Europe: and that unless the vain hopes he had (which arose from a vainer rumour) of invading Egypt diverted him, all Greece would shortly be in a flame. Nor would the Atolians themselves be at quiet, being not only by nature a restless sort of people, but now also offended at the Romans too. That there was another mischief likewise that stuck in the very Bowels of Greece, and that was Nabis, who was at present Tyrant of Lacedemon, and would be soon, if he might, sole Lord of all Greece, being as covetous and as cruel as all the Tyrants that ever were heard of. That if he were suffer'd to keep Argos as a Guard and a check upon Peloponnesus, when the Roman Armies were carried away into Italy, Greece would be freed from Philip to no purpose at all: for instead of a King, that lived a great way off, it would have a neighbouring Tyrant to be its Lord and Master.

XLVII. When the Senate heard this, not only from grave Authors, but men that spoke of their own knowledge, whatever brought the King into Syria, they thought fit first to hasten the consultation touching the Tyrant. And when they had a long time debated, whether there was yet reason enough, that T. Quintius should be appointed to manage the matter, as to Nabis of Lacedemon, they gave him liberty to do what he thought best for the Commonwealths interest: because they supposed it to be such an affair, as whether hasten'd or delay'd, would not prove of any great moment to the main concern of Rome: but that they ought rather to observe, what Annibal and the Carthaginians were like to do, if they should have a War with Antiochus. Those of the Faction, contrary to Annibal, wrote several Letters to the great men of Rome, who were their particular Friend, to inform them; That there were Messengers and Letters sent from Annibal to Antiochus, and that Embassadors came privately to him from the King. That he, like some wild Beasts, would never be tamed, so savage, and implacable was that mans mind. That he complain'd, the City [of Carthage] was enfeebled by sloth, ease, and want of employment, nor could be rowzed up [to their former activity] without the clashing of Arms. The remembrance of the former War, which was carried on as well as first rais'd by him alone, made all this probable: not but that he had also exasperated the spirits of a great many Noblemen too by what he had lately done.

XLVIII. The Judges of Carthage at that time bore the Sovereign sway, and that chiefly for this reason, because they were perpetual. The Estate, Credit, and Life of every man was in their power; and he that had one of that rank, had all of them against him: Nor was there any accusers wanting before those angry Judges. But whilst they exercised this their Tyrannical and Arbitrary Power (for they did not use it like Citizens) Annibal being chosen Prætor,

Prætor, call'd the Questor to him: though the Questor valu'd not the Summons, as being of the contrary Faction; besides that, considering men were made Judges (the most powerful Order of Citizens) that had been Questors, he was proud to think what a mighty Fellow he should shortly be. But Annibal taking it for an affront, sent an Officer to seize the Questor, and bringing him into the publick Assembly, accused not him more than the whole Order of Judges, through whose Pride and Riches there was in effect neither Laws nor Magistrates: and observing that the people were pleas'd to hear him (for their Pride and Tyranny was grievous, even to the meanest of the Citizens) he immediately propos'd and carried a Law, That the Judges should be chosen every year; and that no man should continue in that office two years together. But what good will he gain'd among the Commonalty by so doing, he lost with great part of the Nobility. He likewise did another thing, which though it were for the publick good, procur'd him a great many Enemies. The publick Revenues were partly through negligence decay'd, and partly made a prey and a dividend to some of the great men and Magistrates; besides that the money which was to be paid every year to the Romans toward maintaining their Armies, was then lacking; so that private men were in danger of an heavy Tax. Annibal therefore having learnt what the Revenues were both by Sea and Land, and upon what occasions they were laid out; together with how much of them the ordinary expences of the Commonwealth came to, and what they were cheated of in the publick accounts, he declar'd in the Assembly and made his words good, That (if the remainder of the publick stock were collected, though the Tax upon private persons were remitted) the Commonwealth would be rich enough to pay their tribute to the Romans. But then those who had lived for several years upon cheating the publick, as though their own goods had been taken from them, and not what they had stoln out of the Exchequer, extorted out of their hands, being incens'd and angry instigated the Romans (who had themselves a mind to find some ground for a quarrel with him) against Annibal.

Wherefore though Scipio Africanus were for a long time against such proceedings, because he thought it did not consist with the dignity of the Roman People to favour their animosities and accusations against Annibal, or to interpose their publick authority between the Carthaginian Factions; nor to be content to have conquer'd Annibal, unless, like Informers, they swore Calumnies against him, and call'd his honour in question; yet they at last so far prevail'd as to get Embassadors sent to Carthage: who before the Senate there might prove, that Annibal conspired with King Antiochus about raising of a War. There were three Embassadors sent, whose names were C. Servilius, M. Claudius Marcellus, and Q. Terentius Culleo; who, when they came thither, by advice of Annibals Enemies, asking the reason of their Embassy, bid them give out, that they came to decide the controversies between Masinissa, King of Numidia, and the Carthaginians. That report was generally believed; but Annibal knew well enough that he was the only man, whom the Romans aimed at; and that the Carthaginians had a Peace granted them on no other account, but that they should maintain an irreconcilable War against him. Wherefore he resolv'd to give way both to the times and to Fortune; and having before-hand prepared all things for his escape, he came that day into the Forum, or Market-place, to avoid suspicion; but as soon as it was dark, in a Lawyers habit, got out at the Gate with two men to attend him, that knew nothing of his design.

His Horses being ready at the place appointed, he past in the night by a certain Region of the Volan Territories, and the next day in the Morning came to his own Tower between Acholla and Thapsus. There a Ship, prepared and furnished with Oars [for a Voyage] took him in; and so Annibal left Africa, but pitied his Country more than himself. That day he arrived at the Isle Cercina. Where finding in that Port certain Merchant Men with Wares on board of them, who came and saluted him at his landing; seeing they enquired what his business was that way, he had his Men tell them, He was going Embassador to Tyre. But fearing lest any of those Ships, setting out in the Night, should carry the News to Acholla or Thapsus, that they had seen him at Cercina, he ordered a sacrifice to be prepared, and the Masters of the Ships with the Merchants to be invited [to the Feast;] as also, that his Men should borrow all the sails and sail yards out of the several Ships, to make a Tent upon the Shoar which might be shady (for then it was Midsummer) for them to sup in. As much as his affairs and the time would suffer, the entertainment of that Day was prepared and set out with all solemnity; and the Company drank till late in the Night. But Annibal, as soon as he had an opportunity of getting away unknown to them that were in the Port, weighed Anchor. The rest, who were asleep, when they rose the next Day still full of last Nights debauch (too late to do any good) spent some hours in placing their Oars in their Ships, and sitting up their tackling. At Carthage also the rabble, that used to frequent Annibals House, ran to the Porch thereof; and when they heard he did not appear, came thronging into the Forum, and enquired after the Governour of their City, some of them saying, That he was fled (which was true,) and others, That the Romans had kill'd him, which they were more pleas'd at, though you might have seen several Faces there which look'd very differently like Men in the City that favour this or that Faction. But at last the News came, That he was seen at Cercina.

When



- LI. When the Roman Embassadors had told the Senate [of Carthage] That the Roman Senate were certified, not only that King Philip was formerly very much excited by Annibal to make War upon the Romans, but that now also there were Letters and Messengers sent from him to King Antiochus; and that he would never be quiet till he had set the whole World in an uproar. Upon which account he ought not to scape unpunished, though the Carthaginians should satisfy the Roman People, that nothing of all this was done either by their order, or publick approbation. The Carthaginians replied, That they would do whatever the Romans thought fitting. In the mean time Annibal arrived very safe at Tyre, where he was entertain'd by those that built Carthage [i. e. the Tyrians or Phœnicians] as in another native Country, being a person so renowned for all sorts of honours, and having staid there some few Days, sailed thence to Antioch. There, finding that the King was already gone away, he went to wait upon his Son, who was celebrating a solemn sort of Games at Daphne; and having been kindly received by him, made no stop nor stay in his intended Voyage. At Ephesus he overtook the King, who yet was wavering in his mind, and unresolved as touching the Roman War. But Annibal's coming gave him no small encouragement to prosecute that design; besides, that at the same time the Ætolians also were revolted from their alliance with the Romans; for that the Senate referr'd their Embassadors (who came to demand Pharsalus and Leucas with some other Cities according to their first League, to Quintus.

## DECADE IV. BOOK IV.

## The E P I T O M E.

1, 2, &c. The Law call'd, Lex Oppia, which C. Oppius, Tribune of the People had introduced, for the restraining of Womens habits to such and such fashions, was abrogated with the greatest zeal imaginable: though Porcius Cato were against the abolishing of it. 8, 9, &c. He going into Spain quitted all the hither Province of it by a war, which he began at Emporia. 22, &c. T. Quintius Flaminius made an end of the war, that he had managed with success against the Lacedæmonians and their Tyrant Nabis, giving them such terms of Peace as he thought good, and freeing Argos, which was in subjection to the Tyrant. 43. That was the first time, that the Senate ever was at Plays in a place distinct from the people: for the procuring of which, Sex. Ælius Pætus and C. Cornelius Cethegus the Censors interposed, to the great displeasure of the people. 44. Several Colonies were planted. 45. M. Porcius Cato's triumph over Spain. 46. Their prosperous achievements in Spain are further described, with what success they had against the Boi and Insubrian Gauls. 51. T. Quintius Flaminius, who had conquer'd Philip, King of Macedon, and Nabis, Tyrant of Lacedæmon, and had freed all Greece, for his numerous and great exploits triumph'd three days together. 59. The Carthaginian Embassadors came and told [the Romans] that Annibal, who was fled to Antiochus was helping him to raise a war. 60. Now Annibal had endeavour'd by means of Ariston, a Tyrian, whom he sent without Letters to Carthage, to make the Carthaginians renew the war.

- I. **A**Midst the concern that they had for great Wars, which either were not yet well ended, or just hung over them, there intervened a thing but very small to speak of, but such as by the several Factions grew up to a mighty Controversie. M. Fundanius and L. Valerius, Tribunes of the People, proposed to the Commons the abrogating of the Oppian Law. C. Oppius, a Tribune of the People had made it, when Q. Fabius, and T. Sempronius were Consuls, in the very heat of the Punic War, [and it was] That no woman should have more than half an Ounce of gold about her, nor wear any party-coloured Garment, nor ride in a Chariot with two Horses, either in the City, or any other Town, or within a thousand paces from it, unless it were upon the account of publick and religious solemnities. M. and P. Junius Brutus, Tribunes of the People stood up in defence of this Law, and said, they would not have it abrogated. Besides whom many of the Nobility also came forth to perswade and dissuade the people one way and the other. The Capitol was fill'd with a crowd of men that partly favour'd, and partly oppos'd it: nor could the Matrons be kept at home, either by authority, modesty, or the Commands of their Husbands, but beset all the streets of the City, and the Avenues going into the Forum, desiring the men as they came that way, that now the Common-wealth flourished, and the private fortune of every man daily increased, they would let the matrons also have their ancient Ornaments again. This concourse of the Women was every day more and more. For they came likewise out of the several Towns and Burroughs: and were at last so bold as to go and desire the Consuls, the Prætors and other Magistrates [to stand their Friends] though they could do no good with one of the Consuls, M. Porcius Cato, who for the Law which they would then have abrogated, made this Speech.
- II. If every one of us, Romans, had resolv'd to keep up majesty and Prerogative of an Husband over his own Wife, we should not have had all this trouble with the Women in general. But now our liberty being restrain'd at home by the Tyrant of our own Women, 'tis intrenched and trampled upon here

here also in the Forum: and we, because we could not endure them singly, are frighted at them all together. Truly I thought it was a Fable and a feigned Story, that such a number of Husbands were taken off by a Conspiracy of Women in the Island of Lemnos. But indeed there is the same danger to be fear'd from any sort of people, if you admit of Cabals, Councils and secret Conspirits. Nor can I hardly tell, whether the thing it self be worse or of worse Example: the one of which concerns us Consuls, and all other Magistrates, and the other you, Romans, more especially. For you who are to vote, are to judge, whether that which is proposed to you be for the benefit of the Common-wealth or no. Now this tumult of the Women, whether it arose of it self, or by your advice, (M. Fundanius, and L. Valerius) yet since it certainly layes a blame upon the Magistracy, I cannot tell whether it be more reflective upon you Tribunes, or upon the Consuls: upon you, if you now moved the Women to stir up tribunitian seditions; and upon us, if as heretofore of the people, so now by means of a secession of the Women, we must have Laws imposed upon us. Truly I came not without blushing just now through a great Troop of Women into the Forum: and if I had not been restrained by the respect I bore to some of them for their quality and modesty, more than I did to all of them in general; I would have hinder'd their being saluted by the Consul, and said: What a fashion is this, of running out into the streets and calling to other Womens Husbands? Could you not each of you desire the same thing of your Husbands at home? Are you more obliging in publick than in private, and to other Womens than your own? Although you ought not, even at home, if Matrons would keep within the bounds of modesty, as they should do, to concern their selves what Laws are either made or abrogated in this place. Our Ancestors would not suffer Women to do any private business without the advice of a man, but to be at the disposal of their Parents, Brethren or Husbands. But we (forsooth) now advise let them manage even the Common-wealth it self, and to come into the Forum to all publick Assemblies, and other meetings. For what else do they at present do in the streets and cross wayes, but some of them perswade the passing of what the Tribunes propose, whilst others are of opinion that such and such a Law ought to be abrogated? Give way to their unruly nature, to the untamed animal [called Woman] and then hope that they'll set bounds to their own liberty without your help. But this is the least thing of those that the Women take so hainously, as being injoin'd either by Custom or Law. They desire a liberty, yea an unlimited Licence (if we would say the truth) to do all manner of things. For what will they not attempt, if they gain this point?

Pray call to mind all the Female Laws, by which our Ancestors have restrain'd that Sex, and whereby they have made them subject to their Husbands, and yet though they are tied up by all these, you can hardly keep them in order. What if you should suffer them to carp at particulars, and extort such and such things from you, so as to make themselves equal to you; do you think they would be tolerable to you? No, as soon as ever they are equal, they will be above you. But now forsooth they defend themselves, lest any new thing should be put upon them. They do not seek to evade that which is Law, but an injury. Yes indeed, that Law, which you admitted of, which by your Votes you have consented to, which by the use and experience of so many years you have approved, they would have you abrogate: that is, that by abolishing of one Law you may invalidate all the rest. No Law is suitable to all peoples humours and interests; this being the only question, whether it be good for the greater part [of the Community] and in the main; if it destroys and removes all that which is injurious to private persons; for what does it signifie to propose Laws to the people in general, which they, for whom they are made, can presently abrogate? Yet I have a mind to hear what the reason is, why the Matrons run thus out into the streets, and scarce keep from even the Forum and publick Assemblies. Is it to get their Captive Parents, Husbands, Children or Brothers redeemed from Annibal? Oh! no, that fortune is far, and may it ever be so, from our Common-wealth, though when it was so, you denied their pious Petitions. But it is not piety or solicitude for their Friends, it is Religion, may be, that has drawn them together. What, are they to receive the Goddess Cybele again at her arrival from Pessinus in Phrygia? What modest word, I'd fain know, can any man say in defence of this Female Sedition? Oh! we, say they, would shine in gold and purple, and when we had made their Votes our own, ride both on holy and working dayes, in Chariots through the City, in triumph, as it were, over the vanquish'd and abrogated Law: that there may be no bounds set to our expences or luxury.

You have often heard me complain, not only of the prodigality of Women, but of men too, and those as well Magistrates as private persons; and that the City labours under two different Vices of Avarice and Luxury, which have been the bane of all great Empires. As to these, the better and more prosperous the fortune of the Common-wealth each day becomes, the more the Empire thrives; now that we are also got over into Greece and Asia, which are fill'd with all allurements to Vice, and begin to handle the Kings Treasure too; I am so much the more afraid, lest they should rather catch us than we them. Believe me, the Syraculans did this City a great deal of injury. And now I hear there are too many at Corinth and Athens, who praise and admire the several Ornaments there, but laugh at the Earthen Statues of the Roman Gods that are fixed up before [your Temples.] But I would rather have these propitious Gods, as I hope I shall find them, if we can suffer them to continue where they are. Within the memory of our Fathers, Pyrrhus, by his Embassador Cyneas, tempted not only our men, but our Women also with presents [that he sent them] before the Oppian Law, for restraining Womens Luxury was made; but never an one of them accepted [what he offer'd.] What do you think was the reason of it? Why even the same that our Ancestors had,

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had, not to make any Law touching this affair; that is, there was no luxury then to be restrained. For as it is necessary the distemper should be first known before you can know the Cure of it, so extravagant desires must shew themselves before there can be Laws to restrain them. What caused the Licinian Law, that no man should have above five hundred Acres, but a mighty desire that men had of still increasing their Estates? What the Cincian Law, concerning gifts and presents, but because the people now began to be tributary and stipendiary to the Senate? Wherefore 'tis no wonder, that neither the Oppian, nor any other Law was wanting at that time, to set limits to the expences of Women, when they would not receive gold and purple which was freely presented to them. If Cineas should now go about with those presents [which he then offer'd] he would find the Women standing in the streets to receive them. Now for my part I cannot imagine what is the cause or reason of some desires. For as it carries something perhaps of natural shame and indignation with it, that the same thing which another may do, you may not, so when the habits of all people are alike, why should any of you be afraid to be seen in such a garb? I must confess, to be niggardly or poor, are the worst of causes why a man should be ashamed; but the Law, in this Case, frees you from both these imputations, when you have not that which you cannot lawfully have. But sayes a great Lady, I cannot endure this very levelling and equality; why should not I appear all glittering with gold, and clothed in purple? Why should the poverty of others lie hid under the umbrage of this Law; so as that what they cannot have, they, if it were lawful, should seem to be able to buy? Will you, Romans, give your Wives occasion to contend in this manner; that the rich Women shall desire to have, what no Woman else can purchase? and the poorer sort, lest for this very reason they should be contemn'd, to stretch beyond their abilities? If so, then certainly, as soon as they are once ashamed of what they ought not, they will not be ashamed of what they ought. She that can out of her own stock, will purchase [the thing she lacks] and she that cannot, will ask her Husband. And woe be to that man who either does or does not grant their requests! when he shall see that which he himself would not give her, given by another man. Now a-dayes they commonly ask other Womens Husbands [to give them such or such a thing, or do them this or that kindness] yea, and which is more, desire them to make a Law and give their Votes [in favour of the Women] and of some they obtain their desires, though toward thee, thy Estate and [children they are inexorable. As soon as the Law ceases to set bounds to thy Wives extravagancy, thou wilt never be able to do it. Romans, do not suppose that you shall be in the same condition, as you were before this Law was made. For as it is safer not to accuse an ill man, than to have him upon the accusation acquitted; so luxury would have been more tolerable had it never been meddled with than it will be now; being like a savage Beast by its very bonds first enraged and then let out. For my part, I do not think the Oppian Law ought to be abrogated by any means. But do you what you please, and Heaven direct you in it.

- V. After this the Tribunes of the people also, who professed that they would interpose, having added some few words to the same purpose, L. Valerius to promote the Law which he had proposed, made this Speech: If private persons only had come forth to speak both for and against that which we now propose; I also, since there have been enough said on both sides, should have with silence expelled their Votes. But now, seeing so grave a person as M. Porcius Cato, the Consul, hath opposed our Bill, not only by his authority, which though silent, would have been prevalent enough, but in a long and accurate Oration also, I must of necessity make some short answer to him: though he has been at the expence of more breath to chastize the Matrons, than in arguing against our Bill, and has strove to make a doubt of it, whether the Matrons had done what he found fault with on their own accord, or by our advice. But I'll defend the cause not our persons; upon whom the Consul has thrown these things rather verbally, than fix'd any real accusation upon us. He has call'd it a Caballing, Seditions, and sometime a secession of the Women, that the Matrons should ask you in the open streets, to abrogate a Law made against them in the time of War, now in the happy and flourishing times of Peace. I know there are great words (not only these but others also) that may be found out to aggravate the matter: and we all know that Cato is an Orator, not only grave, but sometimes also severe, though naturally he be very mild. For what new thing, I pray, have the Matrons done, in going out great numbers of them together into the streets, upon a business that concern'd them? Did they never appear in publick before? I will turn over your own Book (Cato!) called Origines, against you. See there how oft they have done it, and that also for the publick good. In the very first Age when Romulus reigned, and the Capitol being taken by the Sabines, there was a set Battle in the midst of the Forum, was not the fight made an end of by the Matrons running in between the two Armies? What? After the Kings were driven out, when the Volscinian Legions had Encamped at the fifth stone [five miles from Rome] under the Conduct of Coriolanus, did not the Matrons divert that Army, which would have otherwise destroy'd this City? When the City was taken by the Gauls, how was it redeemed? Why, the Matrons brought in their gold to the publick stock by general consent. In the next War (not to mention old stories) when money was short, did not the Widows moneys augment the treasury? and when new Gods also were sent for to assist us in our doubtful circumstances, all the Matrons went to the Seaside to receive the Goddess Cybele. But the causes, you'll say, are not alike. Nor did I design to make them parallel. 'Tis enough if I prove this to be no new thing. Now can we wonder that they should do, in a case that so nearly concern'd them, what no body admired that they did in affairs that equally belonged to all Men and Women both? But what have they done? Really, Gentle-

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men, we have very proud Ears, if when Masters do not reject the Petitions of their Slaves, we cannot endure to be intreated by freeborn, virtuous Women.

I come now to that which is the main point, in which the Consul said two things. For he was neither willing that any Law at all should be abrogated, nor that especially that had been made to restrain the luxury of Women. One part of his Speech seemed to defend all Laws in general, and the other was against Luxury, very agreeable to his severe behaviour. Wherefore it may chance, that unless we inform you what mistakes there are in both parts, you may be deceiv'd into a false opinion. For I, as I confess, that I would have none of those Laws, (which were not made for any particular time, but, being of perpetual advantage, to stand for ever in full force) abrogated; unless either experience refuses it, or some state of the Common-wealth has made it of no use: so those Laws which were occasion'd by such and such junctures of affairs, I see are mortals (if I may so say) and changeable as the times themselves. Those that were made in Peace, War many times abrogates; and those that were made in War, Peace, as in the management of a Ship, some things are of use in a calm, and others in a storm. Now seeing these things are in their nature so distinct, of which sort, I pray does that Law seem to be that we would abrogate? Is it an ancient Kingly Law, enacted at the first founding of the City? or is it (which is the next in dignity) written by the Decemviri, who were created to make Laws in the twelve Tables? or such an one, that since without it our Forefathers did not think the honour of Matrons could be prefer'd, we also ought to fear, lest with it we may abrogate and destroy the modesty and chastity of our Women? But who knows not, that it is a new Law, made twenty years ago, when Q. Fabius, and T. Sempronius were Consuls? without which, since our Matrons lived so many years very regular, what fear is there, I'd fain know, that upon our abrogating thereof, they should run out into such luxury? For if this Law was therefore made, that it might restrain the exorbitance of Women, we ought to fear, lest being abrogated it might increase it: but why it was made, the very time then shew'd. Annibal was in Italy Victorious at Cannæ; having Tarentum, Arpi, and Capua already in his possession; and seemed in all probability resolv'd to bring his Army to Rome. Our Allies were revolted: we had not Souldiers to supply [our necessities] nor Seamen to defend our Navy, nor money in our Treasury: we were forced to buy Slaves, to make Souldiers of, upon condition to pay their Masters for them when the War was over; the Publicans [i.e. Farmers of the Customs] undertook to procure Corn and other things convenient for the carrying on of the War, for which they were to be paid at the same time: we furnish out Servants to row, every man according to his Estate, whom we brought in together with our aid money: we contributed all the gold and silver we had (the Senators giving us the first Example) toward the publick charges: and not only Widows but Orphans too brought their moneys into the Treasury. There was care taken, that no man should have above such a quantity of gold or silver that was coined, nor above so much silver and brass money in his House. At that time the Matrons were grown to a great height of Luxury and Pride, insomuch that to restrain them, the Oppian Law was much wanted: for, seeing that the Sacrifice to Ceres, for which all the Matrons mourn'd, was intermitted, the Senate order'd their lamentation to be made an end of in thirty dayes. Now who does not plainly see, that this Law, which was made upon account of the necessity and misery of the City, (for that all the money which private men had, was to be converted to the publick use) was to continue only so long, as the reason of it should remain? For if what the Senate at that time decreed, or the people consented to, to serve the present occasion, must have been always observ'd, why do we pay back their money to private persons? why do we not now let out the publick Revenues for ready money? why do we not now buy Slaves to make Souldiers of? why do we not, every private man, supply Rowers, as we then did?

Shall all other ranks, all other sorts of people be sensible how much the state of the Common-wealth is alter'd for the better, and shall our Wives only not share in the benefits of peace and tranquillity? Shall we men use purple, and wear the Prætecta [a white Gown, guarded with purple] in our Magistracies and Priesthoods: shall our Children have Gowns guarded with purple, shall the Officers in Colonies and Burroughs, and here at Rome, the meanest sort, even the Overseers of the streets [or Scavengers] have the privilege of wearing a guarded Gown, and that not only whilst they live, but be burnt in such a Robe of state, when they are dead too; and yet shall we forbid our Women only the use of purple? And when you, who are the Husband, may make your Horse-Cloth of purple, will you not suffer your Wife to have a Mantle of the same? will you let your Horse be better clothed than your Bedfellow? I must own indeed in the case of purple, which is subject to wear and decay, I perceive there is some reason for your tenacity, though it be an unjust one; but in gold, wherein, besides the use of the money paid for it, there is no loss, what hurt can be? That is rather a security to you both in publick and private cases, as you have often found. [Cato] said there was no emulation among them, when never an one of them had the use of it. But then, alas, they are all grieved and enraged to see the Wives of our Allies, the Latines, wear those Ornaments, which they are abridged of; to see them glittering in gold and purple, them carried about the City, whilst they themselves follow on foot, as though their Cities and not Rome were the Seat of the Empire. This would vex the Souls even of men; what then, think ye, is it like to do in Women, whom small things so much disturb? The Women cannot bear Offices in the Common wealth, nor be Priests, nor triumph, nor have the Ensigns of authority, nor presents, nor spoils taken in War: neatness, and finery, and good apparel are the only distinctions belonging to Women: with these

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they please themselves and glory in them, and this our Ancestors called *Mundus muliebris* [Women's Ornaments.] What do they do but lay aside their gold and purple when they mourn? or what else, when their mourning's over, do they resume? What do they add to their dress in times of congratulation, or publick Thanksgivings [to the Gods] but their best apparel? But you think, that if you should abrogate the Oppian Law, it will not be in their power to forbid anything, which that Law now forbids. Your Daughters, Wives and Sisters too will not be so much at their disposal. [But let me tell you] A Woman's subjection is never at an end as long as her relations [as Parents, &c.] are alive: and they themselves abhor that liberty which is occasion'd by loss of Husbands or Parents. They would rather have their habit to be at their disposal than regulated by Law: and you on the other side, ought to keep them under the like careful Guardians, and not in slavery; chusing rather to be called Fathers or Husbands by them, than Lords or Masters. The Consul just now made use of odious terms, when he call'd it a sedition, or a secession of the Women. For there is great danger, I'll warrant you, lest they, like the enraged Commons, should go up into the Sacred Mount, or the Aventine. We must bear with this infirmity, what ever you think of it; and the more you are able to do, the more moderate you ought to be in the exercise of your power.

VIII. When these things were said, both against and for the Law, there was a greater concourse of Women in the streets the next day: and all of them in one Body throng'd to those Tribunes Doors, who interposed against the Bill that was brought in by their Collegues; nor did they stir thence, before the Tribunes disclaimed what they had done. Yet after that there was no doubt but all the Tribes would abrogate that Law: and abrogated it was in the twentieth year after it was made. *M. Porcius* the Consul, after the Oppian Law was abrogated, went immediately with twenty five long Ships, of which five belonged to their Allies, to the Port of *Luna*, where the Army was order'd to meet him; and having sent an Edict over all the Sea Coast, by virtue of which he muster'd up all sorts of Vessels, he, as he was going from *Luna*, Commanded them, to follow him to the Port of *Venus Pyrenæa*; for thence he resolv'd to go with a numerous Fleet against the Enemy. They therefore, passing by the *Ligurian* Mountains and the *Gallick* Bay, met him at the day appointed. Thence they came to *Rhoda*, and routed the Garison of *Spaniards*, that were in the Castle, by main force. From *Rhoda* they sail'd with a fair Wind to *Emporia*: where all the Forces, except the Seamen, were put on shore.

IX. At that time *Emporia* was two Towns, divided by a Wall; the one inhabited by *Greeks* from *Phocæa*, whence the *Maffilians* also came; and the other by *Spaniards*. But the *Greek* Town lay to the Sea, the Wall whereof was at least four hundred paces about: and the *Spaniards* Wall, being more remote from the Sea, three thousand paces in Circuit. To these there was a third fort of men added, as a Colony by *Augustus Divus Caesar* after he had Conquer'd *Pompey's* Sons. Now they are all incorporated into one Body; the *Spaniards* having been first, and at last the *Greeks* also made Denizens of *Rome*. He that should have seen the *Greeks* at that time exposed on the one hand to the open Sea, and on the other to the *Spaniards*, a fierce and a Warlike Nation, would have wonder'd, what it was that preserv'd them. But it was their Discipline indeed, the guard of Infirmity, which among those that are stronger [than their Neighbours] fear best protects. That part of their Wall next the Fields they fortified very well, having made but one Gate on that side, of which some one of their Magistrates was the constant Keeper. In the night a third part of the Citizens watch'd upon the Walls: nor that only for fashions sake, or because the Law obliged them to it, but they kept their Watches, and went their rounds with as much care, as if an Enemy had been at their Gates. They admitted no *Spaniard* into their City: nor went themselves inconsiderately out of it. But to the Seaward there was an outlet from all people. They never went out at the Gate, toward the *Spanish* Town, but in great numbers (almost a third part of them) and those such as had watch'd the night before upon the Walls. Now the reason of their going out was this: the *Spaniards* had Commerce with them, as being themselves unskillful in Sea affairs; and desired not only to buy such Foreign Commodities as were imported thither, but to vend the product of their own Country. The mutual use therefore that they made of each other, caused the *Spanish* City to lie open to the *Greeks*. They were also so much the safer, in that they lay under the umbrage of the *Romans* Friendship; which as they retaliated with less force than the *Maffilians*, so with equal fidelity. At that time also they entertained the Consul and his Army with great respect and kindness. But *Cato*, having staid there some few dayes, till he found where the Enemy was, and what Forces they had; that in his very stay there he might make some progress toward his design, he spent all the time in exercising of his Souldiers. It happen'd to be the time of year, when the *Spaniards* had their Corn in their Barns, and were a thrashing of it. Wherefore he forbid the Purveyors to buy any Corn, and sending them to *Rome*, said, *The War shall maintain it self*. So marching from *Emporia* he burnt and wasted the Enemies Country, filling all places with distraction and terror.

X. At the same time, as *M. Helvius* was going out of the farther *Spain*, with a guard of six thousand men, which was given him by *Ap. Claudius* the Prætor, the *Celtiberians* met him in a great Body at a Town called *Illiturgum*. *Valerius* says, They were twenty thousand

sand fighting men; of which twelve thousand were slain, the Town of *Illiturgum* taken, and all their youth of mans estate kill'd. Thence *Helvius* came to *Cato's* Camp; and because that part of the Country was now secure from the Enemy, having sent his guard back into the farther *Spain*, he went to *Rome*, where he for the success he had met with in the management of his affairs, went ovan into the City. He brought into the Treasury fourteen thousand seven hundred thirty two pounds of Silver Bullion, and seventeen thousand three pounds of coined Silver, stamped with the sign of a Chariot, with twenty thousand four hundred thirty eight of *Oscan* silver. The reason why the Senate deny'd him the honour to triumph, was, because he had fought by the direction of another, and in another mans Province. But he came back two years after, for that when he had deliver'd up the Province to his Successor *Q. Minucius*, he had been detain'd there all the year following by a long and a tedious sickness. Wherefore *Helvius* came into the City ovan only two months before his Successor *Q. Minucius* triumphed. He also brought along with him thirty four thousand eight hundred pounds of silver, seventy eight thousand pieces stamped with a Chariot, and of *Oscan* silver two hundred seventy eight thousand pounds.

In the mean time the Consul was encamped in *Spain*, not far from *Emporia*; whither there came three Embassadors from the petit King of the *Ilergetes*, one of which was his Son, to complain, that their Castles were attacked; nor had they any hopes to make resistance, unless the Romans would assist them. That five thousand Souldiers were enough for the Enemies, who if such a number of men should once appear, would not stay. To which the Consul replied, That he was concern'd very much for the danger and fear which they were in; but that he had not near so many men, as that now there was a great body of the Enemies not far off, with whom he expected every day to engage in a set Battle, he, by dividing his Army, could safely impair his Forces. When the Embassadors heard that they cry'd, and threw themselves down at the Consuls Feet, desiring, That he would not desert them in such dangerous circumstances; for whither should they go, if they were repulsed by the Romans? they had no Allies, nor any other hopes in all the World. That they might have been out of that danger, if they would have revolted from their Allegiance, and conspired with other Nations. But they were not moved by any threats, nor any other Bug-bears, as hoping that the Romans would be a sufficient help and assistance to them. Which if they failed to be, and the Consul denied them his aid, they called both Gods and men to witness, that they would revolt, though fore against their wills, and for pure necessity, lest they should suffer the same as the *Saguntines* did: and would die with the rest of the *Spaniards* rather than perish alone. And that day they were thus dismissed without an Answer.

The next night the Consul was mightily troubled in mind, being loth on the one hand to desert his Allies, or to diminish his Army on the other: because it might either defer his fighting, or make it dangerous for him to engage. At last he resolv'd, not to lessen his Forces, lest the Enemy in the mean time should do him any hurt or dishonour: but thought it best for him to give his Allies hopes instead of reality. For he said, that shams, in War especially, had often passed for truth; and that he who believ'd he had such or such assistance, was many times preserv'd through his mere confidence by hoping and attempting. But the next day he told the Embassadors, that though he was afraid that by lending his Forces to others, he might weaken his own party, yet he had a greater regard to them and their present dangerous circumstances, than to himself. So he order'd notice to be given to the third of his Souldiers in every Regiment, that they should prepare Victuals to carry with them on board the Ships, and the Ships to be made ready against the third day after that. Then he had two of the Embassadors go tell *Bilistages* and the *Ilergetes* what he said; but kept the Kings Son with him by entertaining him civilly, and presenting him with several gifts. The Embassadors did not depart before they saw the Souldiers Ship'd, but then they brought certain news of what they had seen; which fill'd not only their own men, but the Enemies also with the rumour of the *Roman* Auxiliaries coming.

The Consul when he had done enough to make a show of, order'd the Souldiers to be recall'd out of the Ships: and himself, when the time of year drew nigh, in which he might conveniently carry on his affairs, pitch'd his Winter Camp a thousand paces from *Emporia*; from whence, as occasion serv'd, he drew forth his men, sometimes one way, and sometimes another (leaving a small Guard in the Camp) to plunder the Enemies Country. They went out for the most part in the night time, not only that they might have opportunity to go as far as possible from the Camp, but in order to surprize the Enemy; by which method of his, as he exercised his fresh Souldiers, so he took a great many of the adverse party; who now durst never move out of the Fortifications of their Castles. But when he had sufficiently tryed the inclinations and courage, not only of his own men, but of the Enemy too, he order'd all the Tribunes, Prefects and Horsemen to be summon'd together, and told them, *The time that you wished for, is now come: in which you should have an opportunity of shewing your valour. Till this time you have behaved your selves more like Robbers than Souldiers, but now you shall engage with the Enemy man to man in a set Battle. Now you shall no longer ravage their Country, but drain the wealth of their Cities. Our Forefathers, when the Carthaginian Generals were with their Armies in Spain, where they themselves had no Generals nor any Souldiers, were yet resolv'd to put this condition also into their League, that the River Iberus should be the boundary of their Empire. But now though there are two Prætors, a Consul, and three Roman*



*Armies in Spain, where there hath been never a Carthaginian for almost these ten years, we have lost our Dominions about Iberus. This you ought to recover by your Arms and Courage, and force this Nation that renews the War by rashness more than constant fighting, to resume that Yoke which it hath shaken off. Having spoken much to this purpose, he declar'd, that in the night he would march toward the Enemies Camp; and so dissuad'd them to refresh their Bodies.*

XIV. At midnight, having consulted the Soothsayers, he went out, to take what place he thought fit, before the Enemy was aware of him, and wheeling round their Camp, at break of day, having set his Army in Battalia, sent three Regiments up to their very Bullwark. The Barbarians admiring that the Romans appear'd behind them, ran every man to their Arms: whilst the Consul spoke to his own men in this manner: *Fellow-Souldiers, said he, there is no hopes left save in your Courage, and indeed I did what I could to have it so. For the Enemies are in the middle between us and our Camp. Behind us is the Enemies Country. Now as it is most glorious, so it is most safe, to have all our hopes placed in our valour. With that he order'd the Regiments to retire, that by pretending to fly he might tempt the Barbarians out: and, as he believ'd, so it fell out. For they, supposing that the Romans were afraid, and therefore retired, sallied forth at their Gate; filling all the space between their Camp and the Enemies Army with armed men. But whilst they were in an hurry to set their men in Array, the Consul, who had every thing ready and in order, set upon them whilst they were in confusion, leading the Horse in both the Wings first into the fight. But they being presently beaten, and giving ground in the right Wing, put the Foot also into a fright. Which when the Consul saw, he order'd two chosen Regiments to be drawn about from the right flank of the Enemy, and to shew themselves behind, before the Foot were engaged. That put the Foe into such a fright, that it made the Battle, which before was like to be lost through the Romans fear, pretty equal again. Notwithstanding the Horse and Foot in the right Wing were so disorder'd, that the Consul himself took some of them with his own hand, and turn'd them towards the Foe. By this means the fight was not only doubtful as long as they fought with Darts [or other Weapons to throw at a distance] but now also in the right Wing, where their fright and flight began, the Romans could scarce maintain their ground. The Barbarians were hard put to it in the left Wing and in the Front; looking back upon the Regiments that were behind them with great consternation. But when they had thrown away all their Iron Javelins and Fire-Darts they drew their Swords, and thereby as it were, renew'd the fight; wounding each other not at a distance with uncertain strokes at unawares, but setting Foot to Foot, placed all their hopes in their courage and strength.*

XV. When his Men were now tired the Consul brought the Regiments of reserves out of the second Division of the Army into the fight, whereby to animate their drooping hearts: and then they being now made a new Army, the fresh men with their new Weapons setting upon the tired Enemies, first broke in upon them with a brisk effort in form of a Wedge, as it were, and soon after routed them, so that they ran over the Fields as fast as they could back to their Camp. When Cato saw all places fill'd with the flying Enemy, he rode back to the second Legion that was in the Rear, and ordering the Ensigns to be carried before him, commanded them to march with all speed and attack the Enemies Camp. But if any of them ran too eagerly out of their ranks, not only he himself smote him with a Dart, but bad the Tribunes and Centurions to correct them for it. And now they were besieging the Enemies Camp, when the Romans were repell'd with stones and stakes, and all sorts of Weapons from the Bullwark. But when the new Legion came on; then not only the Besiegers were the more encouraged, but the Enemy also more fiercely defended their Bullwark. The Consul took a view of all places quite round, to get an opportunity of breaking in upon them where they made the weakest resistance. At the left Gate he saw them very thin, and thither therefore led he the Vanguard and the Spear-men of the second Legion. The Guard that was at the Gate could not endure the shock of them: and the rest also, when they saw the Enemy within the Bullwark, being forced from their very Camp, threw down their Ensigns and Arms and were kill'd in the very Gates by their own men that could not all get out at such narrow passages: whilst the Souldiers of the second Regiment gauged them behind, and the rest rifled their Camp. *Valerius Antias* says, that there were above forty thousand of the Enemy that day slain: and *Cato*, who was never backward to praise himself, says, there were a great many kill'd, but does not mention the exact number of them.

XVI. He is thought to have done three very commendable things that day: the one in that having led his Army about, a good way from his Fleet and Camp, where they could have no hopes but in their valour, he began the fight amidst his Enemies; the other, in that he set the Regiments upon the Enemies Rear: and the third, for that he order'd the second Legion (when all the rest were dispers'd to pursue the Enemy) to march regularly in Rank and File, under the Ensigns up to the Gate of the Enemies Camp. Nor did he lie idle after he had got the Victory: but having given the signal for a retreat and brought his men back all laden with spoils into the Camp, he gave them some few hours of that night to take their rest in, and then led them forth to plunder the Country. And there indeed they were very extravagant in what they did, the Enemy being all routed and dispersed: which

which forced the Emporitan Spaniards and their Neighbours to a surrender no less than the unfortunate Battle the day before. Many also of other Cities, that had fled into Emporia, surrender'd themselves: all which, when he had saluted them very kindly, and refresh'd them with Wine and Victuals, he sent to their own homes. Then presently he removed his Camp from that place; and which way soever his Army went, Embassadors met him from Cities, that surrender'd themselves. But when he came to Tarraco, all Spain on this side Iberus was already subdu'd, and the Captives, (as well Romans as Allies of the Latine Race) who were oppress'd in Spain by several misfortunes, were brought back as a present to the Consul. After that there was a report, that the Consul would lead his Army into Turdetania, and a false rumour also spread, that he would go toward the inaccessible and desvious mountains. Upon this vain report, without any authority for it, seven Castles belonging to the Bergistans revolted: and that people, the Consul, (bringing down his Army upon them) subdu'd without any memorable Engagement. But, not long after, the same Nation, when the Consul was gone back to Tarraco (and before he went forward any way from thence) fell off again: But were a second time reduced, though they had not the same kind usage as before, being all sold for slaves, that they might never more disturb the Peace.

In the mean time *P. Manlius* the Prætor, having received the old Army from *Q. Minucius*, whom he succeeded, and likewise join'd to it *Ap. Claudius Nero's* old Army out of the farther Spain, went into Turdetania. Now the Turdetans are accounted the most effeminate of all the Spaniards. Yet relying upon their multitude they went to meet the Roman Army. But the Horse being sent in upon them immediately put their Army into disorder. The Foot conflict had no difficulty in it at all; for the old Souldiers understanding very well the Enemies methods, and the Discipline of War made no question of the Victory. And yet they did not end the War with that fight. The Turdetans hired ten thousand Celtiberians and prepared for the War with Foreign Arms. In the mean time the Consul being concern'd at the Rebellion of the Bergistans, and supposing that the other Cities would, upon occasion, do the same thing, disarm'd all the Spaniards on this side Iberus. Which thing they took so very ill, that many of them made away with themselves; for being a Warlike Nation, they thought it not worth while to live without Arms. Which when the Consul heard, he order'd the Senators of every City to be called before him, and told them; *It is not more our interest, than yours, that you should not rebel. For that hath hitherto been always done with greater disadvantage to the Spaniards, than trouble to the Roman Army. But I suppose there is one way to prevent that, by putting you out of a capacity to rebel. And I am resolv'd to bring that about the mildest way I can. Pray do you also assist with your Counsel in the affair; for I'll follow no advice more willingly than what you your selves shall give me.* Whereupon they being silent, he told them, he'd give them some few dayes time to consider of it. But when, being summon'd again, they held their tongues at the second Council also; he in one day pull'd down all their Walls; and then marching toward those that were not yet reduced, as soon as he came into every Country, admitted all the people that dwelt there round about to make their Surrenders: save that he took Segestica, a great and opulent City, with Engines, and Galleries [like Pent-Houses, made of Boards and cover'd with raw Hides, &c. to keep off Arrows, &c. from the Souldiers, whilst they made their approaches to the Walls of a Town.]

Now he found it so much the more difficult to subdue his Enemies, then than, those that first came into Spain: because, to his Predecessors the Spaniards revolted, as being weary of the Carthaginian Yoke; but by him were to be vindicated or judicially challeng'd, as it were, from their usurped liberty into slavery: wherefore he found all things in such confusion, that some of them were in Arms, and others by being besieged were forc'd to revolt: nor had he not come in time to assist them, could they have held out any longer. But the Consul had so much wit and courage together, that he us'd to make one himself in every thing that was done, whether greater or lesser: nor did he consider only and give order for that which was convenient, but himself also transacted several things in his own person: never shewing his authority more gravely or severely upon any one than upon himself. For he vied with the meanest of his Souldiers in Parsimony, watchings, and pains-taking; nor had he any thing in the Army more than another man, excepting honour and the command of it.

The Celtiberians, who, as I said before, were hired by the Enemy, made the War in Turdetania the more difficult to *P. Manlius* the Prætor: Wherefore the Consul, for whom the Prætor sent a Letter, led his Legions thither. When he came there (now the Celtiberians and the Turdetans had two distinct Camps) the Romans running into their stations began to make some light Skirmishes with the Turdetans; coming off with Victory, though their attempt was never so rash. Then the Consul order'd the Tribunes of the Souldiers to go and talk with the Celtiberians, and to carry them their choice of three conditions [of Peace:] the first, that they would come over to the Romans, and accept of double the pay which they were to have from the Turdetans: the next, that they would depart to their own homes, upon the publick word and promise, that their joining with the Romans Enemies should be no disadvantage to them: and the third, that if they delighted in War, they would appoint a time and place, where they

they might fairly fight it out. But the Celtiberians desired time to consult of it. Thereupon a Council was held, at which there were several Turdetans present, with a great Tumult, that hinder'd their resolving upon any one point. Now though it were uncertain, whether they should have Peace or War with the Celtiberians, yet the Romans, as in times of Peace, carried in Provisions out of the Country and Castles of the Enemies: and, besides that, went often into their Fortifications, as if they had agreed upon a Commerce with them by virtue of a private Truce. But the Consul, finding that he could not tempt the Enemy to fight, first of all, led some of his most active Regiments, under their several Banners, into that part of the Country, that was yet unpillaged: where having an account, that all the Baggage and Carriages of the Celtiberians were left at Seguntia, he went forward with his Army to attack that place. But seeing that nothing would provoke them, he, having paid off not only his own men, but the Prætors also, and left all the Army in the Prætorian Camp, himself with seven Regiments went back to Iberus.

XX. With that force, though so small, he took several Towns; besides that the Sedetans, Ausetans, and Sueffetans revolted to him. But the Lacetans, who lived in a pathless, woody Country, were still in Arms, not only by reason of their natural inclination to War, but because they were conscious that whilst the Consul and his Army were employ'd in the Turdetan War, they had plunder'd the Roman Allies by sudden incursions which they made upon them. Wherefore, to attack their Town, the Consul led not only the Roman Regiments, but the youth of those Allies who were so justly incensed at them. Their Town was very long, and not high so broad: from whence he set up his Standard about four hundred paces. And, leaving there a guard of certain chosen Regiments, he order'd them, not to stir out of that place, till he himself came to them: but led the rest of his Forces round to the farther side of the City. The Sueffetan youth were the greatest part of all his Auxiliaries; whom he commanded to approach and attack the Wall. The Lacetans knew by their Arms and Ensigns, who they were; and therefore, remembering, how often they had over-ran their Country, how often they had routed and defeated them in set Battles, on a sudden open'd their Gates, and sallied out all together upon them. The Sueffetans could scarce endure the shout that they set up, much less their violent Effort: which when the Consul (as he thought before-hand he should) saw come to pass, he gallop'd up to the Wall of the Enemies, to the Regiments: and taking them hastily along with him (whilst all the Lacetans were in eager pursuit of the Sueffetans) led them into the City, at a place where there was silence and no Company [to defend it] taking all the whole Town before the Lacetans came back. They therefore soon afterward, having nothing but their Arms, surrender'd themselves to him.

XXI. From thence he presently march'd victorious to Vergium, a Fort so called; which was for the most part a refuge for Robbers; who from thence made incursions into the peaceful parts of his Province. Thence fled the Prince, or Governour of the Town, and came to the Consul, beginning to excuse both himself and his Country-men [in this manner.] That the Government of that Town was not in their hands: but that a Company of Robbers, that were taken in, had made the whole Garrison their own. Thereupon the Consul bad him go home again, but frame some plausible excuse for his absence; and when he saw him under the Walls (the Thieves being then also intent to defend them) that then, with the men of his own Faction, he should be sure to seize the Castle. Accordingly he went and did as he was order'd: which put the Romans on the one hand (whilst they were climbing the Walls) and the Barbarians on the other hand (to see the Castle taken) into a sudden consternation. The Consul having got possession of this place, commanded that all those, who were in the Castle, with their Relations, should have their liberty and Estates; order'd the Questor to sell the rest of the Townsmen, and punish'd the Robbers [as he thought fit.] Having quieted the Province he impos'd great Taxes upon the Iron and Silver Trades, out of which the Province grew every day still richer and richer: and for these exploits of his in Spain the Senate decreed a Supplication of three days continuance.

XXII. The same Summer the other Consul L. Valerius Flaccus fought a second set Battle with the Boii in Gaul, near the Litan Wood: in which, they say, there were eight thousand Gauls slain, and that the rest, quitting the War, escaped into their Villages and other parts of the Country. The Consul, the rest of the Summer, kept his Army near the Po, at Placentia and Cremona, and repaired those places which in those Towns were demolish'd in the War. Now this being the state of affairs in Italy and Spain, T. Quintius (who had so spent his Winter in Greece, that excepting the Ætolians (whose rewards for their Victory were not answerable to their expectations; besides that they would not long be pleas'd with Peace and quietness) all Greece, enjoying the advantages at once of Peace and Liberty too, were very well satisfied with their condition; nor did they more admire the Courage of the Roman General in War, than his Temperance, Justice and Moderation even in Victory) had an order of Senate brought to him, to declare War against Nabis of Lacedæmon. Which when Quintius had read, he by Embassadours summon'd a Convention at Corinth of all the associated Cities upon such a day: where when the great men from all parts were met together, so as that even the Ætolians did not fail to come, he made this Speech to them: The

Romans

Romans and the Greeks were not more unanimous, and agreed in their making War against Philip, than they had both of them reason to be. For he had forfeited the Romans Friendship, not only by assisting the Carthaginians, their Enemies, but here also by opposing our Allies; and behaved himself so toward you, that the injuries done to you, though we should forget our own, would be to us a sufficient ground for a War. This dayes consultation depends wholly upon you. For I refer it you, whether you will suffer Argos, which you know to be now in Nabis's possession, to continue in subjection to him; or whether you think it reasonable, that a very famous and ancient City lying in the middle of all Greece, should be restor'd to its liberty, and be in the same condition with the other Cities of Peloponnesus and Greece in general. This consultation, you see, is about a thing that wholly relates to you only: for it does not at all concern the Romans, save only in this, that one Cities being in slavery hinders the glory of having set Greece at liberty from being full and perfect. But if neither your care for that City, nor the example, nor the danger of it be so prevalent with you, as to make you stop the progress of that contagious evil, we are content. For I consult you in this affair, resolving to stand by what the majority of you shall think fit to be done.

After the Roman General had made this Speech, they began to sum up the opinions of the others also. Among whom when the Athenian Embassadors had extoll'd (as much as he was able) the merits of the Romans toward Greece, by giving them many thanks, and saying, that being desir'd they lent their assistance against Philip; but now, without asking, freely offer'd their aid against the Tyrant Nabis: and seem'd to be very angry, that such great deserts should be by some people lessen'd, who calumniated what was to come, when they ought rather to have paid their thanks for what was past, it plainly appear'd that he meant the Ætolians. Wherefore Aminander the chief Magistrate or Prince of that Nation, inveighing first against the Athenians, who though they were once the Assertors and Authors of liberty, did now, to gratify their own flattering humour, betray the common cause; and then complaining, that the Achæans, who were formerly Souldiers under Philip, though at last they revolted from his declining fortune, had already taken Corinth, and endeavour'd all they could to get Argos also: but that the Ætolians, though they had been Philips first Enemies, perpetual Allies to the Romans, and had bargain'd by League that the Cities and Lands, when Philip was conquer'd should be theirs, were cheated of liberty they kept Garrisons in Chalcis and Demetrias; though when Philip deserv'd the drawing of his Guards thence, they us'd to object and say, that Greece would never be at liberty as long as Demetrias, Chalcis and Corinth were in his possession: and lastly, that they pretended the reason why they staid with their Armies in Greece, proceeded from Argos and Nabis. But let them carry their Legions into Italy; and the Ætolians would undertake that Nabis should draw his Guards out of Argis, either upon their terms, and when they pleas'd, or they by force of Arms would compel him to submit to the unanimous resolutions of all Greece in general.

This vain boast of his first mov'd Aristæus, Prætor of the Achæans; who said; Great Jupiter, and his Queen Juno, (in whose protection Argos is) forbid, that that City should be as a booty between the Lacedæmonian Tyrant, and those Thieves the Ætolians, and in such danger, that we should have it again in a worse condition, than when by him it was taken. T. Quintius! The Sea that lies betwixt, does not defend us from those Robbers: What would become of us then, if they had a Castle in the middle of Peloponnesus? They have only the language of Grecians, as they have the shape of men: but they use manners and customs more rude than any Barbarians, yea than the most Savage Beasts. Wherefore we desire you, Romans, not only to recover Argos from Nabis, but likewise so to settle the affairs of Greece, as to leave these parts secure from the rapine of the Ætolians. The Roman seeing all the Assembly on every side did so much blame the Ætolians, said, he would have answer'd them, had he not seen them all so incens'd against that Nation, that they ought rather to be reconciled than provoked. Wherefore he said, that, being content with that opinion, that they had of the Romans and Ætolians, he refer'd it to them, what they thought of making a War against Nabis, unless he restor'd Argos to the Achæans. Whereupon when they all had voted for a War, he desired, that each City would send what Auxiliaries they could. He also sent an Embassadour to the Ætolians, to discover their inclinations more than out of any hopes he had of their assistance.

Then he Commanded the Tribunes of the Souldiers to send for the Army from Elatia: and at the same time gave Antiochus's Embassadors that came to treat concerning an Alliance, this Answer, that he could not resolve upon any thing whilst the ten Embassadors were absent, but they must go to Rome to the Senate. When his Forces were come from Elatia he himself led them on to Argos, and Aristæus, Prætor of the Achæans, met him about Cleona with ten thousand Achæans [Foot] and a thousand Horse; not far from which place they join'd their Armies into one Body and Encamped. The next day they march'd down into the Argive Plains, and took a place for their Camp about four thousand paces from Argos. Pythagoras was Governour of the Lacedæmonian Garrison there, who was the Tyrants Son-in-Law, and his Wives Brother. He, just as the Romans were a coming, put strong Guards, not only into both the Castles (for there were two at Argos) but in all other places too, which were either opportune [for the Enemy] or suspected [to be less tenable.] But whilst he was a doing so, he could not by any means hide the fear that he was put into by the arrival of the Romans: besides, that to his outward terrour there was an addition made of inter-

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fine Sedition. There was one *Damocles* of *Argos*, a youth of greater Courage than Conduct; who having first agreed with certain persons fit for his purpose (and bound them under an Oath too) about expelling the Garison, whilst he endeavour'd to add new strength to his Conspiracy, was too regardless of the fidelity [of his Accomplices.] Wherefore an Officer, that was sent from the Prefect, came and summon'd him as he was talking with his Associates: and then he perceived his Plot was discover'd. With that he encouraged the Conspirators that were present, rather than die in torment, to take up Arms with him; and so he went with some few Companions into the *Forum*; crying out, *That all those, who were for the safety of the publick Weal, should follow him as the Author and Captain of their liberty.* But he prevailed not upon any of them, because they saw no hopes near at hand, much less any thing, in which they could put any sure trust. Wherefore, as he was bawling aloud in this manner the *Lacedemonians* came about him, and kill'd not only him but his Companions also. After which there were some others also laid hold on; of whom many were slain, and some few put in Prison; though several of them the next night, being let down the Wall by Ropes, ran over to the *Romans*.

XXVI.

*Quintius*, when they told him, *If the Roman Army had been at the Gates, that bustle had not been without effect; and that if he would remove his Camp a little nearer, the Argives would not yet be quiet;* sent a party of his nimblest Horse and Foot, who, about *Cylabaris* (which is a place for exercise not quite three Hundred Paces from the City) engaged the *Lacedemonians* that sallied out at the Gate, and with no great difficulty forced them back into the City; so that the Roman General pitch'd his Camp in that very place where they fought. When he had so done, he watched one Day, to see whether any new tumult would arise. But when he perceived, that the City was all in a consternation, he call'd a Council to advise about the taking of *Argos*. All the Princes of *Greece*, except *Aristonius*, were of the same opinion, *that since that was the only cause of a War, they ought to begin it there,* though *Quintius* did not like their counsel, but hearken'd with approbation to what *Aristonius* said, even against the consent of all the rest; adding of himself, *that since the War was undertaken for the Argives, against the Tyrant, what could be more disagreeable than to leave the Foe and attack Argos? wherefore he would lend all his force toward Lacedemon, and the Tyrant which was the original and chief ground of their quarrel.* So having dismiss'd the Council, he sent his nimblest Regiments a foraging: who reaped and brought in all the Corn that was ripe quite round the Country, treading down and spoiling all that was green, lest the Enemy soon after might enjoy it. Then he removed his Camp, and having the Mountain *Parthenus*, pass'd by *Tegae* and encamped the third day at *Carya*. There, before he enter'd into the Enemies Country, he staid for the Auxiliaries from his Allies; who accordingly came, fifteen hundred *Macedonians* from *Philip*, and four hundred *Thessalian* Horse. Nor did the Auxiliaries, who were numerous enough, now stay the Roman, but the Provisions that were expected from the neighbouring Cities. There came also a great many Seamen thither too; for *L. Quintius* was arrived from *Leucas* with forty Sail of Ships: besides eighteen *Rhodian* men of War; whilst King *Eumenes* at the same time was cruising about the *Cyclade* Islands with ten men of War, thirty Barks and other lesser Vessels. A great many likewise of the *Lacedemonians*, that were banish'd by the Tyrant, in hopes of regaining their Country, came into the Roman Camp. Now they were numerous, as having been driven out of their own Habitations, some at one time and some at another, for several years, since Tyrants had usurp'd in *Lacedemon*. The chief of the banish'd persons was *Agessipolis*, who had a right by his birth to the Kingdom of *Lacedemon*; but was sent away whilst he was yet an infant, after the death of *Cleomenes* the Tyrant *Lycurgus*, who was the first that set up for arbitrary Government in *Lacedemon*.

XXVII.

Now though the Tyrant was so hard beset, both by Sea and Land, and when he compar'd his own Forces to those of the Enemy, had scarce any hopes at all left, yet he went on with the War: for he raised a thousand of their best young men out of *Creet* too, having another thousand of them before hand, besides three thousand mercenary Souldiers, and a thousand of his own Country-men, with the Country-Garison men who were in Arms; and fortified the City with a Trench and a Bullwark. And lest there should happen any intestine disturbance, he awed their minds by the fear and severity of punishments [that he made them believe he would inflict upon them, if they would not be quiet.] For seeing he could not hope that they should wish him well, whilst he suspected some of their Fellow Citizens; he drew all his Forces out into the Field [for exercise] called *Dromos*, and commanding them to lay down their Arms, order'd the *Lacedemonians* to be summoned to an Assembly, about which he planted a party of his Guards all in Arms. Then having made a short Speech to them before hand, and told them, *why they ought to pardon him for being so timorous and cautious of every thing at such a time as that was: and how much it was for their advantage, if the present juncture of affairs had render'd any persons suspicious, that those who had any design on foot should be rather hinder'd from being able to carry it on, than punish'd for being taken in the attempt: wherefore he would keep some certain men in custody, till the storm, that was at hand, were over; and when he had repelled the Foe (of whom there would be the less danger, if they were secured from treachery among themselves) would presently let them out again,* he

he order'd the names of about eighty of the chief young men in the City to be called over, and as each of them answer'd to his name, committed them to Jail, where the next night they were all kill'd. After that some of the *Ilores* (who are a Country breed of Garison Souldiers that have been very ancient in that Nation) being accused for an intention they had to have revolted to the Enemy, were whip'd through all the streets, and so put to death. This put the *Mobile* into such a fright, that they desisted from all endeavours of making any innovation. Mean while he kept his Forces within the Fortifications; for that he neither thought himself strong enough, if he had a mind to engage the Enemy in a pitch'd Battle; nor dar'd to leave the City when all people were in such suspense, and so unfetled in their minds.

*Quintius* having now prepared all things for his march decamped, and the next Day came XXVIII! to *Sellasia* which lies upon the River *Oenus*, where *Antigonus* King of *Macedonia* was said to have fought a set Battle with *Cleomenes*, Tyrant of *Lacedemon*. Thence (hearing that the ascent was difficult and the way narrow) he went round about over the Mountains (but sent a party before him to secure his passage) in a Road that was broad and open enough, to the River *Eurotas*, which runs almost under the very Walls [of the Town.] At which place as the *Romans* were encamping, the Tyrants Auxiliaries set upon them and *Quintius* himself also, who went before with the most active Horse and Foot, at such a rate that they put them into a fright and confusion, they expecting no such thing, because they had met no body all the way they came, but had pass'd as it were through a conquered Country. For sometime therefore they were at a loss (the Horse calling to the Foot and the Foot the Horse [for assistance]) since none of them had any confidence in their own abilities. At length the Legions came up; and when the Regiments of the Vanguard were engaged in the fight, those who so lately had been a terror to them, were forced to fly for fear into their City. The *Romans* having retired so far from the Wall, as to be out of Darts cast, stood for some time in Battalia: but anon, when they saw none of the Enemies would come out to oppose them, return'd to their Camp. The next day *Quintius* went forward with his Army all in Array, along by the River side, by the City, and under the Mountain *Melanaus*. The Legionary Regiments went foremost, and the Light-armour with the Horse brought up the Reer. *Nabis* had the mercenary Souldiers, in which he reposed all his trust, in Battalia, and ready under their Ensigns within the Walls, to set upon the Enemy behind. When therefore the last Company was just gone by, they sallied out in the same confusion that they had done the day before. *Ap. Claudius* brought up the Reer: who having prepar'd the minds of his men for what was likely to come to pass, (that it might not surprize them) commanded the Ensigns immediately to face about, and so turn'd all the whole Army upon the Foe. By which means, as though two form'd regular Armies had join'd Battle, they fought for some time upon an even lay; till *Nabis's* Souldiers at last inclined to run; though that they had not been so sure to have done, had not the *Acheans*, who knew those parts very well come upon them. But these made a great slaughter [among them] and disarm'd a great many that were dispers'd in their flight all over the Country. Then *Quintius* encamp'd near *Amylea*: where when he had plunder'd all places round the City (which stood in a populous and pleasant Country (seeing that none of the Enemies would come out of their Gates, removed his Camp to the River *Eurotas*; from whence he march'd into the Vale that lies under *Taygetus*, laying waste both that and all the Country as far as the Sea-side.

At the same time *L. Quintius* reduced the Towns upon the Sea-Coast, partly by voluntary XXIX! Surrender, and partly through fear or by force. And then being inform'd, *That the Town of Gyttheum was the receptacle of all the Lacedemonians maritime provisions; and that the Roman Camp was not far from the Sea;* he resolv'd to attack it with all his Forces. It was at that time a strong City for the multitude of its Inhabitants, as well as its being furnish'd with all kind of Warlike Preparations. Now, as *Quintius* was going about this difficult business, King *Eumenes* and the *Rhodian* Fleet came very seasonably in to his assistance: and the vast multitude of Seamen, muster'd up out of the three Fleets, in few dayes accomplish'd all those works, that are necessary for the attacking of a City so well guarded, both by Sea and Land. The Wall therefore was soon overturn'd, when they once applied their Tortois'es to it, being batter'd by their Rams also. For by the repeated strokes of them was one of the Towers thereof demolish'd, and all the Wall about it by the fall of that knock'd down: so that the *Romans* endeavour'd to get in, not only at the Gate, where the passage was more plain (in order to distract and draw the Enemy from defending the breach) but at the place which they had broken down. Nor did they much miss of making way, where they design'd; only the hope they had that the City would be surrender'd retarded their motion; though it was soon frustrated. For you must know, that there were two Governours of that City, called *Dexagoridas* and *Gorgopas*, who were in equal authority over it. Of whom *Dexagoridas* had sent a Message to the Roman Lieutenant, *That he would surrender the City:* but when they had agreed upon the time and way to do the business, the Traitor was kill'd by *Gorgopas*; and the City more vigorously defended by one alone. By which means the attack had now been more difficult, had not *T. Quintius* come up with four thou-

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and choice Souldiers. But when he had shown his Army from the brow of an Hill not far from the City, and that *L. Quintius* with his works lay hard upon them both at Sea and Land, then real despair forced *Gorgopas* also to take that course which he had reveng'd with death upon the other. He therefore, on condition, that he might carry off those Souldiers, that were in *Garison* there, surrend'rd the City to *Quintius*. But before *Gythium* was surrend'rd, *Pythagoras* the Governour of it left *Argus*, and committing the care of that City to *Timocrates* the *Pellenian*, went with a thousand mercenary Souldiers, and two thousand *Argives*, to *Nabis* at *Lacedemon*.

XXX. *Nabis*, as he was startled at the first arrival of the Roman Fleet, and the surrender of the Towns upon the Sea Coast, so, though he were comforted with the small hopes of *Gythium* being still in the possession of his Friends, when he heard that that too was deliver'd up to the Romans, seeing that the Enemy lay all round the City to the Landward, which spoiled all his hopes, and that to the Seaward also he was intercepted, thought it the best way to yield to Fortune, and therefore sent an Herald first into the Camp to know, whether they would suffer him to send Embassadors to them. Which when he had got leave to do, *Pythagoras* came to the General with no other Message, but to desire, that the Tyrant might come and talk with the General. Thereupon a Council was presently call'd, who being all of opinion, that they ought to admit of a Conference, the time and place was appointed for it. And when they came with some small Forces following them to the Hills that are in the middle of that Region, leaving their Regiments of both sides, thereupon the Mountains within view, *Nabis*, with some chosen men to guard his person, and *Quintius* with his Brother, King *Eumenes*, *Sofians* of *Rhodes*, *Aristenus*, Prætor of the *Acheans*, and some few Tribunes of the Souldiers, came down [to meet each other.]

XXXI. Then, having his choice given him, whether he would speak first, or hear *Quintius* before him, the Tyrant thus began: "If I (*T. Quintius* and all you that are here present) could of my self have found out any reason, why you should either declare, or actually wage War against me, I should have silently expected the issue of my Fortune. But, as the case now stands, I could not persuade my self, but I must needs know, before I dy'd, what I had done to deserve death. And truly, if you were such persons, as, they say, the *Carthaginians* are, who have no regard to the sacred obligations of Friendship and Alliance, I should not wonder to find you careless what you did to me. But now I see you, and know that you are Romans, who bear a most religious respect to the obligations of divine constitutions, and to the Friendly compacts that are made between you and others, looking back upon my self, I hope I am worthy not only to be concern'd publicly, with the rest of the *Lacedemonians*, in that ancient League between you and them; but upon my own particular account also to maintain that Friendship and Alliance which was so lately renew'd in the War against *Philip*. But I [you'll say] have violated and overthrown that union, by being possessed of the City of *Argos*. How shall I defend this action? By matter of fact or by the occasion? The matter of fact affords me a double defence. For I received that City from their own hands, who call'd me [in] to their assistance, and deliver'd it to me; nor did I take possession of it, or get it, when being on *Philips* side it was not in Alliance with you. Besides which, the time also clears me, in that, though I at the same time had *Argos* in my hands, I was their Ally; and you contracted with me to send you aids, for the War, not to draw my *Garison* out of *Argos*. But to say truth, in this controversy concerning *Argos* I have the better of you, both as to the equity of the thing it self (in that I took, not a City that was yours but the Enemies; and that by consent not by force) and by your confession too, for that, in the conditions of Alliance, you left me *Argos* [to do what I would with.] But the name of Tyrant, and my actions lie heavy upon me; inasmuch as I make the slaves free, and carry the poor Commonalty into the Country. But as to the name I can answer, that I, whatever I am, continue still the same man that I was, when you, *T. Quintius*, your self made the Alliance with me. Then I remember you called me King, though now I see I am stiled a Tyrant. Wherefore if I had changed my name of Government, I ought to be accountable for my inconstancy; but seeing you change it, you ought to be so for yours. As to the number of the Commons being increas'd by making the slaves free, and the division of Lands among the poorer sort, I can even in this point also defend my self upon the score of the time. I had done all this, what ever it be, before you enter'd into an Alliance with me, and when you receiv'd my Auxiliaries that I sent you in the War against *Philip*. But if I had done them even now lately; I cannot say, what injury I should have done you in it, or how far I should have forfeited your Friendship; but this I can affirm, that I should have done according to the custom and prescript of our Ancestors. Pray do not you measure what is done at *Lacedemon* by your Laws and Customs. There is no necessity to compare all particulars. You chose an Horse or a Foot Souldier by his condition in the state, and making some few very rich will needs have the Commonalty to be subject to that small number; but our Law-giver would not have the Common-Wealth to be in the hands of a few, whom you call a Senate; nor suffer one rank or other in our City to be above the rest; supposing that by an equality of fortune and dignity it would

"would be so brought about, that many would bear Arms for their Country. I confess I have been more prolix than the short way of speaking in our Country allows, and might have told you in brief, that I, since I contracted a Friendship with you, have done nothing to make you repent of it.

To this the Roman General reply'd; "We never contracted any Alliance or Friendship with Thee, but with *Pelops*, the just and lawful King of *Lacedemon*. Whose right the Tyrants also, who afterward by force had made themselves Masters of *Lacedemon* (when they were employed sometimes in the Punick Wars, sometimes in the Gallick Wars, and sometimes elsewhere) usurped; as thou too in this *Macedonian* War hast now done. For what would be more absurd, than for us, who waged a War against *Philip* to set Greece at liberty, to contract a Friendship with a Tyrant? and that such a Tyrant too, as is more cruel and violent against his own Country-men, than any one that ever was before him? But we, though thou hadst not taken, nor didst not keep *Argos* by fraud, since we pretend to deliver all Greece, ought to restore *Lacedemon* also to its ancient liberty and Laws: of which you (as though you would vie with *Lycurgus*) just now made mention. Shall we take care that *Philips* Guards be drawn out of *Fassus* and *Bargylla*, but leave *Argus* and *Lacedemon*, two such famous Cities, once the glory of all Greece, in thy hands, to diminish the honour of our having deliver'd all Greece by their being still in slavery? But the *Argives* (you say) were on *Philips* side: very good, but we'll pardon you in this point, though you are not angry on our behalf. We know very well, that two or three at most, and not the whole City were guilty of that fault; as well as that, when you and your guard were sent for and taken into the City, there was nothing done by publick advice or consent. We know that the *Theffalians*, *Phocians* and *Locrians*, were all unanimously for *Philip*: and yet, now that we have deliver'd all the rest of Greece, what do you think we'll do with the *Argives*, who are innocent of any publick design? You said the crimes of having freed the slaves, and divided the Lands among the poorer sort of people, were laid to their charge, and truly they are no small ones; though they are nothing to those exploits that you and your party do every day one on the neck of another. Call a free Assembly at *Argos* or *Lacedemon*, if thou hast a mind to hear the true objections that may be made against thy most Tyrannical Government. To pass by all other things of longer standing, what a barbarous murder did that *Pythagoras* thy Son-in-Law commit at *Argos* almost before my Face? and what an one didst thou thy self commit when I was now almost in the Territories of the *Lacedemonians*? Come, come, give order that those persons whom you laid hold on in the publick Assembly, and, in the hearing of all their Fellow Citizens, declar'd you would keep in Prison, be brought forth with their Bonds about them, that their wretched Parents may see, that they, who have been so mistakenly by them lamented, are still alive. But though these things are so as I say, yet [you'll reply] what's that to you, Romans? And will you say so to the deliverers of Greece? to them, who to put themselves in a capacity of freeing it, cross the Seas, waging War both by Land and Water? Yet I, say you, have not properly injur'd you, nor violated your Friendship. How often will you have me prove that you have done it? But I shall not use many words; I'll tell you in short. What is it then that violates Friendship? Why, they are chiefly these two things; if you take my Allies for your Enemies, or join with my Enemies [against me.] Now both these things you have been guilty of. For you not only took *Messene*, which was Allied to us by the same League, as *Lacedemon* was (though your self our Ally) by force and Arms, but you likewise contracted with *Philip* our Enemy, not only a Friendship, but an affinity, forsooth, by means of *Philocles* his Prefect, besides that you waged War against us, and infested all the Sea about *Malea* with Piratical Ships; taking and killing full as many Romans as *Philip* ever did; inasmuch that the Coast of *Macedonia* was more secure for our Ships that were to bring in provisions for our Armies, than the Promontory of *Malea*. Wherefore forbear, I pray, to brag of your fidelity and right to an Alliance with us, and, leaving off your popular way of haranguing, speak like a Tyrant and an Enemy.

Hereupon *Aristenus* one while advis'd, and another while beg'd of *Nabis*; "that, whilst he might, whilst he had an opportunity; he would consult his own good: and then he began to repeat the names of the Tyrants in each particular neighbouring City: "who, having laid down their command, and restored their liberty to their Countrymen, had lived not only to a secure, but even an honourable old age among their Fellow-Citizens. Whilst these things were said and heard on both sides, night approached and ended the Conference. But the next day *Nabis* said, "that, since the Romans would needs have it so, he would quit *Argos*, and draw his *Garison* out of it, restoring the Captives and the Fugitives to them again. But if they had any thing else to demand, he desired that they would give it him in writing, that he might deliberate about it with his Friends. So, not only the Tyrant had time given him to advise in, but *Quintius* also held a Council consisting of his chief Allies. In which the greatest part were of opinion; "They ought to go on with the War and take off the Tyrant: for the liberty of Greece would never be otherwise secure. That it had been much better for them no War had ever been rais'd against him.

"him, than that it should be let fall when it was once set on foot. That he would not only, "as it were by their approbation, be after that more firmly settled in his Throne, when the "people of *Rome* should seem to consent to his unjust Dominion, but likewise by his Example "would incite many more in other Cities to ensnare the liberty of their Fellow-Citizens. The Generals own inclinations were most toward Peace. For he saw, now the Enemy was forced into his Walls, there was nothing remaining but a Siege; and that would be tedious. "For they were not to attack *Gythium*, which notwithstanding was surrendered, though "they could not take it; but they were to besiege *Lacedemon*, a City that was very strong "both in men and Arms. That the only hope they had left was the possibility of creating "some dissension or Sedition among the Besieged, as they made their approaches: but when "they saw the Ensigns almost at their very Gates, never a man of them stirred. To which he added, "that the Peace they had with *Antiochus* also stood upon a very false bottom; for "*Vilius*, the Lieutenant, who came from thence brought word, that he was come over into "*Europe* with much greater Forces than before, both by Sea and Land. Now therefore if the "Siege of *Lacedemon* should detain his Army there, what other Forces should they have to "wage a War against so mighty and so puissant a King? This he spake aloud, but was privately in himself afraid, lest a new Consul should happen to have *Greece* for his Province, and by that means his Successor have the honour of ending the War which he had begun.

XXXIV. But seeing that by all his opposition he could not move the Allies to the least compliance, he, by pretending to come over to their opinion, made them all of his own side. "Well, said he, let us Besiege *Lacedemon* then, since you will have it so. But since the attacking of Cities is, as you yourselves know, a thing so tedious, and make the Besiegers oftentimes sooner weary than the Besieged: you must now resolve upon wintering about "the Walls of that City. In which affair, if there were only labour and danger to be undergone, I would exhort you to prepare your minds and bodies for the enduring of it. "But now we want a great sum of money too, to make the Works, the Engines, and "Warlike Instruments, wherewith such a great City is usually attack'd, and for procuring "of Provisions both for us and you against the Winter. Wherefore, lest you should either "on a sudden be dishearten'd, or quit the thing, when 'tis once begun, before you have "made an end of it, I think you ought first to write to your several Cities, and see, what "condition they are in as to courage and strength for the carrying of it on. I have Auxiliaries enough and to spare; but the more we are, the more necessities we shall want. The "Enemies Country at this time hath nothing in it but the bare ground: besides, that the "Winter draws on, in which 'tis difficult to carry things together from places very distant. This Speech of his made them all first to consider their several domestick misfortunes; "the sloth and envy of those that staid at home against such as went into the Wars; their liberty "of Speech and Judgment, which made it so hard for them all to consent: the publick "wants, and their slackness to contribute out of their own Estates. Wherefore they immediately alter'd their minds, "and let the General do what he thought best for the Commonwealth of *Rome*, and the advantage of his Allies.

XXXV. Thereupon *Quintius*, with the advice of the Lieutenants only, and the Tribunes of the Souldiers wrote down these conditions upon which he would have a Peace concluded with the Tyrant: "That there should be a Truce of six months between *Nabis*, the *Romans*, King "*Eumenes* and the *Rhodians*. That *T. Quintius* and *Nabis* should presently send Embassadors "to *Rome*, to get the Peace confirm'd by authority of the Senate. That the day, on which "the terms of Peace were given out to *Nabis*, should be the beginning of the Truce; and "that between that day and the tenth day following, all his Guards should be drawn out of "*Argus* and the other Towns, that were in the *Argive* Dominions: so as that they should "be deliver'd up quite empty and free to the *Romans*: as likewise, that no slave of the \*Kings, "either publick or private should be taken thence; or if any had been before that time so "taken away, they should be faithfully restored to their Masters. That he should send "back the Ships which he had taken from the Maritime Cities; nor should himself have "any Ship excepting two Pinnaces, that should not be rowed with above sixteen Oars. That "he should re-deliver their Captives and Fugitives to all the Allies of the *Roman* People, and "to the *Aessenians* all things that appear'd, or the Masters [of such goods] knew to be "theirs. That he should also restore to the Banish'd *Lacedemonians* their Children and Wives "that had a mind to go along with their Husbands: but that no man should be forced to "go with any banish'd person against her will. That all the goods belonging to *Nabis's* "mercenary Souldiers, who were gone away either to their own Cities, or over to the *Romans*, should be carefully restored unto them. That he should not have any City in the "Island of *Creet*, and that those, which he had, he should surrender to the *Romans*. That "he should make no Alliance with any *Creetan* City, or any body else, nor wage War with "them. That he should draw his Guards out of all those Cities, that either he himself had "restored, or had surrender'd themselves and all they had, up to the protection and government of the *Roman* People, keeping himself and all that belong'd to him from ever "meddling with any of them. That he build no Town or Castle, either in his own, or any

\* That is, *Nabis's*.

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"Foreign Dominions. That he should give five Hostages for the performance of all this, "such as the *Roman* General should approve of, and among the rest his own Son for one; "with a hundred Talents of silver at present, and fifty every year for eight years together.

These terms being written, his Camp was removed more near to the City, and they sent XXXVI. to *Lacedemon*: though none of them, to say truth, pleas'd the Tyrant; save that beyond expectation there was no mention made of bringing back the banish'd persons. But that which most offended him was, that the Ships and Maritime Cities were taken from him. For the Sea brought him in great profit, being that he infested all the Coast from *Malea* with Piratical Ships. Besides, that he had all the youth of those Cities to supply him with the far best sort of Souldiers. These conditions, though he consider'd of them in private with his Friends, were notwithstanding the publick Discourse; his Guards being very apt, as in other matters of trust, so to betray his Secrets. Yet they did not all in general find fault with the whole, but each man with those particulars which more immediately concern'd him. Those that had married banish'd mens Wives, or had any of their goods, were very angry, as if they had been to lose and not to restore them. The Slaves that were freed from the Tyrant, did not only think their freedom would be of no consequence to them, but their thralldom much worse than before; now they were to return into the hands of their incens'd Masters. The mercenary Souldiers also were not only troubled that their stipend would come to nothing in time of Peace, but likewise saw, that there was no returning for them into their own Cities, which hated the Guards belonging to Tyrants as much as the Tyrants themselves.

When they had first talk'd thus in Crowds among themselves, they straightway ran and XXXVII. took up their Arms. By which tumult when the Tyrant saw the *Mobile* were of themselves sufficiently provoked, he order'd an Assembly to be forthwith summon'd. Where when he had declar'd, what the *Roman* General had impos'd upon him, to which he had added some things more grievous and more unworthy of his own head, at each of which sometimes all of them, and sometimes a part of the Assembly shouted, he ask'd them, What they would have him answer to those Proposals, or what he should do? to which they almost unanimously reply'd, That he should make no answer at all, but prepare for the War: bidding him, each man for himself, (as the *Mobile* use to do) be of good Courage, and hope the best; for fortune always favour'd the Valiant. With which words the Tyrant was so animated, that he cry'd out, *Antiochus* and the *Ætolians* would assist him: and that he had Forces enough to hold out the Siege. By which means they had also forgot that there had been any mention made of Peace, and ran to their several Posts, resolving no longer to be quiet. Whereupon the excursions of some few that came out to provoke the *Romans*, with the Darts that they threw, put the *Romans* soon past all doubt but they must necessarily fight; and from that time, for the space of four dayes, they had light Skirmishes at first, without being able certainly to know what would be the issue of it. But the fifth day the *Lacedemonians* were forced into the Town in such a consternation, that some of the *Roman* Souldiers falling upon the Rear of them that fled, got into the City through the gaps (as things then stood) that were in the Wall.

Then *Quintius*, having sufficiently restrain'd the Enemies Excursions by the fright he then XXXVIII. put them into, and supposing that nothing now remained for him to do, but to attack the City itself, sent certain persons to fetch all the Naval Forces from *Gythium*, whilst he himself in the mean time, with the Tribunes of the Souldiers, rode round the Walls to view the situation of the Town. Now *Sparta* [you must know] was formerly unwall'd: but the Tyrants of late dayes had built a Wall in the open and plain parts thereof: defending the higher places, that were less accessible, with guards of armed men instead of Fortifications. When he had taken a satisfactory prospect of every thing; supposing that the best way to take it, was to invest it, he posted all his men quite round the City; whose number was, of *Romans*, Allies, Horse and Foot, with Land and Sea Forces all together full fifty thousand fighting men. Some of which brought Ladders, others Fire, and others other things, wherewithal not only to attack the City, but to affright the Besieged. Then he commanded to set up an Huzza, and all begin the Assault at the same time, to the end, that the terrified *Lacedemonians* might not know where first to make resistance, and which part to assist, being in a general consternation. The strongest part of the Army, which was divided into three Battalions, he order'd to make their Assault, one of them on the side of *Phæbeum*, [a place dedicated to *Phæbus*] the other near *Dilymneum* [a Temple of *Diana*] and the third at that place which they call *Heptagonia* [for its being seven corned] these being all open parts of the City without any Wall. Now seeing that the People were all in such a fright, the Tyrant first of all being startled, not only at the sudden shouts, but the trembling Messengers [that brought him news of what the Enemy was a doing] as every place most stood in need of assistance, either went himself in person to meet the Foe, or sent some others. But soon after, being quite confounded with fear, he was so distracted, that he could neither tell nor hear what was for his advantage; being not only destitute of advice, but almost out of his wits too.

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XXXIX. The Lacedemonians at first kept out the Romans pretty well in narrow places; and three Parties fought at the same time in several places. But when the Conflict increased, the Battle was by no means equal. For the Lacedemonians fought with Darts [to throw from them] from which the Romans not only easily defended themselves by the bigness of their Shields, but likewise forasmuch as some of their Darts miscarried, and others hit to very little purpose. For by reason that the place was so narrow, and the crowd so great, they not only wanted room to throw their Weapons running, which makes them fly with more force; but, had not so much as a free and a steady place to stand upon when they hurled them. By which means the Darts that were thrown directly at them stuck none of them in their Bodies, and few in their Shields. But some there were wounded by those that stood round in the higher parts of the City: and anon as they went forward there were not only Darts, but Tiles also thrown down upon them from the Houses before they were aware. Wherefore they held their Shields over their Heads, and join'd them so close one to another, that there was no room, not only for Darts thrown at a distance to hit them, but they were not to be pierced even hand to hand; and under that Tortoise of Shields they made their approach. At first the narrow passages fill'd with the crowd of them, and the Enemy for a little time kept them out. But when they had forced the Foe into a broader street in the City, and by degrees got somewhat farther, their strength and force was no longer to be born. Whereupon when the Lacedemonians had turn'd their backs, and ran as fast as they could to the higher parts of the City; Nabis, who trembled as if the City were taken, lookt about him to find which way he himself might escape. But Pythagoras, who in all other things did the part of a General that had both Courage and Conduct, was at that time the sole cause why the City was not taken. For he order'd the Houses next the Wall to be set on fire: which being all in a moment on a blaze (forasmuch as they who at other times used to help to quench a fire, were themselves the Incendiaries) the Houses began to fall upon the Romans Heads: nor did the Tile shards only but burnt Rafters also hit the Souldiers; the flame increas'd far and wide every way; and the smoak also grew more terrible than it was dangerous to them. Wherefore not only the Romans that were without the City, making at that time the fiercest attack, retreated from the Wall; but those likewise who were got in, lest they might be intercepted from the rest of their Army by the fire breaking out behind them, retired. Quintius also, when he saw how the case stood, order'd them to sound a retreat: and so being call'd off, when the City was now almost taken, they return'd to their Camp.

XL. Quintius being more encouraged by the Enemies fear, than from the thing it self, for the three dayes following continued to scare them: provoking them one while to light Skirmishes, and another while blocking up certain passes, that they might have no way to fly out. The Tyrant forced by these menaces sent Pythagoras a second time in quality of an Envoy; whom Quintius at first so slighted that he bid him be gone out of the Camp: though afterward, upon his humble Petition and falling down before him, he had his Audience. At which the first Speech he made was to declare that they left all to the pleasure of the Romans; but seeing that such vain and ineffectual Proposals would do no good, the matter was brought to this Issue, that a Truce should be made upon the same conditions which a few dayes before had been set forth in writing: and the money and hostages also taken. In the mean time whilst the Tyrant was thus besieged, the Argives, who had Message upon Message, that Lacedemon was even almost taken, were themselves also encouraged, and therefore seeing that Pythagoras was gone forth with the strongest party of that Garison, contemning those few that were in the Castle, they, under the command of one Archippus, drave out all the Souldiers that were in it. But they sent out Timocrates the Pellenian, because he had govern'd them with great clemency, upon honour alive. As they were rejoicing for this their deliverance, Quintius arrived there, having granted a Peace to the Tyrant, dismissed Eunenes and the Rhodians from Lacedemon, and sent his Brother L. Quintius to the Navy.

XLI. The City being over joy'd appointed the day which with them is the most solemn, for the celebration of the noble sports called the Nemean Games, which had been omitted by reason of the War, against the arrival of the Roman Army and its General [Quintius] whom they made Agonotheta or Regulator of the performance. But there were many other causes also, that enhans'd their mirth. For their Citizens were brought back from Lacedemon, whom Pythagoras of late, and whom, before him, Nabis had carry'd thence: besides that those also were come back, who, after the Plot was discover'd by Pythagoras, and the slaughter now begun, had made their escape: having a prospect of liberty from a long interval, and seeing the Romans who were the Authors of it, to whom they themselves had been the occasion of making War with the Tyrant. The Argives also upon the very day of the Nemean Games were declared to be absolutely free. But look how much joy the restitution of Argus brought the Achaeans and the whole Assembly of Achaia, so much did Lacedemons being left in Slavery, and the Tyrants sticking to the side of it, diminish their satisfaction. Upon which account the Etolians were very invective in all their publick meetings [and said] The War with Philip was not made an end of before he departed

out

out of all the Cities in Greece: but a Tyrant was left at Lacedemon; whilst the lawful King, who was in the Roman Camp, and the rest of the principal Citizens were like to live in banishment. So that the People of Rome were become the Lifeguard to Nabis. Quintius carry'd back his Forces from Argus to Elatia, from whence he came to the Spartan War. Now there are, who say, the Tyrant did not come far out of the Town to fight, but lay in a Camp [just without the Walls] over against the Roman Camp: And that when he had linger'd a great while, expecting the Etolian Auxiliaries, he was forced at last to engage with them in a set Battle, seeing the Romans fell upon his Foragers; and being in that fight not only overcome but forced from his Camp likewise, desir'd a Peace, after he had lost fifteen thousand men, and that above four thousand were taken Prisoners.

About the same time there were Letters brought [to Rome] from T. Quintius concerning what he had done at Lacedemon, and from M. Porcius the Consul, out of Spain. Whereupon in the name of them both there was a Supplication decreed by the Senate to be made for three dayes together. L. Valerius the Consul, when he had defeated the Boii near the Litane Wood, and thereby quieted that Province, return'd to Rome to hold the [grand] Assembly: and created for Consuls P. Cornelius Scipio Africanus (a second time) and Ti. Sempronius Longus; whose Fathers had been Consuls the first year of the second Punick War. After that the Pratorian Assembly was likewise held: in which, there were chosen [for Prators] P. Cornelius Scipio, and the two Cn. Cornelius's, Merenda and Blasio, Cn. Domitius Aenobarbus, Sex. Digitius, and T. Juvencius Thabna. When the Assembly was dissolv'd the Consul return'd into his Province. A new privilege was that year aimed at by the Ferentines: That all those Latines, who had given their names into a Roman Colony should be Citizens of Rome. Now there were several persons added to Putoli, Salernum and Bruzantium, who had given their names, and for that reason pretended to be Roman Citizens; but the Senate did not esteem as such.

At the beginning of that year in which P. Scipio Africanus (a second time) and Ti. Sempronius Longus were Consuls, there came two Embassadors from the Tyrant Nabis to Rome. To whom there was an Audience granted without the City in the Temple of Apollo; they coming to desire that the Peace made with T. Quintius, might be confirm'd, which they accordingly obtained. After that, when the business concerning the [division of the] Provinces was proposed, the Senate were most of this opinion; that since the War in Spain and Macedonia was made an end of, both the Consuls should have Italy for their Province. But Scipio thought that one Consul was enough for Italy: and that the other ought to have Macedonia. That there was a grievous War like to befall them from Antiochus. For what could they think he'd next do, who was already come over, of his own accord, into Europe? especially when the Etolians, who were undoubtedly their Enemies, on the one side, and Annibal, who was a General so famous for having kill'd so many Romans, incited him to a War? But whilst the Consuls Provinces were in Debate; the Prators also took their Lots. Cn. Domitius happen'd to have the City jurisdiction; T. Juvencius the Foreign; P. Cornelius the farther Spain, and Sex. Digitius the hither; of the two Cn. Corneliuses, Blasio Sicily, and Merenda Sardinia. They were not for transporting a new Army into Macedonia; but that that which was already there should be brought back into Italy by Quintius, and disbanded. So also, that the Army which was with M. Porcius Cato in Spain, should be disbanded. That both the Consuls should have Italy for their Province betwixt them, and carry two Legions raised out of the City thither with them; so that when those Armies were disbanded, which the Senate had appointed so to be, the Roman Legions might be but eight in all.

The Spring had been hallow'd the year before, when M. Porcius and L. Valerius were Consuls. Which when P. Licinius the High Priest declared, (first to the College, and then by authority of the College to the Senate) not to be rightly perform'd, they order'd it to be done over again according to the direction of the High-Priests; and that the Grand Games [called Ludi Magni] which were at the same time vow'd, should be set forth with as much money as was usual. But that the Ver Sacrum [or hallowing of the Spring] seemed to be a Beast that was born between the first of March and the last of April, when P. Cornelius Scipio, and T. Sempronius Longus were Consuls. After that the Assembly for choosing of Censors was held: in which were created Sex. Aelius Patus, and C. Cornelius Cethegus, who chose P. Scipio the Consul President of the Senate, as the former Censors had also done: passing by but three Senators in all, though none that had ever gone in a Chariot of State [to the House.] They likewise gained great favour with that Order, forasmuch as at the Roman Playes, they commanded the Curule Ediles to divide the Senators places from those of the Commonalty: for before that they all sat promiscuously. They also took their Horses from very few of the Knights; nor were they severe upon any order at all. The Porch of Liberty, and the Villa publica [or publick place for exercise in the Campus Martius] was by them two repaired and enlarged. The Spring was hallow'd, and the Games, that Ser. Sulpicius Galba when Consul had vow'd, perform'd. And when the minds of all people were intent upon the sight of them; Q. Pleniinus, who, for his many hainous offences both against the Gods and Men at Locri, had been put in Prison, got a Company of Fellows to set the City on fire in the night time at several places; to the end that when the City was consumed



alternated by the nocturnal tumult, he [and his Complices] might break open the Prison. But the Conspirators, some of them, detected the design, and it was told the Senate; [by whose order] *Pleminius* was thrown into the Dungeon, and there put to Death.

XLV. There were Colonies of Roman Citizens that year carry'd to *Puteoli*, *Vulturnum*, *Literum*, three hundred men to each of them: as there were such like Colonies also carry'd to *Salernum* and *Buxentum*. They were carry'd thither by a Triumvirate, who were *T. Sempronius Longus* (then Consul) *M. Servilius*, and *Q. Minutius Thermus*. That Land which formerly belong'd to the *Campanians* was divided. Three others also, that is to say, *D. Junius Brutus*, *M. Babius Tamphilus*, and *M. Helvius* carried another Colony of Roman Citizens to *Sipontum*, in that part of the Country which formerly belong'd to the *Arpines*. There were also Colonies of Roman Citizens carried to *Tempsa* and *Croton*. The *Tempsan* Territories were taken from the *Bruttii*, the *Bruttii* had expell'd the *Greeks*, and the *Greeks* at that time were in possession of *Croton*. The Triumviri, *Gn. Octavius*, *L. Aemilius Paulus*, and *C. Pletonius* carried [the Colonies] to *Croton*; as *L. Cornelius Merula*, and *C. Salonius* did to *Tempsa*. There were moreover several Prodigies seen that year at *Rome*, and several others that they were told of. In the *Forum*, the *Comitium* [Assembly House] and in the *Capitol* there were drops of blood seen: and it rained Earth several times; and *Vulcan* Head was all on a flame. [Besides which] it was reported, that at *Interamna*, there was a River of Milk: that at *Ariminum* there were divers ingenuous Boyes with out either Eyes or Nose: and that in the *Picene* Territories there was one Born without either Hands or Feet. All which Prodigies were expiated by order of the High Priests, and a Sacrifice of nine dayes made, for that the *Adrians* had reported, that in their Dominions it had rained Stones.

XLVI. In *Gallia* *L. Valerius* the Pro Consul fought a pitch'd Battle near *Millain*, with the *Insulrian Gauls* and the *Boii*, who under the Command of *Dorulacus*, were come over the *Po* to raise the *Insulrians*; in which there were ten thousand of the Enemies slain. But at the same time his Colleague *M. Porcius Cato* out of *Spain* triumph'd, bringing in at the same time [to the Treasury] twenty five thousand pounds of Silver Bullion, of Bigates [pieces stamped with a Chariot] a hundred twenty three thousand, and of *Oscan* [Silver] five hundred and forty: besides fourteen hundred pound of gold. To his Souldiers he gave each of them two hundred and seventy [Alles] of Brass, and treble to an Horsenman. *T. Sempronius* the Consul going into his Province, led his Legions first into the Country of the *Boii*. *Boiorix* who was then their King, having with his two Brothers excited all the Nation to Rebel, pitch'd his Camp in a convenient place; that it might appear, they were resolv'd to fight, if the Enemy came into their Confines. The Consul, when he perceiv'd, what the Enemies strength was, and what confidence they had in it, sent to his Colleague to desire him, that, if he pleas'd, he would hasten his coming: for he would protract the whole affair by delays till his arrival. Now the same reason that the Consul had to delay, the *Gauls* had to hasten (save that the delay of the Enemies increas'd their Courage) that they might dispatch their business, before two Consuls had join'd their Forces together. Yet for two dayes they did nothing but stand ready to fight, if any one came forth to oppose them; but the third day they march'd briskly up to the Bullwark, and attack'd the Camp on every side at the same time. Whereupon the Consul order'd his men immediately to take up their Arms: but kept them for some time in the same place after they were armed; that he might not only augment the foolish confidence of the Foe, but likewise have opportunity to marshal and instruct his Forces, at which Gates he would have each party fall forth. Two Legions were order'd to march out at the principal Gates: though the *Gauls* stood so thick before, that they block'd up the pafs. They fought along time in those narrow places; nor did they do more Execution with their Hands and Swords, than they did by thrusting with their Shields and Bodies: the *Romans* to carry their Ensigns out; and the *Gauls*, either themselves to get into the Camp, or to hinder the *Romans* from coming forth. Nor could the two Armies stir either the one or the other way, before *Q. Vitorius*, Captain of the Vanguard, and *C. Atinius*, Tribune of the Souldiers; the latter belonging to the fourth, and the former to the second Legion (as a thing in difficult cases often tried) took the Ensigns from the Ensign-Bearers, and threw them among the Enemies. Whereupon, as they strove with all their force to regain their Ensign, those of the second Legion threw themselves first out at the Gate.

XLVII. These therefore now fought without the Bullwark, whilst the fourth Legion stuck in the Gate, when at the same time another tumult arose on the back side of the Camp. For the *Gauls* had broken in at the *Questorian* Gate, and making a stout resistance had kill'd *L. Postumius* the Questor, furnamed *Tympanus*, with *M. Atinius*, and *P. Sempronius*, who commanded the Allies, besides almost two hundred private Souldiers. By which means the Camp on that side was taken, till an extraordinary Regiment, whom the Consul sent to defend the *Questorian* Gate, not only kill'd part of them that were within the Bullwark, and drove the rest out of the Camp, but hinder'd those that were a breaking in. About the same time the fourth Legion also with two extraordinary Regiments got out at the Gate. So that there were three Engagements at the same time about the Camp in several places: and the different shouts that were set up at the uncertain Casualties that happen'd to their side, took off the

the minds of the persons engaged from the present Conflict. Till Noon they fought with equal strength, and almost with equal hopes. But when the fatigue and heat together had forced the *Gauls*, with their tender and fluid Bodies, that cannot endure thirst, to quit the Field, the *Romans* made an Effort upon those few that remained, and having routed, forced them into their Camp. Then the Consul gave the signal for a Retreat; at which the greater part retired; but the rest out of love to fighting, and hopes of enjoying the Enemies Camp, stood their ground at the Bullwark. The *Gauls*, contemning their small number fallied all out of their Camp, and routed the *Romans*: so that they were forced for fear and dread to repair to their Camp, to which at the Consuls order they would not go. Thus was the Victory one while, and anon their flight, very various on both sides: though of the *Gauls* there were eleven thousand slain, and of the *Romans* five thousand: after which the *Gauls* betook themselves into the most Inland parts of all their Confines.

The Consul led the Legions to *Placentia*: though some say, *Scipio* having join'd his XLVIII: Army with that of his Colleague, went to ravage the Territories belonging to the *Boii* and *Ligurians*, as far as the Woods and Fens would suffer him: others, that, having done no memorable action, he return'd to *Rome* to hold the Assembly. This same year *T. Quintius* spent all the Winter at *Elatia* (where for that season he quarter'd his Forces) in doing of Justice; and altering those things that had been in those Cities, either by the licentious inclination of *Philip* himself, or any of his Prefects; when, by increasing the strength of men that were of his own Faction, he took away the rights and liberties of others. In the beginning of the Spring he came to *Corinth*, where he had appointed an Assembly: and there applying himself to the Embassadors of all the Cities, who stood in a ring about him, he began first with the Friendship which the *Romans* had contracted with the *Greek* Nation, together with the exploits that the Generals before him had done in *Macedonia*, and his own achievements also. All this was heard with great approbation, till he came to mention *Nabis*: For it did not seem agreeable for one that deliver'd Greece to leave a Tyrant behind him, who was not only a grievance to his own Country, but to be fear'd by all the Cities round about, and stuck in the bowels (as it were) of a famous City.

Nor was *Quintius* ignorant how they stood affected; and therefore confess'd, that if it XLIX: could have been done without the ruine of *Lacedaemon*, He ought not to have hearkned to any terms of Peace. But now, seeing he could not be subdu'd any otherwise than by the fatal ruin of that City, he thought it better to leave the Tyrant weaken'd and deprived of almost all his power to hurt any body else, than to let such a City be destroy'd by remedies too violent for it to bear, and perish even whilst he asserted its liberty. But to the remembrance of what was past he added; that he designed to go into Italy, and carry all his Army along with him. That they should bear within ten dayes, that the Garisons at *Demetrias* and *Chalcis* were drawn out: that he would deliver *Acrocorinthus* immediately before their Faces empty up to the *Achaens*: to the end that all people might know, whether the *Romans* or the *Etolians* were us'd to lie; who had given out that their liberty was very unwisely trusted in the hands of the Roman People, and that their *Macedonian* Masters were only chang'd for Roman Lords. But that they never cared what they said, or what they did. That he advis'd the other Cities, to value their Friends not by their words, but their actions: and learn to know, whom they ought to believe, and whom to have a care of. That they would use their liberty with moderation: for when it was temperate, it was wholesome both for each particular person and the communities in general too; but being extravagant was headstrong and unruly, as well to them that had it, as it was grievous to others. That the Nobility in every City, and the several orders of men among themselves, with all the Cities in common, should study Concord. For there was no King or Tyrant could be strong enough to oppose them if they agreed one with another: but that discord and sedition made all things easy to those that have a mind to ensnare them; when that side which is the weaker at a domestick conflict, engages rather in a Foreign one, than they will yield to a Fellow-Citizen. That they would keep and preserve the liberty, which was gotten by external force, and restored by others love to them, very carefully: that the Roman People might know they had given liberty to those that deserv'd it, and that their favours were well placed.

When they heard these words, as if they had come from a Father, they all cry'd for joy, so that they confounded even him also whilst he was a speaking. But some time after they hum'd to signify their approbation, and advis'd each other, that they would suffer those words, as though they were utter'd from an Oracle, to sink into their breasts and minds. And then having commanded silence, desired of them, That they would send all the Roman Citizens, whom they could find among them in slavery; within two months to him in *Thessaly*. For it was not honourable, even for themselves, that in a Country just set at liberty the very deliverers of it should be in servitude. Thereupon they all cry'd out, that they gave him thanks, among other things, for this also, that they were put in mind to do so pious and necessary an office. For there was a vast number of such as were taken in the *Punick* War, whom *Annibal*, being they were not redeemed by their own Countrymen, had sold. To prove which, *Polybius* writes, that that business cost the *Achaens* a hundred Talents, five hundred Deniers being set upon each ones Head, to be given back to their several Masters. For at that rate there were in *Achaia* twelve hundred. Now do you reckon proportionably how many it was likely that

that all Greece contain'd. The Convention was not yet dissolv'd, when they saw the Garrison, descending forthwith down from *Acrocorinthus*, march to the Gate and so away. In Reer of whom the General follow'd, attended by all the People, who with Acclamations call'd him *their Saviour and Deliverer*: and when he had saluted and disbanded those men, return'd to *Elatia* the same way that he came. From thence he sent away *Sp. Clandius* the Lieutenant with all his Forces; bidding him go through *Thessaly* and *Epirus* to *Oricum*, and there stay till he came. For from that place he design'd to transport his men into *Italy*. He wrote also to *L. Quintius* his Brother Lieutenant, and Admiral of the Fleet, to get the Ships of burden together from all the Coasts of Greece into that Port.

LI. He himself going to *Chalcis*, and drawing the guards not only out of that place, but of *Oreum* and *Eretria* likewise, held there a convention of all the Eubœan Cities; and having told them, *In what state he found them, and in what condition he left them*, dismiss'd the Assembly. Then he went to *Demetrias*, where having drawn forth the Garrison, he went forward, attended by all the People as at *Corinth* and *Chalcis*, into *Thessaly*; in which the Cities were not only to be set at liberty, but from a general mixture and confusion to be reduc'd into some tolerable form. For they were put in disorder, not only by the vices of the times, and the violence as well as licentiousness of the King; but even by their own mutinous inclination also; having not held either an Assembly, Convention, or any Council, though they were not concern'd in any sedition or tumult, from that time to this our present age. He therefore chose a Senate and Judges for them according to every Mans estate; and made that part of the Cities most powerful, whose greatest interest it was to have all things safe and quiet.

LII. When he thus settled *Thessaly*, he came through *Epirus* to *Oricum* from whence he was to cross over. From *Oricum* all his Forces were transported to *Brundisium*; from whence they marched in triumph through all *Italy* almost to the City [of Rome] with no less a train of things that they had taken, than of what was their own, before them. When they came to Rome, there was a Senate granted to *Quintius* without the City, in which he might declare what exploits he had done; and a deserved Triumph decreed him very freely. He triumph'd three Days; on the first of which he carried forth the Arms, Darts, brazen and marble Ensigns; more whereof were taken from *Philip* than he had taken from the several Cities. The second Day [he produced] the Gold and Silver, tried and untried, with that *Alia* which was coined. Of untried Silver there was eighteen Thousand Pounds, and of tried two Hundred and seventy; a great many Vessels of all sorts, most of them imbosc'd, and some very curiously done; with many made of brass; besides ten silver Bucklers, and of coined Silver eighty four Thousand Attick Pieces [each of half a Crown value] which they call *Tetradrachms*, weighing about three deniers in Silver. There was also three Thousand seven Hundred and fourteen Pound of Gold, and one shield all of Gold, of *Philips* Coin [much like our *Jacobuses*] fourteen Thousand five Hundred and fourteen. The third Day the golden Crowns, which were the presents of the several Cities, were carried forth, being a Hundred and fourteen in number. There were Sacrifices likewise led along; and before his Chariot a great many Noble Captives, as well as Hostages, among whom was *Demetrius* King *Philips* Son, and *Armenes* the Tyrant *Nabis*'s Son, of *Lacedæmon*. After all which *Quintius* himself rode into the City, whose Chariot was attended by a great Body of Soldiers, the Armies being drawn out of all the Provinces. Among them were divided five Hundred brass Pieces, to the Foot; as much again to each Centurion, and treble to an Horseman. They also, that followed with their Heads shaven (as being freed from slavery) added an Ornament to this Triumph.

LIII. At the end of this Year *Q. Ailius Tubero*, Tribune of the People, by order of the Senate proposed to the Commons, and they consented, That two Latine Colonies should be carry'd, the one into the Country of the *Bruttii*, and the other into the *Thurine* Territories. For the conveying whereof there were twice three Persons chosen, who were to govern the *Bruttii* for three Years, *Q. Nevius*, *M. Minutius Rufus*, and *M. Furius Crassipes*; and for the *Thurine* Territories *A. Manlius*, *P. Ailius*, and *L. Apustius*. Those two Assemblies *Cn. Domitius* the City Prætor held in the Capitol. There were some Temples that Year dedicated; one to *Juno Sospita* in the Herb-Market (which had been vowed and built four Years before by *C. Cornelius* Consul in the Gallick War; and was dedicated by the same Person being now Censor) and another to *Fannus*, which the *Ædiles* had two Years before ordered to be built out of the Fine Money, their names being *C. Scribonius*, and *Cn. Domitius*, by whom, as Prætor of the City, it was dedicated. *Q. Marcus Ralla* also dedicated a Temple to *Fortuna Primigenia*, on the Hill called *Collis Quirinalis*, being created Duumvir for that purpose. *P. Sempronius Sophus* had vow'd it ten Years before in the time of the Punick War, and built it when he was Censor. *C. Servilius* also the Duumvir dedicated a Temple in the Isle of *Jupiter*, which had been vowed six Years before in the time of the Gallick War by *L. Furius Purpureo* the Prætor, and was afterward ordered to be built by him when he was Consul. And these were the transactions of that Year.

LIV. *P. Scipio* returned out of his Province of *Gaul* to make new Consuls; and in the Assembly for that purpose there were chosen *L. Cornelius Merula*, and *Q. Minutius Thermus*. The next

next day there were created for Prætors *L. Cornelius Scipio*, *M. Fulvius Nobilior*, *C. Scribonius*, *M. Valerius Messala*, *L. Porcius Licinus*, and *C. Flaminius*. *C. Atilius Serranus*, and *L. Scribonius Libo*, being the Curule *Ædiles*, were the first that ever set forth the *Megalésia*, Stage-Plays [in honour of *Cybele*.] And these were the first *Ædiles* in whose time the Senate sate, and saw the Roman Plays in a distinct place from the People; which gave occasion (as all novelties do) for some to say, that they had now at length paid the respect to that most noble order, which long before was due to them; though others thought, it was a diminution to the dignity of the people, whatever was added to the majesty of the Senate; and that all such distinctions between the several orders of men tended to the lessening and impairing of their concord and liberty both. That they had seen the Plays promiscuously for five hundred fifty eight years. What then was the reason all on a sudden, that the Senators would not have the commons mixt among them in the Boxes? Why should a rich man disdain to have a poor man sit by him? Which was a new and a proud humour never thought on, or set up by the Senate of any Nation ever before. But at last they say, that even *Africanus* himself repented for having been the Author of that discrimination: so far the best way it is not to alter old Customs; men being more inclined to adhere to their old fashions, unless where experience evidently corrects them.

In the beginning of that year when *L. Cornelius* and *Q. Minucius* were Consuls, they heard of so many Earthquakes, that the people were not only troubled at the thing it self, but also at the holy days that were appointed upon that account. For neither could any Senate be held, nor the Common-wealth lookt after, the Consuls being wholly taken up in Sacrificing and making expiations. At last the Decemviri being commanded to consult their Books, there was according to their answer a supplication made for three dayes together: during which time they paid their devotions at every Temple with Garlands on their Heads: and it was order'd; that all of the same Family should make their supplications together. The Consuls also by authority from the Senate made an Edict, that no man should bring news of any other Earthquake the same day that a former had been told of, and Holy-Dayes appointed for it. After this the Consuls first and then the Prætors shar'd the Provinces. *Cornelius* had *Gaul*, and *Minucius* *Liguria*. *C. Scribonius* the City jurisdiction, *M. Valerius* the Foreign, *L. Cornelius* *Sicily*, *L. Porcius* *Sardinia*, *C. Flaminius* the *hither Spain*, and *M. Fulvius* the farther.

Now though the Consuls expected no War that Year, yet they had Letters from *M. Cincius* (who was Governour of *Pisa*) that twenty thousand arm'd *Ligurians* who had enter'd into a Conspiracy through all the Burroughs of the whole Nation, having first pillaged the Territories of *Luna*, and from thence gone over into the *Pisan* Dominions, had over-ran all the Sea Coast. Wherefore *Minucius* the Consul, whose Province was *Liguria*, by consent of the Senate went up into the *Rostra* [the place for Orations] and gave order; that the two City Legions, which had been raised the year before should be within eleven dayes at *Arctium*: and said that he would raise two more City Legions in their stead. He also commanded the Allies and Magistrates, that were Latines, together with the Embassadors of such as ought to find Souldiers, to come to him in the Capitol. Out of whom he set down fifteen thousand and five hundred Horse, according to the number of their several young men: bidding them go from the Capitol to the Gate, and so, to hasten the business, away forthwith to make the Levy. There were allow'd as a supply to *Fulvius* and *Flaminius* three thousand Roman Foot; and a hundred Horse, besides five hundred Latine Foot and two hundred Horse; the Prætors being order'd, to disband the old Souldiers as soon as they came into their Provinces. Now whereas the Souldiers that were in the City Legions had gone to the Tribunes of the people in great numbers [to desire] that they would hear those men speak for themselves, who by reason of their age or sickness were excused from the War; a Letter from *T. Sempronius* put an end to that matter, in which he had written; That fifteen thousand *Ligurians* were come into the *Placentine* Dominions; which they had destroy'd even to the very Walls of the Colony, and the Banks of *Po*, with slaughter and fire. That the *Boii* also were inclined to Rebellion; and for that reason there was a tumult now on foot. Whereupon the Senate decreed, that they would not leave the Tribunes of the people try military causes, to hinder the men from meeting according to order: adding likewise, that those Latine Allies, who had been in the Armies of *P. Cornelius*, and *T. Sempronius*, and had been disbanded by them, when they were Consuls, should meet at the same day and the same place in *Etruria* that the Consul *L. Cornelius* had appointed: and that *L. Cornelius* had appointed: and that *L. Cornelius*, as he went into his Province, should raise arm and carry with him out of the several Towns and Countries, through which he was to march, what Souldiers he pleas'd; of whom he might again disband as many as he thought good, and that when he had a mind to it.

After the Consuls having made their Levy were gone into the several Provinces, then *T. Quintius* desired the Senate to hear him touching those things which he and the ten Embassadors had agreed upon; and, if they thought fitting, by their authority would confirm them. Which they would the more willingly do, if they had but once heard what the Embassadors, that came out of all Greece, great part of Asia, and from the several Kings, had to say. Those Embassadors therefore were introduced into the Senate by *C. Scribonius* the City Prætor, and had each of them a very kind Answer. But because the dispute with *Antiochus* was somewhat too long,

it was referred to the ten Embassadors, part of whom had been in *Asia*, or at *Lyfima* *chia* with the King. Thereupon *T. Quintius* was commanded, taking them along with him, to hear what the Kings Embassadors could say; and to give them such an answer as might be suitable to the dignity and convenience of the Roman People. Now one *Menippus*, and one *Hegesianax* were chief of the Kings Embassy: of whom *Menippus* said; He could not tell what difficulty there could be in their Embassy, when they were come merely to desire a Friendship and contract an Alliance [with the Romans.] Now there were three sorts of Leagues, whereby States and Kings were united one to another. One, when those that were conquer'd in War had conditions set them. For when all things were surrender'd to him that was the strongest, it was his right and privilege to determine what part of such things the conquer'd should have, and what they should be deprived of. Another, when two that were equal in point of War agreed upon a Peace and Alliance on even terms. For then things were demanded and restored back by mutual compact, and if either party have been disturbed in the possession of what is their own, such differences are composed either by the rule of ancient Laws, or for the convenience of both sides. But there was a third kind; when those that never were Enemies came together to contract a mutual Friendship by a League of Alliance. That they did neither give nor receive conditions; that being the method between a Conqueror and him that was conquer'd. Now seeing that *Antiochus* was of this sort, he wonder'd, that the Romans should think fit to limit him, what Cities of *Asia* they would have to be free and unconfin'd, and what stipendiary; as also which of them he and his Guards must not enter into: for they ought to make Peace with *Philip*, who was their Enemy at that rate, and not a League of Alliance with *Antiochus* who was their Friend.

LVIII. To this *Quintius* reply'd, Since you are pleas'd to treat so distinctly, and to enumerate the several sorts of Leagues, I also will lay before you two conditions, besides which (you may tell him) there is no way for the King to contract a Friendship with the Roman People. The one, that if he would not have us concern our selves with any of the Cities in *Asia*, he himself meddle not with any part of *Europe*. The other, that if he keep not within the bounds of *Asia*, but come over into *Europe*, the Romans may lawfully not only preserve the Alliances which they already have with the Cities of *Asia*, but make new ones also: But there *Hegesianax* made Answer and said, It was such an indignity as ought not to be mention'd; That *Antiochus* should be forced out of the Cities of *Thrace* and *Chersonesus*: all which his great Grandfather *Seleucus*, after he had conquer'd and slain King *Lyfimachus*, with so much glory gain'd and left behind him, and (when they were partly possessed by the *Thracians*, and partly deserted, as *Lyfimachia* it self [for Example]) *Antiochus* recover'd with his Arms, and peopled as before; building up anew such places, as had been thrown or burn'd down, at a vast expence. What comparison therefore was there between *Antiochus* being driven out of that possession so gotten and so regain'd, and the Romans not meddling with *Asia*, which was never theirs? That *Antiochus* desired the Friendship of the Romans; but so, that it might, if obtain'd, be a glory, not a dishonour to him. To which *Quintius* made Answer, and said; If we talk of honourable things, as the supreme people of the whole World, and so great a King ought only, or chiefly at least to do; pray which seems most honourable, to desire that all the Cities of *Greece* may be free, or to make them slaves and tributary? If *Antiochus* thinks it a glorious thing for him again to enslave those Cities, which his great Grandfather indeed had by right of War, but his Father and Grandfather never challenged; the people of *Rome* also think they are obliged by the Laws of fidelity and constancy not to desert the Patronage of the Grecian Liberty. And as they deliver'd *Greece* from *Philip*, so they intend to free all the Cities of *Asia*, belonging to the Greeks, from King *Antiochus*. For those Colonies were not sent [by the Greeks] into *Æolis* and *Ionia* to be slaves to the King; but to encrease their breed, and propagate an ancient Nation all over the World.

LIX. Now *Hegesianax* being at a stand, could not deny but the name of Liberty made the Romans Cause more honourable, than that of slavery did *Antiochus*'s; and therefore *P. Sulpicius*, the Eldest of the ten Embassadors told them, But we shall not trouble our selves to dispute thus; chuse one of the conditions, which *Quintius* just now so plainly proposed, or talk no more of an Alliance. No, said *Menippus*, we neither will, nor can enter into any League, that may lessen *Antiochus*'s Dominions. The next day, when *Quintius* had introduced all the Embassadors of *Greece* and *Asia* into the Senate, for them to see, how the Roman People, and how *Antiochus* also stood affected toward the Cities of *Greece*; he declar'd both his own and the Kings demands: [bidding them] tell their Cities, that with the same valour and fidelity, wherewith they had vindicated them from *Philip*, they would deliver them from *Antiochus* also, unless he departed out of *Europe*. Thereupon *Menippus* desired of *Quintius* and the Senate, not to hasten that Decree wherewith they were like to disturb the whole World; nor only take time themselves, but give time to the King to consider of it. For he would either consider better of it, when he heard the conditions, and make some successful suit to them, or for peace sake consent to them. Thus the whole matter was deferred: and order was given that the same Embassadors should go to the King that had been with him at *Lyfimachia*, who were *P. Sulpicius*, *P. Villius* and *P. Ailius*.

LX. But they were scarce gone, when Embassadors came from *Carthage*, and brought word, that *Antiochus* was undoubtedly preparing for a War by the instigation of *Annibal*: and made the Romans fear, lest a Punick War should be at the same time raised. *Annibal* having

ving fled his Country was come to *Antiochus*, as I told you before; and was in great favour with the King upon no other account, but that, when *Antiochus* was debating a long time about a Roman War, no man could be more fit to advise with than he was. Now his opinion continu'd still the same; to have the War in Italy. For Italy would afford both Provisions and Souldiers to a Foreign Enemy. If there were no commotion there, but the Roman People were free with their strength and Forces to wage a War without Italy, that neither the King nor any Nation in the World were equal to the Romans. Wherefore he desired a hundred men of War, sixteen thousand Foot and a thousand Horse; and with that Fleet he would first go into *Africa*, where he did not question but he should make the *Carthaginians* rebel. But if they were backward, that he would raise a War against the Romans in some part of Italy. That the King with all the rest ought to cross over into *Europe*, and post his Forces in some part of *Greece*; not to pass [into *Africa*] (but which was enough to make a shew and noise of a War) to be ready for such an Expedition.

When he had brought the King to this opinion, he thought fit likewise to prepare his Countrymens mind for the same thing, but durst not send Letters to them, lest being by any accident intercepted, they might discover his design. Wherefore having found one *Aristo*, a Tyrian, at *Ephesus*, whose cunning he had tryed in finaller affairs (after he had encouraged him with presents and hopes of reward, to which the King also assented) he sent him with his commands to *Carthage*, telling him the names of those he must needs speak with, and private tokens also wherby they might know, that those were his Commands. But when this *Aristo* was at *Carthage*, *Annibals* Enemies knew as soon as his Friends the reason of his coming; of which they first talk'd publickly in the Streets and at Feasts, as they did afterward also in the Senate, where they said, They had done nothing by banishing of *Annibal*, if he could make innovations even in his absence, and by disquieting the minds of men disturb the peace of the City. That there was one *Aristo*, a Tyrian stranger, come instructed with commands from *Annibal* and King *Antiochus*; That certain Men did daily keep correspondence with him, and talk with him in secret what was e'rlong like to break forth into their general destruction. Whereupon they all cry'd out together, That *Aristo* ought to be called before them, and be ask'd, why he came; which if he did not confess, he should be sent with the Embassadors to *Rome*: [for the *Carthaginians*] had suffered sufficiently by the rashness of *Annibal*. That therefore, though private men might offend at their own peril; yet the Commonwealth must be preserved not only without blame, but even from the very suspicion or imputation of it. Accordingly *Aristo* was call'd and began to clear himself, using the strongest defence he had, that he had brought no Letter to any Man. But as he was not very ready to give an account of his coming, so he was gravell'd most at this, that they said, he talk'd with none but Men of the Barchine Faction. Whereupon there arose a quarrel among them. Some desiring that he might be presently seiz'd and clapp'd up for a Spy, whilst others said, They had no reason to breed such a disturbance; but that it was of evil example to lay hold on strangers for nothing; for the same things might happen to the *Carthaginians* both at Tyre and in other places, to which they had frequent occasions to go. Wherefore the matter was deferr'd for that Day. But *Aristo* making use of a Punick trick in a Punick Nation, wrote upon a Tablet, which in the Evening he hung up over the daily feat of the Magistracy; getting himself at the third Watch on board a Ship, in which he made his escape. The next Day when the Suffetes [i. e. Judges] came to do Justice, seeing the Tablet, they took it down and read the Writing, which was this, That *Aristo* had no private commands to any Man, but publickly to the Seniors; for so they call'd their Senate. When the Crime was known, they were the less intent to inquire into it; yet they were willing that Embassadors should be sent to *Rome* to inform the Senate and the Consuls of it, and complain at the same time of the injuries done by *Massinissa*.

*Massinissa* when he perceived that the *Carthaginians* were not only infamous, but also at variance among themselves (the Nobility being suspected by the Senate upon the account of *Aristo*'s discourses with them; and the Senate by the People, upon the score of what *Aristo* had discovered) supposing that a proper time to do them an injury, he not only pillaged all their Sea Coast, but likewise forced some tributary Cities of the *Carthaginians* to pay him a stipend. They call that part of the Country *Emporia*, being the Coast near the lesser *Syrtis*, and a fertile Soil. One City of it was *Leptis*, which paid the *Carthaginians* a Talent a Day for Tribute. This Country at that time *Massinissa* infested all over, and in some part had made it doubtful whether it were in his or the *Carthaginians* possession. But when he found that they were going to *Rome*, not only to clear themselves, but to complain of him also; he himself likewise sent Embassadors to *Rome*, not only to aggravate their Crimes with suspicions, but also to dispute the right of the Tributes [which they exacted]. The *Carthaginians*, who were first heard touching the Tyrian stranger, put the Senate in a fear, Lest they must be forced to engage with *Antiochus* and the *Carthaginians* together. The suspicion which most enhans'd their Crime was, that, whereas they resolved to lay hold of *Aristo* and send him to *Rome*, they had not seiz'd either him or his Ship. Then they begun to dispute with the Kings Embassadors concerning that part of the Country [which was then in question]. In which case the *Carthaginians* defended their Cause by pleading to the limits of their Dominions, That it was within those bounds which *P. Scipio* being Conquerour had set to that part of *Africa*.

LXI.

LXII.



frica which should belong to the Carthaginians; and by the Kings own confession, who when he pursued Aphires, a Fugitive, out of his own Kingdom, wandering with a Company of Numidians about Cyrenæ, begg'd leave of them to pass through that very Region, as undoubtedly pertaining to the Carthaginians. To which the Numidians reply'd, Not only that what they said concerning Scipio's making such bounds was altogether false, but likewise, that if any one would search into the true original of their right, what Region could they find in Africa that properly belong'd to the Carthaginians? Certain strangers had as much ground precariously given them to build a City upon as they could compass with a Bulls-hide cut into thongs; and all they have since gain'd without their ancient Seat called Byrsa, they got by force and Arms. For they could not prove, touching that Region now in dispute, not only that they have had it always, since they first took it, but not any considerable time; because sometime they, and sometimes the Kings of Numidia, had it in possession by turns, it being always his that had the longest Sword. That they would let the matter be in the same condition as it was before the Carthaginians were Foes, or the King of Numidia Friend and Ally to the Romans, nor would hinder them that could, from getting it. Whereupon the Senate thought fit to answer the Embassadors of both sides, That they would send Embassadors into Africa, to debate of the present case between the Carthaginians and the King. Accordingly they sent P. Scipio Africanus, C. Cornelius Cethegus, and M. Minutius Rutilus; who have heard and look'd into the matter, left all things in suspense, inclining in their opinions to neither side. But whether they did that of their own accord, or because they were so ordered, is not so certain, as it seems to have been proper for that juncture, that they should be left without any decision of the quarrel; for unless it were so, Scipio alone, either by his knowledge of the thing, or his Authority, having deserv'd so greatly of them both, might have ended the dispute even with a nod.

# DECADE IV. BOOK V.

## The E P I T O M E.

Pub. Scipio Africanus, Embassador to Antiochus, had a Conference at Ephesus with Annibal, who had join'd himself with Antiochus; to remove, if it were possible, that fear which he had conceived of the Roman People. Where when, among other things, he ask'd, whom Annibal thought the greatest General; he answer'd, Alexander, King of Macedon; for that with so small an Army he had defeated an innumerable Host: and because he had over-ran the very utmost Borders [of the world] which but to see was above all humane hope. And when he ask'd him again, whom he lookt upon to be the second; Pyrrhus, said he, for he first taught [Soldiers] how to Encamp; besides that no body took places, or disposed of his Guards with more cunning. Whereupon when Scipio demanded, whom he esteem'd the third; he reply'd Himself. At which Scipio laugh'd, and ask'd him, What would you have said, if you had conquer'd me too? Why then, said he, I should have preferred my self not only before Alexander, but Pyrrhus and all others. 21. Among other Prodigies, which were very numerous, 'twas reported, that an Oxe belonging to Cn. Domitius the Consul, spake [and said] Rome, have a care of thy self. 23. The Romans prepare for a War against Antiochus. 13, 25, &c. Nabis, Tyrant of Lacedæmon, incited by the Ætolians, who importuned both Philip and Antiochus to make War against the Romans, revolted from the Roman People, and waging War against Philopæmenes, Prætor of the Achæans, 35. Was kill'd by the Ætolians. 32. The Ætolians also revolted from their Alliance with the Romans. With whom Antiochus King of Syria having enter'd into a League and made War upon Greece, possess'd himself of many Cities among which Chalcis was one, besides all Eubœa. 3, &c. Contains the relation of what was done in Liguria, and the preparations for a war, made by Antiochus.

- I. **A**T the beginning of the year in which these things were done, Sex. Digitius the Prætor had more Conflicts than are worth the speaking of, in the hither Spain, (with those Cities, which, after M. Cato's departure had many of them rebelled) and most of those so unfortunate too, that he scarce deliver'd to his Successor the half of those Forces, which he had receiv'd. Nor is it to be question'd, but all Spain had revolted, if the other Prætor, P. Cornelius Scipio, the Son of Cneius, had not fought many successful Battles beyond the River Iberus: at which the people were so affrighted, that no less than fifty Towns submitted themselves unto him. Scipio had done these things whilst he was Prætor. But he also, when Pro-Prætor, set upon the Lusitanians (who, having pillaged all the farther Spain, were coming home again with a vast booty) upon the rode, and engaged them from the third hour of the day till the eight, without knowing who would have the better of it, being out-done by them in point of number, but superiour in all other circumstances: for he had oppos'd them, not only with a close well-order'd Army against a long train of men, that were encumber'd with a crowd of Cattle too, but with fresh Souldiers against such as were tired with a tedious march. For the Enemies had set out at the third Watch, and travailed till three hours of the day were past: nor had they any time to rest themselves, before the Battle seconded the Fatigue of their Journey. Wherefore in the beginning of the

the fight they had some vigour in their Bodies and Minds, so that they put the Romans into disorder; but afterward the fight was by degrees brought to an equal lay. At this critical juncture, The Proprætor vow'd Games to Jupiter, if he routed and slew the Enemy. At last the Romans bore more briskly up to them, and the Lusitanians gave way, till soon after they totally turn'd their backs, and, whilst the Conquerours pursued them very close, were twelve Thousand of them slain; five Hundred and forty, who were most of them Horse, being taken, with one Hundred thirty four military Ensigns; though of the Roman Army there were lost but seventy three. This fight was not far from the City Illipa; to which P. Cornelius led back his Victorious Army, with a rich Booty, which was expos'd to view before that City, and leave given to the owners to see what was theirs; the rest being delivered to the Quællors to be sold, and what Money was made of it divided among the Soldiers.

C. Flaminius the Prætor was not yet come from Rome, when these things were done in Spain. Wherefore not only the fortunate but the unfortunate events there, were very much magnified both by him and his Friends; besides that he had tryed (seeing a mighty War was broke out in his Province, where he was like to receive but a very small remnant of an Army from Sex. Digitius, and that too full of fear and ready to run away) to make the Senate Decree him one of the City Legions; to which when he had added the Soldiers raised by himself, that he might choose out of the whole number three Thousand five Hundred Foot and three Hundred Horse; for with that Legion (there being but little hopes in Sex. Digitius's Army) he'd do the business. But the Senate replyed and said, They must not make Decrees for vain stories raised by private Persons to please Magistrates. For nothing ought to be look'd upon as authentick, but what either the Prætors wrote out of their Provinces, or Embassadors brought word of. If there were an Insurrection in Spain, they would consent, that the Prætor should raise tumultuary Souldiers without Italy. The Senate intended, that those tumultuary Soldiers should be mustered up in Spain; though Valerius Antius says, that C. Flaminius went over into Sicily also to make his Levy; and as he went from thence into Spain, being driven by a Tempest into Africa, list'd the straggling Soldiers that remained of P. Africanus's Army, adding to the Levys in those two Provinces a third when he came into Spain.

Nor did the Ligurian War increase more slowly in Italy. For they were now posted about Pisa with forty Thousand Men, besides that a vast Multitude flock'd to them every Day through the fame of the War, and the hopes they had of a good Booty. The Consul Minutius came to Arretium on the Day that he had appointed the Souldiers to meet him. From thence he led them in a square Body to Pisa, and since the Enemy had removed their Camp a thousand Paces from the Town beyond the River, the Consul entered into the City, which was, no doubt of it, preserv'd by his arrival. The next Day he himself also encamped beyond the River about five Hundred Paces from the Enemy. From thence by light skirmishes he defended the Country of his Allies from being pillaged. But he durst not march out into the Field, because his Soldiers were new Men, and mustered up out of several Countries, not yet so well acquainted among themselves as to trust one another. Mean while the Ligurians relying upon their Multitudes, not only march'd out into the Field, prepared to try a push for all they had; but they likewise sent out a great many parties every way (having Soldiers enough and to spare) to the utmost limits of the Country for plunder; who when they had got together a good quantity of Cattle and other Prey, there was a Guard ready for them to bring it through into their Castles and Villages.

Whilst the Ligurian War continued at Pisa, the other Consul, L. Cornelius Merula, led his Army through the very Borders of Liguria into the Country of the Boii, where the face of the War was quite another thing to what it was in Liguria. For there the Consul went out into the Field, whilst the Enemy declined the fight, and the Romans ran to and fro a plundering where no body came forth to meet them; the Boii being more willing to let them freely take what they found, than by defending of it to venture an engagement. But when that all things were sufficiently wasted by Sword and Fire, the Consul march'd out of the Enemies Country, and led his Army towards Mutina in a careless manner, being among a peaceful sort of People. The Boii, as soon as they perceived the Enemy to be gone out of their Confines, followed after with silence, and sought a place convenient to make an Ambuscade. In order whereunto, passing in the Night by the Roman Camp, they lodg'd themselves in a Wood, by which the Romans were to come. But having done it so as that they were discovered, the Consul, who was used to remove his Camp at midnight, lest the darkness should increase their fear in a tumultuary Fight, stayed then till Day. Nay and then too, though he did not remove till Day, yet he sent a Troop of Horse before to see what they must trust to. And when they brought him word back, what the Enemies Forces were, and where they were posted, he ordered all the Baggage of the whole Army to be thrown on one heap together, and that the Triarii should raise a mound about it, but went with the rest of his Army in Battalia up to the Foe. The Gauls also did the same, when they saw their Ambuscade was discovered, and that they must fight a regular and set Battle, where true Valour must win the Day.

About the second Hour they engaged; the left Wing of the Allies Horse, and the extraordinary fighting in the Front. They were commanded by two Consular Lieutenants, M. Marcellus

*M. Marcellus* and *Tib. Sempronius*, who was Consul the year before. The new Consul was one while in the Van, and anon keeping back the Legions in the Rear, that should not fall on, before the signal was given. The Horse, that was in those Legions, he order'd *Q. and P. Minucius*, Tribunes of the Souldiers, to draw forth into an open Plain, without the main Body of the Army: from whence, when he had given the signal, they might have room to charge. But as he was doing this, a Message came to him from *Tib. Sempronius Longus*, that the Extraordinaries could not endure the shock of the Gauls, and that a great many of them were slain, those that remain'd having partly through the Fatigue of it, and partly through their fear, remitted or slacken'd the ardour of the Engagement. That therefore, if he thought fit, he should send a supply of one of the two Legions, before they received any disgrace. Thereupon he sent the second Legion, and took back the Extraordinaries. Then therefore the fight was renew'd; and when not only fresh men, but a Legion whose ranks stood thick and close came into the place, the left Wing being withdrawn quite out of the Battle, and the right advanced into the Front; The Sun with sultry heat had almost burnt the Bodies of the Gauls, who cannot by any means endure such weather; yet they, leaning one while upon each other, and anon upon their Shields, sustain'd the violence of the Romans. Which when the Consul perceiv'd, he commanded *C. Livius Salinator*, who was Captain of the Alary Horse [Allies most commonly, that fought in the Wings of the Army, call'd *Alae*] to ride in with the swiftest part of his Cavalry, and put their ranks into disorder; but that the Legionary Horse should stand in the Rear. This storm of the Horse at first confounded and disorder'd, and then scatter'd the Gallick Army, though not so much as to make them turn their backs: for the Captains hinder'd it, who with their Spear-staves punch'd the wavering Souldiers on their backs, and would have forced them to return into their ranks; though the Alary Horse riding in between would not suffer them. The Consul therefore desired of his men, That they would strive a little; and, seeing the Victory was so near at hand, the Enemy being all in disorder and so consternated, that they would charge up briskly upon them; for if they gave them time to put themselves once more into rank and file, they must of necessity be again engaged in a fresh and an hazardous Conflict. Thereupon he order'd the Ensigns to march forward: and so all of them with one Effort, at last, repell'd the Foe. Who when they turn'd their backs and were utterly routed, were pursu'd by the Legionary Horse, whom he sent after them. There were that day slain fourteen thousand of the Boii, and a thousand ninety two taken Prisoners: two hundred twenty one of their Horse men, and three Captains, with two hundred and twelve military Ensigns [or Standards] and sixty three Waggons. Nor did the Romans escape without some loss of blood: for of them there were slain above five thousand either Romans or their Allies; twenty three Centurions, and four Captains of the Allies, with *M. Genucius*, and *M. Marcius* Tribune of the Souldiers, belonging to the second Legion.

VI.

About the same time there were Letters brought from the two Consuls; that is, from *L. Cornelius* concerning a Battle fought with the Boii at *Mutina*, and from *Q. Minucius* at *Pisa*; That it fell to his Lot to hold the Consular Assembly. But that all things in Liguria were in such suspense, that he could not depart thence without the ruine of his Allies and great damage to the Common-wealth. Wherefore, if the Senate thought fit, they might send to his Colleague; that he, who had made an end of his War, might return to Rome, and hold that Assembly: which if he were unwilling to do, because it was none of his business, that he himself would do what ever the Senate should determine: but desired them very seriously to consider, whether it were not more for the advantage of the Common-wealth to make an Interregnum [a time when there was no chief Magistrate in the Common-wealth, or present at least, to perform publick Offices] than that the Province should by him be left in that condition. The Senate therefore order'd *C. Scribonius* to send two Embassadors of the Senatorian Order to the Consul *L. Cornelius*; who were to carry along with them the Letter that his Colleague sent to the Senate, and to tell him, that unless he came to Rome to create new Magistrates, rather than *Q. Minucius* should be call'd away from a War that now lay fresh upon his hands, the Senate would suffer the making of an Interregnum. The two Embassadors being accordingly sent brought word back, that *L. Cornelius* would come to Rome to chuse new Magistrates. Now there was a dispute in the Senate about that Letter of *L. Cornelius*'s, which he had written after the Battle with the Boii; because *M. Claudius*, his Lieutenant, had written privately to many of the Senators, That they might thank the good fortune of the Roman People, and the Courage of the Souldiers for the success they met with. For through the Consuls means they had not only lost some part of their men, but the Enemies Army also, which they had an opportunity to destroy, was got clear out of their reach. That so many the more of the Souldiers died, for that the supplies, that should have assisted them, advanced too slowly out of the Rear. And that the Enemies had escaped, not only because the signal was given to the Legionary Horse too late, but also in that they were not suffer'd to pursue the Foe.

VII.

Of that matter they did not think fit to determine any thing on a sudden; but deferred the Debate till they had a fuller Assembly. For there was another business in hand concerning the Cities being oppress'd by Usury: and since Covetousness was tied up to many Laws touching Usury, they had found out a fraudulent way of lending money to Citizens in the

names

names of foreigners that were not bound by those Laws, by which means they taking what Interest they pleas'd, the Debtors were undone. Now the Senate being inquisitive after a method of restraining this practice, They pitch'd upon a certain day, viz. the last Feast call'd *Feralia* [on which they used to sacrifice to the Infernal Gods]; ordaining, that all those Allies, who since that day had lent Money to Roman Citizens, should declare it; and that for the Money which had been since that day lent, the Creditor should have right done him according to which Laws the Debtors would [whether Roman Laws or those of the Allies]. So when by their several Declarations it was discovered what a vast sum those Debts came to which had by this fraudulent means been contracted, *M. Sempronius*, Tribune of the People, by the Senates order propos'd to the Commons, and they agreed, That for Money lent there should be the same process in Law against an Ally or a Latine, as against a Roman Citizen. These things were done in Italy both at home and in the Wars; but in Spain there was not nigh so great a disturbance as had been talk'd off. *C. Flaminius* in the hither Spain took a Town call'd *Ilucia* belonging to the *Oretanes*, and then carry'd his Men into their Winter Quarters, where though in the Winter time they had some skirmishes, yet there were none worth the remembering, their Opponents being more like Thieves than Enemies, and their success very various, not without some loss of Men. But there were greater things done by *M. Fulvius*, who at a Town call'd *Toletum* fought a pitch'd Battel with the *Vaccei*, the *Vellones* and *Celtiberians*; in which, having defeated and utterly routed the Army, he took King *Hilernus* Prisoner.

Whilst these things were a doing in Spain, the Day for the Assembly was now at hand; and therefore *L. Cornelius* the Consul, leaving *M. Claudius*, his Lieutenant, behind him with the Army, came to Rome. Where after he had given a relation in the Senate of what he had done, and in what state the Province was, he complain'd to the House, That there was no acknowledgments of Praise and Honour paid to the Gods for his having made an end of such a mighty War in one fortunate Battel. And after that requir'd, That they would decree a Supplication and a Triumph both together. But before they could make report of that Affair, *Q. Metellus*, who had been Consul and Dictator, said, That the Letters brought at the same time from *L. Cornelius*, who was Consul, to the Senate, and from *M. Marcellus* to great part of the Senators, contradicted one another; and that the consultation [about that business] was therefore deferr'd, that it might be debated when the authors of those Letters were present. And for that reason they expected, that the Consul, who knew that the Lieutenant had written somewhat against him, seeing he himself must needs come to Rome, would have brought him also thither at the same time; especially when it was well known that he had delivered the Army to *Tib. Sempronius*, who had the Generalship more truly and really, than to the Lieutenant. Wherefore he seemed to be removed on purpose, lest he should declare or justify what he had written face to face; or give them an opportunity to reprove him if he told any thing that was false, and argue the case so long till they found out the whole truth of it. Upon which account he did not think fit that any one thing which the Consul demanded, should be, at that present, decreed him. But when he notwithstanding went on desiring, that a Supplication might be ordained, and that he might ride in Triumph into the City, *M. and C. Titinius* Tribunes of the People said, They would interpose, if there were any order of Senate made, concerning that matter.

VIII.

The Censors created the Year before were *Sex. Aelius Petus*, and *C. Cornelius Cethegus*; of whom *Cornelius* made a *Lustrum* [i. e. a survey of the People] at which the Pole of the Citizens came to one Hundred forty three Thousand seven Hundred and four. The Waters rose very high that Year, and the Tyber overflowed the plain parts of the City. About the Gate call'd *Flumentana* some Buildings fell down, and the Gate call'd *Calimontana* was burnt with Lightning, as was the Wall all about it also in many places. At *Aricia*, *Lanuvium*, and in the *Aventine* it rained stones; and from *Capua* news was brought, that a great swarm of Wasps flew into the Forum, and light in the Temple of *Mars*, where they were carefully gathered all together and burnt. Upon the score of these Prodigies, the *Decemviri* were ordered to consult their Books, and a sacrificing of nine Days continuance appointed, with a Supplication and a Lustration of the whole City. At the same time *M. Porcius Cato* dedicated the Chapel of *Victoria Virgo* [i. e. Victory the Virgin] near the Temple of Victory, two Years after he had vow'd so to do. The same Year a Triumvirate, whose names were *Cn. Manlius Vulso*, *L. Apustius Fullo*, and *Q. Aelius Tubero* (by whose Law it was done) carry'd a Colony into the Territories belonging to *Thucium*, consisting of three Thousand Foot; and three Hundred Horse, which for the quantity of ground was but a small number. They therefore might have given thirty Acres to each Footman, and sixty to each Horseman; but by advice of *Apustius*, a third part of the Land was set apart for them, when they pleas'd, to stock with new Planters, each Footman having twenty, and every Horseman forty Acres.

IX.

The Year was now at an end, and ambition shew'd it self all on a flame more than ever before in the grand Assembly. For many, and those very powerful men, both of the *Patricians* and *Plebeians* too, sued for [the Office]: as *P. Cornelius Scipio*, Son of *Cneius*, who came lately out of the Province of Spain, where he had done great things; and *L. Quintus Flaminius*, who Commanded the Fleet in Greece, with *Cn. Manlius Vulso*, all three *Patricians*; and for *Plebeians*, *C. Laelius*, *Cn. Domitius*, *C. Livius Salinator*; and *Marius Acilius*. But

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the Eyes of all people were cast upon *Quintius* and *Cornelius*. For they not only stood, being both Patricians, for the same place, but the glory which they so lately in War had gain'd commended them both. But that which enflamed their ambition more than any thing else, was their having two such near Relations, who were the most renowned Generals of their Age. *Scipio's* glory was the greater; and by how much the greater, so much the more obnoxious to Envy: though *Quintius's* was fresher, he having triumph'd that very year. Besides, the one had been now almost ten years in publick view (which is a thing that makes great men less venerable by their very frequent appearance among the People) having been a second time Consul, after he had conquer'd *Annibal*, and once *Censor*. But in *Quintius* all things were fresh and new to make him acceptable, he having neither desir'd nor gotten any thing of the people since the time of his triumphing: He therefore now told them, *He petition'd them on the behalf of an own Brother not a Consu-german, for his Colleague and Partner in a War that was now ended: in which he mannaged the affairs by Land, and his Brother by Sea.* By this means he got him prefer'd before the other Candidate whom *Africanus* recommended; whom the *Cornelian* Family attended (whilst *Cornelius*, who was Consul, held the Assembly) who before-hand stood so fair in the Opinion of the Senate, being lookt upon as the best man in all the City, who receiv'd the Goddess *Cybele* when she came from *Pessinus* to *Rome*. So *L. Quintius* and *Cn. Domitius Aenobarbus* were chosen Consuls: nor could *Africanus* prevail so much as for a *Plebeian* Consul, when he made what interest he could for *C. Lelius*. The next day the Prætors were Created. *L. Scribonius Libo*, *M. Fulvius Centumalus*, *A. Atilius Serranus*, *M. Babius Tampilus*, *L. Valerius Tappus*, and *Q. Salonius Sarra*. There were also two single *Ediles* that year, call'd *M. Aemilius Lepidus*, and *L. Aemilius Paulus*. In whose time there were many *Graziers* condemn'd; and out of the money in which they were mulcted gilded Shields were set up in the top of *Jupiter's* Temple. They likewise built one Portico without the Gate call'd *Porta Trigemina* (making an Exchange [or place for publick Negotiation] at the *Tiber's* side) and another from the Gate *Fontinalis* to *Mars's* Altar, to go through into the Field [of *Mars*.]

XI. For a long time there had been nothing done worth remembling; but at the end of that year their affairs were twice reduced into a very dangerous posture. For not only the Consul's Camp was attack'd, and with great difficulty maintain'd, but likewise, not long after, as the *Roman* Army march'd through a narrow pass, the *Ligurian* Forces having way-laid them, seeing they could not get through, the Consul fac'd about and would fain have gone back: but the Avenue was block'd up behind too by a party of the Enemies; insomuch that the memory of their *Caudine* misfortune was fresh, not only in their minds, but even before almost their Eyes also. He had near eight hundred *Numidian* Horse among his Auxiliaries: whose Colonel promised the Consul, that he would break out on which side he pleas'd with his men. Desiring him to tell him only, on which side there were most Villages. For he would set upon them, and burn their Houses the first thing he did; that the fright of that might force the *Ligurians* to quit the pass, which they were then possessed of, and run to assist their Country Friends. For which the Consul gave him commendations and great hopes of reward. So the *Numidians* mounting their Horses rode up to the Enemies Camp; though they offer'd no act of Hostility to any Body. Now there was nothing at the first view more contemptible; the Horses and men being very little and slender, the riders ungirt and unarm'd (save that they had Darts with them) and their Horses without Bridles, going very awkwardly, with stiff necks and their Heads thrust out. And this contempt they themselves also industriously augmented, slipping of their Horses and making sport on purpose to be taken notice of. Whereupon the Enemy, who had been at first intent and were ready, if they should be provoked, most of them now sat looking about them without their Arms. The *Numidians* rode up to them and then back again; but by degrees came nearer to the pass, as though their Horses had ran away with them. At last they set Spurs to them and broke through the middle of the Enemies, and being got into a wider place burnt all the Houses near the rode, setting fire to the next Town they came at, and destroying every thing with Fire and Sword. At first the smoke that arose, and then the noise that was heard from the several Towns, and at last both old and young running away [from their Habitations] made a tumult in the Camp: insomuch that without deliberation, or any orders for their so doing, each man for himself ran to defend his own, and in a moment of time the Camp was totally deserted; by which means the Consul being freed from the Siege, came to the place whither he design'd to go.

XII. But neither the *Boii* nor the *Spaniards*, with whom that year they had fought several Battles, were such pernicious Enemies to the *Romans* as the *Ætolians* were. For they, after the Armies were removed out of *Greece*, were first in hopes that *Antiochus* would come and take possession of that part of Europe, which was then deserted, and that *Philip* and *Nabis* would still be troublesome. But when they saw there was no commotion at all made, they thinking best for them to put things into some disorder, lest their designs should by delays be frustrated, call'd a Council at *Naupactum*. Where *Thous* their Prætor, complaining of the injuries done by the *Romans*, and of the state of *Ætolia*, that they were the least respected of all the Nations in *Greece*, even after that Victory of which they themselves had been the cause: thought

thought fit to have Embassadors sent all about to the several Kings, not only to inquire into their inclinations, but to incite them everyone in particular to a *Roman* War. *Damocritus* was sent to *Nabis*, *Nicander* to *Philip*, and *Dicaearchus*, the Prætors Brother, to *Antiochus*. *Damocritus* told the *Lacedemonian* Tyrant, that now his maritime Cities were taken away, his Government was quite enfeebled; it being thence that he had all his Souldiers, Ships and Seamen: so that he, shut up almost within his own Walls, saw the *Achæans* lording it over *Peloponnesus*; being never like to have an opportunity of recovering his own again if he omitted that which then was in his hands. That there was no *Roman* Army in *Greece*, nor would the *Romans* think that upon the account of *Gythium* or other maritime *Laconians* they had reason sufficient to transmit their Legions again into *Greece*. These things were said to irritate the Tyrants mind; that, seeing *Antiochus* was come over into *Greece*, through his being conscious of having violated all Friendship with the *Romans* by injuring their Allies, he might join with *Antiochus*. *Nicander* also incited *Philip* with such another Speech. For which too he had more matter to work upon, the King being degraded from a much higher pitch of honour than the Tyrant was, and deprived of much more considerable possissions. Besides which, the ancient fame of the Kings of *Macedonia*, and their over-running of the whole World was placed to the account of the Victories of that Family. And then, that he gave him advice which was safe, both in the attempt and event too. For as he did not perswade *Philip* to stir, before *Antiochus* with his Army came over into *Greece*, so how could the *Romans* make any resistance against him, who without *Antiochus* held out in a War so long against both *Romans* and *Ætolians*, now that *Antiochus* should be join'd with him, and the *Ætolians* become his Allies, who would prove worse Enemies than the *Romans*? Adding, about the General *Annibal*, who was born an Enemy to the *Romans*, and kill'd more of their Captains and Souldiers than were still alive. Thus spake *Nicander* to *Philip*; whilst *Dicaearchus* said other things to *Antiochus*; and first of all, that the booty taken from *Philip* was the *Romans*, but the Victory the *Ætolians*; nor did any body but the *Ætolians* make way for the *Romans* to come into *Greece*, supplying at the same time strength to conquer. Then, how great an Army of Horse and Foot they would raise to assist *Antiochus* in the War; as also what places they would find him for his Land Forces, and what Ports for his maritime. Then of *Philip* and *Nabis* he told a bold untruth; that both of them were ready to renew their Wars; and would be glad to take the first opportunity of recovering what they had lost in War. Thus through the whole World at the same time did the *Ætolians* endeavour to raise a War against the *Romans*: though the Kings were either not at all, or very little moved at what they said.

But *Nabis* sent immediately into all the maritime Towns thereabout certain persons to stir up Seditions among the People, and brought over, by presents, some of the Nobility to his side; killing others who pertinaciously continu'd in the *Roman* Alliance. The *Achæans* had the care of defending all the maritime *Laconians* committed to them by *T. Quintius*. Wherefore they presently sent not only Embassadors to the Tyrant, to admonish him of his League with the *Romans*, and to warn him not to disturb that Peace which he so earnestly had desired: but aid likewise to *Gythium*, which was at this time attack'd by the Tyrant, and other Embassadors to *Rome* too, to tell what they had done. King *Antiochus* that Winter, having, at *Raphia* in *Phœnicia*, given his Daughter in Marriage to *Ptolomy* King of *Ægypt*; went back to *Antioch*, and then through *Cilicia*, over the Mountain *Taurus*, at the latter end of Winter, came to *Ephesus*. From whence in the beginning of the Spring, having sent his Son *Antiochus* into *Syria* to secure the utmost parts of his Kingdom, lest there should be any disturbance behind him when he himself was absent, he march'd with all his Land Forces to oppose the *Pisidians*, that dwell about *Selga*. At that time the *Roman* Embassadors, *P. Sulpicius*, and *P. Villius*, who were sent (as aforesaid) to *Antiochus*, being order'd to go first to *Eumenes*, came to *Elea*, from whence they went up to *Pergamus*, where the Kings Palace was. *Eumenes* was very desirous of a War against *Antiochus*; believing that he, if there were Peace, being a King so much more puissant would be an ill Neighbour, but, if there were a War raised, would be no more equal to the *Romans* than *Philip* had been: by which means he would either be utterly destroy'd, or, if they granted him a Peace, when he was conquer'd, that many things which were taken from him would fall to *Eumenes's* share: so as that from that time forward he should be able with ease to defend himself from him without any help from the *Romans*. Nay though any ill should befall him, that it was better to undergo any misfortune in alliance with the *Romans*, than either alone to suffer the Tyranny of *Antiochus*; or refusing it to be forced by main strength of Arms. For these reasons, as far as his authority and advice would go with them, he incited the *Romans* to a War.

*Sulpicius* being sick staid at *Pergamus*; but *Villius*, having heard at *Pisidia* that the King was engaged in a War, went to *Ephesus*; where staying several Days, he did what he could to have frequent conference with *Annibal* who then chanced to be there; not only to find, if possibly he could, his inclinations, but to remove that fear which he was in of danger from the *Romans*. By which means though he obtained nothing else, yet it followed, as it were, of its own accord, and as if it had been industriously sought after, that *Annibal* for that reason became less esteemed, in all points more suspected by the King. *Claudius*, relying upon the *Greek* Annals written by *Acilius*, says, that *P. Africanus*, being concerned in that Embassy,



bally, had some discourse at Ephesus with Annibal. And he gives you one instance too of what they said, which was, that when Africanus asked Annibal, whom he thought to have been the greatest General in the whole World? that he answer'd, Alexander King of Macedon; for that with a small number of Men he had routed innumerable Armies, and because he had overrun the utmost Borders of the East, which even to see exceeds all humane hopes. Whereupon when he asked him again, whom he placed second? that he said Pyrrhus: for he first taught Men how to encamp; besides, that no Man took places with more Art, or better dispos'd of his Garrisons; wherewithal he had such a knack of winning upon Mens affections, that the Italian Nations were more willing to submit to his Government though a foreign Prince, than that of the Roman People, who had so long been Lords of that Country. After which, when Africanus went on and asked him, whom he look'd upon as the third? that he said, without all doubt, himself. And with that Scipio laugh'd and asked him, what wouldst thou say if thou hadst overcome me too? Why then, said he, I should think my self beyond not only Alexander and Pyrrhus, but all other Generals also. In which case Scipio provoked him to an answer, that was perplexed with Punick artifice and a kind of flattery; for that Scipio had separated himself from all the crowd of Generals as a Person inestimable.

XV. Villius went on from Ephesus to Apamea, where Antiochus also, having heard of the arrival of the Roman Embassadors, met him, and had almost such another debate as that was at Rome between Quintius and the Kings Embassadors. But the news of his Son Antiochus's Death, who, I told you even now, was sent into Syria, determined the Conference. For there was great sorrow in the Court, and every body was much concern'd for the loss of that Youth, he having given such a specimen of himself, that if he had lived, it was plainly seen he would have been a great and a just King. By how much the dearer therefore he was to all People, so much the more suspected was his Death, viz. that his Father, believing him to be an heavy Successour to tread upon the heels of his Old Age, took him off with Poyson by the help of certain Eunuchs, who are entertained by Kings to do such pieces of service. They also add this as another cause of that clandestine exploit; that whereas he had given his Son Seleucus Lyfimachia, he had ne'r another feat like that to give Antiochus, so as to send him too under pretence of honour a great way from him. Yet there was a general sorrow for some Days all over the Court; and therefore the Roman Embassador, lest he might offend them by staying there at such an unseasonable time, went to Pergamus, whilst the King, omitting the War which he had begun, return'd to Ephesus. There upon the account of their King being in mourning, the Palace was shut up, and the King had a private consultation with one Minio who was his most familiar friend. Minio being ignorant of all foreign Affairs, and valuing the Kings strength by what he did in Syria or Asia, believ'd that Antiochus was not only superiour to him in a just cause (for that the Romans demanded nothing that was reasonable) but that he would likewise overcome him in War. Minio therefore (though the King was not willing to come to a debate with the Embassadors, as having found it to no purpose before, or being confounded with his late grief) declar'd that he would say somewhat that should be for the Kings advantage, and prevailed to have the Embassadors sent for from Pergamus.

XVI. Sulpicius was now recovered of his sickness, so they came both to Ephesus; where the King being excused by Minio, the thing began to be debated in his absence; and Minio in an Oration which he had got ready before-hand, said thus, I see you Romans make use of the specious title of being deliverers of Greece, but your actions do not agree with your words; in that you set one Law to Antiochus, and use another your selves. For how are the Smyrneans and the Lampfacenes more Greeks than the Neopolitans, the Rhegines or the Tarentines, from whom you exact a stipend [for your Souldiers] and Ships according to the League made between you? Why do you send a Prætor every year with a Commission, Rods and Axes to Syracuse, and into the other Grecian Cities of Sicily? You have nothing else to say for your selves, but that, when you had conquer'd them, you imposed upon them such and such Laws. Pray accept of the same reason from Antiochus concerning Smyrna, Lampfacus, and the Cities that are in Ionia or Æolis. He would fain have them (since they were conquer'd in War by his Ancestors, and made stipendiary or tributary) reduced to their ancient constitution. Wherefore to these things I would have him answer'd, if you dispute upon equal terms, and the cause of the War be not inquir'd after. To which Sulpicius reply'd; Antiochus, said he, did very modestly, who if what was said would be no advantage to him, chose rather to have any body else say it than himself. For what likeness is there between the cases of those Cities which you have compar'd? From the Rhegines, Neapolitans and Tarentines ever since they came into our hands, we exact of them what by League they owe us according to one perpetual tenour of Law which has been always used. Now can you say, that as those people have not broke their League, either by themselves or any other, so the Cities of Asia, ever since they first became subject to Antiochus's Ancestors, have continu'd in the perpetual possession of their Kingdom? or that some of them were not under Philip, others under Ptolomy, and that others for many years, no body questioning their rights, enjoy'd their liberty? For if, because they once were Slaves when press'd to it by the iniquity of the times, you thence conclude it lawful to make them so still, what have we done in delivering Greece from Philip? his Posterity may as well pre-

tend

send a title to Corinth, Chalcis, Demetrias, and all the whole Country of Thessaly. But why do I plead the cause of the Cities, which it is more reasonable they themselves should do before Us and the King himself.

Then he order'd the Embassadors of the several Cities to be call'd in, being prepar'd and instructed before hand by Eumenes; who thought whatever strength Antiochus lost each of them brought in sometimes their complaints, and sometimes their demands, mixing just actions and unjust all together, from a debate they fell to quarrelling. By which means having neither remitted; nor obtain'd any thing, the Embassadors return'd to Rome as little satisfied in all points as they came thither. The King, when they were gone, held a Council concerning a Roman War: in which one was fiercer than another: because by how much the sharper any one had been in speaking against the Romans, so much the greater hopes he had of [the Kings] favour. One inveigh'd against the pride of their demands, as if they would have imposed Laws, not only upon Nabis, whom they had conquer'd, but upon Antiochus too, the greatest King in all Asia: and yet they had given Nabis his Dominion again over his Country, and the same Country of Lacedæmon [to govern.] That it would seem dishonourable to Antiochus, if Smyrna and Lampfacus should do what was required of them. Others said, That those Cities were small and inconsiderable causes of a War to so great a King: but that men began from trivial things to gain far greater: unless they thought that the Persians, when they demanded Water and Earth from the Lacedæmonians, wanted a clod of Earth and a draught of Water. Now the Romans took the same method in treating for two Cities [in prospect] that the other Cities also, as soon as those two had shook off the Yoke, would revolt to the people who were the general deliverers [of Greece.] For though liberty be not better than slavery, yet 'tis more pleasant than any present condition for a man to be in hopes of changing his circumstances.

XVIII. Alexander the Acarnanian was in the Council, who had been formerly Philips Friend, but of late having left him had follow'd the more opulent Court of Antiochus: and having good knowledge in the affairs of Greece, nor being altogether ignorant of the Roman State, was so beloved by the King, that he was at all his very Cabinet Councils. He, as though they were consulting, not whether they should have a War, or no, but where and how they should manage it, said, he did not at all question their getting the Victory, if the King went over into Europe, and made some part of Greece the seat of the War. That he would now first find the Ætolians, who lived in the very heart of Greece, in Arms; and ready to be the Fortorn hope in all the sharpest adventures of War. That in the two Horns, as it were, of Greece, he would have Nabis, who would put all Peloponnesus into a commotion, in order to regain the City of Argus, with the maritime Cities, from which the Romans had expelled him, confining his power to the Walls of Lacedæmon: and from Macedonia, that Philip, as soon as he heard the signal given, would put himself in Arms. That he knew his Spirit and his very Soul; being well assur'd, that he, like savage Beasts, which are kept up in Dens or Toils, had for a long time conceiv'd great indignation in his Breast. That he likewise remembred how often he had used in the War to beseech all the Gods, that they would make Antiochus his assistant. Of which desire when he should now be possess'd, that he would make no delay in renewing the War. That the only way was not to defer things, or be slow: for the Victory depended upon their pre-possessing themselves of opportune places, and getting Allies. That Annibal also ought to be sent forthwith into Africa, to take the Romans off [the prosecution of their designs.]

XIX. Annibal was not admitted into the Council, as being suspected by the King, by reason of his Conferences with Villius; nor was he afterward in any esteem there. Which disgrace he at first took patiently, though some time after supposing it to be better for him not only to inquire into the reason of that sudden strangeness, but also to clear himself in due time, having barely ask'd and heard the reason of the [Kings] anger to him, said, My Father Amilcar, Antiochus! took me to the Altar, when I was yet a Child, and oblig'd me by an Oath (as he was sacrificing) never to be Friends with the Roman People. Under which Oath I was a Souldier for thirty six years; this brought me out of my Country in a time of Peace: this made me come, like a person banish'd, from my own Country to their Court; and under the conduct of this, if you disappoint my hopes, wherever I know that there is strength or arms, I'll find them, though I seek the whole World over for Enemies to the Romans. Wherefore if any of your Favourites think to make themselves greater by lessening of me, let them invent some other way of accomplishing their designs. For I both hate and am hated by the Romans: of the truth wherof I call my Father Amilcar and the Gods to witness. When therefore you think of a War against the Romans, take Annibal for one of your best Friends. But if any thing make you incline toward Peace, for that seek some body else to consult with. This Speech did not only move the King, but also reconciled him to Annibal: and the Council was dissolv'd with this resolution, that there should be a War.

XX. At Rome indeed they intended to make Antiochus their Enemy by their common Discourse, but they prepared nothing as yet in order to it, except animosity. Both the Consuls had the Province of Italy assign'd to them: so as that they should agree between themselves, or cast Lots, which of them should hold the [Consular] Assembly for that year. And that he, to whom that care did not belong, should be ready upon occasion to lead the Legions out

of

of Italy. The same Consul was permitted to raise two new Legions, twenty thousand Allies and Latines, and nine hundred Horse. To the other Consul there were Decreed the two Legions, which *L. Cornelius* had when he was Consul the Year before, with fifteen thousand Foot, and five hundred Horse, of Allies and Latines out of the same Army. *Q. Minucius* was continu'd in Commission with the Army that he had in *Liguria*. To which there were added, as a supply, four thousand Roman Foot, and a hundred and fifty Horse, then newly to be raised, besides five thousand Foot and a hundred Horse exacted [as their Quota] from the Allies. *Cn. Domitius* had a Province out of Italy where the Senate had determin'd, and *L. Quintius* Gaul. Then the Prætorian Assembly was held: after which the Prætors chose their Provinces. *M. Fulvius* had that of the City, and *L. Scribonius Libo* the Foreign jurisdiction: *L. Valerius Tappus* Sicily, *Q. Salonius Sarra* Sardinia, *M. Babius Tamphilus* the hither Spain, and *A. Atilius Serranus* the farther. But these two last had, first by an Order of Senate, and after by another of the Commons, their Provinces chang'd: *Atilius* being to Command the Fleet and *Macedonia*, and *Babius* the *Bruttii*. *Flaminius* and *Fulvius* were continu'd in Commission in the Spains. *Babius Tamphilus* had two Legions assign'd him (which the year before belong'd to the City) to go into the Country of the *Bruttii*, with fifteen thousand Foot, and five hundred Horse, to be raised out of the Allies. *Atilius* was order'd to build thirty Ships of five Banks of Oars a piece, and to hale the old ones out of the Docks, if there were any fit for service, and to raise Seamen. The Consuls also were Commanded to give him two thousand Allies and Latines, and a thousand Roman Foot. So these two Prætors and two Armies, by Land as well as by Sea, were reported to make preparations against *Nabis*, who was now openly attacking the Allies of the Roman People. But the Embassadors sent to *Antiochus* were every day expected: before whose return, the Senate had forbidden the Consul *Cn. Domitius* to depart the City. The Prætors *Fulvius* and *Scribonius*, whose Province it was to regulate all affairs at Rome, were employ'd to provide an hundred and five Bank'd Ships, besides the Fleet that *Atilius* was to Command.

XXI. Now before the Consul and the Prætors went to their several Provinces, there was a Supplication appointed upon the Account of several Prodigies, [which were these.] It was reported from Picenum, that a Goat brought forth six Kids at one birth; and that at Arretium there was a Boy born with one hand: that at Amiternum it rained Earth: that at Formiæ the Gate and Wall was burnt by lightning: and (which was the most frightful of them all) that an Oxe belonging to the Consul *Cn. Domitius* spake, and said, *Roma Cave Tibi, i. e. Rome have a care of thy self.* For the other Prodigies therefore Supplication was made; but the Soothsayers order'd the Oxe to be kept with great care. Then also the Tiber, overflowing with more violence than before, came into the City and overthrew two Bridges, with many Houses near the Gate *Flumentana*. A vast Stone, which was removed either by storms or an Earthquake, so weak, that it could not otherwise be perceiv'd, fell out of the Capitol into the *Vicus Jugarius* [a street so called, because the Altar of *Juno Juges* [the Goddess of Marriage which is *jugum*, a Yoke] stood in it] and kill'd a great many people. In the Fields that were all under water the Cattle were carried away, and a great deal of mischief done to the Villages. Before *L. Quintius* the Consul came into his Province, *Q. Minucius* fought a pitch'd Battle with the *Ligurians* near *Pisa*: in which he slew nine thousand of the Enemies; driving the rest all into their Camp, which till night was attack'd and defended with great vehemence. In the night the *Ligurians* went privately out; and in the Morning, at break of day, the Romans enter'd their empty Camp: where they found but a small booty, because they ever and anon sent the spoils, which they had taken out of the Fields, home to their own Houses. *Minucius* from that time gave the Enemy no respite; but going out of the *Pisane* Territories into *Liguria* destroy'd their Castles and Towns by Fire and Sword: and there the Souldiers were loaded with *Etrurian* booty, which was sent thither by the Pillagers.

XXII. About that time the Embassadors return'd from the Kings to Rome. Who having brought with them nothing, that was a sufficient ground for expediting of a War, except against the *Lacedemonian* Tyrant; (who as the *Achean* Embassadors likewise complain'd, infested the Sea-Coast belonging to the *Laconians*, contrary to the League) *Atilius* the Prætor was sent into Greece with a Fleet to defend the Allies. Then the Consuls, seeing that there was no present fear of *Antiochus*, were both order'd to go into their Provinces. *Domitius* came the next way from *Ariminum*, and *Quintius* through *Liguria* into the Country of the *Boii*; where the Armies belonging to the two Consuls, going several wayes, made great havock of the Enemies Country. Thereupon first some few of their Horsemen with their chief Officers, and, after them, their whole Senate (yea at last, all persons of any Fortune or dignity to the number of fifteen hundred) came over to the Consuls. In both the Spains also, that year, all things went very well. For not only *C. Flaminius* took the Town of *Libitabrum*, which was well fortified and very rich, with Engines made of Hurdles and Row-Hides [that he planted against it] and their petit King *Corribilo* Prisoner; but *M. Fulvius* also the Pro-Consul fought two prosperous Battles with two Armies of the Enemies; and possess'd himself, by force, of two Spanish Towns call'd *Vesclia* and *Holo*, with many Castles, though

though some surrender'd themselves voluntarily to him. Then going forward into the *Ore-tane* Confines, where he took two Towns, call'd *Noliba* and *Cusibis*, he went on to the River *Tagus*: near which there was a City named *Toletum*, small but well situated for defence. When he attack'd that place a great Army of the *Vettones* came in to assist the *Toletans*: With whom he fought a pitch'd Battle very successfully; and having routed the *Vettones* took *Toletum* with works.

But at that time those Wars that were then in hand gave the Senate less trouble than the expectation of a War that was not yet begun with *Antiochus*. For though they had sent Embassadors who made a diligent inquiry into the state of all affairs, yet there arose vain reports without any Authors for them, which adulterated the truth with many falsehoods. Among which it was told for one, that when *Antiochus* was come into *Ætolia*, he would send a Fleet immediately into Sicily. Wherefore the Senate, though they had sent the Prætor *Atilius* with a Navy into Greece; yet because it was necessary to have not only Forces, but authority also to keep up the spirits of their Allies, they sent *T. Quintius* and *C. Octavius*, *Cn. Servilius*, and *P. Villius* Embassadors into Greece; decreeing, that *M. Babius* should carry the Legions out of the *Bruttian* Territories to *Tarentum* and *Brundisium*, that, from thence, if occasion were, he might cross over into *Macedonia*: and that *M. Fulvius* the Prætor should send a Fleet of thirty Ships to defend the Coast of Sicily, of which he that conducted them thither should be Admiral (and that was *L. Oppius Salinator*, who the year before had been *Ædile* of the people) and that the same Prætor should write to his Colleague *L. Valerius*, that there was some danger; lest the Fleet of King *Antiochus* might come over out of *Ætolia* into Sicily: wherefore the Senate thought fit, that besides the Army which he already had, he should raise another of tumultuary Souldiers to the number of twelve thousand Foot, and four hundred Horse: to secure the Sea Coast of that Province which lay toward Greece. Now the Prætor did not make that Levy out of Sicily only, but the adjacent Islands also: and fortified all the maritime Towns that stand to Greece ward with Garisons. There was also an addition made to the former rumours by the arrival of *Attalus*, Brother to *Eumenes*, who brought word; that King *Antiochus* was come with an Army over the *Hellepont*: and that the *Ætolians* so prepared themselves as to be in Arms against his arrival. Whereupon there were thanks paid to *Eumenes* who was absent, as well as to *Attalus* who was present: for whom they order'd an House rent free, [at publick Shows or Playes] and splendid Entertainment, with presents of two Horses with Armour accordingly, silver Vessels of a hundred, and golden ones of twenty pound weight.

When several Messengers, one after another, brought news, that the War was now at hand, they thought it concern'd them, as soon as they could, to choose new Consuls. Whereupon an order of Senate was made, that *M. Fulvius* the Prætor should send a letter forthwith to the Consul, to let him understand that the Senate would have him deliver up the Province and the Army to his Lieutenants and return to Rome; and upon the Road to send an Edict before him, to give notice of the Assembly for choosing of Consuls. The Consul obeyed this letter, and having sent an Edict before him, came to Rome. That Year also there was great canvassing, three Patricians standing for the same place, whose names were *P. Cornelius Scipio* Son of *Cneius* (who the Year before had been repulsed) *L. Cornelius Scipio*, and *Cn. Manlius Volscus*. The Consulate was bestowed on *P. Scipio*, that it might appear the honour was only suspended, and not denied to such a Man as he was) whose Colleague was a Plebeian call'd *Manius Acilius Glabrio*. The next Day there were chosen for Prætors, *L. Æmilius Paulus*, *M. Æmilius Lepidus*, *M. Junius Brutus*, *A. Cornelius Mammula*, *C. Livius*, and *L. Oppius*, both of them fir-named *Salinator*. This was the same *Oppius* that had conducted the Fleet into Sicily. Now in the mean time whilst the new Magistrates were casting Lots for their Provinces, *M. Babius* was ordered to go over from *Brundisium* with all his Forces into *Epirus*, and keep them about *Apollonia*; *M. Fulvius*, the City Prætor, being employ'd to build fifty new five bank'd Ships or Gallies.

XXV. Thus did the Roman People prepare themselves for all the attempts of *Antiochus*. Nor did *Nabis* now defer the War, but with all the force he had attack'd *Gythium*; and pillaged all the Country of *Achaia* for sending aid to the Besieged. The *Achaans* for all that durst not meddle in the War before their Embassadors were come back from Rome, that they might know what the Senates pleasure was: but after the Embassadors were return'd, they not only summon'd a Council to meet at *Sicyon*, but sent Embassadors to *T. Quintius* for his advice. In the Council they were all inclin'd to make a War; though a Letter that came from *T. Quintius* put some stop to it; in which he told them, that he would have them stay for the Prætor, and the Roman Fleet. Now though some of the Nobility continu'd of the same opinion, and others thought it best to make use of his advice, whom they had consulted in the affair, the greatest number expected *Philopemenes* opinion, who at that time was Prætor, and excell'd all men of that age in prudence as well as authority. He therefore having first told them, it was a good custom among the *Achaans*, that the Prætor, when he consulted about a War, should not give his opinion in the case; but that they should resolve as soon as possible of what they pleas'd, their Prætor would put their Decrees in Execution with integrity and care; and endeavour, as far as lay within the power of humane industry, that they should not repent ei-

ther of Peace or War. This Speech of his conduced more to the inciting of them to a War, than if by direct perswasion he had shewn his desire of managing their business. Thereupon by unanimous consent they resolv'd upon a War; leaving the time and method of carrying it on wholly to the Prætor. Philopæmen (besides that it was Quintus's advice to them) himself also thought fit to expect the Roman Fleet, which might defend Gythium toward the Sea: but fearing lest the thing would not admit of delay, nor that Gythium only, but the Forces also sent to secure that City, would be lost, fitted out the Ships belonging to the Achæans.

XXVI. The Tyrant also had gotten a small Fleet (to hinder any aids that might be sent in by Sea to the besieged) of three men of War with some Barks and long Gallies; having deliver'd his old Fleet, according to contract, up to the Romans. Now to try the agility of these new Ships, and that all things might be ready for an Engagement at the same time, he made them put forth to Sea, where he every day exercised the Rowers and the Souldiers with the imitation of a Sea-fight; supposing that the hopes of the Siege depended upon his intercepting the maritime succours. The Prætor of the Achæans, as he was equal to any of the famous Generals [that ever were] in the experimental part as well as the knowledge of Land fights, so in Naval affairs was very unskilful; being an Arcadian, that lived in an Inland Country, and ignorant of all Foreign matters, save that he had been a Souldier, and Commanded the Auxiliaries in Crete. Now there was an old Gally of four Banks, that had been taken eighty years before, as it brought Craterus's Wife Nicaea from Naupactum to Corinth; with the fame of which Ship he being taken (for it had been a signal Vessel formerly in the Kings Fleet) order'd it to be brought down from Egium, though it were very rotten and almost ready to fall in pieces with age. This therefore being at that time the Admirals Ship, and riding before all the rest of the Fleet, as Tiso of Patra who was Admiral sailed in her, the Laconian Ships from Gythium met them: and upon its first bearing up (being an old Vessel that was all over leaky) with a new, strong Ship, it was split, and all the men in her taken. Thereupon the rest of the Fleet (as fast as their Oars would give them leave) seeing the Admirals Ship lost, ran away. Philopæmen himself was in a small Scout-ship; nor did he stop in his flight till he came to Patra. But that accident did not at all dishearten him who was a military man and had gone through a great many misfortunes; but on the contrary, he said, that if he had offended in Sea affairs, of which he was ignorant, he had the more hopes of succeeding in those things which he was well acquainted with, and therefore would take care to make that but a short-lived joy to the Tyrant.

XXVII. Nabis being not only proud of his good fortune, but also taking it for granted that there would be no danger now from the Sea, had a mind with Guards to block up all the Land Avenues too. Thereupon drawing a third part of his Forces from the Siege of Gythium he Encamp'd at Pleia, which lies above Lenca and Acra, where he thought the Enemies Army would make their approaches. Now seeing he was posted there, where some few of his men having Tents, the common fort had made themselves Huts of Reeds bound together with green boughs that made them shady, Philopæmen, before he came in sight of the Foe, resolv'd to set upon him at unawares with an unexpected kind of an attack. He got together several small Vessels into a private Harbour in the Argive Dominions: into which he put some of his nimblest Souldiers, most of them with little Shields, Slings, Darts and other sorts of Light-Armour. Then coasting along the shore, when he came to a Promontory near the Enemies Camp, he landed, and going through places that he knew, arrived in the night time at Pleia: where finding the Sentinels all asleep, as being in no fear of any approaching danger, he set fire to their Huts all round the Camp. By which means many of them were consumed before they were sensible that the Enemy was come; nor could those that knew it lend them any assistance; so that all was destroy'd with Fire and Sword; save that some few of them escaped out of such calamitous circumstances into their grand Camp at Gythium. When Philopæmen had thus surpriz'd and routed the Enemy, he march'd forthwith to plunder Tripolis in that part of Laconia, which lies next to Megalopolis: from whence having driven away a great number of men as well as Cattle he departed before the Tyrant could send the Country any relief. Then mustering up all his Army at Tegea, and having summon'd a Council there of Achæans and their Allies (at which there were all the greatest men of Epirus and Acarnania) he resolv'd, seeing that as his own men were well recover'd from the disgrace of their maritime misfortune, so the Enemy were in a consternation, to march to Lacedæmon, supposing that to be the only way to draw the Enemy from the Siege of Gythium. First therefore he Encamp'd at Caria, in the Enemies Country, the same day that Gythium was taken: of which Philopæmen being ignorant removed his Camp forward to Barbosthene, a Mountain ten thousand paces from Lacedæmon. Nabis also, having taken Gythium, march'd thence with the nimblest part of his Forces, and passing by Lacedæmon with all speed possess'd himself of Pyrrhus's Camp, as they call it, being the place which he believ'd the Achæans were bound for. Then he met with the Enemy; who took up in length, by reason of the narrowness of the way, almost five thousand paces. The Horse and more particularly a party of the Auxiliaries brought up the Reer, because Philopæmen thought the Tyrant would attack his men behind with the mercenary Souldiers, in whom

whom he had repos'd the greatest confidence. But two unlucky accidents at the same time surpriz'd him: the one, that the place he was going to was taken up before; and the other, that he saw the Enemy had met the Front of his Army; where, since he was to pass through rough places, he perceiv'd he could not make way without the help of Light-Armour.

Now Philopæmen was an extraordinarily cunning and experienced Person in leading an Army, and taking of places; nor had used himself to it in times of War only, but in Peace also. For when he was going any way, and came to a difficult narrow pass, he viewed the situation of the place quite round, and, when alone, considered with himself, as, if he had any Company, he ask'd them, *If the Enemy should appear in that place, and attack him before, on this or that side, or behind, what they could best do? for they might meet him in Battalia, or they might come in disorder, and in such a posture as the way would admit of.* After which, he went on thinking or asking, *what place he himself should take; how many Soldiers, or what sort of Arms (for there was a great deal of difference in such cases) he should make use of, and how he should dispose of his Carriages, Baggage, and unarm'd men. With how great and what kind of guard he should secure them; and whether it were better to go on to the place he design'd for, or return thither from whence he came. So likewise what place he should take to Encamp in; how much of it he should fortify; where it was most convenient to water; where he should have supplies of Forage and Wood: which was the securest way for him to march the next day, and in what form he should put his Army.* With these cares and thoughts he had so exercised his mind even from his youth, that nothing in such cases was new to him. At that time therefore he first drew up his men into a Body; sending the Cretan Auxiliaries, and those whom they called the Tarentine Horse, with each of them two Horses, into the Front; and bidding the other Horse follow after, till he came and posted himself upon a Rock, above a certain Brook where they might water. There gathering together all his Carriages, and the whole crowds of unarm'd persons that attended upon the Army, he planted them round about the Souldiers, and, as far as the situation of the place requir'd it, fortified his Camp. It was an hard matter to set up Tents in such rough places, and where the ground was so uneven. The Enemy were five hundred paces from him; both sides watering with a guard of Light-Armour, out of the same River: but before they could come to an Engagement (as is usual when Camps are so near) the night interven'd. The next day they saw it necessary for them to fight for their Waterers about the River: he therefore that night planted as many Shield-men, as the place would hold, in a Vale out of the Enemies fight.

XXIX. The next Morning the Cretan Light-Armour and the Tarentine Horse began the fight above the Brook, Letemastus a Cretan, being Commander of his own Country-men, and Lycortas of Megalopolis over the Horse. The Enemies Auxiliaries were likewise Cretans, and the same sort of Horsemen call'd Tarentines were the guard to their Waterers. The fight was for some time dubious, their men being of the same kind on both sides, and their Arms alike. But anon though the Tyrants Auxiliaries were more numerous, because Philopæmen had given order to his chief Officers, *that when they had made some small resistance they should retire and draw the Foe to the place where his Ambuscade lay,* the Lacedæmonians follow'd the Achæans so hastily through the Vale, that many of them were wounded and kill'd before they saw the hidden Enemy. The Shieldmen fate, as much as the breadth of the Vale would permit, in such a posture; that they could easily receive their flying men into the spaces between their ranks. Which when they had done, they themselves rose up together entire and fresh all in Battalia, and set upon the Enemy all in disorder, in an hurry, and tired with the fatigue of action as well as fainty by reason of their Wounds. Nor was the Victory doubtful; for the Tyrants men immediately turn'd their backs, and were driven into their Camp much faster than they had pursu'd the Achæans; many of them being kill'd and taken by the way. They had been scared in the Camp too, had not Philopæmen order'd his men to found a Retreat: fearing the rough places (that which way soever in that hurry he went, were very disadvantageous to him) much more than the Foe. Then guessing by the Fortune of the fight, as well as the general disposition, in what a fright he at that time was, he sent one of his Auxiliaries under the notion of a Renegado to him, to tell him for a certain truth; *that the Achæans intended to march forward next day as far as the River Eurotas, which runs just by the very Walls, to intercept his passage: that the Tyrant might neither retreat to the City when he pleas'd, nor any provisions be brought thence into the Camp: and likewise to try, if any of the Enemies could be induced to revolt from the Tyrant.* Now the Fugitive did not gain belief so much, as he gave the Tyrant, who was consternated with fear, a plausible reason to desert the Camp. The next day therefore, having order'd Pythagoras with the Auxiliaries and Horse to keep Guard before the mound, he himself as though he would have gone forth with the strength of his Army into the Field, Commanded the Ensigns to be born with speed into the City.

Philopæmen when he saw the Army march so fast along a way so narrow and steep, sent forth all his Horse and Cretan Auxiliaries to attack the station of the Enemies which was before the Camp. Who when they saw the Enemies so near, and themselves deserted by their own party, endeavour'd first to retire into their Camp: but soon after when the whole Army of the Achæans all in Battalia came up, they for fear of being themselves as well as their

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their Camp, all taken, they began to follow their own Army which was gone a little before. Thereupon the Shieldmen of the *Acheans* attack'd and rifled the Camp, whilst the rest went on in pursuit of the Enemy. Their passage was such, as that the Army could hardly go unmolested for fear of the Foe. But as soon as there was an attack made upon their Reer, and a terrible noise behind them was carry'd quite through up to their Front, they all ran, each man for himself, several wayes into the Woods thereabouts; so that in a moment of time the way was hedg'd up with a pile of Arms, and especially with Spears, which falling mostwhit direct, blockt up the pass as with a Bullwark. *Philopæmen*, having order'd the Auxiliaries to follow on as well as they could (for the Horse would not be able well to make their escape) himself led the heavier Souldiers a broader way down to the River *Ennotus*. Where being Encamped a little before Sunset, he staid for the Light armour which he had left to pursue the Enemy: who coming at the first watch and telling him, that the Tyrant with some few attendants was got to the City, but that the rest of his men scatter'd without their Arms all over the Forest, he order'd his men to refresh themselves; whilst himself immediately drew forth out of the other Forces (who, because they came first into the Camp, had eaten and slept) some choice men, that had nothing but their Swords about them, and at two Gate-wayes leading to *Phœra* and *Barboſthenes* set them in Array; supposing the Enemy would come that way. Nor was he deceiv'd in his guess. For the *Lacedæmonians*, as long as there was any day-light, kept themselves in by-wayes through the middle of the Wood. In the Evening, as soon as they saw light in the Enemies Camp, they lay over-against them in obscure places. But when they were got by them, supposing themselves now safe they got down into the more open wayes; where being surpriz'd by the hidden Enemy they were so general kill'd and taken, that scarce a fourth part of their Army escaped. *Philopæmen*, having shut the Tyrant up into the City, spent almost thirty dayes following to plunder the *Laconian* Territories, whence, when he had weaken'd and almost broken the strength of the Tyrant, he return'd home with such applause, that the *Acheans* not only compar'd him to the Roman General in point of honour for what he had done, but, in that which concern'd the *Laconian* War, even prefer'd him.

XXXI.

Whilst the War lasted between the *Acheans* and the Tyrant, the Roman Embassadors went about the Cities belonging to the Allies, for fear, lest the *Ætolians* might have perverted the inclinations of any part thereof toward *Antiochus*, but spent very little time in soliciting the *Acheans*; supposing that because they were Enemies to *Nabis*, they would be faithful enough in all other points. They went first to *Athens*, then to *Chalcis*, and then into *Thessaly*; where having spoken to the *Thessalians* in a full Assembly, they went to *Demetrias*, at which City there was a Council of the *Magnesian*s then summon'd. There it was necessary for them to be somewhat more accurate in what they said; because part of the great men in that place being alienated from the Romans, were wholly devoted to *Antiochus* and the *Ætolians*: for that, when the news came, that *Philips* Son, who was an Hostage, was restor'd to him, and that the Tax impos'd upon him was remitted, it had been said, among other falsties, that the Romans were resolv'd to restore *Demetrias* also. Now to hinder that, *Eurylochus* Prince of the *Magnesian*s, and some others of his Faction, chose rather to make all the innovation they could by the arrival of the *Ætolians* and *Antiochus*. Wherefore with them it behoved the Romans so to Discourse, as that they might not by removing their vain fears diminish *Philips* hopes and make him their Enemy; whose Friendship might be of greater consequence to them than that of the *Magnesian*s. Only this they said; That as all Greece was oblig'd to the Romans for their liberty in general, so more particularly was that City. For in that there was not only a Garrison of the Macedonians, but a Palace built; that their Lord and Master might be always visible before their Eyes. Now all that was done to no end, if the *Ætolians* would bring *Antiochus* into *Philips* Palace, and take a new unknown King instead of an old one; of whom they had experience. They call their chief Magistrate *Magnetarcha* [Governour of the *Magnetas*] who at that time was *Eurylochus*. He therefore relying upon his authority said, He and the *Magnesian*s could not chuse but take notice, what the report was of a design that *Demetrias* should be deliver'd back into the hands of *Philip*. For the prevention whereof, the *Magnetas* ought to endeavour and adventure all they were able. And as he was going on very passionately, forgetting himself, he cast forth these words, That even at that time too *Demetrias* seem'd to be free: but in reality all things were order'd according to the pleasure of the Romans. At which words there was an hum given by the divided multitude, who partly assented, and partly were angry, that he should dare to say so. *Quintius* among the rest was so much enraged, that lifting his hands to Heaven, he invoc'd the Gods for witnesses of the ungrateful and perfidious humour of the *Magnesian*s. Whereupon they were all affrighted; but *Zeno*, one of the chief among them, and a person at that time of great authority, not only for his candid and gentle conversation, but because he had always undoubtedly been of the Roman Party, desir'd of *Quintius* and the other Embassadors, with tears in his Eyes, that they would not lay the madness of one single man to the charge of the whole City: Saying, that every particular person was mad at his own expence. That the *Magnetas* did not owe their liberty only, but even all other things, that were either sacred or dear to mankind, to *Quintius* and the Roman People. That no man could beg any thing of the immortal Gods, which the

the *Magnetas* had not receiv'd from them: and that they would in a mad fit sooner tear their own flesh, than violate their Friendship with the Romans. His Speech was seconded by the Petitions of the whole Assembly.

*Eurylochus* ran out of the Council through by-wayes to the Gate, and thence straight into *Ætolia*. For at this time (and that more and more every day) the *Ætolians* discover'd their intention to revolt: and just then, as it happen'd, the chief of their Nation, called *Thoas*, whom they had sent to *Antiochus*, was come back; having brought along with him *Menippus* in quality of an Embassador from the King. These two, before they had an Audience of the Council, had fill'd all peoples Ears with the news of Land and Naval Forces: that a mighty Army of Horse and Foot were a coming: that there were Elephants sent for out of India: but above all (with which they fann'd the minds of the multitude would be most taken) that there was so much a bringing over, that it would buy the very Romans themselves. It was well known, what that report was like to do in the Council: for the Roman Embassadors were told, not only that they were come, but all their designs. And though the business was almost frustrated, yet *Quintius* thought it would be convenient, that some Embassadors from their Allies should be present at that Council, who might admonish the *Ætolians* of their Alliance with the Romans, and dare to talk their minds freely against the Kings Embassador. The *Athenians* seem'd fittest for that purpose, not only upon the score of their Cities dignity, but their ancient Alliance with the *Ætolians*. *Quintius* therefore desir'd of them, that they would send Embassadors to the *Panætolian* Council [i. e. the General Assembly or Parliament of the *Ætolians*]. First *Thoas* in that Council gave an account of his Embassy; and *Menippus* after him being advanc'd, said, It had been best for all people, who dwell in Greece and Asia, that *Antiochus* could have been concern'd when *Philip* was at his height; for then every man would have had his own, nor would all things have been subjected to the will and power of the Romans. But even yet, said he, if you resolutely bring your designs, which you have begun, to an Issue; *Antiochus* may be able, with the assistance of the Gods and his Allies the *Ætolians*, to restore all Greece, though at present in declining condition, to his former dignity. Now that consists in liberty, which stands upon its own strength, nor dependeth upon the will of another. The *Athenians*, who had leave to speak their minds first after the Kings Embassador, making no mention at all of the King, put the *Ætolians* in mind of their Alliance with the Romans, and *T. Quintius*'s merits toward all Greece [advising them] that they would not rashly destroy it by being too precipitate in their Counsels. [And saying] That hot and bold Counsels were glorious at the first view, difficult in their management, and sad in their event. That the Roman Embassadors, and among them, *E. Quintius* was not far from thence. That therefore whilst all things were entire, they would rather undertake a verbal conflict about those things that were in question, than arm Asia and Europe for a fatal War.

The multitude being greedy of innovation were all for *Antiochus*; and thought the Romans ought not to be so much as admitted into their Council: though the great men (and those the Seniors of them more especially) by their authority prevailed to procure them an Audience. When the *Athenians* had given him account of this Decree, *Quintius* thought fit to go into *Ætolia*; for he thought, that thereby he should either gain somewhat of them, or that all the World would be witness, that the *Ætolians* were the occasion of the War: and that the Romans took up just and almost necessary arms. After he came thither, *Quintius* in the Council beginning from the original of the Alliance between the *Ætolians* and the Romans, and telling how often they had violated the League, discours'd a little of the right of those Cities that were then in debate: but yet that if they thought they had any equity on their side, how much better was it for them to send Embassadors to Rome, whether to dispute, or to Petition the Senate, than for the Roman People to fight with *Antiochus* (whilst the *Ætolians* stood by, like Prize-Masters, and set them on) to the great disturbance of mankind and the ruine of all Greece? Nor would any people be sooner sensible of the mischiefs of that War, than those who were the cause of it. But this the Roman, as though he had prophesied, spok'd to no purpose: and then *Thoas* with the rest of the same Faction, being heard with an universal assent, prevailed, that, without putting off the Council or expecting the Romans departure, a Decree might be made, whereby *Antiochus* should be sent for to deliver Greece, and decide the controversy between the *Ætolians* and the Romans. To this so proud a Decree *Damocritus* their Prætor added an insolent saying of his own too. For when *Quintius* ask'd him for that very Decree, he, not regarding the majesty of the person, said, he had some other thing, which was more urgent at present to dispatch; but he would in a short time give him the Decree and his Answer in Italy at his Camp, which he would pitch upon the Banks of the Tiber: So great a fury at that time possess'd both the *Ætolians* and their Magistrates.

*Quintius* and the Embassadors return'd to *Corinth*. From which time, what ever was said of *Antiochus*, the *Ætolians* were not any way in themselves concern'd, but seem'd only to sit still in expectation of the Kings coming. Now after the departure of the Romans they indeed had no Council of the whole Nation, but consulted among their *Apocleti* (so they call their Privy Council, which consists of certain select men) how they should make innovations in Greece. They all knew, that the chief men in the several Cities, and all the best were of the Roman side, and content with their present condition: but that the multitude and such

whose condition did not suite with their desires, were for having all things quite alter'd. The *Ætolians* therefore resolv'd not only very boldly but even impudently too, to take *Demetrius*, *Chalcis* and *Lacedæmon* in one day: In order whereunto they sent one Nobleman to each of those Cities: *Thoas* to *Chalcis*, *Alexamenus* to *Lacedæmon* and *Diocles* to *Demetrius*: The last of whom *Eurylochus*, who was in banishment, (of whose flight and the cause thereof I told you before) assisted, as having no other hopes, than by that means, to return into his Country. *Eurylochus* in a Letter admonish'd his Relations and Friends, and those that were of the same Faction, to advise his Wife and Children to go into a full Assembly in forbid apparel and the guise of Suppliants, adjuring each man in particular, and all in general, not to suffer an innocent person to spend his age in banishment before he was condemn'd. Whereupon as well honest men were moved with pity, as ill and seditious persons by their hopes of confounding all things in an *Ætolian* tumult: infomuch that every one of them consented to recal him. Having made this preparation, *Diocles* with all his Horse (for then he was a Colonel of Horse) going under a pretence to bring home the banish'd Stranger, and having by travelling both day and night got a great way off, when he was six thousand paces from the City, at break of day, chose out three Troops (commanding the rest of the Horse to follow after) and went before. When he came near to the Gate, he commanded them all to dismount, and lead their Horses by their Bridle-Rains in some disorder, as much like Travellers as they could; that they might seem to be rather his Companions than his Souldiers. Then he left one Troop at the Gate, left the following Horse should be shut out, and in the middle of the City holding *Eurylochus* by the hand (whom many people met and congratulated) led him through the *Forum* [i. e. Market-place] to his own House. Soon after the City was full of Horsemen, and all the opportune places were seized; after which there were Souldiers sent into their several Houses to kill the heads of the contrary Faction.

XXXV. Thus was *Demetrius* subjected to the *Ætolians*. At *Lacedæmon* they could not well force the City, but were fain to take the Tyrant by treachery; who being dejected by the Romans of all his maritime Towns, and shut up then also by the *Acheans* within the Walls of *Lacedæmon*, whoever should first kill him, would be a man of the greatest esteem in all *Lacedæmon*. Now they had a pretence of sending to him, for that he tired them with his importunities, to send him Auxiliaries, he having renew'd the War upon their instigation. Thereupon *Alexamenus* had a thousand Foot and thirty Horse, chosen out of the youth, allotted him, whom the Prætor *Damocritus*, in the Privy-Council of the Nation before-mention'd, told, they must not think that they were sent to the *Achaian War*, or about any other business, that they might each of them in their own opinion devise: but that whatever sudden occasion *Alexamenus* should have, they should be ready to execute his command, though it were surprizing, rash, and bold, with all obedience; and should be as diligent, as though they knew they were sent from home to do nothing but that. With this preparation *Alexamenus* came to the Tyrant, whom he fill'd with hope (as soon as he arriv'd) that *Antiochus* was already come over into Europe, would shortly be in Greece, and fill all the Land as well as Sea with Arms and Men. That the Romans would not now believe they had to do with Philip; that the number of his Foot, and Horse, and Ships could not be told: and that the body of Elephants would beat the Enemy with their very appearance. That the *Ætolians* with their whole Army were ready to come to *Lacedæmon*, when occasion requir'd it: but that they had a mind to shew a good Army to the King at his arrival. That *Nabis* also himself should take care not to let the Forces which he had, lie idle, and grow effeminate at home; but should draw them forth, and make them exercise their Arms, preparing their minds as well as their bodies for the War. For by continual practice the fatigue would be the more easy; yea by the affability and courtesy of a General might be made not altogether unpleasant. Thereupon they were drawn forth in great numbers before the City into a Plain by the River *Eurotas*; the Tyrants Lifeguard standing in the middle, whilst he himself, with three Horsemen at the most, of which *Alexamenus* was most commonly one, rode before the Ensigns, and view'd the utmost Wings [of the Army.] The *Ætolians* were in the right Wing; not only those that had formerly been the Tyrants Auxiliaries, but the thousand also that came along with *Alexamenus*. *Alexamenus* had made it his custom sometimes to ride about with the Tyrant among the ranks; and to tell him what he thought best to be done; and sometimes to ride into the right Wing up to his own men: and then again, as though he had order'd what was necessary to be done, to retreat to the Tyrant again. But upon the day that he had design'd for doing of the fact, when he had rode a little way with the Tyrant, he went to his own Horsemen that were sent from home with him, and told them, Fellow-Souldiers! you must undertake a business, which under my conduct you were commanded forthwith to execute: wherefore prepare your minds and hands, so that none of you be backward to do what you see me do before you. He that delays, and by his own advice obstructs my design, let him know, he shall never return home again. With that they were all affrighted, remembering what a charge they had when they came forth. The Tyrant was coming from the left Wing; when *Alexamenus* commanded his Horsemen to hold down their Spears and look at him, who himself had but just recover'd his resolution, having been confounded with the thoughts of so great an attempt. When therefore the Tyrant drew near, he made at him, and running his Horse quite through knocked the Tyrant off. Thereupon the Horsemen came about him as

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he lay on the ground; and having given his Coat of Mail many a blow to no purpose, at last pierc'd through into his naked Body; so that he died before any relief came from the main Body of the Army.

*Alexamenus* with all his *Ætolians* went forward as fast as he could to seize the Palace. XXXVI. The guard-du-corps, seeing what was done, were all at first in a fright; but when they saw the Army of the *Ætolians* marching off, they ran together to the Tyrants Body which was left upon the place; so that the crowd of Spectators was made up of such as had been the keepers of his Life, and would be the revengers of his Death. Nor would any one have stirred, if they had presently laid down their Arms and call'd the Multitude to an Assembly, where a speech had been made suitable to the occasion, and a good quantity of *Ætolians* kept still in Arms without doing any body any hurt. But, as they needs must, in a design begun by fraud, they did all things to hasten the destruction of them that were actors in it. The General shut up in the Palace spent day and night in searching for the Tyrants Treasure; whilst the *Ætolians*, as though they had taken that City, which they would fain seem to have freed, employed their time in plundering. Whereupon not only the indignity of the thing, but the contempt also, animated the *Lacedæmonians* to assemble. Some said, They ought to turn out the *Ætolians*, and resume their liberty, which though it seem'd to be restored, was only intercepted; and others, that to the end they might have some head to undertake the affair, they ought to choose some one of the Royal Family for a show at least. Now there was a young *Laconian* Lad of that Race, who had been bred up with the Tyrants Children. Him therefore they set upon an Horse, and taking up Arms, kill'd the *Ætolians* that were stragling about the City. Then they went into the Palace, where they slew *Alexamenus*, who with some few others made resistance. The *Ætolians*, who were assembled about *Chalciceos* (a Brazen Temple dedicated to *Minerva*) were kill'd; though some few, throwing down their Arms, fled part to *Tegea*, and part to *Megalopolis*, where being apprehended by the Magistrates, they were sold for slaves.

*Philopemen*, having heard of the Tyrants Death, went to *Lacedæmon*; where finding all things disorder'd with fear, he call'd forth the Nobility, and in a speech, such as *Alexamenus* should have made, united the *Lacedæmonians* in an alliance with the *Acheans*; and that so much the more easily, for that at the same time, as it happened, *A. Atilius* came to *Gythium* with twenty four five-bank'd Gallies. At the same time *Thoas* met with far different success about *Chalcis*, (in what he attempted by means of *Euthymidas* a Nobleman that was banish'd (through the instigation of them that were of the Roman Party, after the arrival of *T. Quintus* and the Embassadors) and *Herodorus* a *Cian* Merchant (who was very powerful at *Chalcis* upon the score of his riches) though he prepared all those for the design that were of *Euthymidas*'s Faction) from that by which *Demetrius* was seiz'd by means of *Eurylochus*. *Euthymidas* came from *Athens* (for there he had lived) first to *Thebes*, and then to *Salganea*. *Herodorus* to *Thromium*, not far from which place, in the *Malian Bay*, he had two Thousand Foot; and *Thoas* two Hundred Horse, with thirty small Merchant Ships; which together with six Hundred Foot *Herodorus* was ordered to carry over into the Island of *Atalanta*; that from thence, when he perceived that the Foot Forces were come near to *Aulis* and *Euripus*, he might cross over to *Chalcis*. But he himself led the rest of the Forces most part of the way in the night time with what speed he could to *Chalcis*.

*Michio* and *Xenocides*, who were then the chief Magistrates at *Chalcis*, since *Euthymidas* was expelled; whether they of themselves suspected any thing, or were told of the business at first, being affrighted, repos'd no hopes in any thing but flying for it. But some time after when their fear was allayed, and they saw that not only their Country, but the Roman Alliance also was betrayed and deserted, took this course. There was by chance at that time an yearly sacrifice performed at *Eretria* in honour of *Diana Amarynthis*; which is celebrated not only by a company of that Countrymen, but the *Carystians* likewise. Thither therefore did they send certain persons to desire the *Eretrians* and *Carystians*, That they would pity their condition as being born in the same Island, and have respect to the Romans alliance, so as not to suffer *Chalcis* to be subjected to the *Ætolians*. That they would have *Eubœa* if once they got *Chalcis*. That the *Macedonians* had been grievous Masters, but the *Ætolians* would be much less tolerable. Their respect to the Romans prevailed most upon the several Cities, who had experienced not only their Valour in War, but their justice and goodness in Victory too. Wherefore what stout young Men they had, each City arm'd and sent; to whom when the Townsmen of *Chalcis* had committed the defence of their Walls, they themselves sent, first an Herald, and then Embassadors to the *Ætolians* to ask them, For what word or action of theirs that Nation who were their Friends and Allies came to oppose them? To which *Thoas* General of the *Ætolians* reply'd, They came not to oppose, but to deliver them from the Romans. That now indeed they were bound with a more splendid, but a much heavier chain, than when they had a Garrison of *Macedonians* in their Castle. To which the *Calcedesians* made answer, That they neither were slaves to any man, nor did they need any Bodies assistance. Thereupon the Embassadors departed from the Conference back to their Camp. *Thoas* and the *Ætolians*, whose hopes consisted in the prospect of surprizing them, being not able by any means

means to engage them in a set Battle, or to take a City so well fortified both by Sea and Land, return'd home. *Euthymidas*, when he heard that the Camp of his Countrymen was at *Salganea*, and that the *Ætolians* were gone, went back himself also from *Thebes* to *Athens*. And *Herodorus*, after he had waited several dayes with all diligence for the signal to no purpose; sent a Scoutship to know the reason of their delay; by which when he was inform'd that the Allies had deserted the Enterprize, he return'd to *Thronium*, from whence he came.

XXXIX. *Quintius* also, when he heard this, coming from *Corinth* by Sea, met King *Eumenes* in the streight call'd *Enripus*, near to *Chalcis*: where he order'd that King *Eumenes* should leave five hundred Souldiers for a Garison at *Chalcis*, and that he himself should go to *Athens*. *Quintius* went to *Demetrius*, whither he design'd, supposing that the delivery of *Chalcis* would be of some consequence with the *Magnetes* toward their renewing an Alliance with the Romans. And that the men of his party might have some kind of a Guard, he wrote to *Eumenes* the Prætor of the *Theffalians*, to arm all the youth, sending *Villius* before to *Demetrius* to try their inclinations, and resolving not to go about the business, unless some part of them were disposed to enter into their former Alliance. *Villius* arrived at the mouth of the Port with a Ship of five Banks of Oars: to which place seeing the whole multitude of the *Magnetes* were flockt out, *Villius* ask'd them, Whether they would rather have him come to them as Friends or as Enemies? To which their chief Magistrate *Eurylochus* reply'd; That he was come to people that were his Friends: but that he must keep out of their Port and let the *Magnetians* be in peace and at liberty, nor pervert the multitude under pretence of a Conference. Thereupon they began to scold, not to discourse: and whilst the Roman blamed the ingrateful *Magnetes*, foretelling what calamities were like to befall them; the multitude bawl'd out, accusing sometimes the Senate and sometimes *Quintius*. By this means *Villius* being frustrated in his design went back to *Quintius*, who, having sent a Messenger to the Prætor to bid him bring back the Forces, himself return'd again by Sea to *Corinth*.

XL. The affairs of Greece thus mixt with those of the Romans have taken me, as it were, out of my way: not because it was worth while to give an account of them, but because they were the occasion of the War with *Antiochus*. When the Consuls were chosen (for from thence I digress'd) *L. Quintius* and *Cn. Domitius* being the men, went into their Provinces: *Quintius* into *Liguria*, and *Domitius* against the *Boii*. The *Boii* were then at quiet; nay their Senate too with their Children, and their chief Officers with their Horfe (in all fifteen hundred) surrender'd themselves to the Consul. The Country of *Liguria* was ravaged far and near by the other Consul, and some Castles taken; out of which they got not only booty of all sorts and Captives, but retrieved some of their Countrymen also and Allies, who had been Slaves to the Enemies. This same year a Colony was carried to *Vibo* by order of the Senate, and consent of the Commons. There went three thousand seven hundred Footmen, and three hundred Horfe, which were carried thither by a Triumvirate, whose names were *Q. Nevius*, *M. Minucius*, and *M. Furius Crassipes*. There were fifteen Acres of Land given to each Footman, and as much again to the Horsemen. This Land lay next to the *Bruttii*, who had taken it from the *Greeks*. In *Rome* at the same time there were two extraordinary dreadful accidents happen'd; the one of some continuance and more flow: for the Earth quaked thirty eight dayes together (which by reason of the general sollicitude and consternation were all kept as Holy-dayes) upon the account whereof there was a supplication made three dayes one after another. That was no vain fear, but the real ruine of many men. A Fire which began in the Beast-Market, and continu'd a night and a day in the Houses that lie toward the *Tiber*, burnt all the Shops there with goods of great value.

XLI. The Year was now almost at an end; when the news of a War with *Antiochus* and the Senates care upon that account was encreased. Wherefore they began to debate the business of the Provinces belonging to the new Magistrates, to the end that all of them might be the more intent [upon the matter in hand.] They decreed, that the Consuls should have *Italy* and what other Region the Senate should order (all people knew that now there was a War against *Antiochus*) for their Provinces. That he, who happen'd to have the latter, should be allowed four thousand Foot of Roman Citizens and three hundred Horfe, six thousand Allies of the Latines, and four hundred Horfe. The present Consul *L. Quintius* was to raise them, that the new Consul might not be hinder'd from going as soon as he had Orders whither the Senate pleas'd. So also concerning the Prætors Provinces it was decreed; that the first Lot should be two jurisdictions, that of the City, and that call'd the Foreign one, between Citizens and Strangers: the second, the *Bruttii*; the third the Navy, to sail whither the Senate pleas'd; the fourth *Sicily*; the fifth *Sardinia*; and the sixth the farther *Spain*: *L. Quintius* the Consul had further Orders also to raise two new Legions of Roman Citizens, with twenty thousand Foot of the Allies and Latines, and eight hundred Horfe. That Army they assign'd to the Prætor who should have the *Bruttii* for his Province. There were two Temples dedicated in the Capitol that year to *Jupiter*: one of which *L. Furius Purpureo*, when he was Prætor in the Gallick War had vow'd to build, and the one when he was Consul. *Q. Marcus Ralla* the Duumvir dedicated them. There were that

that year many severe judgments pass'd against Usurers, upon complaint made by the Curule Ædiles, *M. Tuccius*, and *P. Junius Brutus*, of private persons. Out of their Fines who were condemn'd there was a gilded Chariot set up in the Capitol in *Jupiters* Cell over the roof of the Chappel, and twelve gilt Shields, and the same persons help'd to build the *Portico* without the *Porta Trigemina*, among others that were Artificers in Wood [or among the Carpenters.]

Whilst the Romans were intent upon preparing for a new War, *Antiochus* also did not lie idle. For he was employ'd about three Cities, *Smyrna*, *Alexandria*, *Troas*, and *Lampsacus*: which he neither was able by force till that day to take, nor by any terms to make his Allies: nor was he willing, now that he was going over into *Europe*, to leave them behind him. He was likewise taken up by a deliberation touching *Annibal*: and first, the open deck'd Ships, that he had resolv'd to send with him into *Africa* were stopt: after which the question was put, whether he should be sent at all: especially by *Thoas* the *Ætolian*, who, when all parts of Greece were in an uproar, brought word that *Demetrius* was in their hands: so that with the same lies whereby he had rais'd the minds of many people in Greece, concerning the King whose Forces he so mightily extoll'd and multiply'd, he endeavours to blow up the Kings hopes also: that he was sent for by common consent, and that there would be a concourse to the shore, from whence they should see the Kings Fleet. He also was so bold as to endeavour to change the Kings mind which was now almost resolv'd and fix'd concerning *Annibal*. For he gave it out as his opinion, that neither any part of the Ships ought to be sent away from the Kings Fleet: nor, if they ought, that any man was less fit to command them than *Annibal*. That he was a banish'd person and a Carthaginian, to whom either his own condition, or his natural inclination might daily suggest a thousand new devices. And that the very glory of War, wherewith as with a Dower, *Annibal* was to be engaged, was too much for a Kings Admirer. That the King was the person upon whom all Eyes were fix'd, and ought to be the only General, or Commander himself. That if *Annibal* lost the Fleet or the Army, the damage would be the same as if it were lost by another man: but if they met with success, the glory of it would accrue to *Annibal* and not to *Antiochus*. If they had the good fortune to defeat the Romans through the whole progress of the War; what hopes was there, that *Annibal* would live under the King and be subject to one single person, who could scarce endure his own Country? That he had not so behaved himself from his youth up (having graspt in his hopes and thoughts the Empire of the whole World) as that he might seem willing to bear the impositions of a Master in his old Age. That the King had no necessity to make *Annibal* his General; though he might use him as a Companion and Counsellor in the War. That the small advantage which would arise from a man of his disposition might not be in that case either burdensome or inconvenient; but if he desired to be General of the War, that might prejudice the giver as well as the receiver.

No men are so prone to Envy as they do not make their Family and Fortunes equal to their minds; because they hate virtue and goodness in other people. Thereupon immediately the design of sending *Annibal* (which was the only thing which in the beginning of the War was thought upon to advantage) was laid aside; and then *Antiochus* being animated chiefly by the revolt of *Demetrius* from the Romans to the *Ætolians*, resolv'd no longer to defer his Expedition into Greece. But before he set Sail, he went up from the Sea to *Ilium*, that there he might Sacrifice to *Minerva*. From thence returning to the Fleet, he set out with forty men of War, and sixty open-deck'd, attended by two hundred Ships of burden, with all sorts of Victuals and other Warlike provisions. He first arriv'd at the Island of *Imbrus*; from whence he went over to *Scyathus*. Where having gather'd together the Ships which were cruising to and fro upon those Seas he came first to *Pteleum*, which lies upon the Continent. There *Eurylochus*, Governour of the *Magnetes*, and the *Magnetian* Nobility from *Demetrius* met him: at the sight of whose number he being pleas'd, the next day, put into the Port of that City. Not far from thence he landed his Forces; which consisted of ten thousand Foot, five hundred Horfe, and six Elephants; being scarce enough to seize Greece, if it had been naked, much less to sustain the shock of a Roman War. The *Ætolians* when they heard that *Antiochus* was come to *Demetrius*, appointing a Council decreed to send for him. But the King being already gone from *Demetrius*, because he knew they would make such a Decree, went on to *Phalera* in the *Malian* Bay. From thence, having receiv'd their Decree, he came to *Lamia*; where he was receiv'd with great kindness by the multitude; with applauses and shoutings, and all other acts, whereby the vulgar express their extraordinary joy.

As soon as he came into the Council, being with great difficulty introduced by *Phaneas* the Prætor and the Nobility, after silence was commanded the King began to speak. His first address to them was to excuse himself; that he was come into Greece with Forces so much less than all people hoped for and expected. But indeed that ought to be lookt upon as the greatest argument of extraordinary affection toward them, in that before he was sufficiently prepared in a point, and at a time unseasonable for sailing, he, upon the bare summons of their Embassadors, had readily obey'd, and thought, that when the *Ætolians* had seen him, they would believe all their security depended upon him alone. But he would abundantly satisfy the hopes even of them too, who now seem'd so much disappointed. For as soon as the Spring had made the Sea navigable, he would fill all Greece

with



with Arms, Men and Horses, and all the Sea Coast with Ships; nor would he spare for cost, labour, or danger: till having forced the Roman Yoke off from their Necks, he had made Greece truly free, and in it the Ætolians above all others. That with his Armies there would also come out of Asia provisions of all sorts. But at present the Ætolians ought to take care, that his men had a sufficient supply of Corn, and a tolerable allowance of all other necessaries.

XLV. The King having spoken to this purpose with general applause, departed. After his departure there arose a Debate between two Princes of the Ætolians, Phœneas and Thoas. Phœneas was of opinion that they ought to use Antiochus as a Peace-maker and an Umpire concerning those things that were in controversy between them and the Romans, then as General in the War: saying, That his arrival and his Majesty would conduce more to the making of the Romans modest [in their demands] than his Arms would. For men, to avoid fighting, would voluntarily remit many things that by War and Arms could not be forced from them. To which Thoas answer'd, That Phœneas did not study Peace, but would fain disturb their preparations for the War, to the end that by delays not only the Kings Forces might be enervated, but that the Romans also might have time to make ready. For he had sufficiently experienced that no justice could be obtain'd from the Romans, though they had so often sent Embassadors to Rome, and so often treated with Quintius. Nor should they have desired Antiochus's aid, had they not been destitute of all hopes; who seeing he was now come before they expected, ought not to lie idle; but that they ought rather to beseech the King, that since (which was the greatest thing he could do) he was come to deliver Greece, he would also send for his Land and Sea Forces. That the King, when he was in Arms would surely gain some point: but being unarm'd would not be of any value among the Romans, not only in respect to the Ætolians but even to himself also. This opinion prevailed, and therefore they thought fit to give the King the Title of their General, choosing thirty Noblemen, with whom, when he pleas'd, he might consult. Then the Council being dismiss'd, all the multitude departed into their own Cities.

XLVI. The King, next day, consulted with their Apocleti [Select Counsellors] where he should begin the War: to whom it seem'd best, first to attack Chalcis, which had been lately in vain attempted by the Ætolians: and that there was more need of celerity in that affair than great pains taking or preparation. Wherefore the King with a thousand Foot, which follow'd him from Demetrius, march'd through Phocis: and the Ætolian Princes, having call'd forth some few of their Juniors, met him at Cheronea, and follow'd him with ten men of War. The King having Encamped at Salgamea, himself crossed over the Euripus with the Ætolian Princes, and when he was landed not far from the Port, the Magistrates also of Chalcis and the Nobility came out before the Gate. Some few on both sides came to a Conference, at which the Ætolians very earnestly perswaded the rest; that they would both preserve the Roman Friendship, and make the King too their Friend and Ally. For he came not over into Europe to make a War, but to deliver Greece; and that in reality, not in words and pretence only, as the Romans had done. But that nothing was more advantageous for the Cities of Greece, than to embrace both their Alliances. For by that means it would be always secur'd from the injuries of both, being protected and assisted by the one of them. If they did not make the King their Friend, they might see what they must shortly suffer; seeing the Roman Auxiliaries were a great way off, and Antiochus their Enemy, whose force they could not withstand, before their Gates. To this Miltio one of the Princes said, He wonder'd who it was, that Antiochus came out of his own Kingdom into Europe to deliver. For he knew no City in Greece that either had a Garrison in it, or paid Tribute to the Romans; or being oblig'd by an unjust League was under such conditions as were irksome to it. Wherefore that neither the Chalcidenses wanted any one to assert their liberty, being a free people already, nor any Guard, having Peace and their freedom through the favour of the same Roman People. That they did not despise the friendship of the King nor the Ætolians themselves. But in that they would shew themselves most like Friends, if they went out of the Island, and so quite away. For they resolv'd not only not to receive them within their Walls, but not so much as to enter into any Alliance but by consent of the Romans.

XLVII. These things were told the King at the Fleet, where he then lay; who for that reason at present (as having not strength enough yet come over to do any thing by force) resolv'd to go back to Demetrius. Where, since their first project had prov'd so ineffectual, the King consulted with the Ætolians what was next to be done. They thought fit therefore to try the Achæans and Amynder King of the Athamans: but believ'd that the Boeotians were averse to the Romans ever since the Death of Barchyllas and the accidents that happen'd thereupon. They also thought that Philopamen, Prince of the Achæans, through his emulation for glory in the Laconian War, was an utter Enemy and hateful to Quintius. Amynder had a Wife called Apamia, who was the Daughter of a certain Megalopolitan called Alexander; who, bragging that he was descended from Alexander the Great, had named his two Sons Philip and Alexander, and his Daughter, Apamia: whom, being she was now the Consort of a Kings Bed, the Elder of the Brothers, Philip, follow'd into Athamania. Now this man being as it happen'd, a person naturally vain, the Ætolians and Antiochus had put in hopes of being King of Macedonia (since he was really of that Royal Family [as he would be thought]) if he made an Alliance between Amynder King of the Athamans and Antiochus. And that vain promise prevailed not only with Philip, but with Amynder also.

In

In Achæia the Embassadors of Antiochus and the Ætolians had audience in a Council at XLVIII. Ægium before T. Quintius; Antiochus's Embassador being heard before the Ætolians. He therefore (like most Men, that are kept by the bounty of Kings) being a bragging Courtier fill'd all the Sea and Land too with an empty noise of many words, "That an innumerable Host of Horse were coming over the Hellespont into Europe, part of them in Coats of Mail (such as they call Cataphracts [i. e. arm'd Cap-a-pee]) and part of them using Armour on Horseback, from whom nothing was sufficiently secur'd, for that they hit their mark the more certainly backward as their Horse ran away from the Enemy. To these Horse Forces (though with these, he said, all the Armies of Europe mustered up into one Body might be defeated) he added a great many fots of Foot, and frighted them with the names of Nations scarce ever heard of before, whom he call'd the Dabæ, Medes, Elimæans and Cadusians. As for the Sea-Forces (whom no parts in Greece were able to contain) he said, That the Sidonians and Tyrians were planted in the right Wing, and the Arabians with the Sidetes out of Pamphylia in the left; which Nations no others had ever equal'd in naval skill or conduct. That it was needless at present to mention the Money and the other preparations for the War. That they themselves knew, the Kingdoms of Asia had always abounded in Gold. Wherefore the Romans were not now to deal with Philip or Annibal; the one chief but of one City, and the other confin'd to the narrow limits of Macedonia; but with the great King of all Asia and some part of Europe too. But yet that he, though he came from the utmost borders of the East to deliver Greece, desired nothing of the Achæans, wherein their fidelity towards the Romans, who were their former Friends and Allies, might be impaired. For he did not require that they should take up Arms with him against them; but that they would stand Neuters, wishing Peace to both Parties, as became indifferent Friends, but not concern themselves in the War. Archidamus Embassador from the Ætolians desired much the same thing; that they (which was most easy and safe for them) would be quiet; and being only Spectators of the War would wait the event of other peoples fortunes without any hazard to their own. Then he fell (being not able to govern his tongue) to railing, sometimes against the Romans in general, and anon at Quintius in particular: calling them ungrateful people, and upbraiding them, that not only the Victory over Philip was gain'd by the Courage of the Ætolians, but the Romans also kept alive: and that Quintius himself, as well as his Army, was preserv'd by their means. For what had he ever done like a General? That he saw him observing how the Birds flew or peck'd, and sacrificing, or making of Vows, like some ridiculous Soothsayer, whilst he himself expos'd his Body to the Enemies Weapons upon his account.

To that Quintius reply'd; "That Archidamus consider'd before whom rather than to XLIX. whom he spoke. For the Achæans knew very well, that all the Spirit of the Ætolians lay in words not in deeds, and appeared more in Councils or Assemblies, than in a Field. Wherefore they little valued the opinion of the Achæans to whom they knew themselves to be known; but that he boasted of himself to the Kings Embassadors, and by them to the King though absent. That if any one were ignorant before, what had made Antiochus and the Ætolians Friends, he might know by their Embassadors Speeches: who by lying and bragging of that strength which neither of them ever had, have bloated with vain hopes and puff'd up one the other: whilst they tell you that Philip was overcome by them, that the Romans were preserv'd by their valour, and so on as you just now heard: that you and the other Cities and Nations will be of their side: and the King on the other hand brags of whole Clouds of Foot and Horse; and covers the Seas with his Fleets. This is very like an Entertainment we had at Chalcis at a Friends House of mine, a very good man, and one that under stood eating: By whom being kindly entertain'd about Autumn, when we admired, how he got such variety of Venison at that time of Year, the man (not so vain as these persons are) smiling, said, that by several fots of Sawces and wayes of dressing, all that variety of counterfeit Venison was made of a tame Swine. The same might be fitly said of the Kings Forces that were just then so much boasted of. For all those several fots of Arms, and the many names of Nations unheard of (as Dabæ, Medes, Cadusians and Elymæans) were all Syrians; more fit to be Slaves than Souldiers, upon the score of their servile inclinations. And I wish, Achæans! I could lay before your Eyes this great Kings hasty march from Demetrius, one while to Lamia into the Council of the Ætolians, and anon to Chalcis. You should see the quantity of two small Legions, and those not compleat neither in the Kings Camp: you should see the King one while almost begging Corn of the Ætolians to give to his Souldiers, and anon borrowing money at life to pay his Army: another time standing at the Gates of Chalcis, and by and by excluded thence; and having seen nothing else but Anis and Euripus, returning into Ætolia. Truly not only Antiochus did ill to believe the Ætolians, and the Ætolians to hearken to his vanity; and therefore you ought not to be deceived, but to trust and rely upon the Romans honour and Friendship which you have so often experienced, and throughly tryed. For whereas they say, 'tis best for you not to intermeddle in the War, nothing is so contrary and foreign to your interest, or advantage: for without any thanks on either side, and without any honour too, you will be the prey of them that conquer.

Y y y

Nor

L. Nor did his Answer seem absurd to either party, besides that it was easy for his Speech to find a favourable Entertainment with them who were willing to hear it. For there was no dispute or doubt, but they would all look upon those to be either Friends or Enemies to the *Achaens*, whom the Roman People so esteemed: and would order a War to be proclaimed against *Antiochus* and the *Atolians*. They likewise presently sent Auxiliaries, whither *Quintius* thought fit, of five hundred men to *Chalcis*, and five hundred to *Piræus*. For there was like to be an Insurrection at *Athens*, by means of some who through hopes of reward endeavour'd to draw the *Mobile* with money (for which they are apt to sell themselves [and their Country too]) over to *Antiochus*, till *Quintius* was sent for by those of the Roman Party, and, upon the information of one *Leon*, *Apollodorus*, Author of their Revolt, was condemn'd and banish'd. Thus did the Embassadors return from the *Achaens* to the King with a sad Answer. The *Bæotians* gave no positive Answer, only said, that when *Antiochus* was come into *Bæotia*, then they would deliberate what to do. *Antiochus* hearing that both the *Achaens* and King *Eumenes* had sent to the Garison of *Chalcis*; supposed it his best way to make what hast he could, not only that his men might come thither before them, but that, if possible they might meet them on the way; and therefore sent *Menippus* with about three thousand Souldiers, and all his Fleet to *Polyxenida*; marching himself in a few dayes after, with six thousand of his own men, and, of that number which could be raised on a sudden at *Læmia*, not very many *Atolians*. The five hundred *Achaens* (a small aid) who were sent by King *Eumenes*, under the Command of *Xenocides* a *Chalcidese*, having got safe over the *Euripus*, before the wayes were beset, arrived at *Chalcis*. And the Roman Souldiers too, who were themselves also about five hundred, whilst *Menippus* lay incamped before *Salganea*, came to *Hermæum*, whence you pass over out of *Bæotia* into the Island of *Eubæa*. *Miltio* was with them in quality of an Embassador from *Chalcis* to *Quintius*, being sent to desire that very Garison. Who when he saw the Streights possess'd by the Enemy, went no farther toward *Aulis*, but turn'd toward *Delium*, with a resolution from thence to cross over into *Eubæa*.

LI. *Delium* is a Temple of *Apollo*, lying upon the Sea, five thousand paces from *T. magra*. And about four thousand paces from thence there is a passage over the Sea into the nearest parts of *Eubæa*. Where, both in the Temple and the Grove, which are as sacred as those places which the *Greeks* call *Asyla* [i. e. Sanctuaries] and before either any War was proclaimed, or so far begun, that the Romans had ever heard of drawn Swords, or any bloodshed, as their Souldiers, who had nothing else to do, were some of them gazing upon the Temple and the Grove, others walking without their Arms upon the Beach, and great part of them gone into the Fields to get Wood and Forage; *Menippus* set upon them on a sudden, as they were stragling about, and kill'd them, taking fifty alive. Some few of them escaped, among whom *Miltio* was one, being taken on Board a small Merchant Man. This accident, as it was a vexation to *Quintius* and the Romans upon the score of their having lost so many men, so it seemed to give them some farther right to make War against *Antiochus*. *Antiochus*, having brought his Armour to *Aulis*, and sent Envoys a second time, partly of his own men, and partly *Atolians*, to *Chalcis*, to treat of the same things that they had lately done (but with greater menaces) prevailed with ease, notwithstanding all that *Miltio* and *Xenocides* could do to the contrary, to have the Gates open'd unto him. Those that were of the Roman Party went out of the City a little before the Kings coming: whilst the *Achaens* and *Eumenes's* men kept at *Salganea*. And in *Euripus* some few Roman Souldiers fortified the Castle for security. *Menippus* began to attack *Salganea*, and the King himself the Castle of *Euripus*. Whereupon the *Achaens* and *Eumenes's* men having first contracted for their safe departure, march'd out of their Garison; but the Romans defended *Euripus* with more resolution. And yet they too, since they were besieged both by Sea and Land, and saw the Enemy bringing Engines and all Warlike Instruments together, could not hold out the Siege. Now when the King had got that which was the chief place in all *Eubæa*, the other Cities of that Island did not refuse to submit unto him. Which made him think he had begun the War very fortunately, seeing so great an Island as that, and so many convenient Cities were now become subject to him.

## DECADE

## DECADE IV. BOOK VI.

## The EPI TOME.

19, 20. *Manlius Acilius Glabrio*, being Consul, with the assistance of King *Philip*, conquer'd *Antiochus* at *Thermopylae*, and drew him out of Greece, &c. 34. He also subdued the *Ætolians*. 36. *P. Cornelius Scipio Nasica* dedicated the Temple of *Cybele*, whom he had brought into the Palace, being judg'd by the Senate to be the best man [in the City.] 38, 39, 40. He likewise accepted of a Surrender made by the *Boii* in Gaul, whom he conquer'd, and triumph'd over them. 44. Gives an account of several prosperous Sea-fights against the Admirals of King *Antiochus*.

THE Consuls, *Pub. Cornelius Scipio*, Son of *Cneius*, and *Manius Acilius Glabrio*, as soon as they enter'd upon their Office, were order'd by the Senate (before there was Discourse of their several Provinces) to Sacrifice with the greater sort of Victims in all Temples, wherein there was used to be a *Lectisternium* [i. e. a sacred Feast] the greater part of the year: and to pray, that the Senate would be mindful of the new War; so that the same might prove successful to the Senate and people of Rome. All those Sacrifices were of good portent; the Gods being pleased with the first oblations, and the Soothsayers answer'd thus; that by that War the bounds of the Roman People should be propagated, and that they saw victory and triumph before them. This being said, the Senate, having now no farther thoughts of Religion, order'd a Bill to be prefer'd to the Commons, to know, Whether they were willing that a War should be enter'd into with King *Antiochus*, and all that were of his side: and if that Bill were pass'd, that then, if the Consuls thought good, they should refer the whole matter to the Senate. *P. Cornelius* got the Bill pass'd, and then the Senate decreed, that the two Consuls should have *Italy* and *Greece* for their Provinces: and that he to whose share *Greece* fell (besides that number of Souldiers, which *L. Quintius* by authority from the Senate had rais'd and commanded for and in that Province) should have that Army, which *M. Babinus*, when he was Prætor, had the year before, by order of Senate, carry'd over into *Macedonia*. He also had leave out of *Italy*, if occasion were, to accept of Auxiliaries from their Allies, so they were not above five thousand. They likewise thought fit to send *L. Quintius*, who the year before had been Consul, to that War. The other Consul, who was to have *Italy*, was order'd to make War against the *Boii*, with which he would of those Armies that the former Consuls had commanded, and send the other to Rome, that so those might be City Legions ready to march whither the Senate should think fit.

These things being thus decreed as to the disposing of the Provinces, they then thought good that the Consuls should proceed to their choice. In which, *Greece* fell to *Acilius*, and *Italy* to *Cornelius*: whereupon they made an absolute order of Senate, that whereas the Roman People at that time had consented to make a War against King *Antiochus*, and all his Subjects, the Consuls upon that account should proclaim a Supplication: and that *Manius Acilius* the Consul should vow to celebrate the great Games in honour of *Jupiter*, and to make offerings at every shrine. That Vow the Consul made, in words that *P. Licinius* the High-Priest said before him, to this purpose. If the War, which the People have order'd to be undertaken against King *Antiochus*, shall be ended according to the desire of the Senate and People of Rome: then to thee, *Jupiter!* shall the Romans celebrate the Grand Games for ten dayes together: and offerings shall be made in all Temples of what value the Senate shall think fit. Whatever Magistrate sets forth those Games, and when and wheresoever he does it, let the Games be rightly perform'd, and the offerings rightly made. Then the two Consuls order'd a Supplication to be made for two dayes. Now when the Consuls had chosen their Provinces, the Prætors also straight chose theirs. *M. Junius Brutus* happen'd to have both Jurisdictions [i. e. that between Citizen and Citizen, as well as that between Citizen and Foreigner:] *A. Cornelius Mammula* the *Bruttii*, *M. Æmilius Lepidus* *Sicily*, *L. Oppius Salinator* *Sardinia*; *C. Livius Salinator* the Fleet; and *L. Æmilius Paulus* the farther Spain: To these men the several Armies were thus disposed of. To *A. Cornelius* the new Souldiers rais'd the Year before by *L. Quintius* then Consul, pursuant to an Order of Senate; he being order'd to defend all the Coast about *Tarentum* and *Brundisium*. To *L. Æmilius Paulus*, for the farther Spain, they allowed, besides the Forces which he was to receive from *M. Fulvius* the Pro-Prætor, that he should take along with him three thousand new Foot, and three hundred Horse; so as that of them two parts should be Latine Allies, and the third Roman Citizens. The same supply was sent *C. Flaminius*, who was continu'd in Commission, into the hither Spain. *M. Æmilius Lepidus* was to have of *L. Valerius*, whom he was like to succeed, not only his Province but his Army too: but to keep *L. Valerius*, if he would, as his Pro-Prætor in the Province; as also so to divide the Province, as that one part of it should reach from *Agrigentum* to *Pachynum*, and the other from *Pachynum* to *Tyndarium*. And that *L. Valerius* should defend that Sea-Coast with twenty long Ships. The same Prætor was order'd to exact two Tithes

of Corn: which he should take care to get carried to the Sea, and transported into Greece. The same thing was injoin'd by *L. Oppius* concerning two other *Tiths* in *Sardinia*; though they order'd their Corn to be convey'd, not into Greece, but to Rome. *C. Livius* the Prætor, to whose Lot the Navy fell, was order'd to go over into Greece with thirty Ships, that were already fitted out, as soon as possibly he could, to receive the other Ships from *Avilius*; whilst *M. Junius* was employ'd to refit and arm the old ones that were in the Docks, and to provide Seamen, that were Libertines: [i. e. Sons of men that had been Slaves] to man that Fleet.

III. Then were there three Embassadors sent into Africa to the *Carthaginians*, and into *Nipponia* to desire Corn to send into Greece: for which the Roman People would pay them. And so intent was the whole City upon their preparations, and so solicitous for that War, that *P. Cornelius* the Consul set forth an Edict; That no Senator, or any one that had a vote in the Senate, or other inferior Magistrate whatsoever should go any farther from Rome, than he could come back that day: and that five Senators should never be absent from Rome at one time. In hastening to set out the Fleet, a contest that arose with the Inhabitants of the Sea Coast, for some small time detain'd *C. Livius*. For they being prest to go to Sea, appeal'd to the Tribunes of the People; from whom they were refer'd back to the Senate. The Senate unanimously decreed, that those Country-Fellows should not be excused from the Sea-Service. The Towns that contend'd with the Prætor about this immunity were *Hestia, Fregene, Castrum Novum, Pyrgi, Antium, Tarracina, Minturnæ, and Sinuessa*. Then the Consul *Manius Acilius* by Order of Senate propos'd to the College of Herald, Whether it were sufficient to tell any particular Garrison belonging to *Antiochus*, that they declar'd War against him? and whether they would have the same Declaration made to the *Ætolians* apart? and whether they ought first to renounce all Alliance and Friendship with them, before they declar'd the War? To which the Herald made Answer; That they, when they were consult'd in the case of Philip, had formerly determin'd, that it was not at all material, whether the Declaration were made to him in Person, or to any Garrison. And that their Friendship with him seem'd to be sufficiently renounced, in that they had not thought fit either to restore such things as his Embassadors had so often demand'd back, or to make any satisfaction. That the *Ætolians* had voluntarily declar'd War against themselves, in having by force taken *Demetrias*, a City belonging to their Allies: attempt'd both by Sea and Land to make themselves Masters of *Chalcis*; and brought King *Antiochus* over into Europe to wage War against the People of Rome. When therefore they had gotten all things in due order, *Manius Acilius* the Consul made an Edict; that what Souldiers *L. Quintius* had rais'd, and those also that he had injoin'd the Allies and Latines to Levy, being to go along with him into his Province, with the Tribunes of the first and third Legions, should all of them Rendezvous at *Brun-disium* upon the Ides of May. After which he himself went from the City upon the sixth of May in a Warlike Robe: at what time the Prætors also departed into their Provinces.

IV. About the same time there came Embassadors from the two Kings, *Philip* and *Ptolemy* King of *Egypt*, to Rome; with promises of aid, money and Corn: besides that from *Ptolemy* were brought a thousand pounds of gold, and twenty thousand pounds of silver. But there was none of it accepted; only thanks return'd to the King [for his kind offer] And whereas they both promis'd to come with all their Forces into *Ætolia*, and be present in the War, *Ptolemy* was excus'd for that Engagement. To *Philip's* Embassadors they made this Answer; that he would mightily oblige the Senate and People of Rome, if he were not wanting to [assist] *Manius Acilius* their Consul. There came Embassadors likewise from the *Carthaginians* and King *Massinissa*: and the *Carthaginians* promis'd that they would bring a thousand Bushels of Wheat, and five hundred thousand of Barley to the Army, besides half as much to Rome: wherefore they desired, that the Romans would accept of it as a present from them: [said] that they would send out a Fleet of their own men; and pay all that Tribute, which they ought to do at several times for many years to come, then all at once. *Massinissa's* Embassadors said, their King would send five hundred Bushels of Wheat, and three hundred thousand of Barley to the Army in Greece; three hundred thousand Bushels of Wheat, and two hundred and fifty thousand of Barley to Rome, besides five hundred Horse, and twenty Elephants to *Manius Acilius* the Consul. As to the Corn they both receiv'd this Answer; That the Roman People would make use of it, upon condition that they would take money for it. As to the Fleet they excus'd the *Carthaginians*: except it were so, that they ow'd them any Ships by compact: but for the money, they would have none of it before the dayes [appointed for the payment thereof.]

V. Whilst these things were in agitation at Rome; *Antiochus* at *Chalcis*, lest he should be idle all the Winter time, partly himself solicited the several Cities by his Embassadors, as they on the other hand partly came of their own accord to him; as the *Epirotes* [for Example] by universal consent of that Nation, and the *Eleans* from *Peloponnesus*. The *Eleans* desired aid against the *Acheans*, who, they believ'd (since they had contrary to their mind declar'd War against *Antiochus*) would make the first attempt upon their City. He therefore sent them a thousand Foot under the Command of *Euphanes* a *Cretan*. The Embassy of the *Epirotes* shew'd no freedom or simplicity of inclination at all to any side: for they were willing to contract a Friendship with the King, but so, as not by any means to offend the Ro-

mans;

mans; desiring him, not disadvantageously to engage them in the matter, who were set up against Italy for all Greece, and should receive the first efforts of the Romans. But if he himself could defend *Epirus* with his Land, and Sea Forces, all the *Epirotes* would gladly receive him into their Cities and Ports. If he could not, they desired him, not to expose them naked and unarm'd as they were, to the Roman War. The design of that Embassy was evidently this, that whether (as they the rather believ'd he would) he abstain'd from *Epirus*, they might preserve an entire Friendship with the Roman Armies, having sufficiently reconciled the King, in that they would have receiv'd him if he came to them; or whether he came, they might that way also hope for pardon from the Romans; in that they, not expecting Auxiliaries from a place so distant, had submitted to his present force. To this so intricate an Embassy he having no ready Answer to make, said, He would send Embassadors to them, to treat of those things that concern'd both him and them in common.

Then he himself went into *Boetia*, which had such specious pretensions for their animosity against the Romans, as I told you; viz. the death of *Barchyllas*, and the War rais'd against *Coronea* upon the account of the Roman Souldiers that were there slain: the famous Discipline of that Nation being much decay'd from what it had been, and the present state of many being such, that they could not rest long without making some alteration in the Commonwealth. So, being met by throngs of the *Boetian* Nobility from all parts, he arriv'd at *Thebes*: where in a Council of the whole Nation (though he had begun the War not only at *Delium* by an attack upon the Roman Garison there, but at *Chalcis* also, and that with no small or doubtful acts of hostility, yet) he made the same Speech, that he had done in the first Conference at *Chalcis*, and by his Embassadors in the Council of the *Acheans*, desiring that they would enter into an Alliance with him, and not proclaim War against the Romans; but every body knew what the design was: However for a light verbal pretext thereunto, a Decree was made for the King against the Romans. When he had made this Country too his Allies, going back to *Chalcis*, from whence he sent a Letter before-hand, that the *Ætolian Nobility* should meet at *Demetrias*, for him to discourse them about the grand affairs of their State; he came thither by Sea on the day that was appointed for the Council. Not only *Amynder* was sent for out of *Athamania* to consult with them, but *Annibal* the *Carthaginian* also, who for a long time had not been admitted, was present at that Council. They consult'd concerning the *Thessalians*, and thought fit to try the inclinations of all such of that Nation, as were then present: only they were of different opinions in the case; some of them being perswaded that they ought to go immediately about their work; others, that they ought to defer it till the beginning of the Spring; others, that they ought only to send Embassadors; and others, that they ought to go with all their Forces, and put them into a fright, if they delay'd.

Now all the dispute being about this consultation, *Annibal* being particularly ask'd his opinion put the King and those that were present in mind of the whole War, with a Speech to this effect: If ever since the time that we came over into Greece, I had been made use of as a Counsellor; when we treated concerning *Eubœa*, the *Acheans*, and *Boetia*, I should have given the same opinion, that now, when we are debating about *Thessaly*, I shall. First of all I think we ought to engage *Philip* and his *Macedonians* to be our assistants in the War by any manner of means. For as to *Eubœa*, *Boetia* and *Thessaly*, who knows not, that they who having no strength of their own, and therefore always flustering those that are present, use the same fear, which they shew in their designs, to beg a pardon with, as soon as they shall see the Roman Army in Greece, they will turn to their usual Masters? and that it is no fault in them, that when the Romans were so far off, they would not try thine and thy Armies present strength? How much better then, and more advisable is it to make *Philip* than these People our Ally; who if he once espouses the cause, will not be able to disengage himself; and brings such a force with him, as will not only be an accession to the Roman War, but was able of late of it self to sustain the shock of the Roman Army? How can I, when he's our Friend (pardon the expression) once doubt of the event? When I see that the Romans themselves are now like to be oppos'd by those very persons, by whose assistance they overcame *Philip*. For the *Ætolians* who (as all people know) defeated *Philip*, will now fight on his side against the Romans. *Amynder* and the *Athamans*, whose assistance was of great moment in that War, will be of our side. *Philip* at that time, when you lay still, sustain'd all the weight of the War: now two mighty Kings of you, with the strength of all Asia and Europe will wage War against one Nation (to say nothing of both my sorts of fortune) which in the memory of our Fathers was not equal to the King of the *Epirotes* only, whatever he will be compar'd to you. What then gives me confidence that *Philip* may be join'd with us? One thing is, our common benefit, which is the greatest bond of Alliance: and another, that you *Ætolians* consent to it. For your Embassador *Thoas* here, among other things that he us'd to say to excite *Antiochus* against Greece, above all things constantly affirm'd this; that *Philip* murmur'd and took it ill that under a show of Peace he had the Laws of servitude impos'd upon him. He compar'd the Kings fury to a wild Beast bound or shut up, and desirous to break the Bars. Now if his disposition be such, let us untie those Bonds, and break those Bars: that his long restrain'd fury may break forth upon our common Enemies. But if our Embassy do not at all move him; yet let us take care, since we cannot make him our own Friend, that he may not join with our Enemies. Thy Son *Seleucus* is at *Lyfimachia*; who if with that Army that he has, he shall begin through *Thrace* to plunder the nearest

VI.

VII.



nearest parts of Macedonia, he will easily divert Philip from assisting the Romans, and make him look more narrowly to his own. Thus you have my opinion concerning Philip: nor were you ignorant what I thought from the very beginning touching the whole manage of the War. Had I been then heard, the Romans should have had news, not that Chalcis in Eubœa was taken, and the Castle of Euripus seized, but that Etruria, Liguria, and all the Coast of Gallia Cisalpina was inflamed with War, and (which is their greatest terror) that Annibal was in Italy. Now too I am of opinion that you had best send for all your Land and Sea Forces: and let your Ships of burden follow the Fleet with provisions. For here as we are but a few in respect of what we are to perform in the War, so in regard to our want of provisions we are too many. When you have muster'd up all your Forces, dividing your Fleet you shall keep part of them in Harbour at Corcyra (lest the Romans should have a free and a safe passage) and send part of them over to the Coast of Italy that lies toward Sardinia and Africa; whilst you your self go forward with all your Land Forces into the Byline Territories; where you shall defend Greece, and make the Romans believe that you are going over, as, if occasion be, you really must. These things I advise you to, who though I am not the most skilful person in all sorts of War, yet have learnt at least by my good and bad fortune to cope with the Romans. In what I have given you my Counsel, I promise you not to be either unfaithful or storkful; so, may the Gods approve that opinion which shall seem best unto you.

VIII. This was the purport of Annibal's speech, which they who were present there commended more before his face, than in effect they followed his advice. For Antiochus did nothing of all that was proposed, save that he sent to Polyxenida for the Fleet and Forces to come out of Asia. There were also Embassadors sent to Larissa where the Council of Thessaly then sat, and a Day set for the Ætolians and Amynder to meet with their Armies at Pheræ, whither the King too presently came with his Forces. There, whilst he tarried for Amynder and the Ætolians, he sent Philip of Megalopolis with two Thousand Men to gather up the Bones of the Macedonians about Cynocephale, where the Romans had made an end of the War with Philip; either of his own inclination, as willing to ingratiate himself with the Macedonians, and make their King odious, for having left his Soldiers unburied; or out of the natural vanity incident to Kings, who give their minds to things that look very glorious and great, but are in themselves mere trifles. So there was a Bank made of an heap of those Bones, which were scatter'd all about the Fields; which as it gain'd him no good-will among the Macedonians, so it made Philip his utter Enemy. Wherefore he, who to that time was resolv'd to take his measures by the event of things, sent word immediately to M. Babius the Pro Prætor; That Antiochus had made an invade into Thessaly; and therefore, if he thought fit, he would have him march out of his Winter Quarters; that he would meet him, to consult what was best to be done.

IX. Whilst Antiochus was Encamped at Pheræ, where the Ætolians and Amynder join'd him, there came Embassadors from Larissa, to enquire, what the Thessalians had said or done to make him molest them; and desiring withal, that removing his Army, he would, if he had any thing to say to them, debate it by Embassadours. At the same time they sent five hundred men under the command of Hippolochus for a Garison to Pheræ; but they being excluded from access to that place, now that the Kings men had beset all the Roads, went to Scotussa. To the Larissan Embassadors the King gave this mild Answer; That he was come into Thessaly, not to make War, but to defend and establish the liberty thereof. He also sent an Envoy to say much the same thing to the Pheræans; but they, giving him no Answer, sent themselves an Embassadour to the King, by name Pausanias, who was one of the chief men in their City. Who when he had spoken to the same purpose (being in the same circumstances) as others had done for the Chacideses in the parley at the Streight of Epirus, and some things more boldly too; the King, having advised the Pheræans to deliberate again and again, for fear they should take that course, of which, whilst they were too cautious and provident for the time to come, they would repent at present, dismissed them. When this news came to Pheræ, they presently resolv'd, out of their love to the Romans, to undergo all that the Fortune of War should cast upon them. They therefore prepar'd themselves as fast as possible to defend their City, whilst the King at the same time began to attack their Walls on every side; as knowing well enough (for there was no doubt of it) that it depended upon the event of his attempt upon that City which he first set upon, whether he should be condemn'd or fear'd by the whole Nation of the Thessalians: wherefore he put the besieged into all the consternation he could. The first effort of the attack they endured with resolution enough; but soon after, when many fell, or were wounded, as they were making their defence, their hearts began to fail them. But being recall'd by the chastisement of the Nobility to persevere in their design, they left the outward circle of the Wall, (seeing their Forces were now wasted) and retired into the inner part of the City; about which there was a shorter Line of Circumvallation. At last, being quite tired out, they, fearing left, if they were taken by force, they should find no favour from the Conquerer, surrender'd themselves. Thereupon the King without any delay sent four thousand men, whilst the terror was fresh, to Scotussa; where the Inhabitants never stuck to surrender, having seen the Example of the Pheræans before their Eyes; who were forced at their cost to do that at last, which at first they so pertinaciously refused. Together with that City, Hippolochus also and the Larissan Garison

rison were surrender'd. But they were all dismiss'd by the King without any hurt done to them; for that the King thought, that would be a thing of great moment to reconcile the affections of the Larissians unto him.

X. Within ten days after his coming to Pheræ, having perfected these matters, he went with his whole Army to Crano, which he took upon his first arrival. From thence he went and took possession of Cypara, Metropolis, and the Castles thereabouts; so that all places in that part of the Country, excepting Atrax and Gyro, were now in his hands. Then he resolv'd to attack Larissa: supposing, that either for fear, since the other Cities were so lately taken, or in gratitude for his dismissing of their Garison, or by the Example of so many Cities that had surrender'd themselves, they would no longer persist in their obstinacy. He therefore, having order'd his Elephants to be driven before the Ensigns for terror, march'd with a square Body up to the City: to the end that the minds of great part of the Larissians might float to and fro, between present fear of an Enemy, and respect for their absent Allies. At the same time Amynder with the Athaman Youth seiz'd Pellineum; and Menippus going into Perrhoëum with three thousand Ætolian Foot, and two hundred Horse, took Mallaa and Cyretie by storm, plundering all the Country of Tripolitis. Having done all this with great celerity they return'd to the King at Larissa, and came just as he was consulting what to do with that place. For there they were of different opinions: some saying, that they must use violence, and not defer attacking the Walls with Works and Engines on every side at once, it being a City seated on a Plain, and easy of access which way they pleas'd; whilst others said, one while it was a City of such strength as not to be compar'd to Pheræ; and anon, took notice that it was Winter, and such a time of year as was not fit for any Warlike Enterprize, much less for besieging or taking of Cities. Whilst the King hereupon stood doubtful between hope and fear, Embassadors from Pharsalus, who came by chance to surrender their City, raised his Courage. In the mean time M. Babius having met and confer'd with Philip in the Dassaretian Territories, sent Appian Claudius by common consent to guard Larissa: who marching through Macedonia by great Journeys came to that highest part of the Mountains that lies above Gonni. Gonni is a Town twenty thousand paces from Larissa, situate in the very entrance of the Lawn called Tempe. Where having Encamp'd on more ground than he needed to have done, in regard to the numbers he had, and kindled more Fires than were necessary, he made the Enemy believe what he design'd they should, to wit, that the whole Roman Army was there with Philip. Whereupon the King telling his men (for an excuse) that Winter was near at hand, after he had staid only one day retired from Larissa, and went back to Demetrias: the Ætolians and the Athamans too going into their own Territories likewise. Appias, though he saw that the Siege was raised (the only thing he was sent thither for) yet he went down to Larissa to confirm their Allies in their affections for the future; so that there was a double joy among them; not only for that the Enemy was departed out of their Confines, but that they saw a Roman Garison within their Walls.

XI. The King going from Demetrias to Chalcis fell in love with a Damsel of that place, who was Daughter to Cleopolemys; whom when he had tired out, first by Proxy, and then by his own importunities himself in person (the Gentleman being unwilling to match his Daughter into a Family so much above her) at last having gain'd his request, kept his Wedding as if it had been in the midst of Peace; and spent the remaining part of the Winter in feasting, drinking, sleeping, and such pleasures as attended that kind of Life, wherewith he was tired rather than cloy'd. All his great Officers too (who, in Boœtia especially, had the oversight of his Winter-Quarters) were guilty of the same debauchery, and so were the common Souldiers also; nor did any one of them put on his Armour, keep his watch or station, or do any thing else that belong'd to a Souldier. Wherefore in the beginning of the Spring, when he was come through Phocis into Acarnania, where he had order'd all his Army to meet, he easily perceiv'd, that his Souldiers kept their Winter with no greater severities than their General. Then he order'd Alexander the Acarnanian, and Menippus the Macedonian to carry the Forces to Status in Ætolia, whilst he himself, having sacrificed at Delphi to Apollo, went forward to Nappaetum. Having held a Council of the Nobility in Ætolia, he met his men that came through the Malian Bay, on the rode that goes by Chalcis and Lysimachia to Stratus. There Mnesilochus, a Nobleman of Acarnania, whom he bribed with many presents, did not only himself reconcile the Nation to the King, but had brought Clytus also their chief Magistrate, over to his opinion. Who seeing the Leucadians, (the chief City of Acarnania) could not be easily induced to a revolt, for fear of the Roman Fleet, which was either with Atilius, or about Cephalenia, set upon them by a stratagem: For he having said in Council, that they ought to defend the inland parts of Acarnania, and that all who were able to bear Arms should go forth to Medeon and Thyrium, lest those Towns should be seized by Antiochus and the Ætolians, there were certain persons set there on purpose to say; it was not necessary they should all rise in such a tumult, a guard of five hundred men would be enough. Which number when he had gotten, all raised out of the youth, he planted three hundred at Medeon, and two hundred at Thyrium, with a design that they should be in time as Hostages to the King.

XII. At the same time the Kings Embassadors came to Medeon: who having had their Audience,

ence, upon debate in the Assembly what Answer they should make the King, some being of opinion that they ought to continue in their Alliance with the Romans, and others, that they ought not to slight the Kings Friendship, the opinion of *Clytus* seemed to be the mean and most expedient; for which reason it was so far embraced, that they sent Embassadors to the King, and desired of him, that he would suffer the Macedonians to consult upon so weighty a matter as that was, with the general Council of the Acarnanians. *Mnesilochus* and those of his Faction were put upon that Embassy on purpose: who, having sent certain persons privately to advise the King to come nearer with his Army, themselves protracted the time. So that before those Embassadors were got well out, *Antiochus* was in their Territories, and presently after at their Gates; through which, (whilst those that knew nothing of the treachery trembled, and tumultuously called the young men to their Arms) he was led by *Clytus* and *Mnesilochus* into the City. Now some of the Inhabitants coming over of their own free-will, even those that were of a quite different mind came for fear and waited upon the King. Whom when he had endeared (though they were formerly frightened at him) with an obliging Speech, several people of *Acarnania* revolted in hopes of his declared Clemency. From *Medeon* he went to *Thyrium*, having sent *Mnesilochus* and Embassadors thither before him. But the treachery detected at *Medeon* made the *Thyrians* more cautious, not more timorous: wherefore having given him a cross Answer, That they would accept of no Alliance save by consent of the Roman Generals, and shut their Gates, they planted their men upon the Walls. Then very seasonably, to strengthen the *Acarnanians* in their resolution, *Cn. Octavius* was sent by *Quintius*; who when he had receiv'd the Garison and a few Ships from *A. Postumius*, who had been made Governour of *Cephalonia* by Lieutenant *Atilius*; he came to *Lencus*, and fill'd the Allies with hopes; that *M. Acilius* the Consul was already come over the Sea with his Legions, and that the Roman Camp was in *Thessaly*. Now since the time of year, which was then fit for sailing made this rumour probable; the King having put a Guard into *Medeon*, and into some other Towns of *Acarnania*, departed from *Thyrium*, and through the Cities of *Etolia* and *Phocis* return'd to *Chalcis*.

XIII.

A little before that time *M. Bibius* and King *Philip*, who in the Winter time had met in the *Dassaretian* Confines, having sent *Ap. Claudius* into *Thessaly* to raise the Siege from before *Larissa*; because the time was scarce yet seasonable for action, went back into their Winter Quarters, but in the beginning of the Spring join their Forces together, and fell down into *Thessaly*; *Antiochus* being then in *Acarnania*. When they came thither, *Philip* attack'd *Mallœa* in *Perræbia*, and *Bibius* *Phacium*. Which when he had made himself Master of upon almost the first assault, he took *Phæstus* also with the same celerity. After that going to *Atrax*, he from thence march'd and seiz'd *Chiretia* and *Phricium*; and having put Garisons in the several Towns that he was possess'd of, went back again to join *Philip* at the Siege of *Mallœa*. Upon the arrival of the Roman Army, whether for fear of their strength, or in hopes of pardon they surrender'd themselves, and then [both *Philip* and *Bibius*] went in an united Body to receive those Towns, which the *Athamans* were possess'd of, and they were these; *Aeginium*, *Ericinium*, *Gomphi*, *Silana*, *Tricca*, *Melibœa*, and *Phaloria*. From thence they march, and besieged *Pellinaum*, where *Philip* of *Megalopolis* was ingarison'd with five hundred Foot, and forty Horse; but, before they attack'd it, sent a Messenger to *Philip*, to advise him, that he should not try his utmost force. To which Message he sent back this bold Answer; That he would trust the Romans, or the *Thessalians*; but would not submit to *Philip*. So when they saw they must use force; because they believ'd that *Limnea* might be at the same time attempted, the King thought fit to go thither; but *Bibius* staid at *Pellinaum*.

XIV.

It happen'd that at the same juncture, *Manius Acilius* the Consul, having pass'd the Sea with ten thousand Foot, two thousand Horse, and fifteen Elephants, order'd some particular Tribunes of the Souldiers to carry all the Foot Forces to *Larissa*; whilst he himself with the Horse came to *Philip* at *Limnea*. Upon the Consuls coming they made a Surrender without any more ado; so that the Kings Garison, and with them the *Athamans* were all deliver'd up. From *Limnea* the Consul went to *Pellinaum*; where first the *Athamans* surrender'd themselves, and after them, *Philip* of *Megalopolis*; whom (as he march'd out of the Garison) King *Philip*, happening to meet him, bad his Souldiers, in contempt, salute by the Title of King; as he himself, with a scoff not suitable to his majesty, when he came up to him, call'd him Brother. Thereupon he was carried to the Consul and committed to custody, being not long after sent Prisoner to Rome. The rest of the *Athamans*, or of King *Antiochus*'s common Souldiers, that were ingarison'd in the Towns at that time surrender'd, were deliver'd up to King *Philip*; being three thousand men. The Consul went thence to *Larissa*, there to consult of the grand affairs of the War. On the rode thither Embassadors from *Piera* and *Metropolis* met him with the surrender of their Cities. *Philip* having used the *Athaman* Captives especially very kindly, that through them he might oblige that Nation, had hopes of gaining *Athamania*, and therefore drew his Army thither, having first sent the Captives into their several Cities. And indeed they had great authority with their Countrymen, telling them of the Kings Clemency and Munificence to them. Whereupon *Amynder*, whose majesty, being present, had kept some of them to their Allegiance, feared,

fearing, lest he might be delivered up into the hands of *Philip*, his old Enemy, and to the Romans, who were then for his revolt very justly offended, with his Wife and Children departed the Kingdom, and went to *Ambracia*. Thus all *Athamania* became subject to *Philip*. The Consul, to refresh his Beasts (most of all) which were tired not only with coming by Sea, but afterward also with travelling, having stayed a few Days at *Larissa*, renewed, as it were, his Army with some small rest, and then went to *Cranon*. When he came thither, *Pharsalus*, *Scotussa*, *Phera*, and all the Garrisons in them, that were *Antiochus*'s, were surrender'd to him. Out of which (having ask'd, Who of them were willing to stay with him) he delivered a Thousand Volunteers to *Philip*, and sent back the rest without their Arms to *Demetrias*. After that he took Possession of *Proerna* and the Castles that were about it, beginning then to draw forward into the Malian Bay. When he came near the narrow pass, above which *Thaumaci* stands, all the Youth, having forsaken the City, in Arms beset the Woods and the Roads, running down upon the Roman Army from the Places above. Thereupon the Consul at first sent certain Persons to parley with and deter them from that their mad attempt; but when he saw that they persisted in it, he sent a Tribune, with the Soldiers belonging to two Ensigns, round about, and intercepting their way back to the City, took it [as it lay] quite empty. Then, when they heard the huzza for the Cities being taken behind them, there was a great slaughter made of those that had been in ambush, as they fled back every way out of the Woods. From *Thaumaci* the Consul arrived in two Days at the River *Sperchius*, and march'd thence to plunder the *Hepatean* Territories.

Whilst these things were transacted, *Antiochus* was at *Chalcis*; who seeing even at that time that he had got nothing in Greece but pleasant Winter Quarters at *Chalcis*, and a dishonourable Wife, began to inveigh against the vain promises of the *Ætolians*, and to blame *Thoas*; but to admire *Annibal*, not only for a prudent Man, but almost a Prophet in all things, which at that time fell out. But yet lest he by his sloth also should destroy what he through his rashness had begun, he sent Messengers into *Etolia*, to make them assemble with all their Youth in one Body. And now himself also carry'd thither nigh ten Thousand Foot, made up out of those that afterward came out of *Asia*, and five Hundred Horse. Where seeing that fewer People met, than had ever done before, and that there came only the Nobility with a small number of their Dependants, saying, that they had done all they could to raise as many Men as possible, out of their several Cities, But could not prevail upon such as declin'd the War, either by Authority, good Will, or Command over them; he, being disappointed on all hands, not only by his own Men, that stay'd in *Asia*, but by his Allies also, who did not perform those things, that they had given him reason to hope for, retired into the Mountains of *Thermopyla*; which divide Greece into two parts, as the *Apennine* Hills with their ridge do Italy. From those Mountains of *Thermopyla* to the Northward lies *Epirus*, *Perræbia*, *Magnesia*, *Thessaly*, the *Pthiote*, *Acheans*, and the Malian Bay; and within the streights to the Southward goes the greater part of *Etolia*, *Acarnania*, *Locris*, *Phocis*, *Bœotia*, and the adjacent Island of *Eubœa*; the Country of *Attica* *Peloponnesus* lying behind them upon a promontory, as it were, that runs out into the Sea. Now this ledge of Hills, that reaches from *Lencas* and the Western Sea through *Etolia* to the other Eastern Ocean, has so many rough Places and Rocks upon it, that not only Armies, but even single active Men cannot easily find any passage through them. The farthest Mountains toward the East they call *Oeta*; and of them, the highest *Callidromus*, under which in the Vale going to the Malian Bay there is a Road not above sixty Paces broad, being the only military way that an Army, if it were not hindred, could be led. For that reason this place is called *Pyle*, and by others (because there are warm Waters in the very streights) *Thermopyla* [*Pyle*, being Gates or narrow Passes, and *Thermos*, warm in the Greek Language] renowned for the memorable Death of the *Lacedæmonians*, more than for their fight there against the *Persians*.

*Antiochus*, who was not then near so courageous as before, having encamp'd within the Gates of that place, block'd up the pass with fortifications also, and when with a double Bulwark, a Ditch and a Wall too, where the case required it, made of that great quantity of stones that lay thereabout, he had sufficiently secured himself; in confidence that the Roman Army would never make any attempt that way, he sent a party of *Ætolians* out of four Thousand (for so many were met there) partly to ingarison themselves at *Heraclea*, which lay before the streights, and partly to *Hypata*; as being not only assured that the Consul would attack *Heraclea*, but already inform'd by several People that all the Country about *Hypata* was laid waste. The Consul having plundered first the *Hypatean* and then the *Heraclean* Territories (for the *Ætolians* assistance signified nothing in either place) encamp'd over against the King in the very streights near the warm Fountains [or Baths]. Both Parties of the *Ætolians* shut themselves up in *Heraclea*. Then *Antiochus*, who, before he saw the Enemy, thought he had sufficiently secur'd and block'd up all Places, was fearful, lest the Roman should find any ways to pass over the Hills above. For there was, not only a report, that the *Lacedæmonians* formerly were so circumvented by the *Persians*, but that *Philip* also of late was so serv'd by the Romans. Wherefore he sent a Messenger to the *Æto-*

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XV.

XVI.

lians at *Heraclea*, [to desire] that they would do him this service at least in that War, to possess themselves of the tops of the Mountains thereabout, and so beset them, that the Romans might not have any way to pass. When this Message came, there arose a dissention among the *Ætoli-ans*: part of them thinking, that they ought to obey the Kings Command and go; and part, that they had better stay at *Heraclea*, to try both Fortunes; that whether the King were overcome by the Consul, they might have fresh Forces in a readiness to aid their Neighbour Cities, or, if he got the day, that they might be able to pursue the routed Romans. Both sides not only continu'd in the same mind, but also executed their design: for two thousand staid at *Heraclea*; and two more divided into three parts, posted themselves upon *Callidromus*, *Rhoduntia*, and *Tichius*, the names of several high Hills.

XVII. The Consul when he saw the upper places possess'd by the *Ætoli-ans*, sent *M. Porcius Cato*, and *L. Valerius Flaccus*, two Consular Lieutenants, with two thousand choice Foot, to the *Ætolian* Camps; *Flaccus* to *Rhoduntia* and *Tichius*, and *Cato* to *Callidromus*: whilst he himself, before he removed his Forces toward the Enemy, call'd an Assembly of his Souldiers, and spoke to them in this manner: *I see there are a great many men of all sorts among you, that serv'd under the Command and Conduct of T. Quintius in this same Province. Now in the Macedonian War there was a pass more insuperable by far at the River Aous, than this is. For these are Gates; and there is (all things being shut up between two Seas) one natural passage, as it were. At that time there were not only Fortifications made in the most convenient places, but stronger than ordinary. The Enemies Army too was then not only more numerous, but likewise somewhat better Souldiers: for in that there were Macedonians, Thracians and Illyrians, all very Warlike Nations: whereas in this there are Syrians and Asiatick Greeks, a pitiful sort of Creatures, born for slavery. That was a Warlike King, and exercised even from his youth in Wars with his Neighbours the Thracians, Illyrians, and all the Inhabitants round about: but this man (to omit all the rest of his life) is such an one, as that, when he was come over out of Asia into Europe to make War against the Romans, he did nothing more memorable in all the time of his Wintering, than that he married a Wife for love, out of a private Family, of obscure Parentage, even among her own Country Folks; and when he was newly married, went forth to War with his belly full of nuptial cheer. His greatest strength and hopes lay in the *Ætoli-ans*, a vain, ungrateful Nation, as you have formerly, and now *Antiochus* finds. For they neither met in any great number, nor could they be kept in their Camp; besides that they are now in an uproar: and though they had desired to defend *Hypata* and *Heraclea*, yet they secur'd neither, but fled, part of them into the tops of the Mountains, and part shut themselves up in *Heraclea*. The King himself confessing not only that he durst not come to a pitch'd Battle in plain ground, but not so much as Encamp in any open place, has now left all that Country before him, which he brag'd that he took from us and *Philip*, and hid himself among the Rocks; being posted, not before the Streights of the Mountains, as 'tis said the *Lacedæmonians* heretofore were, but quite within them; which is as great an argument of fear in him, as if he had shut himself up in the Walls of some City, to endure a Siege [rather than come out and fight for't. But neither will those streights secure *Antiochus*; nor those Hills, which they have taken, the *Ætoli-ans*. There hath care enough been taken of every side, and sufficient provision been made, that nothing should oppose you in the fight but the Foe. Now this you ought to propose to yourselves, that you fight not only for the liberty of Greece (though that were a glorious thing too to deliver Greece (which before we freed from *Philip*) now from the *Ætoli-ans* and *Antiochus*) nor that you are to have only that for your reward which is now in the Kings Camp: but that all those provisions also, that are every day expelled from *Ephesus*, will be your booty: and that afterward you will open a way for the Roman Empire over Asia, Syria, and all those wealthy Kingdoms that reach as far as the Sun's rising. What then shall we lack of circumscribing our bounds from Gades to the Indian Sea with the Ocean, which encompasses the whole World: and of having all mankind to adore, next to the Gods, the Roman name? For these so great rewards provide you equal minds, so as that to morrow we may, by the help of Heaven engage the Enemy.*

XVIII. The Souldiers being dismiss'd from this Assembly, before they refresh'd themselves, prepar'd their Arms and Darts; and at break of day, when the signal was given for a fight, the Consul marshal'd his men with a narrow Front, according to the nature and narrowness of the place. The King, when he saw the Enemies Ensigns, himself also brought forth his Forces. Part of the Light-Armour he planted foremost before the Bullwark, placing the strength of the *Macedonians*, whom they call *Sarissophori*, as a Fortification about the very works. On the left hand of these he set a party of Darters, Archers and Slingers, at the very Foot of the Mountain, to gall the Enemies naked flanks from that higher ground. On the right hand of those *Macedonians* even to the very end of the Fortifications, where fenny places, that are pathless even to the Sea (being full of clammy mud and quagmires) terminate them, he planted his Elephants with their usual guard, after them the Horse, and then, at a little distance, the other Forces in the second division of his Army. The *Macedonians* that were placed before the Bullwark, at first were well able to sustain the Roman Force, though they try'd on every side to make their way: being mightily assisted by those, who, from above, with Slings, threw a shower, as it were, of Bullets, Arrows and Darts together at them. But soon after, when the Enemies Force increas'd, and was no longer to be born, being beaten from their ground they retired into their Fortifications. There from

from the Bullwark they made almost another Bullwark with their Spears which they held before them. For the height of the Bullwark was so moderate, that it not only afforded a rise for their own men to fight upon, but likewise by reason of their Spears length commanded the Enemy below: insomuch that many of them who came rashly under the Bullwark were run through; and they had either retreated from their vain attempt, or more of them been slain, had not *M. Porcius Cato* appear'd from the top of *Callidromus*, after he had forced the *Ætoli-ans* thence, and kill'd great part of them (for he had surprized many of them before they were aware of him, or when they were asleep) upon an Hill that lay above the Camp.

*Flaccus* had not the same Fortune at *Tichius* and *Rhoduntia*, having in vain attempted to gain those Forts. The *Macedonians* and the rest that were in the Kings Camp, at first, whilst there appear'd nothing else a far off but a great crowd like an Army; thought the *Ætoli-ans* had been coming, when they saw the fight at a distance, to their aid. But as soon as the Ensigns and Arms, which nearer at hand they knew, had convinced them of that error, they were all immediately in such a fright, that they threw down their Arms and ran away. Now not only the Fortifications but the narrowness of the Vale through which they must have been pursu'd, hinder'd those that follow'd, but most of all the Elephants being in the Rear; by whom the Foot could scarce pass, but the Horse by no manner of means; their Horses were so scar'd [at them] making a greater disturbance among themselves than in the very Battle. The rising of the Camp too took up some time; yet they pursued the Enemy that day as far as *Scarphia*. And having kill'd and taken many, on the road, not only Horses and Men, but Elephants also, and slain those they could not take, they return'd to their Camp; which had been attempted that day, in the very time of the fight, by the *Ætoli-ans* that were Ingarrison'd at *Heraclea*, though without any success proportionable to their bold attempt. The Consul at the third watch of the night following, having sent the Horse before, to pursue the Foe, at break of day went forward with the Legions. *Antiochus* was gone somewhat before; as having never stopt in his flight till he came to *Elatia*: where having gather'd up all the remainder of the fight and flight, went with a very small number of half-arm'd Souldiers to *Chalcis*. The Roman Horse did not overtake the King himself indeed at *Elatia*, but they destroy'd great part of his scatter'd men, who staid there, being either tired with marching or wandering up and down, as having fled through unknown ways without any guides to conduct them. Nor did ever a man escape except five hundred that were about the Kings Person, of the whole Army; and but a small number of the ten thousand men, that I told you, *Polybius* said the King brought over with him into Greece. What if we believe *Valerius Antias*, who says, that there were sixty thousand Souldiers in the Kings Army, of which forty thousand were slain, and above five thousand taken, with two hundred and thirty military Ensigns? Of the Romans there fell a hundred and fifty in the very Battle, but defending themselves from the Incurion of the *Ætoli-ans*, not above fifty.

XX. Whilst the Consul led his Army through *Phocis* and *Boeotia*, the Cities being conscious of their revolt, stood before their several Gates in the garb of Suppliants, for fear they might be hostilely rifled: but he went on every day as if he had been in an Allies Country without doing any hurt at all, till he came into the *Coronean* Dominions. The Statue which was set up in the Temple of *Minerva Itonæ* moved him to passion: and therefore he gave the Souldiers leave to ravage all the Fields about that Temple. But then he bethought himself, that since that Statue had been set up by the common consent of all *Boeotia*, it was unworthy to be severe upon the *Coroneas* only: so that having immediately recall'd his Souldiers, he put an end to their plunder; and only chastiz'd the *Boeotians* in words for their ingratitude toward the Romans from whom they had receiv'd so great and late benefits. Just in the time of the fight ten Ships of the Kings with their Admiral *Isidorus* stood at *Thronium* in the *Malian* Bay. Thither *Alexander* of *Acarnania*, who was sick of his Wounds, having fled, as the Messenger of their unfortunate Battle, and therefore those Ships affrighted at the fresh news of such a terrible accident, went thence to *Ceneum* in *Eubœa*. There *Alexander* died and was buried. Three Ships also, which, being come from Asia, were got into the same Port, when they heard of the Armies overthrow, return'd to *Ephesus*. *Isidorus* from *Ceneum* went over to *Demetrias*, thinking that the King might happily fly thither. At the same time *A. Atilius*, Admiral of the Roman Navy, met a great deal of provisions belonging to the King, which came over the freight, that lies near the Island of *Andrus*; drowning some and taking others of the Ships [that brought it.] But those that came last turn'd their course into Asia; whilst *Atilius* going to *Piræus*, from whence he came, with the Fleet of Prize-Ships that he had taken, divided a great quantity of Corn, not only among the *Athenians*, but the other Allies of that Country.

*Antiochus* a little before the Consuls coming, departed from *Chalcis*, and first put in at *Tenus*; going thence to *Ephesus*. When the Consul came to *Chalcis*, the Gates were thrown open, since *Aristotle*, the Kings Prefect, upon his approach, had left the City. The other Cities also in *Eubœa* were deliver'd up without any contest, and in a few days, when all things were totally settled, the Army was carry'd back, (without the least hurt done to any City) to *Thermopylae*; being much more commendable for their moderation after Victory;



Victory, than for the Victory it self. Then the Consul sent *M. Cato*, by whom the Senate and People of *Rome* should know undoubtedly what was done, to *Rome*. He from *Crensa* (which is a Port of the *Thespiæ*, lying in the inmost part of the *Corinthian Bay*) went to *Patra* in *Achaia*; from whence he Coasted along the shores of *Ætolia* and *Acarnania* as far as *Coreyra*; and so to *Hydruntum* in *Italy*. In five dayes from thence he went, at a great rate, by Land to *Rome*: where entering the City before day, he went from the Gate straight to the Prætor *M. Junius*: who call'd a Senate as soon as 'twas day. Now *L. Cornelius Scipio*, who had been sent thither by the Consul some dayes before, when he came and heard that *Cato*, who got before him, was in the Senate, took him there just as he was telling the news. Thence the two Embassadors, by order of the Senate, were brought into the Assembly [of the People] where they related the same things concerning the affairs in *Ætolia*, as they had done in the Senate. Thereupon a Supplication was decreed for three dayes; and that the Prætor should make forty of the greater sort of Sacrifices to what Gods he thought good. At the same time also *M. Fulvius Nobilior*, who two years before went Prætor into the farther *Spain*, came ovariant into the City: carrying before him of Bigate Silver [i. e. stamp'd with the form of a Chariot] a hundred and thirty thousand pieces; and more than that, twelve thousand pounds of silver Bullion, with a hundred and twenty seven pounds of Gold.

XXII. *Acilius* the Consul sent before-hand from *Thermopyla* to the *Ætolians* at *Heraclea*; that they should then at least, when they had tried the Kings vanity, repent, and having deliver'd up *Heraclea*, should think of desiring the Senates pardon, whether for their fury or their error. That there were other Cities of Greece, besides them, which had revolted from the Romans, though they had deseru'd very well of them: but because, after the Kings flight, in confidence of whom they had departed from their duty, they had not added obstinacy to their crime, they were receiv'd into their protection again. So the *Ætolians* also, though they did not follow, but sent for the King, and had been Leaders not Allies in the War, if they could be penitent, might be safe. To which they answering not a Word, it was manifest that the business was to be done with their Swords in their hands, and that when the King was overcome, the *Ætolian War* would still remain entire, wherefore he removed his Camp from *Thermopyla* to *Heraclea*; and that very day, that he might know the situation of the City, rode round the Walls. Now *Heraclea* is seated at the Foot of Mount *Oeta*; but, though it self be in a Plain, has a Castle belonging to it, that stands upon an high place, that is every way a mere Precipice. When he had view'd all that was worth his knowing, he resolv'd to attack the City in four places at once. Toward the River *Asopus*, where there is also a place for exercise, he set *L. Valerius* to make works and begin the assault; giving *T. Sempronius* charge to batter the Castle without the Walls, in which there were full as many, if not more Inhabitants, than in the City. On the side of the *Mælian Bay*, which affords no easy access, he planted *M. Babius*; and to the other small River, call'd *Melana*, over against *Dianas Temple*, set *Ap. Claudius*. By the great endeavours of these men, within a few dayes the Towers, Rams, and all other Warlike preparations for the attacking of Cities, were made and finish'd. For as the Country about *Heraclea*, being all Fenny, and full of tall Trees, supply'd very plentiful materials for all sorts of works, so, because the *Ætolians* were fled into their Walls, and the Houses in the Skirts of the City were deserted, they afforded not only Rafter and Planks, but Brick also and Mortar, with Stones of different bigness, for several uses.

XXIII. Now the Romans attack'd this City with their works more than their Arms; as the *Ætolians*, on the contrary, defended themselves with their Arms only. For when their Walls were shaken by the Rams, they did not with Ropes (as it is usual) receive and divert the blows; but fallied out all in Arms, many of them together, and some too with fire in their hands, to throw into the Enemies Works. There were also Arches in the Walls, fit to run out at; which they themselves, when they repaired those parts of the Wall that were knock'd down, made more numerous, that they might fall out upon the Enemy to better purpose. This they did the first dayes, whilst their strength continu'd entire, with all alacrity and in great numbers; but afterward every day fewer and more slowly. For, though though they were prest with many inconveniences, no thing did them so much hurt as watching; the Romans, who had Souldiers enough, succeeding one into the post of another, whilst the *Ætolians*, being but few, were teaz'd with continual labour, the same persons, several nights and dayes together. For twenty four dayes, in which they never rested from fighting, they work'd perpetually against the Enemy, who attack'd them in four places at once. When therefore the Consul understood that the *Ætolians* were now tired both by the time, and by the Fugitives that said so, he took this course; In the middle of the night, he order'd his men to retreat, and drawing them off from the Siege, kept them all quiet in his Camp till the third hour of the day: from which time the attack was afresh begun and continu'd till midnight again, being then intermitted till the third hour of the day, as before. Hereupon the *Ætolians*, supposing the same weariness to be the cause of their omitting the Assault, which had affected themselves also; when the signal was given for a retreat (as though they too had been recall'd by the same sound) went every man of them from their Posts; nor appear'd in Arms upon the Walls before the third hour of the day.

The

XXIV. The Consul having intermitted the attack at midnight, set upon it again at the fourth watch with all his force in three places at once; commanding *T. Sempronius* to keep the Souldiers on one side intent in expectation of the signal; because he supposed that the Enemy would certainly run all together in a nocturnal tumult to that place, whence they heard the noise come. The *Ætolians* who were part of them asleep, as tired with labour and watching, with much ado got up: whilst others, who were still awake ran toward the noise of people fighting in the dark; The Enemies endeavour'd partly to get over the ruins of the fallen Wall, and partly with Ladders attempted to get up. In opposition to whom the *Ætolians* flockt from all parts to assist [their Fellow-Citizens.] One side, in which there were Houses without the City, was neither defended nor opposed: but those that were to attack it, waited very intently for the signal, there being none to defend it. It was now day-light, when the Consul gave the signal: and then without any opposition, partly through the brachies, and partly with Ladders they got over the entire Walls. With that there was a shout heard as when a Town is taken; at which the *Ætolians*, deserting their Stations, fled from all parts into the Castle. The Conquerors by the Consuls permission, rifled the Town; not so much out of anger, or hatred, as that the Souldiers, who had been restrain'd in so many Cities, that they had taken from the Enemy, might in some one place at last perceive the benefit of gaining a Victory. But having recall'd the Souldiers about noon, he divided them into two Parties; whereof he order'd the one to be led round at the Foot of the Mountain to a Rock (which, being full as high, seems in the middle of the Valley as though it had been broken off from the Castle Hill: but the tops of those two Mountains are so nigh, that from the other Summit you may throw a Dart into the Castle) whilst with the other half the Consul, being to go up from the City into the Castle, waited for the signal from those that were gone about up to the top of the Rock.

XXV. The *Ætolians*, that were in the Castle, could not endure either the shout of those who had taken the Rock, or, after that, the shock of the Romans from the City, their spirits being now quite daunted; besides, that they had made no farther provisions for holding out the Siege any longer: for their Women and Children, with all the other weak crew were got into the Castle, which was scarce able to contain, much less to defend so great a multitude. Wherefore upon the first Assault they surrender'd themselves. *Damocritus*, among the rest of the *Ætolian Nobility*, was one that was deliver'd up: who in the beginning of the War, when *T. Quintius* desired the *Ætolians* Decree, whereby they order'd that *Antiochus* should be sent for, made Answer and said, He would give it him in Italy when the *Ætolians* had Encamped there. For the sake of his insolence therefore the Conquerors were the more rejoyced at their Victory. At the same time that the Romans attack'd *Heraclea*, *Philip* by consent attempted *Lamia*; having about *Thermopyla* met the Consul, as he was coming back out of *Bæotia*, to congratulate both him and the Roman People upon the score of their Victory, and to excuse himself, that being hinder'd by sickness he had not been concern'd in the War. From thence they went several wayes to attack two Cities at once, that lie some seven thousand paces asunder. And because *Lamia* not only stands upon a Bank, but also looks chiefly to that part of the Country, where the distance seems short, and all things are in view; the Romans and the *Macedonians* being Antagonists as it were both day and night as well in their works as their fighting, the *Macedonians* had thus much the greater difficulty, that the Romans attack'd it with Mounds, Galleries and all their works above ground, but the *Macedonians* under ground with Mines; and in rough places an impenetrable Flint Rock many times resisted their tools. Wherefore seeing that design went but slowly on, the King by the Nobility tempted the Townsmen to surrender the City: being well assured, that if *Heraclea* were first taken, they would surrender themselves to the Romans rather than to him: and that the Consul would have the opportunity of obliging them in his stead, by raising the Siege. Nor was he deceiv'd in his guess: for immediately their came a Message from *Heraclea*, as soon as it was taken, that he should abstain from making any farther attempt upon it: For that it was more fit, that the Roman Souldiers, who had fought a pitch'd Battle with the *Ætolians*, should have the rewards of Victory. So they retired from *Lamia*, which by the warning it had in the case of *Heraclea*, a Neighbouring City, avoided suffering of the same thing.

XXVI. A few dayes before *Heraclea* was taken, the *Ætolians* having summon'd a Council to *Hy-pata*, sent Embassadors to *Antiochus*; among whom *Thoas* was one, being the same person who was formerly sent. Their Orders were, first, to desire the King, that he would muster up all his Land and Sea Forces, and come again over into Greece: and next, that if he were kept by any business there, that he would send them men and money. That that did not only concern his dignity and honour not to betray his Allies, but conducted also to the safety of his Kingdom, not to let the Romans (who would be void of all care, when they had quite destroy'd the *Ætolian Nation*) come over with all their Forces into Asia. What they said was true, and therefore it mov'd the King so much the more. Wherefore at present he gave the Embassadors what money was necessary for the uses of the War, affirming that he would send them both Land and Naval Auxiliaries. But he kept one of them there with him, and that was *Thoas*; who was not unwilling to stay, because he had a mind to be still present to put the King continually in mind of his Promises.

But

XXVII. But the taking of *Heraclea* at last broke the *Ætolians* hearts: and therefore a few days after they had sent Embassadors into *Asia* to renew and excite the King, laying aside all thoughts of a War, they sent Agents to the Consul to desire a Peace. Whom, when they had begun to speak, the Consul interrupted and said, *He had other business to mind before theirs*; sending them back to *Hypata* (but granted them a Truce of ten dayes) and *L. Valerius Flaccus* along with them; and bidding them tell him what they had then a mind to say to him himself, or any thing else that they had to desire. When they came to *Hypata*, the *Ætolian* Nobility held a Council at *Flaccus's* House, consulting, in what manner they ought to apply themselves to the Consul. But when they were going to recount their ancient rights of Leagues, and their deserts toward the Romans, *Flaccus* bad them not pretend to those things, which they themselves had violated: that a confession of their fault would do them more good, and Speech turn'd all into Petition. For their hopes of safety lay not in their cause, but in the Clemency of the Roman People. That he would assist them, if they behaved themselves like suppliants, both with the Consul and the Senate at Rome: for thither also they must needs send Embassadors. This therefore they all thought the only means for their preservation; To put themselves upon the honour of the Romans. For by this method they should not only lay an obligation upon that people not to hurt them, as suppliants; but should themselves also continue free, if fortune gave them any better prospect.

XXVIII. When they came to the Consul, *Pheneas*, who was head of the Embassy, made a long Speech, which was so variously compos'd to mitigate the anger of the Conquerour, that at the end of it he said, that the *Ætolians* committed themselves and all they had to the mercy and goodness of the Romans. Which when the Consul heard, he reply'd, *Be sure, Ætolians! that you do so*. Then *Pheneas* shew'd the Decree, in which it was so, expressly, written; whereupon the Consul said, *Since you are so resolv'd, I require that you immediately deliver up into my hands Dicaarchus your Fellow-Citizen, and Menetas the Epirote* (He was got with a guard into *Naupactum*, and had tempted that Town to revolt) and *Amynder*, with the *Athaman* Nobility, by whose advice you revolted from us. With that *Pheneas*, standing by him, put in and told the Consul; *We do not commit our selves to you as slaves, but for protection; though I am well assur'd, that you through want of knowledge are now mistaken in laying such injunctions upon us, as are not correspondent to the Customs of Greece*. To which the Consul made Answer; *For that I care not, what the Ætolians think consonant to the Grecian Customs; whilst I, after the Roman fashion, have that command over men that have surrender'd themselves; being conquer'd, now by your own Decree, as before by our arms. Wherefore unless what I order'd be presently done, I now command you to be bound: and with that, he bid his Servants bring thither some Chains, and the Lictors to stand ready about him*. Upon which words of his, both *Pheneas* and the other *Ætolians* were discouraged, and at last perceiv'd what case they were in. Wherefore *Pheneas* said, that he and all the *Ætolians*, there present, knew, they must do as they were bidden; but that, to determine of those things, they must call a Council of the *Ætolians*. For which he desir'd, they might have a Truce of ten dayes. Upon a motion made by *Flaccus* on behalf of the *Ætolians* they had a Truce granted them; and so return'd to *Hypata*. Where, when, in a Council of their chosen men, whom they call *Apocleti*, *Pheneas* had declar'd both what was injoin'd them, and what had like to have befallen them, the Nobility indeed bewailed their condition, but yet thought fit to obey the Conquerour, and summon all the *Ætolians* out of the several Towns to a general Assembly.

XXIX. When all the Commonalty came together, and heard the same things, they were so exasperated at the severity and indignity of the Injunction, that, if they had been in Peace, they might by that sudden passion have been excited to a War. But their indignation was encreased too by the difficulty of what they were obliged to; *For how could they deliver up Amynder, who was a King? As also by the hopes which they had then by chance given them, in that Nicander at that time coming from King Antiochus fill'd the multitude with vain expectations, that both by Sea and Land there were great preparations for a War*. He on the twelfth day after he took Shipping, return'd into *Ætolia*, having perfected his Embassy, and arrived at *Phalara* in the *Malian* Bay. From whence when he had carried the money to *Lamia*, himself with certain of his most active men, toward the Evening, in the Fields that lay between the Roman and the *Macedonian* Camp, as he was going through wayes, that he knew, to *Hypata*, fell into the hands of the *Macedonians*: and was brought to the King before Supper was quite over. Which being told him, *Philip*, who was concern'd as though a Guest not an Enemy had been come in, bad him lie down and take part of what they had: but soon after having sent away all the rest, kept him there alone, forbidding him to fear any thing. Then he blamed the *Ætolians* for their ill Counsels, which all return'd upon their own heads: they having first brought the Romans and then *Antiochus* into Greece. But that he had forgotten things that were past, which might be easier reprehended than corrected, and would not insult over their adversity. That the *Ætolians* also ought to put an end to their animosities against him; and *Nicander* particularly be mindful of that day, on which he was by him preserv'd. So, having a Convoy order'd to carry him safe on his way, *Nicander* came to *Hypata* as they were consulting about a Peace with the Romans.

XXX. *Manius Acilius*, having fold or given to his Soldiers the booty about *Heraclea*, when he heard

heard that they were all in disorder at *Hypata*, and also that the *Ætolians* flock'd to *Naupactum*, that thence they might receive the whole flock of the War, sent *Ap. Claudius* before hand with four Thousand Men to seize the tops of the Mountains, that were hard to pass, and himself got upon *Oeta*; where he made a Sacrifice to *Hercules* in that Place, which they call *Pyra*, because there the mortal Body of that God was burnt. Then marching away with his whole Army, he went the rest of his Journey with ease and speed enough. When he came to *Corax* (which is a very high Mountain between *Callipolis* and *Naupactum*) there many of his Beasts fell headlong, they and their Burdens, out of the Army, and the Men were fore put to it. But it was very obvious to observe, with what a slothful Enemy they had to do, who had not secur'd so rough a pass with any Guard, to hinder any Enemies going that way. He therefore seeing his Army was teaz'd there too, went down to *Naupactum*; and having set up one Bastion against the Castle, he besieged the other parts of the City, by dividing his Forces according to the situation of the Walls. Nor did that attack cost him less work and trouble than that of *Heraclea*.

At the same time also *Messene* in *Peloponnesus*, for refusing to be of their Council, was besieged by the *Achaans*. For two Cities, *Messene* and *Elis*, were out of the *Achaean* Council, and joyned with the *Ætolians*. Yet the *Eleans*, after *Antiochus* was driven out of Greece, gave the *Achaean* Embassadors a milder answer, *That dismissing the Kings Guards there they would consider what they ought best to do*. But the *Messenians* having sent the Embassadors away without any answer at all, had rais'd War; and being in a fright upon their own account (now that their Country was burnt all over with a destructive Army, and they saw a Camp pitch'd hard by their City) sent Embassadors to *T. Quintius* at *Chalcis*, who was the Author of their liberty, to tell him, *That the Messenians were ready both to open their Gates and surrender themselves to the Romans, but not to the Achæans*. Having heard the Embassadors, *Quintius* went immediately from *Chalcis* to *Megalopolis*; from whence he sent to *Diophanes* Prætor [or Stadt-holder] of *Achaia*, a Messenger, to bid him presently bring back his Army from *Messene*, and come to him. *Diophanes* did as he was order'd; and raising the Siege, went himself with all speed before the Army, so as that he met *Quintius* about *Ardania*, a little Town between *Megalopolis* and *Messene*. Where when he had told the reasons of his besieging *Messene*, *Quintius* having given him some gentle correction, *That he would dare to do so great a thing without his leave, commanded him to disband his Army, and not disturb that peace which was design'd for a general good; bidding the Messenians, Carry back the banish'd persons, and joyn with the Achaean Council. If they had any thing either at present to except against, or for the future to provide against, that they should come to him at Corinth*. Then he commanded *Diophanes* forthwith to summon him a Council of the *Achaans*; in which, complaining that the Island of *Zazynthus* was intercepted by fraudulent means, he required, *That it should be restored to the Romans*. Now *Zazynthus* had formerly belonged to *Philip* King of *Macedon*, who had given it as an acknowledgment to *Amynder* for letting him lead his Army through *Athamania* into the upper part of *Ætolia*; in which expedition, having broken their hearts, he forced the *Ætolians* to sue for Peace. *Amynder* made *Philip* of *Megalopolis* Governour of that Island; whither afterward (in the time of the War, wherein he joyned with *Antiochus* against the Romans) having recall'd *Philip* to assist him in the management of his affairs, he sent *Hierocles* of *Agigentum* as his successor. He, after *Antiochus's* flight from *Thermopyla*, and *Amynder's* being beaten out of *Athamania* by *Philip*, sent Messengers of his own accord to *Diophanes* the Prætor of the *Achaans*, and for a certain sum of Money delivered up the Island to the *Achaans*. That the Romans thought ought to be theirs by right of War: for *Manius Acilius* the Consul, and the Roman Legions, did not fight against *Diophanes* and the *Achaans* at *Thermopyla*. In answer to this, *Diophanes* one while endeavour'd to clear himself and his Nation, and anon discour'd of the lawfulness of the action. Some of the *Achaans* not only at first said they abhor'd such a thing, but then also blam'd the Prætors obstinacy; so that by their advice it was decreed, *That the whole matter should be left to T. Quintius*.

Now *Quintius*, as he was severe to those that oppos'd him, so, if they would yield, he was very kind. Wherefore omitting all signs of passion either in his voice or face, he told them, *Gentlemen! If I thought your having of that Island would be advantageous to the Achæans, I would advise the Senate and People of Rome, to let you have it. But as I see a Tortoise, when he is gathered up into his shell, is secure against all blows; but when he puts forth any part, is obnoxious to injuries, and infirm wherever he is naked; so I do you Achæans, who being enclosed on every side by the Sea, can easily join to you all that is within the limits of Peloponnesus, and defend the same when so united; but as soon as you exceed those bounds out of a greedy desire to grasp at more, all your parts without are naked, and expos'd to every blow*. With that all the Council assenting, *Diophanes* durst no longer oppose it, and therefore *Zazynthus* was deliver'd up to the Romans.

At the same time King *Philip* having ask'd the Consul, who was then going to *Naupactum*, whether he would have him in the mean time retake those Cities, which had revolted from the Roman Alliance; the Consul gave him leave. Whereupon he drew his Forces to *Demetrias*, being inform'd how great a disturbance there was in that City. For they being disappointed

disappointed in all their hopes, when they saw themselves deserted by *Antiochus*, and that there was no relying upon the *Aetolians*, they day and night expected the coming either of their Enemy King *Philip*, or (which would be much more fatal to them (they being more justly incens'd) of the *Romans*. In that City there was a rude multitude of the Kings men; who having been first a few of them left in *Garison*, though more came afterward, most of them unarm'd, from an unfortunate Battle, had neither strength nor courage sufficient to endure a Siege. Wherefore *Philip* having sent certain persons before, to give them hopes of getting their pardon, they made Answer, that their Gates were open for the King. At his first entrance some of the Nobility went out of the City, but *Eurylochus* kill'd himself. *Antiochus's* Souldiers (for so they had agreed) were carried through *Macedonia* and *Thrace* by a Convoy of *Macedonians* (lest any one should injure them) to *Lyfimachia*. There were also some few Ships at *Demetrias*, commanded by *Isidorus*; which were with their Admiral in like manner dismissed. Then he took *Dolopia*, *Aperantia*, and several Cities of *Perrabia*.

XXXIV. Whilst *Philip* did thus, *T. Quintius* having taken possession of *Zacynthus*, by order from the Council of *Achaia*, went over to *Naupactum*: which had been now attack'd for two Months (but it was very near being taken) and therefore if it happen'd to be taken by force, all the *Aetolians* in it would questionless be utterly destroy'd. But though he were justly angry at the *Aetolians*, for that he remembered they were the only people that envy'd his glory, when he deliver'd *Greece*; besides that they were not at all mov'd by his authority, when, telling them before hand that those things which then had really come to pass, would fall out, he deterr'd them from their mad design; yet thinking it his duty, not utterly to ruine any Nation of *Greece*, which he himself had freed, he began to walk about the Walls, that he might be the better known to the *Aetolians*. With that immediately he was discover'd by the first guard, and it was presently noised through all the Town, that it was *Quintius*. Wherefore the Towns-folks running all to the Walls, held up their hands every one, and with an united cry, call'd out to *Quintius*, by name, to help and save them. Now at that time, though he was really moved with what they said, yet he made a sign with his hand, that he could not assist them. But when he came to the Consul, *Do you not know*, said he (*Manius Acilius*) *what we are a doing? or, because you are a provident person, do you think it does not much concern the interest of the Common-wealth?* By this he put the Consul into an expectation, which made him say, *Well then, why don't you tell me what 'tis?* To which *Quintius* reply'd; *Do not you see that you, since you conquer'd Antiochus, have spent your time in attacking of two Cities, till your year is now almost expired: but that Philip, who never saw any Army, nor any Ensigns belonging to an Enemy, has united to himself not only Cities, but even so many Nations now, as Athamania, Perræbia, Aperantia and Dolopia? Now it does not so much concern us to have the Aetolian strength and wealth diminish'd, as it does that Philip should not grow too great; and that you and your Souldiers should not yet have two Cities for the reward of your Victories, whilst Philip has so many Nations.*

XXXV. The Consul assented to what he said, but the shame of raising the Siege without any effect, made him hold his tongue; till at last the whole matter was left to *Quintius*. He therefore went back to that part of the Wall, where the *Aetolians* a little before had cry'd out; and there, seeing they so heartily desir'd, that he would take pity upon the *Aetolians*, he order'd some of them to come out to him. Whereupon *Phaneas* and the rest of the Nobility immediately went forth; and as they lay at his Feet, he told them; *Your condition makes me restrain both my passion and my speech. Those things that I foretold are now come to pass: Nor have you so much as this left you, that you may seem not to deserve what you now suffer. Yet I, who am destin'd by a kind of fatality to cherish Greece, will not refuse to do good even to the ungrateful. Send your Agents to the Consul, to desire a Truce that may continue till you can send Embassadors to Rome, by whom you may put your selves into the Senates disposal; I will be your Advocate, and defend you before the Consul.* As *Quintius* directed, so they did; nor did the Consul slight their Embassy; but having given them a Truce till a certain day, on which their Embassy might be dispatch'd from *Rome*, the Siege was raised and the Army sent into *Phocis*. The Consul with *L. Quintius* went over to the *Achaian* Council at *Agium*. There they treated about restoring the *Eleans* and the *Lacedemonians* that were banish'd: but neither of those businesses came to any Issue: because the *Achaens* would have it left to their good will, and the *Eleans* would rather join with the *Achaian* Council of their own free inclinations than by the direction of the *Romans*. Then there came to the Consul Embassadors out of *Epirus*, which was well known not to be true to their Alliance; though they had given *Antiochus* no assistance. They were also accused to have supply'd the King with money; nor could they themselves deny but they had sent Embassadors to him. To these people therefore, when they desired, that they might contract their former Friendship, the Consul reply'd, that he did not yet know, whether he ought to take them for Enemies or Friends; that the Senate should be the judges of that: for he would refer the whole matter to *Rome*, and upon that account would grant them a Truce of ninety dayes. The *Epirotes* sent to *Rome*, went to the Senate; from whom (having told what acts of hostility they had not done, rather than cleared themselves from what was objected against them) they had such an Answer as might

might signifie, they had gain'd their pardon, but not vindicated their innocence. King *Philip's* Embassadors also were a little before brought into the Senate, to congratulate concerning the Victory: to whom, when they desired, that they might Sacrifice in the Capitol, and set up an offering of Gold in the Temple of *Jupiter*, the Senate gave permission. Whereupon they presented a Crown of gold of a hundred pound weight. Nor had the Embassadors a civil Answer only; but *Demetrius* also, *Philip's* Son, who was an Hostage at *Rome*, was deliver'd to the Embassadors to be carry'd back to his Father. Now the War which was waged in *Greece* with King *Antiochus* by *Manius Acilius* the Consul was thus ended.

The other Consul *P. Cornelius Scipio*, who happen'd to have the Province of *Gaul*, before XXXVI. he went to the War, which he was to wage against the *Boii*, desired of the Senate, That he might have Money granted him for those Games, which when he was *Pro-Prator* in *Spain*, he had vow'd in the very midst of a fight. But he seem'd to ask a thing which was new and unreasonable; wherefore they declared, That, what Games he had vow'd to set forth of his own head, without consulting the Senate, he should perform either out of the Spoils taken in that War, if he had reserv'd any thing for that end, or out of his own purse. *P. Cornelius* set forth those Plays [or Games] for ten Days together. About the same time the Temple of the *Mater magna Idea* [i. e. *Cybele*, Mother of the Gods] was dedicated: which Goddess that same *P. Cornelius* brought from the Sea side into the Palace when she came from *Asia*, in the Year that *P. Cornelius Scipio*, who was afterward surnamed *Africanus*, and *P. Licinius* were Consuls. *M. Livius* and *C. Claudius* when they were Censors, in the consulate of *M. Cornelius* and *T. Sempronius*, had agreed for the building of that Temple, and *M. Junius Brutus* dedicated it thirteen Years after it was agreed for; and there were Plays made at the dedication of it, which, *Valerius Antias* says, were the first Stage-Plays, call'd *Megalesia*. Then also, *C. Licinius Lucullus*, the *Duumvir*, dedicated the Temple of Youth in the *Circus Maximus* [a place for exercise] which *M. Livius* the Consul had vow'd to build sixteen Years before, the Day that he defeated *Asdrubal* and all his Army. The same Man, when Censor, set it out to be built, in the Consulship of *M. Cornelius* and *P. Sempronius*. At the dedication of this too there were Plays acted; and all things were performed with so much the more religious respect, for that there was then a new War drawing on with *Antiochus*.

In the beginning of that Year, in which these things were transacted (*Manius Acilius* XXXVII. being already gone to the War, and *P. Cornelius* the Consul staying yet at *Rome*) 'tis said, that two tame Oxen in the [street call'd] *Curia*, got up by Ladders upon the Tiles of an House. Then the Soothsayers ordered to be burnt alive, and their ashes to be thrown into the *Tiber*. At *Tarracina* and *Amitemum* it was reported, That it several times rained stones. That at *Minturnæ* the Temple of *Jupiter* and the Shops about the Forum were burnt by Lightning; and that at *Vulturnum* two Ships in the mouth of the River were struck with a Thunderbolt and burnt. Upon the account of those Prodigies the *Decemviri* having consulted the *Sibyls* Books, declared, That there ought to be a fast proclaimed to *Ceres*, and that to be observ'd every fifth Year; that a nine days sacrifice must be made; that a Supplication ought to be for one day; that they should supplicate with Crowns on their heads; and that the Consul *P. Cornelius* should sacrifice to what Gods and with what sacrifices the *Decemviri* appointed. Having appealed the Gods, not only by a right performance of all Vows, but also by an expiation for Prodigies, the Consul went into his Province, and ordered *Cn. Domitius* the Proconsul, when the Army was disbanded, to depart thence to *Rome*, whilst he himself led his Legions into the Country of the *Boii*.

Much about the same time, the *Ligurians*, having by their sacred Law mustered up an XXXVIII. Army, in the Night time surprized the Camp of *Q. Minucius* the Proconsul, who till Day light kept his Men in Battalia within the Bulwark; and carefully watching that the Enemy might not in any part get over his Fortifications, at break of Day, made a sally out at two Gates together. But the *Ligurians* were not (as he hoped they would have been) repelled by the first effort; for they endured the doubtful conflict above two Hours. At last, when several parties fallied forth one after another, so that fresh Men still succeeded those that were tired into the fight, the *Ligurians*, who were tired (among other things) with watching, turn'd their backs. There were slain above four Thousand of the Enemy, though, of the *Romans* and their Allies, not quite three Hundred. Nigh two Months after, *P. Cornelius* the Consul fought a remarkable pitch'd Battel with the Army of the *Boii*, in which there were twenty eight Thousand of the Enemies kill'd, as *Valerius Antias* says, three Thousand four Hundred taken, with one Hundred twenty four Military Ensigns, one Thousand two Hundred and thirty Horses, and two Hundred and forty seven Waggon; whereas there fell, of the Conquerours, only four Hundred eighty four. Now though as to the number we cannot well believe this Writer (because that in enhancing of an account there is no Man more lavish than he is) yet it appears to have been a great Victory; in that, not only their Camp was taken, but the *Boii* also immediately after that fright surrendered themselves; besides that there was a Supplication ordered by the Senate upon the score of that Victory, and the greater sort of Sacrifices offered.

At the same time *M. Fulvius Nobilior*, coming out of the farther *Spain*, made his entry XXXIX. into

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into the City Ovant, and brought along with him ten Thousand Pounds of Silver Bullion, of bigate Silver [Itamp'd with a Chariot] one Hundred and thirty [Thousand Deniers] and of Gold one Hundred twenty five Pounds. P. Cornelius, having first taken Hostages from the Boii, mulcted them in almost half their Country, whither, if they pleas'd, the Romans might send Colonies. Then going to Rome, as to a certain Triumph, he dismiss'd his Army, and ordered them to be at Rome upon the Day of his intended Triumph; whilst he himself, the next Day after he arriv'd, having a Senate summon'd upon his account in the Temple of Bellona (when he had discours'd of the exploits that he had done) desired, that he might ride in Triumph into the City. To which P. Sempronius Blasus, Tribune of the People made Answer, That he was of opinion, they ought not to deny Scipio the honour of a Triumph, but only to defer it. That the Ligurian were always join'd with the Gallick Wars: for that those Nations, being near Neighbours, us'd mutually to assist one the other. If P. Scipio, when he had defeated the Boii, had either himself gone over with his Victorious Army into the Ligurian Territories, or had sent part of his Forces to Q. Minucius, who was detain'd there by a doubtful War, now onward of three years, they might have made an end of the War with the Ligurians. But now, that those Souldiers were brought away to attend his triumph, who might have done the Commonwealth great service: and might so still, if the Senate would restore that by deferring the triumph, which they by too much hastening of it had omitted. Wherefore, that they ought to command the Consul to return into his Province, and do what he could to subdue the Ligurians. For till they were totally subjected to the people of Rome, the Boii would not be at rest, nor should they have either perfect Peace or War. That some few months after the Ligurians were conquer'd, the Pro-Consul P. Cornelius, after the example of many, who had not triumph'd in the time of their Magistracy, should triumph.

XL.

To that the Consul said, That he neither had Liguria for his Province, nor had he waged any War with that Nation, nor consequently did he desire to triumph upon their account. That he hoped Q. Minucius in a short time, when he had subdu'd that people, would for that require and obtain a deserved triumph. That he desired to triumph over the Gauls, called the Boii, whom he had conquer'd, and forced from their Camps: and whose whole Country he two dayes after the fight, had taken by Surrender, having likewise brought Hostages from thence as a pledge of future Peace. But that it was a far greater thing [for him to brag on] that he had slain so many Gauls in the Battle; that no General ever before him engaged with so many thousands of the Boii: that above the half of fifty thousand men were slain, many thousands taken, and none left in that Country save old men and Children. So then, could any one admire, why a conquering Army, who had left no Enemy behind them in the Province, should come to Rome to celebrate the Consul's Triumph? Which Souldiers if the Senate had a mind to employ in any other Province, by what means did they think to make them go more readily upon fresh dangerous designs, or new toils; by presently giving them the reward of their past service, or by sending them away with hopes instead of realities; disappointed of their first expectations? For as to himself, he had gotten glory enough for all his life time, that day, whereon the Senate, judging him to be the best man in the City, had sent him to receive the Mater Idæa [i.e. Cybele.] That barely upon this account, though no Consulship, nor any triumph had been added to it, P. Scipio Nasica's Image would be creditable and honourable enough. Thereupon the whole Senate not only themselves consented to Decree him a triumph, but also by their authority forced the Tribune of the People to remit his Intercession. So P. Cornelius the Consul triumph'd over the Boii; carrying through the City, in Gallick Waggon, Arms, Ensigns and spoils of all sorts, with brazen Gallick Vessels, as likewise besides the noble Captives, an Herd of Horses that he took, and golden Chains to the number of fourteen hundred and seventy. Add to these, of gold two hundred forty five pounds, of silver try'd and untry'd, in gallick Vessels, artfully made after their fashion, two thousand three hundred and forty pounds; of Bigates two hundred thirty three thousand. Among the Souldiers, that follow'd his Chariot, he distributed three hundred and twenty five Asles a piece; giving double that to a Centurion, and treble to an Horseman. The next day calling an Assembly, when he had discours'd of his achievements, and of the injury done him by the Tribune, who must needs concern himself with another mans War, to defraud him of the benefit of his Victory, disbanded his men and dismiss'd them.

XLI.

Whilst these things were done in Italy, Antiochus at Ephesus was very secure touching the Roman War, as though the Romans were not like to come over into Asia. Which security great part of his Friends created in him either through error, or flattery. Only Annibal, who, at that time, was a great Favourite of the Kings, said, That he wonder'd more, the Romans were not already in Asia, than he doubted that they would come. That it was nearer to get over out of Greece into Asia, than out of Italy into Greece: and that Antiochus was a far greater cause [of such an Expedition] than the Etolians. Nor were the Romans less powerful by Sea than Land; having long since had an Army about Malea. That he heard, there was new Ships and a new Commander, to carry on the affair, already come out of Italy. Wherefore, that Antiochus should cease to form a Peace by vain hopes within himself: for he must e'r long, in Asia and for Asia, engage both by Land and Sea with the Romans: and either take away their Empire, who aim'd at the Government of the whole World, or lose his own Kingdom. He was the only man that seem'd to foresee and faithfully to foretel what would come to pass. Wherefore the

the King himself with the Ships that were ready fitted out, went to Chersonesus; that he might fortifie those parts with Garisons, if the Romans perchance should come by Land. The other part of the Fleet he order'd Polyxenidas to muster up and bring along, sending Scout-Ships to search all places round about the Islands.

C. Livius, Admiral of the Roman Fleet, going out with fifty men of War, failed from Rome to Naples, where he had order'd the open-deckt Ships belonging to their Allies of that Country to meet him, and thence went over to Sicily: and being past through the streights by Messina, after he had received six punick Ships, sent to assist him; and exacted the Ships that were due from the Rhegines, Locrians, and those kind of Allies, he took a survey of the Navy at Lacinium, and went out to Sea. When he came to Corcyra, the first Greek City he arriv'd at, enquiring of the state of the War (for Greece was not yet at perfect Peace) and where the Roman Navy was, when he heard, that the King and Consul were posted near the streights of Thermopylae, but the Navy was at Piræus: thinking it his best way to make hast upon all accounts, he straight failed forward; and having forthwith plunder'd Peloponnesus, Samus and Zazynthus, because they chose formerly to side with the Etolians, he went to Malea, to which having a prosperous Voyage, he in a few days got to the old Navy at Piræus. At Scylla King Eumenes met him with three Ships, after he had been for a long time at Egina, unresolv'd, whether he should return to defend his Kingdom (for he heard that Antiochus was preparing both Naval and Land Forces at Ephesus) or never leave the Romans, upon whose Fortune his own depended. From the Piræus A. Atilius, having deliver'd the twenty five men of War to his Successor, went to Rome. Livius with eighty one beaked Ships, and many more lesser ones, which were either open with Beaks, or without Beaks, were Scoutships cross'd over to Delus.

About that time the Consul Acilius attack'd Naupactum. Contrary Winds kept Livy for some dayes at Delos, that being the most stormy place among the Cyclades, which are disjoint'd from each other sometimes with greater and sometimes with lesser streights. Polyxenidas being inform'd by the Scout-Ships, he had sent to cruise about, that the Roman Fleet stood at Delos, sent Messengers to the King; who, omitting what he was then doing in Hellepont, return'd, as fast as he possibly could, with his Beaked Ships to Ephesus; where he immediately consulted, Whether he should run the hazard of a naval fight. To which Polyxenidas answer'd; That he ought not to be idle; but that he should engage before Eumenes's Navy and the Rhodians join'd the Romans: for by that means they should not be much too disproportionate in number; who were in all other superiour to the Eoc, both as to the swiftness of their Navy, and the variety of their Auxiliaries. For the Roman Ships, as they were cloutery built and immovable, so also, as coming into an Enemies Country, were loaded with provisions; but theirs would have nothing (as leaving all things in peace round about them) excepting Souldiers and Arms: besides that the knowledge of the Sea, Lands and Winds would be of great advantage to them, though they would all be prejudicial to the Enemy, who had no skill in them. The Author of this Counsel moved them every one, and he put his advice in execution too. Having staid two dayes to make provision, the third day, with a hundred Ships (of which seventy were cover'd and the rest open, all of a smaller size) setting out went to Phocæa. There the King having heard that the Roman Navy was at hand, because he resolv'd not to be present at that Naval Engagement, he departed to Magnesia, by Sipylus, to raise Land Forces. The Fleet went to Cyssus, a Port of the Erythraeans, as being a more commodious place for them to stay and expect the Enemy. The Romans, as soon as the Northwinds were fallen (for they had blown for some dayes) made over from Dolus to Phane, a Port belonging to the Chians, lying toward the Aegean Sea: from whence they brought their Ships about to the chief City, and having taken in provisions, went over to Phocæa. Eumenes going to Elæa to his Navy some few days after, with 24. cover'd Ships, and more open ones, return'd a little way from Phocæa to the Romans who were making ready for a Sea fight. So going from thence with 150. cover'd Ships, and almost 50. open ones, they being at first blown toward the shore by contrary North winds, were forced to go in a slender Body almost one a Breast; till when the wind was a little allay'd they endeavour'd to put over into the Port of Corycus, which is above Cyssus.

Polyxenidas, when he heard that the Enemy was at hand, being glad of the opportunity of fighting, himself extended his left Wing into the Sea, bidding his Officers place the right Wing toward the Land, and went forth with an even Front to the fight. Which when the Roman saw, he furl'd his Sails, and lower'd his Masts, and setting his tackling at the same time in order staid for the Ships that came after. They were now almost thirty in Front; with whom that he might match the left Wing, he made all the Sail he could into the main Sea, commanding those that follow'd to plant themselves opposite to the right Wing near the Land. Eumenes brought up the Rear. But when they first began to bustle in removing the tackle, he himself also put the Ships forward with what speed he could. And now they were all in view; when two Punick Vessels went before the Roman Navy, that met with three of the Kings Ships, two of which, as being of an odd number, got about one of the other. First therefore they broke off the Oars from both sides, and then the Souldiers got on Board it; where knocking down and killing the Defendants they took the Ship. The one, that was engaged on even hand, when she saw the other taken, ran back to the Navy before she was circumvented by all three of them at once. Livius inflamed with indignation, bore up

to the Enemy with his Admirals Ship. Against whom when those two that had beset the one *Punick* Ship, came up with the same hopes, he order'd the Rowers to let fall their Oars into the Water on both sides to keep the Ship steady, and to throw harping Irons into the Enemies Ships that were hard by; but when he had made the Fight like to a Land Battle, to remember their *Roman* Courage, and not think that he led Kings Slaves instead of men. By this means, far more easily than two before took one, than one defeated and seized two Ships. And now the Fleets were thoroughly engaged, so that they all fought pell mell on every side. *Eumenes* who came last when the fight was begun, when he observ'd that the left Wing of the Enemies was put into a confusion by *Livius*, himself set upon the right where the fight was equal. Nor was it long before the left Wing began first to fly. For *Polyxenidas*, as soon as he saw himself unquestionably overcome in point of Courage by the Enemy, immediately hoisted his Top-sails and ran for't as fast as he could, as they also did long after, who were engaged near the Land with *Eumenes*.

XLV. The *Romans* and *Eumenes*, as long as their Men could row, and that they were in hopes of gauling their Enemies Reer, pursued them with great resolution. But when they saw, through the swiftness of the Adversaries Ships, being light, that their own, who were laden with Provisions, could not make way fast enough after them, at last they stopt, having taken thirteen Ships with the Soldiers and Rowers in them, of which they sunk ten. Of the *Roman* Navy only the *Punick* Ship, that was encompassed by the two at the beginning of the fight, was lost. *Polyxenidas* ran all the way till he came to the Port of *Ephesus*. The *Romans* turned that Day at that place, whence the Kings Navy came forth; but the next Day made all hast imaginable to pursue the Enemy. About the middle of their Voyage they met twenty five *Rhodian* Men of War, with *Pausistratus* their Admiral. So having joyn'd them they followed the Foe to *Ephesus*, where they stood before the mouth of the Port in Battel array. After they had made the conquer'd confess what they pleas'd, the *Rhodians* and *Eumenes* were sent home; but the *Romans* sailing toward *Chius* (in the way to which they first passed by *Phœnicus*, a Port in the Erythrean Dominions) cast their Anchors in the Night, and the next Day went forward not only to the Island but the very City. Where having stay'd some few Days to refresh their Rowers more than any thing else, they went over to *Phœcia*; and having left there four five bank'd Gallies for defence of the place, the Fleet came to *Cana*; where, since the Winter was now at hand, the Ships were haled into a Dock, and a Trench with a Bulwark made about them. At the end of this Year there was an Assembly held at *Rome*, in which there were created for Consuls *L. Cornelius Scipio* and *C. Lælius*; all People being intent upon making an end of the War with *Antiochus*. The next Day the Prætors were created, *M. Tuccius*, *L. Aurunculeius*, *Cn. Fulvius*, *L. A. milius*, *P. Junius*, and *C. Atinius Labeo*.

## DECADE IV. BOOK VII.

### The E P I T O M E.

1. *Lucius Cornelius Scipio* the Consul, with his Lieutenant *P. Scipio Africanus* (who said he would be his Brothers Lieutenant, if he happen'd to have Greece and Asia for his Province, when that Province 'twas thought would be given to *C. Lælius*, a powerful Man in the Senate) going to wage war against *Antiochus*, was the first *Roman* General that ever cross'd the Seas into Asia. 29, 30. *Æmilius Regillus* fought with good success against the Royal Navy of *Antiochus* at *Myonncsus*, assisted by the *Rhodians*. 37. The Son of *Africanus*, being taken by *Antiochus*, was sent back to his Father. 46. *Manius Acilius Glabrio* triumph'd over *Antiochus*, whom he had beaten out of Greece, and over the *Ætolians*. 45. Afterward when *Antiochus* was conquered by *L. Cornelius Scipio*, assisted by King *Eumenes*, Son to *Attalus* of *Pergamus*, he had a Peace granted him upon condition, that he would quit all the Provinces on this side the Mountain *Taurus*. 56. *Eumenes*, by whose assistance *Antiochus* was defeated, had his Kingdom enlarged. 56. The *Rhodians* also, who had likewise lent their aid, had certain Cities given them. 57. There was a Colony carried to *Bononia*. 58. *Æmilius Regillus*, who had overcome the Kings Sea Commanders in a Naval Fight, led a Naval Triumph. 58. *L. Cornelius Scipio*, who made an end of the War with *Antiochus*, was equaliz'd to his Brother in a surname, being stiled, *Asiaticus*.

I. NOW that *L. Cornelius Scipio*, and *C. Lælius* were Consuls, there was no matter, save what concern'd Religion, debated in the Senate, before, not only the *Ætolian* Embassadors were themselves urgent touching their Nation, for that they had so short a Day of Truce; but were assisted also by *T. Quintius*, who was then returned out of Greece to *Rome*. The *Ætolians* relying more upon the Senates mercy, than on the merits of their own Cause, behaved themselves with all humility, setting their old good deeds against their new misdemeanours. Yet not only when present were they tired with the Interrogatories made by the Senators round the House (who endeavoured to get out

out of them rather a confession of their guilt, than any other answers to their demands) but being likewise commanded to depart the Court, caus'd a great contention in the Senate. In their Cause anger was more prevalent than mercy; for the Senate was not angry with them as Enemies only, but as a savage and an unociable Nation. When therefore they had wrangled for several Days, at last they resolv'd neither to give them nor deny them a Peace; only there were two Conditions proposed to them, to wit, That either they should leave it wholly to the Senate to do what they pleas'd with them; or give them a thousand Talents, and take all the same Nations as the Romans did for their Friends and Enemies. Whereupon when they desired to know, What things they should leave to the Senates Arburement, they received no certain answer. So being dismiss'd without concluding of a Peace, they were commanded to depart the City that same Day, and to be gone out of *Italy* within fifteen Days after. Then they began to treat about the Provinces of the Consuls, who both desired Greece. Now *Lælius* was a Man of great Authority in the Senate; who, when the Senate had order'd the Consuls either to cast Lots for it, or to agree between themselves concerning their Provinces, said, It would be more gentile in them to leave the matter to the judgment of the Senate than to chance. To which *Scipio* made Answer, that he would consider what to do; but having talk'd about it with no Body but his Brother, was bid by him to leave it boldly to the Senate; so that he came back and told his Colleague, that he would do what he thought fit. Now this business either for the novelty of it, or the antiquity of Examples which in that kind were all now quite forgotten, had by the expectation of a fierce debate raised the Senates intention, *P. Scipio Africanus* said; that if they would decree Greece to be his Brother *Lucius Scipio's* Province, he'd go his Lieutenant thither. That word was heard with great assent, and decided the controversy; they having a mind to try, whether King *Antiochus* could find more assistance from *Annibal*, who was conquer'd, or the Consul and the *Roman* Legions from *Africanus* who was the Conquerour: wherefore almost all of them voted that *Scipio* should have Greece, and *Lælius*, *Italy*.

Then the Prætors chose their Provinces; *L. Aurunculeius* that of the City, *Cn. Fulvius* the Foreign Jurisdiction; *L. Æmilius Regillus* the Navy; *P. Junius Brutus* the *Tuscans*; *M. Tuccius Appulia*, and the *Bruttii*; and *C. Atinius Sicily*. Afterward to that Consul, who was to have Greece for his Province (besides that Army which he was to receive from *Manius Acilius*, consisting of two Legions) was given by way of supplement, three thousand *Roman* Foot, a hundred Horse, five thousand *Latine* Foot, and two hundred Horse; to which it was farther added, that, when he came into the Province (if he thought it for the interest of the common-wealth) he should carry his Army over into Asia. To the other Consul there was assign'd a perfect new Army, of two *Roman* Legions, with fifteen thousand Foot, and six hundred Horse of the *Latine* Allies. *Quintius Minucius* was order'd (since he had written, that that Province was now absolutely reduced, all the *Ligurians* having surrender'd themselves) to bring the Army out of *Liguria* into the *Boian* Territories, and deliver them to *P. Cornelius* the Pro-Consul. The City Legions which had been raised the year before, being brought out of that part of the Country, in which the year before he had mulcted the *Boii*, whom he conquer'd, were deliver'd to *M. Tuccius* the Prætor, with fifteen thousand Foot, and six hundred Horse out of their *Latine* Allies, for the defence of *Apulia* and the *Bruttii*. *A. Cornelius*, who the year before was Prætor, and had been with an Army in the *Bruttian* Territories, was order'd, if the Consul thought fit, to carry the Legions over into *Ætolia*, and deliver them to *Manius Acilius*: if he would stay there. But if *Acilius* would rather return to *Rome*, that *A. Cornelius* should remain in *Ætolia* with that Army. They farther order'd, that *C. Atinius Labeo* should receive the Province of *Sicily*, and his Army from *M. Æmilius*, and raise out of that very Province, if he pleas'd (as a Supplement) two thousand Foot, and a hundred Horse. *P. Junius Brutus* was to raise a new Army for *Tuscany*, consisting of one *Roman* Legion, ten thousand *Latine* Foot, and four hundred Horse: and *L. Æmilius*, who had the Sea Province was order'd to take twenty long Ships and his Seamen of *M. Junius* who was Prætor the year before, himself to raise a thousand Seamen, and two hundred Foot: and to go with those Ships and Souldiers into Asia, and receive the Navy from *C. Livius*. The two *Spain* and *Sardinia* were continu'd for another year in the hands of those that had them, to whom also the same Armies were allotted. There were two Tithes of Corn exacted that year from *Sicily* and *Sardinia*; whereof the *Sicilian* Corn was order'd to be carry'd to the Army in *Ætolia*; and the *Sardinian*, partly to *Rome*, and partly into *Ætolia*, as the *Sicilian* was.

Before the Consuls went into their Provinces, they thought fit to have certain Prodigies expiated by the High-Priests. At *Rome* the Temple of *Juno Lucina* was burnt with Lightning, so that the Roof and the Doors of it were defaced. At *Puteoli* the Wall and Gate were struck in many places with a Thunderbolt, and two men kill'd. At *Nursia* 'twas well known, that in a clear day there arose a storm; and that there also two Freemen were kill'd. The *Tusculans* said, that it rained Earth with them: and the *Reatiners*, that a Mule brought forth in their Territories. These therefore were expiated: and the *Latine Ferie* [a time of Sacrificing in memory of a League between the *Latines* and the *Romans*] celebrated; for that the flesh [a portion of the sacred Feast] which should have been given to the *Lan-*

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ventes [a people concern'd in the same affair] had not been distributed to them. There was also a Supplication ordain'd upon those religious accounts; concerning which the Decemviri directed out of their Books, to what Gods it should be made. Ten ingenuous Youths, and as many Virgins, who had all of them their Fathers and Mothers still alive, were to be present at that Sacrifice: and the Decemviri made it in the night time with suckling Beasts [as Lambs, Calves, &c.] P. Cornelius Scipio Africanus, before he went, set up an Arch in the Capitol over-against the way that leads up thither, with seven gilded Ensigns, two Horses, and two marble Cisterns before it. At the same time forty three of the *Ætolian* Nobility (of whom *Damocritus* and his Brother were two) being brought to Rome by two Regiments sent by *Manius Acilius*, were put into the *Lautumie* [Stone-quarries; a Prison, where they were bound to dig and cut stone.] Then the Regiments return'd to the Army, by order of L. Cornelius the Consul: and Embassadors came from *Ptolomy* and *Cleopatra*, who reign'd over *Egypt*, to congratulate with *Manius Acilius*, for his having (when Consul) expelled *Antiochus* out of *Greece*; and to desire the Senate, that they would send an Army into *Asia*; for that all things were in a confusion, not only in *Asia*, but in *Syria* too. That the King of *Egypt* would be ready to do whatever the Senate should resolve upon. The Senate return'd the King thanks; and order'd the Embassadors to be presented, each one of them with four thousand *Asses* [a sort of Roman Coin.]

IV. L. Cornelius the Consul, having perfected what he had to do at Rome, gave order in a publick Assembly; that all the Souldiers, which he himself had raised as a supplement [to the other Forces] and those that were in the *Bruttian Territories* with A. Cornelius the Pro-Prator, should all meet upon the 13<sup>th</sup> of July at *Brundisium*. He likewise nominated three Lieutenants; *Sex. Digintius*, *L. Apustius*, and *C. Fabricius Luscinus*, to muster up the Ships from all the Sea Coast thereabout to *Brundisium*: and when all things were now ready, went from the City in his Warlike garb. There were five thousand Volunteers, of Romans and their Allies, who had been discharg'd from the Wars under their General P. Africanus, but now attended upon the Consul at his going forth, and gave in their names. At the same time that the Consul march'd to the Wars, upon the day that the Games were celebrated in honour of *Apollo*, which was the 9<sup>th</sup> of July, when the Sky was clear, and in the day time the Heavens were darken'd by the Moon going under the Orb of the Sun [and Eclipsing it.] L. *Æmilius Regillus* also, who happen'd to have the command of the Fleet, went away at the same time. L. *Aurunculeius* was employ'd by the Senate, to build thirty Gallies of five Banks, and twenty of three; because there was a report, that *Antiochus*, since the last Sea-fight, was setting out a Navy somewhat bigger [than before.] The *Ætolians*, before their Embassadors brought word back from Rome, that there was no hopes of peace (though all their Sea-Coast toward *Peloponnesus* was ravaged by the *Acheans*) being more mindful of their danger, than their loss, to intercept the Romans passage, possess'd themselves of the Mountain *Corax*. For they did not question, but, in the beginning of the Spring, they would return to attack *Naupactum*. But *Acilius*, who knew that was expected, thought it better to undertake an Enterprize unlookt for, and besiege *Lamia*; which was not only reduced almost into a desperate condition by *Philip*, but then also, for that very reason, because they fear'd no such matter, might be easily surpriz'd. He therefore marching from *Elatia* Encamped first in the Enemies Country about the River *Sperchius*: from whence he remov'd in the night, and at break of day invest'd the Walls with Souldiers quite round.

V. Their fear and consternation, as in case so unexpected, was very great: yet they that day defended their City with more resolution than any one could believe they would have done, the Men fighting upon the Walls, (against which there were Ladders set in many places) and the Women bringing Weapons of all sorts and Stones [for them to throw down upon the Foe.] *Acilius*, having given the signal for a retreat, led his men back about the middle of the day into his Camp; where, when they had refreshed their Bodies with Victuals and sleep, before he dismiss'd the Council of War [held in his own Tent] he gave them charge, to be ready arm'd before day; and said, that he would not bring them back into the Camp before they had taken the City. So making his attack at the same time as he did the day before in several places, seeing the Townsmen strength, Weapons, and, above all, their hearts, failed them, he in a few hours took the City. In which having partly sold and partly divided the Booty [among his men] he held a Consult to advise what he next should do. They were none of them for going to *Naupactum*, since the Woods at *Corax* were taken up by the *Ætolians*. Yet, that they might not be idle all the Summer, and lest the *Ætolians* should gain that Peace by his delays, which they could not obtain of the Senate, *Acilius* resolv'd to attack *Amphissa*. Accordingly the Army was led from *Heraclea*, through *Oeta*, thither. Where having Encamped near the Walls, he began to attack the City, not by investing it quite round, as he did *Lamia*, but with works. He planted his battering Rams against it in several places; whereby when the Walls were shaken, the Townsmen did not offer to provide or think of any thing against such a sort of Engines: but all their hopes were in their Arms and audacity; so that by frequent eruptions they put not only the several parties of the Enemy [that were posted here and there] but those also that were about the Works and Engines into disorder.

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VI. But for all that the Wall was beaten down in many places, when news came, That his Successor, who had landed an Army at *Apollonia*, was coming through *Epirus* and *Thessaly*. The Consul came with thirteen Thousand Foot, and five Hundred Horse, and being now arriv'd in the *Malian Bay*, sent certain Persons before him to *Hypata*, to demand a surrender of that City; but they making answer, That they would do nothing without the common consent of all the *Ætolians*, he, lest the siege of *Hypata* should detain him, before *Amphissa* was yet taken, dispatch'd away his Brother *Africanus* first, and himself marched after him to *Amphissa*. A little before their coming, the Townsmen, leaving the City (for it was now great part of it destitute of Walls) ran all of them, arm'd and unarm'd, into their Cattle which was impregnable. The Consul encamped about six Thousand Paces from it, whither the *Athenians* sent Embassadors, first to P. Scipio (who went before, as I told you, with a Body of men) and then to the Consul, to beg pardon for the *Ætolians*. They received a mild answer from *Africanus*, who designing an occasion honourably to quit the *Ætolian War*, had an eye upon *Asia* and *Antiochus*; and therefore had the *Athenians* perswade, not only the Romans, but the *Ætolians* too, to prefer Peace before War. Thereupon immediately, by advice of the *Athenians*, came an Embassy of the *Ætolians* from *Hypata*, whose hopes of Peace were increased by what *Africanus*, to whom they made their first application, said, to wit, That many Nations, first in *Spain*, and then in *Africa*, put themselves under his protection; and that in all cases he had left behind him greater testimonies of his Clemency and Bounty, than of his Warlike Achievements. But though by what he said to him their business seem'd already done, yet when they went to the Consul, he gave them the same answer, whereby they had been frighted from the Senate. Whereupon the *Ætolians* being surpriz'd at it as a new thing (for they saw they were ne'r the better either for the *Athenian Embassy*, or the mild answer of *Africanus*) said, They would tell their fellow Citizens [what the Consul said].

VII. So they return'd to *Hypata*, but the Inhabitants could not tell what to do in the case, being neither able to raise a Thousand Talents; and fearing [on the other hand] lest, if they should leave all to the free disposal [of the Romans] they would be very severe to them. Wherefore they order'd the same Embassadors to return to the Consul and *Africanus*, and desire, That, if they really design'd to grant them a Peace, and not only to make a shew of it (thereby to frustrate the hopes of a miserable People) they would either remit somewhat of the sum required, or order them to leave all to the Romans, except the power to dispose of their fellow Citizens Bodies. But they could not prevail with the Consul to make any alteration, and so that Embassy also was dismiss'd without any effect. Then the *Athenians* also follow'd, the chief of their Embassy being *Echedemus*, who restor'd the courage of the *Ætolians* (after they had been wearied with so many repulses, and so long bewailed, with vain lamentations, the fortune of their Nation) by advising them to desire a Truce of six Months, that they might send Embassadors to Rome. For delays [he said] would add nothing to their present misfortunes, as being already the most extream that could be; but present miseries might be eased in many cases by tract of time. According to *Echedemus's* Counsel the same Men were sent, who, applying themselves first to P. Scipio, gain'd of the Consul by his means a Truce for that time which they desired; and so raising the siege of *Amphissa*, M. *Acilius*, having delivered the Army to the Consul, departed out of the Province. The Consul, from *Amphissa*, return'd toward *Thessaly*, that through *Macedonia* and *Thrace* he might go into *Asia*; at what time *Africanus* told his Brother, L. Scipio, The way you take I also approve, but that depends wholly upon the pleasure of *Philip*; who, if he be true to our Empire, will not only give us leave to march through his Country, but will also supply us with Provisions and all things necessary for an Army in such a long journey; though if he fails us, you'll have no safe passage through *Thrace*. Wherefore I think it the best way first to try how the King stands affected, which may be most effectually done, if he that you send takes him before he is prepared what to say. T. *Sempronius Gracchus*, far the sharpest young Man they then had, being chosen out for that affair, went with incredible speed, upon Horses laid in the way on purpose, from *Amphissa* (for thence he was sent) in three Days to *Pella*. The King was at a Feast, where he had drank very hard; and that unbending of his mind removed all suspicion that he intended to make any innovation. So the stranger was then very courteously entertain'd, and the next Day saw all sorts of Provisions very kindly made ready for the Army, Bridges built over the several Rivers, and the Ways, where they were difficult to pass, mended. Which when he had observ'd, he return'd with the same celerity that he came, and met the Consul at *Thannaci*. Thereupon the Army being fill'd with more certain and greater hopes, came into *Macedonia*, where all things were prepar'd ready for them. At their arrival the King receiv'd and entertain'd them according to his Dignity. For he was a Man of good address and great humanity, which to *Africanus* seem'd very commendable qualities; that he, as he was excellent in other things also, so should not be averse to Hospitality as far as it was free from Luxury. By this means they travelled not only through *Macedonia* but *Thrace* too, where *Philip* attended and prepared all necessaries for them, till they came to the *Hellefpont*.

VIII. *Antiochus*, after his Sea Fight at *Corycus*, having had the whole Winter free for his Land and Naval Preparations, had been most intent upon repairing of his Fleet, lest he might have



have been driven out of the whole possession of the Sea. He remembered, *That he was overcome, even when the Rhodian Fleet was absent; wherefore if that too (and the Rhodians to be sure would never stay away a second time) should happen to be present at the fight, he should lack a great number of Ships to equal his Enemies Fleet in strength and bigness.* He therefore sent *Annibal* into Syria to fetch the *Phœnician* Ships, and order'd *Polyxenidas*, by how much the more unsuccessful they had been, to be so much the more diligent, not only in repairing those that were left, but in preparing others also. He himself Winter'd in *Phrygia*; sending for Auxiliaries from all the Countreys round about; yea even into *Gallagracia*, whereof the Inhabitants at that time were very Warlike, as still retaining their *Gallick* Courage, before the native briskness of their Nation was worn out. He had left his Son *Seleucus* in *Æolis* with an Army to keep in awe the Cities on the Sea Coast, which *Eumenes* from *Pergamus* on the one hand, and the Romans from *Phœcia* and *Erythra*, on the other solicited [to revolt.] The Roman Navy, as I told you before, winter'd at *Cane*: whither King *Eumenes* came about the middle of Winter, with two thousand Foot, and a hundred Horse: and by saying, *that a great booty might be driven out of the Enemies Country about Thyatira*, perswaded *Livius* to send five thousand men along with him; who in a few dayes brought thence a vast quantity of plunder.

IX. At this juncture there arose a sedition at *Phœcia*, by means of some who strove to reconcile the minds of the multitude to *Antiochus*. The Wintering of the Ships was grievous to them, and so was the tribute they were to pay of five hundred Gowns, and as many Tunicks: besides, that the scarcity of Corn lay heavy upon them, by reason whereof the Ships and Garison of the Romans were gone thence. And then the Faction, which endeavour'd, in their Assembly, to draw the multitude over to *Antiochus*, was deliver'd from all fear. The Senate and the Nobility [of the place] thought it their duty to continue in their Alliance with the Romans; but the Authors of the revolt prevailed most upon the multitude. The Rhodians, the more idle they had been the Summer before, the sooner, that Spring, sent out the same *Pausistratus* Admiral of their Navy with thirty six Ships. At this time *Livius* having set forth from *Cane* with thirty Ships, and seven four bank'd Gallies, which King *Eumenes* had brought along with him, was going toward *Hellepont*, that he might prepare all things necessary for the passing over of the Army which he thought would come by Land. He touch'd first at the Port called the *Acheans* Port; from whence he went up to *Ilium*, and having sacrificed to *Minerva* very kindly, gave Audience to the several Embassies that came from *Eleus*, *Dardanus* and *Rhæteum*, to surrender their Cities into his hands. From thence he sail'd to the streights of *Hellepont*, and having left ten Ships in Harbour over against *Abydus*, he went over with the rest of his Fleet into *Europe* to attack *Sestos*. Where as the Souldiers were just under the Walls, the inspired, Fanatick *Galli* [Priests of *Cybele*] first of all, in a solemn habit, met them before the Gate, and said, *that by order of the Mother of the Gods, they, her Servants, came to desire the Roman, that he would spare their Walls and City.* Never an one of them had any violence offer'd to him: and soon after the whole Senate, with the several Magistrates, came forth to surrender their City. From thence the Navy was carried over to *Abydus*; where when, after several Conferences past to try their disposition, the Inhabitants gave no peaceable Answer, the Romans made themselves ready for the attack.

X. Whilst these things were transacted in *Hellepont*, *Polyxenidas*, the Kings Admiral (who was a banish'd Rhodian) having heard, that the Fleet of his Country was gone from home, and that *Pausistratus*, their Admiral, had said some things with pride and contempt concerning him in publick, conceiving a great indignation against him, thought of nothing else either day or night, than how he might by actions confute his huffing words. In order whereunto he sent a Man that he well knew, to tell him, not only that he would do *Pausistratus*, as well as his Country (if he might) great service: but also, that it was possible for him to be restored by *Pausistratus* to his Country. Whereupon though *Pausistratus* wondering ask'd, how that could be, yet he promised the person that propos'd it, either to do the thing for their common benefit, or to conceal it. With that the Messenger told him, that *Polyxenidas* would betray all the Kings Navy, or most part of it, to him. And that he desired no other reward for so great a service, than to return into his Country. The greatness of the thing caus'd him neither to credit nor despise what the man said: so that he presently went to *Panormus* in *Samus*, and there staid to inquire into the thing propos'd to him. Messengers came to and again; but did not *Pausistratus* believe it, before *Polyxenidas* wrote with his own hand, in presence of his Messenger, that he would do what he had promis'd; and sent the Letter sealed with his own Seal. Thereupon *Pausistratus* thought that the Traytor was sworn, as it were, to him by that pledge; for he could not imagine, that a man, who lived under the King, would be such a Fool, as to give a testimony under his own hand against himself. By this means the method of the pretended treachery was contrived. *Polyxenidas* gave out, that he would omit all preparations whatever; that he would not have Rowers, nor Seamen enough for the Navy: that he would, for a show, take up some of the Ships under a pretence to refit them, and send others into the Neighbouring Ports, but would keep some few before the Port of *Ephesus*, where-withall (if occasion were) to engage the Enemy. Now the same neglect that *Pausistratus* heard, *Polyxenidas*:

*nidas* would be guilty of in his Navy, he himself immediately shew'd: sending part of his Ships to *Halicarnassus* to fetch provisions, and part of them to the City of *Samus*, that he might be ready, whenever he received the signal of action from the Traytor. *Polyxenidas* to increase his error by a fair pretext, takes up some of the Ships, and mended the Docks, as though he resolv'd to do so by the rest: sending for Rowers out of his Winter-Quarters, not to *Ephesus*, but privately, to *Magnesia*.

It happened that a Soldier belonging to *Antiochus*, being come to *Samus* upon private business, was taken for a Spie and carried to the Admiral at *Panormus*. To whom, demanding of him, *What they did at Ephesus*, he (whether for fear or out of disaffection to his own Countrymen) told the whole truth of the matter; that there was a Fleet stood ready in the Port; that all the Rowers were sent to *Magnesia* near *Sipylus*; that some very few Ships were taken up and the Docks cover'd; and that the Naval Affairs were never better managed. But *Pausistratus*'s mind, being prepossess'd with error and vain hopes, made him give no credit to this relation. So *Polyxenidas*, having got all things in sufficient readiness, sent in the Night time for his Rowers from *Magnesia*; and having brought down, with all speed, those Ships that he had taken up (when he had spent the Day not so much in necessary preparations as with a design not to have the Fleet to be seen at its setting out) he went out after Sun-set with seventy Men of War, and, though the Wind were against him, before Day got into the Port of *Pygela*. Where when he had rested all Day, for the same reason as before, he in the Night put over to the nearest part of *Samus*. From whence when he had order'd *Nicander* an Arch-pirate to go with five Men of War to *Palinurus*, and thence to carry the Soldiers, the nearest way he could, to *Panormus* rereward of the Enemy, he himself in the mean time, dividing the Fleet (that he might make sure of the entrance into the Port on both sides) made toward the same place. *Pausistratus* at first, being a little disturb'd at such a surprise, but soon after, like an old Soldier, recovering his Courage, thought the Enemy might be better kept off by Land than by Sea, and therefore led his Men in two Bodies to those Promontories, that, with two horns (as it were) running into the Sea, make the Port, supposing that from thence he should with his darting Weapons easily remove the Foe. But *Nicander*, who was sent by Land, having spoiled their project, he immediately altered his resolution, and bad them all get on board the Ships. With that both the Soldiers and Seamen too were in a great consternation, and fled, as it were, into their Ships, when they saw themselves circumvented both by Land and Sea too. *Pausistratus* thinking it the only means to save himself, if he could make way through the Ports mouth, and break out into the main Sea, after he saw that his Men were all on board, bad the rest follow, whilst he, in the head of them, rowing briskly on, bore up toward the entrance of the Port. When his Ship was now just going out at the Ports mouth, *Polyxenidas* set him with three five-bank'd Gallies, by whose beaks he was split and sunk, his Men being kill'd with Weapons that were thrown upon them, among whom *Pausistratus* also, whilst he fought with great briskness, was slain. For the rest of the Ships, some were taken before, some of them in the Port, and other some by *Nicander*, as they were putting off from the Shore. Only five Rhodian Ships, with two Coans, escaped, making their way for fear of the blazing flames through the midst of the Fleet. For the Ships carry'd before them, upon two long Poles that stuck out from their Prowes, in Iron Pans, a great deal of Fire. The *Erythraean* Gallies of three banks, having met the Rhodian Ships, whom they came to assist, not far from *Samus*, turn'd their course into *Hellepont* to the Romans. About the same time *Seleucus* took *Phœcia* by the treachery of the Sentinels, who open'd one of the Gates to him; so that *Cyme*, and other Cities upon the same Coast, revolted to him for fear.

Whilst these things past in *Æolis*, *Abydus*, having for several Days held out the Siege (the Kings Men defending the Walls thereof) now that they were all tired, and by the permission too of *Philotas*, who was Governour of the Garrison, their Magistrates treated with *Livius* concerning terms of surrendering their City. Now that matter was the longer in agitation, for that they could not agree, whether the Kings Men should march out with or without their Arms; so that, whilst they were discoursing of it, news came of the defeat of the Rhodians, and made them quit the debate. For *Livius*, fearing lest *Polyxenidas*, proud of his success in so great an action, should surprise the Navy that was at *Cane*, strait left the Siege of *Abydus* and gnarding of *Hellepont*, to lance those Ships that were taken up into the Docks at *Cane*. *Eumenes* also came to *Elex*, whilst *Livius* with all his Fleet, to which he had joyned two *Mitylanean* three-bank'd Gallies, sail'd toward *Phœcia*. Which when he heard was holden by a strong Garrison belonging to the King, and that *Seleucus*'s Camp was not far off, having ravaged the Sea Coast, and put the booty, consisting chiefly of Men, as fast as he could on board the Ships, staid only so long, till *Eumenes* with his Fleet overtook him, and then sail'd for *Samus*. The Rhodians, as soon as they heard of the defeat [of their Countrymen] were at first both affrighted, and very much grieved. For, besides the loss of Ships and Soldiers, they had lost all the flower and strength of their Youth, many Noblemen having followed, among other things, the authority of *Pausistratus*, which with his own Country was deservedly very great. But soon after, for that they were circum-

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vented by fraud, and that especially by a Citizen of their own, their grief turned into fury. Wherefore they immediately sent forth ten Ships, and, in a few days after, ten more, under the command of *Eudamus*, whom, though he were not equal to *Paustistratus* for his other Warlike Virtues, they believ'd would be as much more cautious as he had less Skill and Courage. The Romans and King *Eumenes* went with their Fleet first to *Erythra*, where having tarried one Night, the next Day they got to *Corycum* a Promontory near *Teios*; from whence, being willing to cross over to the nearest Port of *Samus*, they staid not for the Suns rising, by which the Mariners might have observed the state of the Heavens, but put themselves upon the hazard of a tempest. For in the midway, the Wind standing full North, they were tost in a storm.

XIII. *Polyxenidas* supposing that the Enemy would go to *Samus*, to join the Rhodian Fleet, set out from *Ephesus*, and touch'd first at *Myonessus*: from whence he went over to an Island called *Macris*, that there he might have an opportunity to set upon any stragling Ships (if any such there were) as the Navy went by, or upon their Reer at least. When he saw their Navy was dispers'd by the storm, he at first thought that a good occasion to attack them, but a little after (the Wind rising, and rowling still much greater Waves upon them) seeing he could not come at them, he went over to the Island of *Aethalia*; that he might, next day, meet the Ships that were going to *Samus*. A small party of the Romans came, as soon as it was dark, into the Port of *Samus*, then empty; and the rest of their Fleet having been tost on the Ocean all night, put into the same Port. There, having intelligence from the Country People, that the Enemies Fleet lay at *Aethalia*, they held a Council to advise, whether they should engage them presently, or stay for the Rhodian Fleet. Thereupon deferring the business (for so it was resolv'd) they put over to *Corycum*, from whence they came. *Polyxenidas* also, having staid to no purpose; return'd to *Ephesus*. Then the Roman Ships, when the Sea was free from Enemies, went over to *Samus*; whither the Rhodian Fleet, after a few dayes, likewise came. For which that it might appear they waited, they sailed immediately for *Ephesus*, either to have an Engagement, or that, if the Enemy declined fighting (which was a thing of great importance in respect to the apprehensions of the several Cities) they might force from them a confession of their fear. So they stood, with their Ships set all a Breast in Battalia, fronting the Ports mouth. But seeing that no body came to oppose them, they divided the Navy, and, part of them, rode at Anchor in the entrance of the Port, whilst the rest put their men ashore: Upon them, as they were carrying a vast booty out of the Country (which they had plunder'd far and near) *Andronicus* a Macedonian, who was ingarison'd at *Ephesus*, made a sally out just when they came up to the Walls, and having taken great part of their booty away, forced them to fly back to their Ships. The next, having laid an Ambuscade about half way, the Romans, to draw the Macedonian out out of his Walls, march'd up in a body to the City. But that very suspicion having deter'd the [Ephesians] from coming out, they return'd from thence to their Ships: and since the Enemy declined fighting both by Sea and Land, the Fleet went back to *Samus*, from whence it came. Thence the Prætor sent two three-bank'd Gallies belonging to the Allies out of Italy, and two Rhodians of the same built, with *Epicrates* for their Admiral, to defend the strait of *Cephalenia*; which *Hybristias* of *Lacedæmon*, and the *Cephalenian* Youth then infested with Piracy, inasmuch that the Sea was now unpalsable to Ships that had any business to or from Italy.

XIV. At *Piræus* *Epicrates* met *L. Æmilius Regillus*, who succeeded to the Command of the Navy; and hearing of the Rhodians misadventure (since he himself had no more than two five-bank'd Gallies) took *Epicrates* and his four Ships along with him into Asia. But the open-deck'd Ships of the Athenians too follow'd after. He went over through the *Ægean* Sea. *Timisicrates* of *Rhodes* came thither too at midnight with two four-bank'd Gallies from *Samus*: and being brought to *Æmilius*, said, he was sent as a guard; for that the Kings Ships infested the Merchant-men upon that Coast by their frequent excursions from *Hellefpont* and *Abydus*. As *Æmilius* went over from *Chius* to *Samus*, two Rhodian four-bank'd Gallies, that were sent by *Livius*, and King *Eumenes*, with two five-bank'd Gallies, met him. When he came to *Samus*, having receiv'd the Fleet from *Livius*, and done Sacrifice (as is usual in such cases) according to order, he call'd a Council: in which *C. Livius* (for he was first ask'd his opinion) said, That no man could give more faithful advice than he, who perswaded another to that, which, if he were in the same station, he himself would do. That he had an intention to go with the whole Fleet to *Ephesus*, and take along with him certain Merchant-Ships laden with a great quantity of *Balaft*, which he would have sunk in the Ports mouth. And that to make such a Blockade there was so much the more easy, because the entrance into that Port was, like a River, long and narrow, and shallow. That by so doing he should have deprived the Foe of the use of the Sea, and have made their Fleet of no value to them.

XV. But his opinion pleas'd never a man of them. Whereupon King *Eumenes* demanded of him; What he would have done after he had drown'd his Ships, and so stop'd up the passage? Whether with his Fleet, then free, he would have gone away to assist his Allies, and terrified the Enemy? or would notwithstanding with his whole Navy have kept about the Port? for whether they went away, who doubted but the Enemy might have drawn up the sunk *Balaft*, and with less trouble have open'd,

open'd, than he had stop'd up the Port? or if they must still stay there, what signified their shutting up the Port? But on the contrary, the Enemy would be at quiet all the Summer, in a safe Harbour, amidst all the enjoyments of a rich City, to which Asia supply'd all kind of necessaries; and the Romans in the wide Sea, exposed to Waves and Tempests, would be upon continual duty, and lack all sorts of provisions; themselves more tied and obstructed for doing what they had to do, than they could hinder the Enemy. *Eudamus*, Admiral of the Rhodian Fleet, shew'd, that that opinion displeas'd him more than he declared his own. *Epicrates* the Rhodian was of opinion, that, letting *Ephesus* for the present alone, they ought to send part of the Ships into Lycia; and to make *Patara*, the chief City of that Country, their Ally: for that would be of good consequence upon two accounts: Not only, that the Rhodians, when the Nations opposite to their Island were at quiet, might with all their Forces mind nothing else but the War against *Antiochus*; but that the Navy, which was then arising in Lycia, might be intercepted from joining *Polyxenidas*. This opinion took most, though they agreed that *Regillus* should advance with the whole Fleet to the Port of *Ephesus*, to put the Enemy in a fright.

XVI. *C. Livius* with two Roman Gallies of five banks, four Rhodian Gallies of four banks, and two open *Smyranean* Ships was sent into Lycia, being ordered first to go to *Rhodes* and to communicate all Counsels with them. The Cities, that he pass'd by, *Miletus*, *Myndus*, *Halicarnassus*, *Cnidus*, and *Cous*, did what he commanded with all diligence. When he came to *Rhodes* he told them what he was sent about, and at the same time advis'd with them. They all approv'd of what he said, and therefore he, taking along with him three four-bank'd Gallies besides the Fleet which he already had, sail'd to *Patara*. At first a prosperous Gale carry'd them to the very City, and they hoped by a sudden terror to make some disturbance; but afterward, when the Wind was turn'd, and the Sea began to boil into a storm, they with much ado indeed made the Land; but neither was there any station about the City secure, nor could they lye in the Sea before the Enemies Ports, it was so rough, and the Night so near at hand. When they were past the Walls, they went to the Port of *Phœnicus* which lyes from thence about two Thousand Paces, and secures Ships from the force of the Sea. But there were high Rocks also above it, which the Townsmen (taking the Kings Soldiers, whom they had in Garrison there along with them) got possession of. Against whom *Livius* (though the Places thereabout were steep and hard to get out of) sent the *Istæan* Auxiliaries, and the nimblest of the *Smyranean* Youth. They, whilst with Darts at first, and light Excursions (having but a few to deal with) rather provoked than engaged the Foe, endur'd the conflict. But when there came more flocking from the City, so that all the multitude was now in view, *Livius* began to fear, Lest the Auxiliaries might be circumvented, and that the Ships also might be in danger from the Land: Wherefore he drew forth to the Battel, not only his Soldiers, but Seamen too (a company of mere Tarpawlines) with what Arms each of them could get. Then likewise the Fight was doubtful; nor were several Soldiers only, but *L. Apustius* too slain in that tumultuary Battel. Yet at last the Lycians being totally routed, were forced back into their City, and the Romans with some loss of blood return'd to their Ships. From thence going into the *Telmessian* Bay, which with one side borders upon *Caria*, and with the other upon Lycia (and laying aside all hopes of any further attempt upon *Patara*) the Rhodians were sent home. *Livius*, passing by Asia, went over into Greece, that, when he had waited upon the *Scipios* who were then about *Thessaly*) he might go into Italy.

XVII. *Æmilius* (when he knew that all things were omitted in Lycia, and that *Livius* was gone into Italy) who, having himself been repuls'd from *Ephesus* by a Tempest, had return'd to *Samus* without effecting what he went about, thought it a dishonourable thing that *Patara* should be so vainly attempted, and therefore resolv'd to go thither with his whole Fleet, and attack the City with all the force he had. So passing by *Miletus* and the other Coasts belonging to their Allies, they went ashore in the Bay of *Bargylla* at *Jassus*. That City was in the hands of a Garrison belonging to the King; wherefore the Romans in an hostile manner ravaged the Country all about. Then, having sent certain Persons, by conferences with the Nobility and Magistrates to try their Inclinations (they having return'd him answer, That there was nothing within their power) he march'd up to attack the City. Now there were some banish'd *Jasseses* among the Romans, who were very urgent, many of them, with the Rhodians, Not to suffer a City, that were both their Neighbour and Relation, to perish, though it had done no harm. That there was no reason for their banishment but their fidelity to the Romans. That these who remained in the City were kept there by the same force of the Kings Soldiers, whereby they themselves were expelled. That the *Jasseses* were all of one mind, and would willingly be freed from being the Kings slaves. The Rhodians moved at their requests, and taking King *Eumenes* also along with them, by telling how nearly related they were to them, and pitying the case of the City, that was in possession of the Kings Garrison, prevail'd to have the Siege rais'd. Then going from thence (for all the other parts thereabout were at Peace with them) and passing along the Coast of Asia, they arriv'd at *Loryma*, a Port over against *Rhodes*. There in the *Principia* [a part of the Camp, where the second Division of their Army (call'd *Principes*) lay] arose at first a secret discourse among the Tribunes of the Soldiers, which came afterward to the Ears of *Æmilius* himself,

*That the Navy was brought from Ephesus, the proper seat of that War, that the Enemy, being left free behind, might do what they pleas'd with so many Cities of their Allies that lay thereabout. At that Amilius was mightily concern'd, and having summon'd the Rhodians to him, ask'd them, Whether all the whole Fleet could harbour at Patara? To which they making answer, They could not, he had a good excuse to lay aside that design, and so return'd with his Ships to Samus.*

XVIII. At the same time Seleucus Son to Antiochus, having kept his Army, all the Winter in *Aolis* (where he partly assist'd his Allies, and partly ravaged all those that he could not perfwade into an alliance) resolv'd to go over into the Confin'd of *Eumenes's* Kingdom, whilst he, far from home, was with the Romans and the Rhodians, harassing the Sea Coasts of *Lycia*. First therefore he came in hostile manner to *Elea*, but soon after, omitting to besiege that City, he plundered the Country, and march'd to attack *Pergamus* the Fortrefs and Metropolis of that Kingdom. *Attalus*, at first, having planted Guards before the City, by excursions of his Horse and Light-armour, rather provok'd than sustain'd the Enemy. At last, having tried by light Skirmishes that he was no wayes equal to the Foe, he retired into the Walls, and then the City began to be besieged. About the same time, *Antiochus* also going from *Apamea*, Encamped first at *Sardeis*, and then not far from *Seleucus's* Camp, at the Head of the River *Caycus*, with a great Army, mixt of several Nations. But there was most terrour in the four thousand *Gauls*, that fought for pay; whom, with a few others among them, he sent to ravage all the *Pergamene* Territories. Which being told at *Samus*, first *Eumenes*, call'd thence by a Domestick War, with his Fleet went to *Elea*; from whence, having with him a party of nimble Horse and Foot, under whose protection he was safe, he arriv'd at *Pergamus*, before the Enemy perc'v'd or were any way concern'd for his coming. There then began again light Skirmishes by way of Sally, *Eumenes* being loth to venture all upon the hazard of one Battle. Some few dayes after the Roman and the Rhodian Fleet, to assist the King, came from *Samus* to *Elea*. Of whom when *Antiochus* heard, that they had landed their Forces at *Elea*, and that so many Fleets were met together in one Port; and likewise had intelligence a little before, that the Consul with his Army was then in Macedonia, preparing all things necessary for his passing the Hellespont, thought the time was come for him to talk of Peace, before he were hard prest both by Sea and Land too, and therefore Encamp'd upon a certain Bank against *Elea*. Where having left all his Foot Forces, he march'd down with his Horse (which were in number six thousand) into the Fields under the very Walls of *Elea*; and sent an Herald to *Amilius* [to tell him] that he would treat of Peace.

XIX. *Amilius*, having sent for *Eumenes* from *Pergamus*, and summon'd in the Rhodians, held a Council. The Rhodians said, they did not scorn a Peace: but *Eumenes* said, it was neither honourable at that time to talk of Peace, nor could there be any issue of it. For, said he, how shall we, now that we are shut up in our Walls, and besieged (as it were) either honourably accept of conditions of Peace? or who will take that Peace to be valid, which we shall make without a Consul, without the authority of the Senate, or consent of the Roman People? For I desire to know of you; when you have made a Peace, will you return immediately into Italy or no? Will you take the Navy and the Army along with you? or stay till you know the Consuls pleasure in the case? What the Senators will is; and what the people say? It remains therefore, that you stay in Asia, and that their Forces, being led back again into their Winter Quarters (omitting the War) exhaust their Allies with supplies of provision for them: and after that (if they who are in Authority shall think fit) that we renew the War, which we may (if we remit nothing of the present manage of affairs) before Winter, with the help of the Gods, have finish'd. This opinion prevailed, and they sent *Antiochus* word back, that before the Consuls Arrival they could not treat of Peace. *Antiochus* having in vain attempted [to gain] a Peace, ravaged, first, the *Elæan*, and then the *Pergamene* Territories, and then leaving there his Son *Seleucus*, march'd (plundering all the way) toward *Adramyttum*, through a rich Country, which they call the Plain of *Thebes*, and was celebrated by *Homer's* Pen. Nor did the Kings Souldiers get more booty in any other place of Asia. *Amilius* also and *Eumenes* came to the same City of *Adramyttum*, to be a guard to it, though they went round about by Sea.

XX. It happen'd, that at the same time a thousand Foot and a hundred Horse, commanded by *Diophanes*, came to *Elea* out of *Achaia*. For whom when they were landed, *Attalus* sent certain persons to meet, and conduct them in the night to *Pergamus*. They were all old Souldiers, well skill'd in military affairs, and their Captain himself Scholar to *Philopemen*, the best General of all the Greeks at that time. They took two dayes to rest themselves and their Horses, and to view the Enemies Posts, where and when they might best make their approaches or retreat. The Kings men came up near to the Foot of the Hill, on which the City stands: so that they had liberty to plunder behind them, since no body sally'd out (not so much as to the places where their own men stood) who could throw a Dart to any considerable distance. But when they were once, for fear, forced into their Walls, the Kings men began first to contemn and then to neglect them. For great part of them had not their Horses either saddled or bridled: besides that, leaving some few standing to their Arms in Rank and File, the rest got away and stragled all over the Fields; some of them

them playing at several sorts of youthful Games, some eating in the shade, and others lying down asleep. Which when *Diophanes* from the high City of *Pergamus* beheld, he commanded his men to take up their Arms and stand ready at the Gate, whilst he himself went to *Attalus* and told him, he had a design to attempt the Enemies Post. *Attalus* was very unwilling to let him, as seeing that he must fight with a hundred Horse against three hundred, and a thousand with four thousand: [but yet being over-perfwaded he consented; so *Diophanes*] going out at the Gate late down not far from the Enemies Camp, and waited for an occasion. Those that were at *Pergamus* thought it rather madness in him than courage; and the Enemies too who for some little time turn'd toward them, when they saw they were not at all concern'd, neither did they themselves alter any thing of their former negligence, but more than that slighted the fewness of them. *Diophanes* for some time kept his men quiet, as though he had brought them out to see a show only: but when he saw the Enemy gone out of their Ranks, commanded the Foot to make what hast they could after him, he himself in the head of the Horse, with his own Troop, as hard as he could drive (whilst all the Horse and Foot together set up a mighty shout) of a sudden invaded the Enemies station. Nor only the men, but the Horses too were frighted, and having broken their Bridles caused a distraction and a tumult among their own men. Some few Horses stood undaunted, whom they could not easily either Saddle, or Bridle, or Mount: so that the *Achaans* occasion'd a greater consternation than by the number of their Horsemen [one would have thought they should have done.] But the Foot coming regularly and prepared, set upon the Enemy, whilst they were scatter'd about through negligence, and almost half asleep; by which means they were kill'd and put to flight all over the Plains. *Diophanes* having follow'd them as far as it was safe for him, to the great honour of the *Achaean* Nation (for not only Men but Women also saw him from the Walls of *Pergamus*) return'd into the Garison of the City.

The next Day the Kings Men, being more compos'd and regular, encamped five Hundred Paces farther from the City; and the *Achaans* about the same time came forth into the same place. For many hours they watched on both sides very intently, as though they had every moment expected the attack; but when, not long before Sun-set, it was time to go back into their Camp, the Kings Men, putting all their Ensigns together, began to march in a Body more fit for a journey than a fight. *Diophanes* lay still whilst they were in sight, and then ran in upon their Reer with the same force as he had done the Day before; whereby he again put them into such a fright and a tumult, that, though their backs were cut, no one of them made the least resistance; but all in an hurry, and scarce able to keep their ranks, they were forced back into their Camp. This audacity of the *Achaans* made *Seleucus* remove his Camp out of the Territories of *Pergamus*. *Antiochus*, when he heard that the Romans and *Eumenes* were come to defend *Adramyttum*, meddled not with that City, though he plundered the Country about it. Then he took *Peraa* a Colony of the *Mitylenians*. *Cotton* and *Corylenus*, *Aphrodisias* and *Crene* were taken upon the first attempt. From thence he return'd through *Thyatira* to *Sardeis*, whilst *Seleucus* continuing upon the Sea-Coast, was a terrour to some and a guard to others. The Roman Fleet with *Eumenes* and the Rhodians returned first to *Mitylene*, and then back from whence it came, to *Elea*. From thence going to *Phocæa*, they arriv'd at an Island which they call *Bachius*, hard by *Phocæa*; where when they had hostily rifled all the Temples, which before they had not meddled with, and violated the Images in them (and indeed the Island was curiously adorn'd) they went to the very City it self. Which after they had divided among them, and, having so attack'd it, saw that without Works, Arms and Ladders it could not be taken, since a Garison sent by *Antiochus* of three Thousand Men was now in it; they presently laid aside the thoughts of a Siege, and the Navy went back to the Island, having done nothing else but plundered the Country about the City.

From thence it was resolv'd, That *Eumenes* should be sent home, and prepare for the Consul and his Army what was necessary for their passage over the Hellespont; that the Roman and Rhodian Fleet should return to *Samus*, and there tarry in a readiness lest *Polyxenidas* should move from *Ephesus*. The King accordingly return'd to *Elea*, the Romans and the Rhodians to *Samus*; where *M. Amilius*, the Prætors Brother, dyed. The Rhodians, having celebrated his Funeral, went to *Rhodes*, to be there in a readiness against a Fleet which there was a report was coming out of *Syria*, with thirteen Ships of their own, one *Coan* Gally of five banks, and another *Gnidian*. Two Days before *Endamius* came with the Navy from *Samus*, the thirteen Ships from *Rhodes* being sent along with *Pamphilidas* their Admiral against the Syrian Fleet, taking to their assistance four Ships that were as a guard to *Caria*, rais'd the Siege from before *Dadala* and some other small Castles, which the Kings Men were attempting to take. By this time it was resolv'd, that *Endamius* should set out with all speed, to whose Navy, that he then had, were likewise added six open Ships. Accordingly he setting forth as fast as he could, overtook those that went before him at the port of *Megiste*; from whence, when they came in one Body to *Phaselis*, they thought best there to wait for the Enemy.

*Phaselis* is in the Confin'd of *Lycia* and *Pamphylia*, standing a good way into the Sea, and is

XXI.

XXII.

XXIII.



is the first Land that they can see, who came from *Cilicia* to *Rhodes*, besides, that it gives you a sight of Ships a great way off; and was therefore chosen, as a fit place to meet the Enemy in. But (what they did not foresee) through the unhealthfulness of the place, the time of the year (for it was now the middle of Summer) and, more than that, a strange smell, distempers began to be very rife, especially among the Seamen. For fear of which contagion going away, they, when they were past the *Pamphylian* Bay, and had arrived at the River *Eurymedon*, heard from the *Aspendians*, that the Enemy was then at *Sida*. The Kings men had sailed so much the slower, by reason that the *Etesie* [Trade-winds, that blow at certain times of the Year] were against them, blowing at that time (as they constantly do) from West. Of the *Rhodians* there were thirty two four-bank'd Gallies, and four three-bank'd. The Kings Navy consisted of thirty seven great Ships, among which there were three seven bank'd, and four six-bank'd Gallies. Besides these there were ten three-bank'd Gallies, and the others knew from a certain Watch-Tower, that the Enemy were near at hand. Both the Fleets, the next day, as soon as it was light (as though they had been that day to fight) put out of their Port: and when the *Rhodians* were past the promontory [or Cape] which from *Sida* runs out into the Sea, they were presently within the Enemies Ken, whom they themselves also saw. The Kings left Wing, which lay to the Seaward, was commanded by *Annibal*, and the right by one of the Kings great Favourites, called *Apollonius*. And now they had drawn their Ships all up one by another in a straight line. The *Rhodians* came in a long Train: of which the first was *Eudamus*, the Admiral: *Chariclitus* brought up the Reer; and *Pamphilidas* commanded the main Body of the Fleet. *Eudamus*, when he saw the Enemy in *Battalia* and ready to engage, himself also put out to Sea; commanding those that follow'd to keep their Ranks, and put themselves in such a posture as directly to Front the Enemy. That order at first made some disorder among them. For neither was he so far out at Sea, as that all the Ships to the Landward had room to marshal themselves: besides that he himself made so much haste, that with only five Ships he met *Annibal*. The rest, because they were commanded to place themselves Frontwise, did not follow up. The Reer to the Landward had no room left; so that whilst they were in an hurry among themselves, the right Wing was now engaged with *Annibal*.

XXIV.

But in a moment of time, the strength of their Ships, and their experience in Sea affairs, remov'd all terror from the *Rhodians*. For their Ships not only put out with great speed into the main Sea, and each of them made room for those that came [behind them] to the Landward; but likewise if any of their Beaks happen'd to meet with an Enemies Ship, they either tore the prow of her, broke off her Oars, or running freely into their Ranks struck against the Poop. That which most daunted them, was, that a seven-bank'd Gally of the Kings was sunk by a far less Ship of the *Rhodians* at one thump. Wherefore now the Enemies right Wing was very much inclined to run away. *Annibal* with his multitude of Ships prest hardest upon *Eudamus* (who far excelled all the rest and was) out at Sea: nor had he failed to circumvent him, had not the signal (whereby it was their custom to call a dispersed Fleet into one Body) been given from the Admirals Ship, and all the Ships, that in the right Wing had been Victorious, come presently into their assistance. Thereupon both *Annibal* and all the Ships that were with him, ran away; nor could the *Rhodians* (their Rowers being great part of them sick, and therefore the sooner tired) pursue them. As they were refreshing themselves with Victuals in the Sea, where they halted, *Eudamus* seeing the Enemy tow several lame and disabled Ships along with open-deck'd Vessels [tied to them with Cables] and somewhat above twenty sailing away entire, commanded silence, and from the Turret [the Quarter Deck] of the Admirals Ships, *Arise*, said he, [to his men] and see a brave fight. With that they all arose, and viewing the distraction and flight of the Enemy, cry'd out all with one Voice, *Let's follow them*. *Eudamus's* own Ship was batter'd very much; but he order'd *Pamphilidas* and *Chariclitus* to pursue them, as far as they thought it safe. They accordingly for some time follow'd them; but when *Annibal* came near the Land, fearing, lest they might be Wind bound upon the Enemies Coast, they return'd to *Eudamus*, dragging the seven-bank'd Gally, which at the first onset was disabled, with much ado to *Phaselis*. Then they went back to *Rhodes*, not so glad of their Victory, as accusing one another, for that, when they might have done it, they had not sunk or taken all the Enemies Fleet. *Annibal*, being disabled in one unfortunate Battle, durst not even then go by *Lycia*, when he desired as soon as possible to join the Kings old Fleet. And indeed, to hinder him from so doing, the *Rhodians* sent *Chariclitus* with twenty beak'd Ships to *Patara*, and the Port of *Megeste*; commanding *Eudamus*, with seven of the biggest Ships, out of that Fleet, which he was Admiral of, to return to the Romans at *Samus*: to persuade the Romans, by all the reason and authority he had, to attack *Patara*.

XXV.

The news of that Victory first, and then the arrival of the *Rhodians* caused great joy among the Romans. Now it was manifest, that if the *Rhodians* were but once freed from the fear of *Patara*, they would be at leisure to make all the Seas of that Country secure. But *Antiochus* being gone from *Sardeis*, lest the maritime Cities should be surpriz'd, they order'd their men not to stir from their charge of *Ionia* and *Aeolis*. They sent *Pamphilidas* with four close-deck'd Ships [Men of War] to the Fleet that lay about *Patara*. *Antiochus* not

not only muster'd up all the Forces of the Cities round about him, but also sent Embassadors and Letters to *Prusias* King of *Bithynia*, wherein he inveigh'd against the Romans coming over into *Asia*; saying, That they came to destroy all Kingdoms in general, that there might be no Empire in the whole World but that of the Romans only. That *Philip* and *Nabis* were conquer'd, and he was the third [King] they aimed at: and that, as every man stood next to him, who was last undone, they would run, like a continu'd conflagration through all [Nations.] That from him, they would make their next step into *Bithynia*, now that *Eumenes* was become their voluntary slave. Though *Prusias* was moved with this Message, yet a Letter which was sent from the Consul *Scipio* (or rather from his Brother *Africanus*) clear'd him of that suspicion. For he (besides the perpetual usage of the Roman People, of advancing the majesty of such Kings as were their Allies with all the honour they could) himself, by domestick instances persuaded *Prusias* to court their Alliance, telling him; That they left some petty Kings in Spain, (after they had receiv'd them into their protection) absolute Monarchs: That they placed *Mantilla* not only in his Fathers Throne, but also restored him to the Kingdom of *Syphax* from whence he had been expelled; and that he was not only by far the most opulent King in *Africa*, but equal, either in majesty or strength, to any Monarch of the whole World. That *Philip* and *Nabis*, though they were conquer'd by *T. Quintius*, were yet left in their Kingdoms: and that *Philip* also had, the year before, not only his Tribute remitted, but his Son also, who was an Hostage, restored to him; besides that, by permission of the Roman Generals, he regain'd some Cities out of *Macedonia*. And that *Nabis* too had been us'd with the same respect, had not his own fury first, and then the *Aetolians* fraud undone him. But the Kings mind was most confirm'd, after that *C. Livius*, who, when Prator, had formerly commanded the Fleet, came to him in the quality of an Embassador from Rome; and told him, not only how much more certain the hopes of Victory was to the Romans than to *Antiochus*, but also that their Friendship would be more sacred and inviolable.

*Antiochus*, despairing of *Prusias's* Alliance, went from *Sardeis* to see the Navy at *Ephesus*, which for some months had been all fitted up and ready: rather, because he saw, that the Roman Army and the two *Scipio's*, who commanded it, could not be opposed by his Land Forces, than that he had either ever before had any success at Sea, or had any great and certain assurance of it then. But yet he had some good hopes at present; for that he had heard, not only that great part of the *Rhodian* Navy was now about *Patara*, but also, that King *Eumenes* was gone with all his Ships into the *Hellepont* to meet the Consul. He likewise receiv'd some encouragement from the *Rhodian* Fleets being disabled, by a treacherous contrivance at *Samus*. In confidence of these things, he, having sent *Polyxenidas* with the Fleet to try by all means the fortune of a fight, himself led his Forces to *Notium* (which is a Town belonging to *Colophon*, and stands from old *Colophon* about two thousand paces) and would have had the City it self in his own hands; as being so near to *Ephesus*, that he could do nothing either by Sea, or Land, but the *Colophonians* would see, and immediately tell the Romans of: who, he did not doubt, but, when they heard of the Siege, would come with their Fleet from *Samus* to assist that City which was allied to them; and that that would be a good opportunity for *Polyxenidas* to do his business. Wherefore beginning with works to attack the City, and having made Retrenchments equally in two places down to the Sea, he on both sides planted Galleries, and a Mound close to the Wall, and under Tortoises [Engines of wood in that form] brought his battering Rams thither also. At which the *Colophonians* being frighted, sent Agents to *L. Aemilius* at *Samus*, to implore the assistance of the Prator, and the Roman People. *Aemilius* was not only offended at their long stay in *Samus*, as expecting nothing less, than that *Polyxenidas*, whom he had twice in vain provoked, should now be in a posture to give him Battle; but he also thought it a dishonourable thing, that *Eumenes's* Fleet should assist the Consul in putting his Legions over into *Asia*; and that he should be obliged to aid *Colophon*, which was now besieged, he could not tell how long. *Eudamus* the *Rhodian*, who had kept him at *Samus*, when he desired to go into *Hellepont*, and all the rest were urgent with him and said; how much better it was either to free his Allies from a Siege, or again to subdue that Fleet which he had once already conquer'd, and force the whole possession of the Sea out of the Enemies hands, then, forsaking his Allies, and delivering up all *Asia* both by Sea and Land to *Antiochus*, to go into *Hellepont*, where *Eumenes's* Fleet was sufficient from his own Post in the War.

Then going from *Samus* to get Provisions (for they had spent all the former) they resolv'd to cross over to *Chius*. That was to the Romans as a Barn [or Storehouse] and thither all the Ships of burden, that were sent out of *Italy*, directed their course. Wherefore going round from the City to the back part of the Island (which is northward, toward *Chius* and *Erythrae*) as they were ready to pass over, the Prator by a Letter had Intelligence, that there was a great quantity of Corn come out of *Italy* to *Chius*: but that the Ships, which brought the Wine, were detain'd by ill weather: being likewise at the same time inform'd, that the *Teians* had very largely supply'd the Kings Navy with provisions; and promised them five thousand Vessels full of Wine. Thereupon he presently, in the midst of his Voyage, turn'd his Fleet toward *Teius*; resolving either to have the provisions which they had prepared for the Enemy, with their consent, or to look upon them as Enemies. When they had turn'd their Ships stems directly

directly toward the Land, there appear'd unto them about fifteen Ships near *Myonnesus*. Which Ships the Prætor supposed to be part of the Kings Navy, and therefore strait pursued them; but they were soon found to be *Pyritical Barks and Fly-boats*, who having ravaged all the Sea Coast of *Chius*, were coming back with all kinds of Booty, but when they saw the Fleet ran away. And indeed they outdid them in swiftness, their Vessels being light and made for the purpose, besides that they were nearer to the Shore. Wherefore before the Fleet came nigh them they got to *Myonnesus*. From whence the Prætor thinking to force the Ships out of the Port, though unacquainted with the place, pursued them. *Myonnesus* is a Promontory between *Teius* and *Samus*, whereof the Hill it self is made like a *Meta* [a Pillar set up in the *Hippodrome* or *Circus* where Chariots, &c. ran, for the Goal] going taper up from a large *Basis* to a sharp top; and from the Continent has a way to it that is very narrow, being bounded to the Sea-ward with the Rocks that are eaten away by the Waves; so that in some places the stones that hang over reach farther into the Sea than the Ships that are in the Harbour. About those Rocks therefore the Ships (not daring to venture in, lest they might chance to be under the stroke of the Pyrates standing above) spent that whole Day. At last, a little before Night, having quitted that vain enterprise, they came the next Day to *Teius*; and in the Port that is behind the City (which they themselves call *Geraesticum*) having moved their Ships, the Prætor sent out his Souldiers to plunder all the Fields about the City.

XXVIII. The *Teians*, seeing what havock was made, sent Agents to the Romans with all the tokens of humility; who clearing the City of all hostile words or actions against the Romans; [the Prætor] Told them not only that they supplied the Enemies Fleet with all sorts of Provisions, but also how much Wine they had promised *Polyxenidas*. Which if they would give to the Roman Fleet, he would recall the Souldiers from plundering their Country; but if not, would look upon them as Enemies. When the Embassadors had brought back this dismal answer, the Magistrates summon'd the People to an Assembly, to consult what to do. Now it so happening that *Polyxenidas* was coming that way with the Kings Fleet, when he heard, that the Romans were removed from *Samus*, and, having pursued the Pyrates to *Myonnesus*, had ravaged the *Teian* Territories (whilst their Ships stood in the Port of *Geraesticum*) himself cast an Anchor in a by-Port over against *Myonnesus*, at an Island which the Seamen call *Macris*. From thence enquiring thereabout what the Enemy did, was at first in great hopes, that, as he had defeated the Rhodian Fleet at *Samus* by besetting the Ports mouth where they were to go out, so he might now serve the Romans; nor is the nature of the place much unlike, but the Port, by Promontories, that almost meet each other, is so enclosed, that two Ships can scarce go out of it at once. *Polyxenidas* intended to secure the mouth of it in the Night time, and, having ordered ten Ships to stand at the two Promontories, who on both sides should flank the Enemies Ships as they came out, to put his Souldiers, out of the other part of the Fleet (as he had done at *Panormus*) ashore, and so, both by Sea and Land, surprisè the Foe. Nor had this been a vain design in him, had not the Romans (when the *Teians* had promised, That they would do as they were commanded) thought it more convenient, in order to take in their Provisions, that their Navy should go into the Port that is before the City. But *Eudamus* the Rhodian is also said to have found a fault in the other Port, when two Ships happened to strike against each other in the narrow mouth of it, and break their Oars. And, among other things, this also mov'd the Prætor to remove the Fleet, that there was danger from the Land, *Antiochus* being encamped not far from that place.

XXIX. The Fleet being come over to the City, the Soldiers and Seamen [belonging to *Polyxenidas*] went on Shore without any Bodies knowledge, to divide their Provisions and the Wine especially for their Ships; when (as it happened) in the middle of the Day a Country Fellow, who was brought to the Prætor, told him, That for the two Days last past there had a Fleet stood at the Isle of *Macris*, and that a little before that time there were some Ships seen to move as though they were going away. The Prætor being surprisèd with the relation ordered the Trumpeters to sound, that, if any of the Men were straggling about the Fields, they might return, sending the Tribunes into the City to bring the Soldiers and the Seamen into the Ships. Thereupon arose as great a tumult as though it had been upon the sudden breaking out of a Fire, or the taking of a City; some running into the City to call back their Men, and others running back from the City to their Ships; though, albeit for a while their orders were confounded by uncertain clamours (which were increased too by the Trumpets) at last they ran all together to the Ships. They could scarce each one of them distinguish or go to his own for the hurry they were in; and they had, through their consternation, been in great danger both by Sea and Land, had not *Emilius* divided them into several parties, and gone first out with his Admirals Ship into the main Sea, where he received them as they came after, and placed them each one in their order front-wife, whilst *Eudamus* and the Rhodian Fleet stood at the Land, that the Men might get on board without any fear, and every Ship come forth as soon as it was ready. By this means they not only ranged themselves in the Prætors sight, but the Rhodians brought up the Reer; and the Fleet went out to Sea all in Battalia as though they had seen the Kings Men. They were between the Promontory of *Myonnesus* and *Corycum*, when they saw the Enemy. The Kings Fleet

Fleet too, coming in a long Train with two Ships a Breaht, put their Ships also into Battalia, running out so far with their left Wing, that they might be able to embrace and circumvent the right Wing of the Romans. Which when *Eudamus*, who brought up the Reer, saw, that the Romans could not even their Ranks, and that they were just ready to be surrounded in the right Wing, he put his Ships briskly forward (and the Rhodian Ships were by far the swiftest in the whole Fleet) and having even the Wing, ran with his own Ship against the Admirals, in which was *Polyxenidas*.

And now the fight began in all parts of both the Navies. On the Roman side there were eighty Ships engaged, of which twenty two were Rhodians. The Enemies Fleet consisted of ninety five one, among which there were Ships of the greatest Bulk, three six-bank'd, and two seven-bank'd Gallies. In the strength of their Ships, and courage of their men, the Romans far out did the Rhodians: but the Rhodian Ships them in the agility, and skill of their Pilots, as well as the dexterity of their Rowers. But those were the greatest terror to the Enemy, who carry'd fire before them; and that which, at *Panormus*, was the only cause of their escape, was now the greatest moment toward a Victory. For the Kings Ships, for fear of the fire, which came toward them, avoiding to meet them with their Prows, besides that they could not strike the Enemy with their beaks, themselves also made a fair Broadside for the Enemy to hit: for if any of them engaged they were certain to be burnt; so that they were terrified at the fire more than the fight. Yet the courage of their Souldiers (as it usually does) proved of very great importance in the War. For when the Romans had broken the main Body of the Enemy, tacking about they went and opposed those that fought in the Reer against the Rhodians: so that in a moment of time both the main body of *Antiochus*, and the Ships in the left Wing, being circumvented, were funk. The right Wing continu'd entire, and was terrified more at the misfortune of their Allies than at their own danger. But when they saw the rest circumvented, and *Polyxenidas* the Admirals Ship (leaving her Allies) set Sail, immediately they hoisted their Topails (and there was a favourable wind to go to *Ephesus* with) and ran away; having lost in that fight forty two Ships, whereof thirteen were taken by the Enemy, and the rest burnt or funk. Of the Roman side there were two Ships quite disabled, and some others batter'd; one Rhodian being taken, and that by a memorable chance. For when with her beak she had struck a *Sidonian*, the Anchor being by the very force of the blow beaten out of its own Ship, and with its hooked beard, like an Harping Iron, catching hold of the Prow of the other Ship, held it fast. Upon which they being in a fright, would have disengaged themselves, but the Rhodians would not let them; so that the Cable of the Anchor being drawn out and intangled in the Oars, brush'd off all on one side, and that very Ship which being struck, stuck to [the Rhodian] now it was disabled took it.

At which *Antiochus* being consternated, because, now that he was driven out of the possession of the Sea, he very much doubted, whether he could defend his Dominions that were more remote, he order'd his Garison to be brought from *Lysimachia*, lest he might there be surprisèd by the Romans, though much to his disadvantage, as the event it self afterward shew'd. For it was not only easy to defend *Lysimachia* from the first effort of the Romans: but to hold out a Siege also the whole Winter long; to reduce the Besiegers, by protracting the time, to the greatest extremity of want, and, in the mean time, to try, upon occasion, what hope there was of Peace. Nor did he only surrender *Lysimachia* to the Enemy after his defeat at Sea, but he also raised the Siege from *Colophon*, and went back to *Sardeis*: and thence sent into *Cappadocia*, to *Ariarathes*, to desire aid, and every whither else that he could, to raise forces, as being intent upon nothing now but a design of fighting a pitch'd Battle. *Regillus Emilius*, after his Victory at Sea, going to *Ephesus*, set his Ships directly against the Port, and after he had forced from the Enemy the greatest acknowledgment that could be of their surrendering the Sea to him, sail'd to *Chius*, whither, before the Sea-fight, from *Samus* he was bound. There, when he had repaired his Ships, that were disabled in the fight, he sent *L. Emilius Scaurus* with thirty Ships into the *Hellestus*, to put over the Army: commanding the Rhodians, whom he gratified with part of the plunder and other Naval spoils, to return home. But the Rhodians made hast another way to prevent [Scaurus] and went to put over the Consuls Forces: which when they had also done, they then at last returned to *Rhodes*. The Roman Navy went over from *Chius* to *Phocæa*, which lies in the innermost part of the Bay; being of an oblong form, and two thousand five hundred paces in Circuit; which comes together, as it were, on both sides into a narrower wedge, by them call'd *Lampter* [a Light House, to shew Sailers the way into the Port.] The breadth of it there is twelve hundred paces, from whence there runs a neck of a thousand paces exactly through the middle of the Bay; on either side of which narrow Partition it has two very secure Ports. That which lies to the South is called *Naustatmus*, from the use of it, because it contains a great number of Ships; and the other is near the very [place aforesaid call'd] *Lampter*.

When the Roman Fleet was got into these secure Ports, before he attacked the Walls either with Ladders, or Works, the Prætor thought fit to send certain persons to try the inclinations.

clinations of the Nobility and Magistrates. But when he saw that they were obstinate, he began to make the assault in two places at once. The one part had not many Houses in it; for the Temples of their Gods took up some part of the space. He therefore first began in that to plant his Ram and beat down their Walls and Turrets. But afterward, when the multitude ran thither to make defence, he applied his Ram on the other side too; so that the Walls were now thrown down on both sides. Upon the fall whereof, seeing the Roman Souldiers prest in through the very ruins, whilst others attempted with Ladders to get up upon the Walls, the Townsfolk made so obstinate a defence, that it easily appear'd, their strength lay more in their Arms and Courage, than in their Walls. Wherefore the Prætor being forced by the danger his Souldiers were in, order'd them to sound a Retreat, lest he might expose [his men] who were unwary, to persons that raved with madness and despair. But though the Battle were at that time ended, they did not, for all that, lie idle; but ran together from all places to fortifie, and repair what was beaten down. As they were intent upon this work Q. Antonius sent by the Prætor came upon them: who, having chid them for their pertinacioufness, shew'd the Romans had a greater care than they, not to fight so long as to destroy the City. If they would desist from their fury, that they would give them the liberty of surrendering themselves upon the same condition, as they had formerly submitted to C. Livius. When they heard this (having taken ten dayes to deliberate upon it, in which time they try'd what hopes of aid from Antiochus) seeing their Embassadors whom they sent to the King brought word back, That he could not at all assist them; they then open'd their Gates, upon condition that they should not suffer any act of hostility. When the Ensigns were brought into the City, and the Prætor had declar'd, that he would have them, since they had surrender'd themselves, to have free quarter; there was a shout set up quite round [with these words] That it was a shame, the Phœceans, who had never been faithful Allies, but always bitter Enemies, should escape unpunish'd. With that (as though the Prætor had given them a signal) they ran to and fro to rife the City. Amilius at first resisted and recall'd them; saying, that Cities taken, not those that surrender'd themselves, were used to be rifled: and yet even in them too all things ought to be done according to the discretion of the General, not of the Souldiers. But their fury and covetousness being too strong for his Command, he sent Cryers through all the City, to bid all the Freemen come together to him in the Market place, that they might not be injured; and indeed, in all things, that were within his power, the Prætor was as good as his word. For he restored to them their City, Lands, and Laws; and, because Winter was now at hand, chose the Port of Phœcia for his Navy to Winter in.

XXXIII. About the same time as the Consul went over the Confines of the *Ænians* and the *Maronites*, news was brought, that the Kings Fleet was defeated at Myonnesus, and that Lysimachia was deserted by the Garison. Which last was more joyful news than that of the Victory at Sea; for, when they came thither, the City being fill'd with all sorts of Provisions, prepar'd, as it were, against the arrival of the Army, entertain'd them; where they had proposed to themselves the extremity of want and toil in besieging of it. Having staid some few dayes there, for their baggage and sick men to overtake them, that were left behind through all the Castles of *Thrace*, as being either very ill, or tired with the length of their march (when they had them all together again) they went onward of their Journey through *Chersonesus*, and came to *Hellepont*. Where all things being prepared by order of King *Eumenes* for their passage, they went over into an Allied Country (as it were) without any resistance or tumult, though some Ships were driven to one, and some to another Port. Now this very much encouraged the Romans, when they saw they had a free ingress into *Asia*, which they thought would have cost them a great many blowes. Thereupon they lay for some time near the *Hellepont*; because it happen'd that those solemn dayes were now come, on which the *Ancilia* [sacred Shields] were carried about the City, so that it was a great offence then to travel. The same dayes also had kept P. Scipio from the Army upon a nearer obligation, because he himself was a *Salus* [a Priest of *Mars*, and one of those *Salii*, that carried the Shields, when at *Rome*, about the City] besides that he himself too was the occasion of their stay till he overtook them.

XXXIV. It happen'd that at that time there came an Embassadour into the Camp from Antiochus, named *Byzantius Heraclides*, with a Commission to treat of Peace; which he was in good hopes to obtain upon the score of the Romans halting and staying there, who, he believ'd, would have gone on, as soon as they came into *Asia*, with all expedition into the Kings Camp. Yet he resolv'd not to wait upon the Consul, before he had been with P. Scipio, and indeed his Orders from the King were so to do. For he had most confidence in him; besides that, not only the greatness of his Soul, and the fullness of glory [that he had gain'd] made him most placable. And then it was known to all the Nations thereabout, what a Conquerour he had been in *Spain*, and what after that in *Africa*: as also that his Son was a Captive then in the Kings Custody. But where, when, and by what accident that Son of his was taken, is among Authors (like many other things) very uncertain. Some say, that, in the beginning of the War, as he was going from *Chalcis* to *Oreum*, he was circumvented by the Kings Ships; though others affirm, that after he came over into *Asia*, being sent with a Troop of *Fregellan* Cavalry to view the Kings Camp, the Enemy sent a Party of

of Horse presently out to meet him, and that, as he retreated, hapning in the hurry to fall from his Horse, he was with two of his Troopers taken, and so carried to the King. But this is certain, that, if there had been constant Peace with the Romans, or the King had held a perpetual private Correspondence with the Scipio's, their young Gentlemen could not have been treated or used more liberally and freely than he was. For which reason, when the Ambassador had staid for Scipio's coming, as soon as he came, he went to the Consul, and desired him to hear what commands he had [from the King].

Thereupon a full Assembly was call'd, and the Ambassador had his audience, at which XXXV. he told them (many Embassies having been sent to and fro before to no purpose) That he, for that very reason, hoped to succeed in his Embassy, because the former Embassadors had not prevailed. For *Smyrna*, *Lampascus*, *Alexandria*, *Trous* and *Lysimachia* in Europe were the matter of debate in those Treaties; whereof the King had now quitted *Lysimachia*, that they might not say he had any thing in Europe; and was ready, not only to surrender those Cities that were in *Asia*, but any others also, that the Romans had a mind to vindicate from his Government, as being their Allies; besides, that he would pay them half the charge of the War. These were the conditions of Peace; and the rest of his speech was, That, bearing in mind the state of humane affairs, they would not only be moderate in their own condition, but favourable too to that of others. That they would bound their Empire with Europe, for even that was of infinite extent. That particular Kingdoms could be more easily gain'd, than they could be all kept. But if they would have some part of *Asia* too, that, if they would pitch upon any certain Countries, the King would suffer his own moderation (for peace and quietness sake) to be overcome by the Romans desires. Now these things, that seemed to the Ambassador of great moment toward the obtaining of a Peace, were but small things in the esteem of the Romans. For they not only thought that the King ought to pay all the charge of the War (since upon his account it was first raised) or, that his Garisons ought to be drawn out of *Ionis* barely, and *Æolis*; but also, that, as all Greece was set at liberty, so all the Cities in *Asia* should be too. Which could not otherwise be brought to pass, than by Antiochus's quitting the possession of all *Asia* on this side the Mountain *Taurus*.

The Ambassador perceiving that he could gain nothing, that was fair, of the Council, XXXVI. attempted privately (for so he was ordered) to try the inclinations of P. Scipio. He said first of all, That the King would restore his Son to him without ransom; after which, (being ignorant both of Scipio's disposition, and the Roman Customes) he promised him a vast quantity of Gold, and, excepting the King only, the alliance of the whole Kingdom, if, by his means he obtained a Peace. To which Scipio reply'd, I do the less admire, that you know not all the Romans, and me, in particular, to whom you were sent; because I see, you are ignorant of his condition, from whom you come. *Lysimachia* was to have been kept, lest we should enter into *Chersonesus*: or to block up the *Hellepont*, lest we should go over into *Asia*; if you had been to have desired Peace of a People who were concern'd for the event of the War. But since you have granted us a passage over into *Asia*, and not only taken a Bridle [into your Mouths] but an Yoke [upon your Necks] what room have you left to dispute upon even terms, when you must of necessity endure our Government? I shall reckon my Son the greatest gift that I can receive from the Kings Munificence; and may my Fortune, I pray Heaven, never want any other; my mind, I am sure, never will. For so great a present to me he shall find me grateful to him, if he will be content with one private kindness for another. But I'll neither take nor give anything upon a publick account. What I have at present to present him with is only faithful advice [and that's this] Go you, and tell him in my name, I would have him desist from making War, and refuse no terms of Peace. These things did not at all move the King, who thought there was no danger in the War, since they impos'd conditions of Peace upon him, as though he had been already conquer'd. Wherefore omitting, at present, all thoughts of Peace, he imploy'd all his care in preparing for a War.

The Consul, having made all things ready for the execution of his designs, and being XXXVII. removed from his quarters, came first to *Dardanium*, and then to *Rhætium*, both of which Cities came thronging out to meet him. Thence he went forward to *Ilium*, and having encamped in the Plain that lies below the Walls thereof, went up into the City and the Castle, where he sacrificed to *Minerva*, the Guardian of the Place, whilst the *Ilions* with all manner of real and verbal respect declar'd that the Romans were descended from them, and the Romans were proud of their Original. Departing thence they arriv'd, in six Marches, at the head of the River *Caycus*; where King *Eumenes* also (having endeavour'd first to bring back the Fleet to their Winter Quarters at *Elea*, but afterward seeing that by reason the Wind was contrary, he could not for some Days get by the Promontory of *Leffon*) landed, lest he might be wanting to their first attempts, and, with a small party, marched, the nearest way, to the Roman Camp. Thereupon he was sent back out of the Camp to *Pergamus*, to get Provisions [for the Army] and, having delivered [a quantity of] Corn to whom the Consul had ordered it, returned to the same Camp again. Then, seeing they had provided Victuals for a great many Days, they resolv'd to go to the Enemy before the Winter came upon them. The Kings Camp was near *Thyatira*, where, when Antiochus had notice, that P. Scipio was carry'd sick to *Elea*, he sent Embassadors to carry his Son



back to him : which was not only a grateful Present to his mind as a Father, but even a remedy to his distemper'd Body too. Wherefore when he had satisfied himself with embracing his Son, he bad the Embassadors; *Tell the King (said he) I thank him; but that I cannot pay him any other acknowledgment at the present, than my advice, that he do not appear in the Field, before he hears that I am return'd into the Camp.* Now though seventy thousand Foot, and above twelve thousand Horse, gave him sometimes the courage to hope for Victory, yet *Antiochus*, moved by the authority of so great a man, who, as to the uncertain events of War, he hoped could relieve him in all conditions, he retreated over the River of *Phrygia* [called *Hermus*] and about *Magnesia*, which is near *Sipylum*, Encamped. But lest, whilst he had a mind to protract the time, the *Romans* should make an attempt upon his Fortifications, he, having made a Trench six Cubits deep, and twelve broad, with a double Bullwark about it on the outside; built a Wall with a great many Turrets upon it on the inner brink; whereby it was easy to hinder the Enemy from getting over the Trench.

XXXVIII The Consul supposing the King to be about *Thyatira*, march'd down for five dayes together to the *Hyrcane* Plains. From whence, when he heard that he was gone, he follow'd him close to the *Phrygian* River, and pitch'd his Camp four thousand paces from the Foe. There about a thousand Horse (the greatest part of which were *Gallo-Græcians*, and some *Daba*, with Bow-Horsemen of other Nations mixt among them) having tumultuously pass'd the River, made an attack upon the several Stations [or Posts where the Enemy was planted.] At first they put them into a disturbance, as being discompos'd; but afterward, since the fight was long, and the number of the *Romans* encreas'd upon them by the easy supply which they had from their adjacent Camp, the Kings men, being now tired, and not able to resist so great a number, endeavour'd to retreat, were some of them kill'd about the Bank of the River, by those that pursu'd them, before they could get into it. After that there was a Cessation for two dayes, neither of them going over the River. But the third day the *Romans* went all over together, and Encamp'd about two thousand five hundred paces from the Foe. As they were pitching their Camp, and imploy'd in fortifying thereof, three thousand choice Foot and Horse of the Kings came with great terrour and tumult to them. There were somewhat fewer than used to be upon the Guard, and yet they alone, without any single persons being call'd from the Works, not only at first kept the Battle equal, but even, when the fight encreas'd, repell'd the Enemy; a hundred of them being kill'd and about the same number taken. During the four dayes following, the Armies stood before the Bullwark on both sides in Battalia: till, on the fourth day, the *Romans* march'd forth into the midst of the Plain. *Antiochus* did not stir forward at all, so that his Reer were less than a thousand Feet from the Bullwark.

XXXIX. The Consul, when he saw they declined the Fight, the next day call'd a Council, to advise, what to do if *Antiochus* would not give him an opportunity of fighting? For the Winter was at hand; and he must either keep his Souldiers in Tents, or, if they would needs go into Winter Quarters, he must defer the War till Summer. The *Romans* never condemn'd any Enemy so much before. Wherefore they all cry'd out, that he should lead them presently, and make use of the vehement ardour of his Souldiers, who (as though they were not to fight with so many thousand Enemies, but that an equal number of Sheep were to be slaughter'd by them) were ready to invade the Trenches, and through the Bullwark the Camp, if the Enemy would not come out to fight them. *Cn. Domitius*, being sent to find out the way, and on which side the Bullwark was most accessible, when he brought back certain intelligence, the next day they resolv'd to remove their Camp somewhat nearer. The third day they brought their Ensigns into the middle of the Plain, and began to marshal their Army. Nor did *Antiochus* think fit any longer to stand off, lest he might not only lessen the Courage of his men by declining the fight, but also augment the hopes of his Enemies, and therefore himself drew forth his Forces too: going forward so far from his Camp, as that it might appear, he was resolv'd to engage. The *Roman* was most of one Form, both as to the sort of men and their Arms; in which there were two *Roman* Legions, and two more of Allies and Latines; whereof each had in it five thousand four hundred men. The *Romans* were the main Body, and the Latines in the Wings. The *Hastati* [i. e. Spearmen or Pikes] stood in the Front, and next them the *Principes*, the *Triarii* bringing up the Reer. Beyond this compleat Army, as it were, on the right hand, the Consul marshal'd near three thousand Auxiliaries, belonging to King *Eumenes* (that were mingled among the short Shieldmen of the *Acheans*) into an even Front; planting near three thousand Horse without them, of whom eight hundred belong'd to *Eumenes*, and the rest were all *Romans*, with the *Trallians* and *Cretans* (who were in all five hundred) in the Reer. The left Wing did not seem to need such aids, because a River on that side, and craggy Rocks inclosed them. Yet there also were placed four Troops of Horse. These were all the *Roman* Forces, save two thousand *Macedonians* and *Thracians* together (that came as Volunteers) who were left for a Guard to the Camp. They planted sixteen Elephants behind the *Triarii* in the Reer. For, besides that they thought they could not sustain the multitude of the Kings Elephants (they being fifty four) the *African* [Elephants] cannot cope even with an equal number, that come from *India*; either

either for that they are overcome in bulk (for the Indian Elephants are far beyond the *African*) or in fierceness.

The Kings Army was more various, consisting of many Nations, whose Arms, and Persons too, were very different. There were sixteen Thousand Foot arm'd after the manner of the *Macedonians*, who were call'd *Phalangites*, being the main Body, and, in the Front, divided into ten Parts. He distinguished those several Parts by putting two Elephants between every two of them, and the Army was from the Front inward two and thirty ranks deep. Now there was not only this strength in the Kings Army, but it created great terrour, as by its other appearance, so also by the Elephants making such a show among the arm'd Men. They themselves were very bulky, but their Frontals [Armour that they wore upon their foreheads] their Crests, and the Turrets upon their backs, with the four arm'd Men that stood thereon, besides the manager of him, added [a new dread] to their appearance. On the right side of the *Phalangites* he planted fifteen Hundred *Gallogræcians*, to whom he joyn'd three Thousand Horse in Armour, whom they call'd *Cataphratti*, with a Wing of about one Thousand other Horse which they call *Agema*. There were choice Men of *Media*, and Horsemen made up of several Nations in those Parts. Immediately behind them was an herd of Elephants placed in the Reer; and on the same side, in a Wing somewhat longer than ordinary, stood the Kings Regiment call'd *Argyraphides*, from their Silver Shields. Then there were of the *Daba* twelve Hundred Bow Horsemen; and of light armour three Thousand, part *Trallians* and part *Cretans*, about as many of one as of the other; besides that there were two Thousand five Hundred *Mysians* joined to the Bow-men. In the Reer of that Wing were four Thousand Cyrtæan Slingers and Elymæan Bow-men all mingled together. In the left Wing there were fifteen Hundred *Gallogræcians* added to the *Phalangites*, and to them likewise two Thousand *Cappadocians*, sent from King *Ariarathes*. Then there were two Thousand seven Hundred Auxiliaries mixt of all sorts, and three Thousand *Cataphratti* [Horse in Armour] and a Thousand other Horse, besides the Kings Wing with lighter coverings both for themselves and their Horses, in an habit not much unlike, and a great many *Syrians* mixt with *Phrygians* and *Lydians*. Before this Cavalry went Chariots, armed with Sithes, and Camels, which they call *Dromadas*. Upon these sate the Arabian Archers, having slender Swords, four Cubits long, that they might from such an height reach the Foe. Then there was another train like that, which was in the right Wing, consisting, first, of *Tarentines*, and then of two Thousand five Hundred *Gallogræcians* Horse; with one Hundred fresh *Cretans*, and fifteen Hundred *Carians* and *Cilicians* in the same Armour, besides as many *Trallians* and three Thousand short shield-men, who were *Pisidians*, *Pamphilians*, and *Lycians*. After all these there were Auxiliaries of the *Cyrtæans* and *Elymæans* equal to those in the right Wing, and sixteen Elephants stand at a small distance from them.

The King himself was in the right Wing, having placed his own Son *Seleucus*, and his Brothers Son, *Antipater*, to command in the left; and given the management of the main Body to three Persons, *Minio*, *Zeuxis*, and *Philip*, Master of the Elephants. A Morning Cloud, as the Day went on, lifted up to the Sky made a kind of darkness; and then a shower from the South [poured down and] wet them all quite through. Now that, which did no hurt at all to the *Romans*, was very incommodious to the Kings Men; for neither did the obscurity of the Day in their small Army, deprive the *Romans* of an ability to see quite round them, nor did the Rain their Swords or Javelins (for they were more of the heavy arm'd) any hurt. But the Kings Men, whose Army was so broad, could not see so much as the two Wings from the main Body, much less the two Wings one another; besides that the wet had spoiled their Bows, Slings, and the thongs of their Darts. The Sith-arm'd Chariots too, wherewith *Antiochus* thought he should have put the Enemy into such great disorder, proved a terror to his own Men. Now they were armed much after this fashion; they had Spears about the Pole standing out ten Cubits from the draughts like Horns, with which they ran every thing through that met them, and at the ends of the draughts two Sithes stuck out, the one even with the draughts, and the other lower, declining toward the Earth; the former to cut off all things that came by them, and the latter to reach Men that fell down and came under them. So also upon the Axles of the Wheels there were two Sithes fastned in the same manner on both sides several ways. Now the King, as I told you before, had placed these Chariots, thus arm'd, in the front of the Army, because, if they had been planted in the Reer, or the middle, they must have been driven through his own Men. Which when *Eumenes* saw, being no stranger to that manner of fighting, but knowing how doubtful such a sort of Aid was, if a Man fear'd the Horses, rather than set upon them in a regular way, he ordered the *Cretan* Archers, Slingers, and Darters, that were Horsemen, to ride up, not in a close Body, but as dispers'd as they possibly could, and on all sides at once to sling in their Weapons upon them. This storm, as it were (what with the Wounds given by the Weapons thrown from every side upon them, what with the dissonant shouts [that were set up]) so consternated the Horses, that they presently ran all about the Plain like mad, as though they had known no driver. But the light Armour, nimble Slingers, and swift *Cretans* in a moment declin'd their violence; and the Horse, pursuing them,

them, augmented the tumult and fear of the Horses and Camels, as of those also that were before set a gadding; besides that there was a clamour added by the other numerous croud of those that stood about them. By this means the Chariots were driven out of the Plain that was between the two Armies; and then, laying aside all vain jesting, the two Armies having given the word on both sides, at last fell to it in a regular manner.

XLII.

But that vain thing was by and by the cause of a real damage to them. For the subsidiary aids, which were placed nearest, being frightened and consternated at the Chariots, so far as, that they even fled, exposed them all to the *Cataphracti* [Horsemen arm'd Cap-a-pee]. To whom when the Roman Horse, having routed the Body of reserves, was come, part of them endur'd not so much as their first effort, whilst others were routed, and others sunk down under the weight of their Arms and Coverings; till at last the whole left Wing declined, and, the Auxiliaries who were between the Horse and those they call *Phalangites*, being put into disorder, the terror came as far as the main Body. Thereupon not only their Ranks were disorder'd, and the use of their long Spears (which the *Macedonians* call *Sarrisse*) taken away by the intervention of their own Party; and then the Roman Legions made up, throwing their Javelins in upon them, whilst they were so confounded, even the Elephants that were in places between did not terrifie the Romans, who had been used in the African Wars, both to avoid the force of the Beast, and either to hit him with their Javelins a cross, or, if they could get nearer to him with their Swords to cut his Nerves. By this time the main Body was most of it, in the Front, destroy'd, and the reserves, being circumvented on their Reer were slain; when, in another part, they heard, their men were a flying, with a noise almost at the very Camp like that of men that are fear'd. For *Antiochus*, in the right Wing, seeing, through confidence in the River, there were no reserves at that Post, except four Troops of Horse, and those too, whilst they join'd their own Party, uncovering their Bank, made an attack upon that part with his Auxiliaries and *Cataphract* Horse. Nor did he charge them only in the Front, but getting between the Wing and the River, he flank'd them too; till such time as the Horse being first put to flight, and then the nearest of the Foot were forced back as fast as they could go to their Camp.

XLIII.

*M. Aemilius*, Tribune of the Souldiers, Son to *M. Lepidus*, was Master of the Camp, who a few years after was made High-Priest. He, where he saw his Party fly, met them with all his Forces; bidding, first, to stand, and then to return into the fight, reproving them for their fear and dishonourable flight. From thence he proceeded to threaten them, that they ran headlong upon their own ruine, unless they obey'd what he commanded. At last he gave his men the signal, to kill the foremost of those that ran away: and to force the crowd of such as fled with their Swords and Wounds back toward the Foe. This greater fear overcame the lesser: and therefore being compell'd by a doubtful dread they first stood still, though soon after, not only themselves return'd into the fight, but *Aemilius* also with his Party (which was two thousand stout men) made a brave resistance against the King who so hotly pursu'd him: besides that *Attalus*, Brother to *Eumenes*, in the right Wing, by which the left Wing of the Enemy had at the first effort been routed, when he saw, on the left, how his own Party fled, and a tumult all about the Camp, came up in season with two hundred Horse. *Antiochus*, as soon as he saw not only those, whose backs he had so lately seen, coming back into the fight, but another Company flowing thither both from the Camp and the main Body of the Army, turn'd his Horse and fled. By this means the Romans being Conquerours in both Wings, went over the heaps of Bodies (which they had raised in the main Body of the Army more than any where else; the men being there very stout, and not so well able to fly by reason that their Arms were so weighty) to rille the Camp. The Horse, first, that belong'd to *Eumenes*, and after them the other Horse too follow'd the Foe over all the Plain, killing the hindmost as fast as they overtook them. But that which was yet a greater Plague to them, as they fled away, and destroy'd the greatest number of them, was that their Chariots, Elephants and Camels, were mix'd with the crowd of themselves: so that their ranks being disorder'd, they falling blindly one over another, were by the Beasts running in trod all to pieces. In the Camp too there was a vast slaughter; full as great as that in the field. For not only the foremost inclined most to run toward the Camp, but in confidence of that multitude, who were in Garison there, fought with more resolution before the Bullwark. The Romans, being stop't by the Gates and the Bullwark, which they thought they should have taken at the first effort, when they at last had broken through, for madness made a more grievous slaughter among them.

XLIV.

They say there were fifty thousand Footmen kill'd that day, and four thousand Horse, fifteen hundred taken; with fifteen Elephants and their Governours. There were several Romans wounded: but there fell not [of them] above three hundred Foot, with twenty four Horse, and, of *Eumenes's* Army twenty five. And that day the Victors having rilled the Enemies Camp, return'd to their own with a great Booty. The next day they stripp'd the Bodies of those that were slain, and gather'd together the Captives. Then came Embassadors from *Thyatira* and *Magnesia*, near *Sipylum*, to surrender their Cities. *Antiochus* running away with some few others, to whom on the road there were more still added, with a small Band of men about Midnight went to *Sardeis*: where when he heard that his Son

Selenus

*Selenus* and some of his Friends were gone thence before to *Apamea*, he also himself at the fourth Watch, with his Wife and Daughter went that way, having committed the Custody of the City to *Zeno*, and made *Timon* Governour of *Lydia*. Which two persons being condemn'd, Embassadors were sent to the Consul by consent of the Townsmen, and the Souldiers that were in the Castle. About the same time also there came Embassadors from *Tralles*, from *Magnesia*, which lies above *Meander*, and from *Ephesus* to surrender their several Cities. *Polyxenidas*, having heard of the fight, had left *Ephesus*, and being got with his Fleet as far as *Patara* in *Lycia*, for fear of the Squadron of *Rhodian* Ships that were at *Megiste*, put to shore, and with some few to attend him went by Land into *Syria*. The Cities of *Asia* surrender'd themselves into the hands of the Consul, and the power of the Roman People. The Consul was now at *Sardeis*: whither *P. Scipio* also, as soon as he could endure the fatigue of the Journey, came from *Elea*.

Much about the same time an Herald from *Antiochus*, desired of the Consul, by the mediation of *P. Scipio*, and obtain'd his request; that the King might have leave to send Agents [to treat with him.] And accordingly some few dayes after, *Zeuxis*, who had been Præfect of *Lydia*, and *Antipater* his Brothers Son, came. Who, having first apply'd themselves to *Eumenes* (who, they thought, by reason of their old animosities, would be most averse to Peace) and found him more complaisant, than either they or the King believ'd he would prove, waited then upon *P. Scipio*, and by his means, upon the Consul: by whom having a full Council allow'd them to deliver their Message in, *Zeuxis* said, We, Romans! have not so much our selves any thing to say, as we have occasion to ask you, with what Sacrifice we may expiate the Kings error and obtain Peace and Pardon [of you] our Conquerours. You always shew'd the greatest clemency imaginable in pardoning Conquer'd Kings and States; with how much greater facility should you do it in this Victory, that has made you Lords of all the World? Now you should lay aside quarrels against all mortal men, and, like the Gods, consult the good of, and be favourable to humane race. But before the Embassadors came, it was resolv'd what their Answer should be: and it was to be deliver'd by *Africanus*; who, they say, spoke to this pleas'd to give us. But as to our minds, that are within our own Souls, we have born, and still do bear the same in all conditions; nor hath prosperity puff'd them up, or adversity cast them down. Of this, to omit others, I would give you your Friend *Annibal* for an instance, if I could not give you your selves. After we came over the Hellespont, before we saw the Kings Camp, or his Army, when Mars [the God of War] favour'd both sides alike; and the event of the War was uncertain, we tender'd you no better conditions of Peace upon even terms, than we do even now we have subdu'd you. Meddle not with Europe, and depart out of all Asia, that is on this side the Mountain *Taurus*. Then for the expences of the War you shall pay us fifteen thousand Eubœan Talents, five hundred at present, and two thousand five hundred when the Senate and People of Rome shall ratifie the Peace; and after that a thousand Talents Yearly for twelve Years together. We require also that *Eumenes* be paid five hundred Talents, the Corn that is behind of that which was due to his Father. Now when we have made this agreement, to be sure of your performance, it will indeed be some pledge, if you give us twenty Hostages such as we like; but we shall never be satisfied, that the Roman People are at perfect Peace with that Nation, where *Annibal* is. Him we demand above all things else. You shall also surrender to us *Thoas* the *Ætolian*, the raiser of the *Ætolian* War, who, in confidence of them armed you, and of you them; together with *Mnasimachus* the *Acarnan*; and *Philo* and *Eubulidas* of *Chalcis*. The King indeed will make Peace upon the worse terms, because he does it later than he might have done. But if he now delay the time, let him know, that it is an harder task to pull the majesty of Kings from their highest pitch to a middle station, than to precipitate them from thence to the lowest degree. Now the Embassadors were sent from the King with such a Commission, that they should receive all terms of Peace whatsoever; wherefore they agreed that Embassadors should be sent to Rome. The Consul divided his Army into their Winter-Quarters, part to *Magnesia* near *Meander*, part to *Tralles*, and part to *Ephesus*. To *Ephesus* some few dayes after there were Hostages brought to the Consul from the King; and the Embassadors came that were to go to Rome. *Eumenes* also went to Rome at the same time with the Kings Embassadors; after whom there follow'd Embassies from all the Cities of *Asia*.

Whilst these things were done in *Asia*, the two Pro-Consuls came, about the same time, back out of their Provinces to Rome, with hopes to triumph; *Q. Minucius* out of *Liguria*, and *Manius Acilius* out of *Ætolia*. Having heard what they had both done, the Senate deny'd *Minucius* a Triumph, but granted it to *Acilius* very unanimously; who was carry'd into the City as triumphing over *Antiochus*, and the *Ætolians*. There were carry'd before him at the Triumph two hundred and thirty Military Ensigns: of Silver Bullion three thousand pounds; of Coined Silver in *Attick Tetradrachmes* a hundred and thirteen thousand; of *Cistophori* [small pieces on which was stamped the Picture of a Man carrying a little Box with holy things in it] two hundred forty eight, a great many silver Vessels Embossed, and of great weight; besides silver Furniture belonging to the King, and a rich Garment with forty five Crowns of Gold, which were presents from the associated Cities: spoils of all sorts. He also led, of noble Captives, that were *Ætolians*, and Officers belonging to the King, thirty six.

XLV.

XLVI.

fix. *Damocritus* General of the *Ætoli*ans, having some dayes before, in the night, got out of Prison, being over-taken on the Bank of *Tiber* by the Keepers, before he was laid hold on, ran himself through with his Sword. Only there was no Souldiers to follow his Chariot: otherwise it was a magnificent Triumph, both for the show, and the glory of what he had perform'd. But the joy of this Triumph was taken off by a sad Message out of Spain, That in an unfortunate Battle in the Vastetan Territories, under the Conduct of *L. Æmilius* the Pro-Consul at a Town call'd *Lyco*, with the Lusitanians, there fell six thousand of the Roman Army: and that the rest being forced for fear within their Bullwark could scarce defend their Camp, but were brought like men that run away by great dayes Journeys into an Allies Country. This was the news out of Spain: at what time *L. Arunculeius* the Prætor brought into the Senate the *Placentine* and *Cremone*se Embassadours out of *Gallia*: who complain'd that they wanted Inhabitants; some being lost by the fortune of War, others taken off by distempers, as some left their Colonies to avoid the molestations of the *Gauls*: whereupon the Senate decreed: That *C. Lælius* the Consul, if he thought good, should muster up six thousand Families, to be divided among those Colonies, and that *L. Arunculeius* the Prætor, should create *Triumvirates* to carry them thither.

XLVII. The persons created were *M. Atilius Serranus*, *L. Valerius Flaccus*, Son of *P.* and *L. Valerius Tappus*, Son of *C.* Not long after, when the time for the Consular Assembly was now at hand, *C. Lælius* the Consul return'd out of *Gaul* to *Rome*. He not only rais'd Inhabitants for a supply to *Cremona* and *Placentia*, by virtue of an order of Senate, made in his absence, but he likewise propos'd, and the Senate upon his motion agreed, that two new Colonies should be carried into that Country that had belong'd to the *Boii*. At the same time a Letter came from *L. Æmilius* the Prætor, concerning the Sea-fight at *Myonnesius*; and that *L. Scipio* the Consul had put his Army over into *Asia*. Upon the score of their Victory at Sea there was a Supplication decreed for one day: and for another day, since that was the first time that the Roman Army had Encamped in *Asia*, that that affair might prove successful and of good consequence to them: the Consul being order'd to Sacrifice twenty of the greater sort of Victims at each supplication. Then the Consular Assembly was held with great contention. *M. Æmilius Lepidus* stood, who lay under the scandal of having left the Province of *Sicily* to stand for that Office, without consulting the Senate whether he should or no. *M. Fulvius Nobilior*, *Cn. Manlius Vulso*, and *M. Valerius Messala*, stood with him. Of whom *Fulvius* was created one of the Consuls, before the rest had yet made up the Votes of the Centuries [to the due number which was half, before a man could be declar'd Consul] and the next day declar'd *Cn. Manlius*, since *Lepidus* lost it (for *Messala* quitted his pretensions to it) his Colleague. Then they chose Prætors, the two *Q. Fabius's*, *Labeo* and *Pictor* (who had been inaugurated *Flamen Quirinalis* [i. e. High-Priest of *Romulus*] that year) *M. Sempronius Tuditanus*, *Sp. Postumius Albinus*, *L. Plantius Hypsæus*, and *L. Babius Dives*.

XLVIII. When *M. Fulvius Nobilior*, and *Cn. Manlius Vulso* were Consuls, *Valerius Antias* sayes, that there was a general report at *Rome*, which was taken almost for a certain truth, that in order to have young *Scipio* again, the Consul *L. Scipio*, and with him *P. Africanus* being invited out to a Parley with the King, were not only themselves laid hold of, but also, the Captains being likewise taken, the Army was immediately led to the Roman Camp, which was seiz'd, and all the Roman Forces destroy'd: that upon this account the *Ætoli*ans were Encouraged, and refused to obey what was injoin'd them, and that their Nobility went into *Macedonia*, *Dardania*, and *Thracia* to raise mercenary Souldiers: that they, who told this at *Rome*, were sent from *A. Cornelius* the Prætor to *A. Terentius Varro*, and *M. Claudius Lepidus*, out of *Ætolia*. And then to this story he added, that the *Ætolian* Embassadours, in the Senate, were ask'd, among other questions, this also; how they heard, that the Roman Generals were taken in *Asia* by King *Antiochus*, and the Army destroy'd? To which the *Ætoli*ans reply'd; That they were told by their own Embassadours, that were with the Consul. Now, since I have no other Author for this rumour, I would neither have any body affirm it from me [as true] nor totally neglect it as a falsity.

XLIX. The *Ætolian* Embassadours being introduced into the Senate (since both their cause and their fortune encouraged them humbly to beg pardon, either for their offence, or their error) began with their good services done to the Romans, and almost reproach'd [the Senate] with bragging of their Courage in the War against *Philip*; [whereby] they not only offended the ears [of the audience] with the insolence of what they said; but also, by ripping up old forgotten stories, brought the matter to such a pass, that the Senate call'd to mind many more ill offices, than good ones done by their Nation; and stirr'd up anger and hatred against those that stood in need of compassion. They were ask'd by one Senator, Whether they would leave the disposal of themselves to the Roman People? and then, by another; whether they would resolve to have the same Allies and Enemies with the Roman People? to which, seeing they made no Answer, they were ordered to be gone out of the Temple. Thereupon almost all the Senate cry'd out; That the *Ætoli*ans were yet wholly addicted to *Antiochus*, and that their Souls rely'd upon his hopes only. Wherefore they must wage War with them, who were their undoubted Enemies, and tame their savage hearts. But there was another business also, that incens'd

incens'd [the Senate] [and that was] that at that very time when they sued for Peace to the Romans, they were making War against the *Delops* and the *Athamans*. Wherefore there was an order of Senate made, according to the opinion of *M. Atilius*, who had conquer'd *Antiochus* and the *Ætoli*ans, That the *Ætoli*ans should that Day be ordered to depart the City, and, within fifteen Days, out of Italy. *A. Terentius Varro* was sent to secure their passage, and it was declar'd, That if, after that time, any Embassy came from the *Ætoli*ans to *Rome* without the Generals permission, that had the Government of that Province, and a Roman Embassador along with them, they should be all look'd upon as Enemies. Thus were the *Ætoli*ans dismiss'd.

Then the Consuls propos'd the division of the Provinces; of which they two were to cast Lots for *Ætolia* and *Asia*. He that happened to have *Asia*, had allotted to him the Army that *L. Scipio* had; and for a supplement thereof four Thousand Roman Foot, two Hundred Horse, and of the Allies and *Latines* eight Thousand Foot and four Hundred Horse, that with those Forces he might wage War against *Antiochus*. To the other Consul was assign'd the Army that was in *Ætolia*, and leave given, that, for a supplement to it, he might raise, of Citizens and Allies, the same number as his Colleague. The same Consul was likewise order'd to fit out the same Ships, that were ready the Year before, and take them along with him; nor to make War against the *Ætoli*ans only, but to go over into the Island of *Cephallenia* also; being likewise charged, That, if with convenience to the Commonwealth he could, he should return to *Rome* at the Assembly-Day. For, besides that they were to choose new Magistrates every Year, they thought fit also to create Censors. But if any thing detain'd him, that he should let the Senate know, that he could not be there at the time of the Assembly. *Ætolia* fell to *M. Fulvius*, and *Asia* to *Cn. Manlius's* lot. Then the Prætors chose, of whom *Sp. Postumius Albinus* had the City, and foreign Jurisdiction; *M. Sempronius Tuditanus*, *Sicily*; *Q. Fabius Pictor* (who was *Flamen Quirinalis*, i. e. *Romulus's* High Priest) *Sardinia*; *Q. Fabius Labeo*, the Navy; *L. Plantius Hypsæus*, the hither Spain; and *L. Babius Dives*, the farther. For *Sicily* was design'd one Legion, and the Fleet that was in that Province; and that the new Prætor should impose two Tithes of Corn upon the *Sicilians*; whereof he should send the one into *Asia*, and the other into *Ætolia*. The same thing was also to be enacted from the *Sardinians*, and the Corn to be carry'd to the same Armies as that from *Sicily* was. To *L. Babius* there was a supply granted (to go into Spain) of one Thousand Roman Foot, fifty Horse, six Thousand *Latine* Foot, and two Hundred Horse; with which supplies the two Spains were to have (each of them) a Legion. The Magistrates of the Year before were some of them continued in Commission; *C. Lælius* with his Army for an Year; *P. Junius*, Proprietor in *Etruria*, with the Army that was in that Province; and *M. Fuccius*, who was Prætor of the *Bruttii* and *Apulia*.

But before the Prætors went into their several Provinces, there was a contest between *P. Licinius* the High Priest, and *Q. Fabius Pictor*, *Flamen Quirinalis*, such as had been, in the memory of their Fathers, between *L. Metellus* and *Postumius Albinus*. For *Metellus*, being High Priest, had detain'd *Albinus* when he was Consul, and going, with his Colleague *C. Lutatius*, into *Sicily* to the Fleet, to perform certain Holy Rites, as *Licinius* did this Prætor [*Fabius*] from going into *Sardinia*, which occasion'd a great bustle both in the Senate and before the People. For there were injunctions laid on both Parties, Pledges taken, Fines set, Tribunes appeal'd to, and a reference to the People. But Religion at last prevailed, and the *Flamen* was commanded to obey the High Priest; but his mulcts were remitted by order of the People. Thereupon, for madness that his Province was taken from him, the Prætor endeavour'd to turn himself out of his Office, but the Senate by their authority deter'd him, decreeing that he should perform the Office of a Judge among Foreigners. After that when the Levies were, in a few Days, over (for there were not many Soldiers to be rais'd) the Consuls and Prætors went into their several Provinces. Thereupon arose a flying report without any Author, concerning the state of affairs in *Asia*; but within some few Days there was certain news brought, and a Letter from the General, to *Rome*, which did not so much bring joy with it, into the place of their late fear (for they now no longer dreaded a Person whom they had conquer'd in *Ætolia*) as it took off the common report; he having appear'd, when they were entering upon that War, to be a grievous Enemy, not only upon the score of his own Force, but in that he had *Annibal* to manage the Campaign. Yet they thought not fit either to alter any thing touching the Consuls being sent into *Asia*, or of diminishing those Forces, for fear he should have an occasion to engage with the *Gauls* [there].

Not long after *M. Aurelius Cotta*, *L. Scipio's* Lieutenant, came with the Embassadors of King *Antiochus*, King *Eumenes* and the *Rhodians*, to *Rome*. Of whom *Cotta*, first, declar'd in the Senate, and then in the publick Assembly, by order of the Senate, what had pass'd in *Asia*. Whereupon there was a Supplication decreed for three Days, and forty of the greater sort of Sacrifices to be offer'd. Then *Eumenes*, first of all, had his audience; who when he had briefly, Given the Senate thanks, for delivering him and his Brother from a Siege, and vindicating his Kingdom from the injuries of *Antiochus*, and had congratulated with them, that they had managed their affairs with good success both by Sea and Land; as also, that they had driven King *Antiochus*



tiachus (whom they had clearly routed and forced from his Camp) before out of Europe, and afterward out of all Asia too, that is on this side Mount Taurus; he told them, that he would rather they should enquire into his merits of their own Generals and Lieutenants, than hear them from his own mouth. Which Speech of his all the Senate approving, bad him say, without being so modest, what he thought the Senate and People of Rome ought to give him: for the Senate was resolv'd to do more, if possible, than would only equal his merits. To which the King reply'd; If he were to pitch upon a reward that were to come from any other hands, he would willingly (if he might have leave to consult the Roman Senate) make use of the advice of that most noble order; lest he might seem either excessively to have desired, or immodestly to have demanded any thing whatever; and therefore now, that they were to be the givers, their munificence toward him and his Brothers, ought to be much more guided by their own discretion. But the Senate were not at all deter'd by this Speech of his from bidding him to say [what he desired:] so that when for sometime they had contended, on the one side with indulgence, and the other with modesty (as leaving the thing to one another) with an inexplicable as well as a mutual facility, *Enmenes* went out of the Temple. The Senate continu'd of the same opinion; That it was an absurdity, that the King could not tell, what he hoped, or design'd to Petition for when he came thither. That he himself best knew, what was most commodious for his Kingdom, as being acquainted with Asia far better than the Senate was. Wherefore he ought to be recall'd, and forced to declare what he wish'd, and what he thought.

LIII.

Thereupon the King being brought back into the Temple, and bid to speak, said; "Grave Fathers! I should still have held my tongue, had I not known that you would by and by call in the *Rhodian* Embassadors; at whose Audience I must of necessity speak. Which to do will be for that reason so much the more difficult, because their demands will be such, as that they seem to desire not only nothing that is against me, but a thing that does not properly belong even to themselves. For they will plead the cause of the *Greek* Cities, and will say that they ought to be set at liberty. By which injunction, who doubts, but will not only alienate from us those Cities, that shall be so freed, but even the old *Stipendiary* Towns also? whilst they themselves, having oblig'd the people with so great a piece of service, will have them verbally for their Allies only, but really, to be subject and obnoxious to their command? And then (forsooth) though they affect these great matters, they'll pretend, that it does not at all concern them: only, that it becomes you, and is agreeable to their former actions. You therefore ought to have a care lest such an Harangue deceive you; and lest you do not only too unequal depress some of your Allies, whilst you raise others beyond measure; but also, lest they, who have born Arms against you, be in a better condition than your Friends and Allies. As for my own part, I had rather any body should believe, that in other things, I relinquish'd somewhat of my just right, than strove too pertinaciously to defend it: but in the contest concerning your Friendship, my good will toward you, and the honour that you will do me, I cannot endure to be outdone. This is the greatest inheritance that I receiv'd from my Father; who was the first of all the Inhabitants of *Greece* and *Asia*, that contracted a Friendship with you, and continu'd it with a perpetual and constant fidelity, even to his Life's end. Nor did he preserve his mind only true and faithful to you, but he was concern'd in all the Wars, that you have waged in *Greece* both by Land and Sea; assisting you with all sorts of provisions in such plenty, that none of all their Allies were in any manner equal to him. At last, as he was perswading the *Bootians* to become your Allies, he fainted in the very Assembly, and not long after died. In whose steps I tread; and, though I could make no addition to his good will and affection toward you (for they were insuperable) yet fortune, occasion, *Antiochus* and the War in *Asia* have given me an opportunity of excelling him in deeds and meritorious services that I have really perform'd. *Antiochus*, King of *Asia*, and part of *Europe*, offer'd me his Daughter in Marriage: restored immediately the Cities that had revolted from us; and gave me great hopes afterward of enlarging my Kingdom, if I would wage War on his side against you. But I shall not glory in not having ever offended you: I will rather relate those things that are worthy of the ancient Friendship between our Family and you. I assisted your Generals with Land and Sea Forces, so that never an one of your Allies could equal me: I supply'd them with Provisions both by Sea and Land; was present at all the Sea fights, that were fought in several places; nor did I ever spare for either labour or danger. That which is the greatest misery in War, I endured a Siege, being shut up at *Pergamus* to the utmost hazard both of my Life and Kingdom. After which being freed from that Siege, though at the same time *Antiochus* on the one side, and *Seleucus* on the other were Encamped about the [Metropolis and] chief Fortresses of my Kingdom, I left my own concerns, and with my whole Fleet met *L. Scipio* your Consul at *Hellspont*, to assist him in putting over the Army. And when your Army came over into *Asia*, I never stirr'd from the Consul: no Roman Souldier was more diligent in your Camp, than I and my Brothers. No Expedition, no Horse Battle was enter'd upon without me. There I stood in Battalia, and defended that Post where the Consul was pleas'd to place me: I will not say, Grave Fathers! Who can be compar'd with me for deserts toward you in this War? but I dare

say,

"say, that I in that respect am equal to any of all the Nations or Kings, that you so highly esteem. *Massinissa* was your Enemy before he was your Ally: nor did he come to you with his Auxiliaries whilst he was safe in his Kingdom, but, after he was banish'd, expell'd, and had lost all his Forces, fled, with a Troop of Horse into your Camp for refuge. Yet you did not only restore him (for that in *Africa* he had behaved himself very faithfully and briskly on your side against *Syphax* and the *Carthaginians*) into his Fathers Kingdom, but, adding also the most opulent part of *Syphax's* Kingdom, made him the greatest King in all *Africa*. What reward then, pray, do we deserve, who never were Enemies, but always your Allies? My Father, I, and my Brothers have born Arms for you, not only in *Asia*, but far from home too, in *Peloponnesus*, *Boetia*, *Ætolia*; in the War with *Philip*, *Antiochus* and the *Ætolians*, both by Sea and Land. Well then (some one may say) what do you desire [for all this?] Why truly, Grave Fathers! since 'tis your pleasure that I must needs tell you; if you have removed *Antiochus* beyond the Mountain *Taurus* with a design your selves to inhabit that Country, I do not desire any better Neighbours to border upon me than you are; nor can I hope that any Kingdom may be made more secure and stable by any other means. But if you intend to remove from thence, and draw off your Armies too; I dare be bold to say, there's none of your Allies more worthy than myself to enjoy what you have gotten in the War. Oh! but 'tis a glorious thing to free Cities, that were in slavery! I grant it, if they have done no act of Hostility against you: but if they have been of *Antiochus's* side, how much more worthy is it of your prudence and equity, for you to consult the good of your Allies, that have deserved well of you, than that of your Enemies?

This Speech of the Kings was grateful to the Senate; so that it was very apparent they would do all things munificently, and with great freedom. Then the *Smyranean* Embassy, which was short, interposed, because some of the *Rhodians* were not there; who having been extraordinarily commended, for that they chose to undergo the greatest extremities, rather than surrender themselves to the King, the *Rhodians* were introduced; the chief of whom, having set forth the original of their Friendship with the *Romans*, and the merits of the *Rhodians* in the War, first, against *Philip*, and then against *Antiochus*, said; "There is nothing (Grave Fathers!) in our whole affair, more difficult, or more troublesome to us, than that we have a controversy with *Enmenes*, with whom alone, above all other Kings, not only every man of us, in his private capacity, but (that which more concerns us) our City in general has always maintain'd a publick correspondence. It is not (grave Fathers!) our affections, but the nature of the things themselves, which is most powerful, that disunites us; so that we, being our selves free, plead the cause of other mens liberty also; whilst Kings would have all People to be Slaves, and subject to their own Command. But however the thing be, our modesty toward the King obstructs us more than either our dispute is intangled, or seems likely to give you the trouble of a perplex'd deliberation [about it.] For if no honour could be otherwise paid to a King, that is your Ally and Friend; who also deserv'd very well of you in this very War (and of whose rewards you are now consulting) but by your delivering up free Cities in Vassalage to him; your deliberation [at this time] would be very doubtful; lest you should either send away the King, your Friend, without any honour confer'd upon him; or relinquish your first design, and fully that glory which you gain'd in the War against *Philip*, by enslaving so many Cities: but from the necessity, either of diminishing your love to your Friend, or your own glory, fortune does at this time in an extraordinary manner preserve you. For your Victory, through the bounty of the Gods, is not more glorious than rich: and able easily to discharge you from this debt. For not only *Lycaonia*, but both the *Phrygia's*, all *Pisidia* and *Chersonesus*, with all those Countries of *Europe* that lie round about, are in your disposal; of which any one, that you please to give him, may sufficiently augment the Kingdom of *Enmenes*: but all of them together would make him equal to the greatest Kings. You therefore may well enrich your Allies with the rewards of War, and yet not recede from your intentions: but remember, what reason for a War you pretended formerly against *Philip*, and now against *Antiochus*: what you did after you had conquer'd *Philip*, and what at present is desired and expected of you, not more, for that you once did it, than it becomes you so to do. For several Nations have several honourable and probable reasons to take up Arms. Some to get possession of such and such a Country, others such and such Villages, others Towns, others Ports, or some part of the Sea-Coast. But you neither desired these things before you had them, nor can you now covet them, since the whole World is in your hands. You fought for Renown and Glory among all Mankind, who have long admir'd your Name and Empire as much as the immortal Gods. Now what it was very hard to gain, I am afraid 'tis more difficult to preserve. You undertook to defend the liberty of an ancient noble Nation (whether you consider the Fame of what they have done, or your general commendation for humanity and learning) from the Tyranny of Kings. And therefore it behoves you perpetually to protect all that Nation which you have receiv'd into your care and tutelage. Those Cities that are in the ancient Country [of *Greece* in *Europe*] are not more *Grecian* Cities, than your Colonies,

LIV.

"which formerly went thence into *Asia*; nor has the changing of their Climate alter'd their nature or their manners. We dare, every City of us, vie with our Parents and Founders in a pious contest for good Arts and Virtue. You have many of you been in the Cities of *Greece* and *Asia*. Save that we are farther distant from you, we are outdone in nothing else. The *Massilians*, whom, if their nature could have been overcome by the genius (as it were) of the soil, so many unciviliz'd Nations, as I see round about them, had long e'er this corrupted, are as much esteemed (we hear) and justly valued by you, as though they lived in the very centre of all *Greece*. For they have kept not only the tone of the Language, the Garb and Habit, but, above all, the Manners, Laws and Humour [of their Country] free and entire from the Contagion of their Neighbours. The bound of their Empire now is Mount *Taurus*, and whatsoever is within that limit you ought not to think remote. But wheresoever your Arms have come, thither also 'tis fit your justice should reach even from this City. Let the *Barbarians*, who never knew any Laws but the commands of their Lords, have (what they delight in) Kings; whilst the *Greeks* are pleas'd with their own Fortune [that is] their Wills. They formerly with domestick force also embraced Empire; now they wish that where the Empire at present is, there it may for ever continue. It is enough for them to defend their Liberty with your Arms, since they cannot with their own. But some Cities were of *Antiochus's* side; and others before of *Philips* and *Pyrrhus's*, being *Tarentines*. Not to reckon up any other Nations, *Carthage* is free and enjoys its own Laws. See you, Grave Fathers! how much you owe to this example of yours. You will be persuaded to deny that to *Eumenes's* avarice which you deny'd to their own mult' just anger. We *Rhodians* leave it to your judgment, what brave and faithful service we have done you both in this and all other Wars that you have waged upon that Coast. And now in time of Peace we give you such advice, as, if you approve of it, will make all People believe that you use your Victory with more Gallantry than you got it.

L.V. This Oration seem'd futable to the Roman grandeur. After the *Rhodians*, *Antiochus's* Embassadors were call'd in; who, after the ordinary manner of those that beg Pardon, Having confessed the Kings error, beseech'd the Senate, that they would remember and consult their own clemency rather than the Kings faults, who had already suffer'd sufficiently for it; and, in fine, that they would by their Authority confirm, the Peace made by *L. Scipio* on the same terms that he had granted it. Thereupon not only the Senate agreed to the observation of that Peace, but the People also in a few Days after, gave their consent. The League was struck in the Capitol with *Antipater*, head of the Embassy, and Son to King *Antiochus's* Brother. After which the other Embassadors likewise out of *Asia* had their audience. To all which there was this answer given, That the Senate, after the manner of their Ancestors, would send ten Embassadors into *Asia* to controvert and compose all differences there; but that this should be the result of all, that all the Country on this side Mount *Taurus*, that was within the confines of King *Antiochus's* Kingdom, should be given to *Eumenes*, except *Lycia* and *Caria* as far as the River *Meander*; and that should be subject to the *Rhodians*. That the rest of the Cities in *Asia*, that had been stipendiary to *Attalus*, should all pay a tribute to *Eumenes*; but those that had been tributary to *Antiochus*, should be free and without any imposition. They pitch'd upon, for these ten Embassadors, *Q. Minucius Rufus*, *L. Furius Purpureo*, *Q. Minucius Thermus*, *Ap. Claudius Nero*, *Cn. Cornelius Merula*, *M. Junius Brutus*, *L. Aurrunculeius*, *L. Aemilius Paulus*, *P. Cornelius Lentulus*, and *P. Aelius Tiberus*.

L.VI. Now concerning those things, that required their presence upon the place to debate them, these Persons were free to do as they thought good; but concerning the business in general, the Senate determin'd thus, That all *Lycaonia*, both the *Phrygias*, *Myfia*, the Kings Woods, all *Lydia* and *Ionis* (except such Towns as had been free at the same time when they fought with King *Antiochus*) and particularly *Magnesia* near *Sipylum*, with *Cana*, which is called *Hydreia*, and the Country of the *Hydrelites*, lying toward *Phrygia*, the Castles and Villages by the River *Meander*, and all Towns but what were free before the War. *Telmessus* also by name, with the Forts belonging to it, and the Lands that had belonged to *Ptolomy* of *Telmessus*, that all these places and things above written should be given to King *Eumenes*. To the *Rhodians* was assigned all *Lycia*, beyond the aforesaid *Telmessus*, the Forts belonging thereunto, and the Lands that formerly appertain'd to *Ptolomy* of *Telmessus*; for these were excepted both by *Eumenes* and the *Rhodians* too. That part of *Caria* too was given to them, that lies nearer to the Island of *Rhodes* beyond the River *Meander*, consisting of Towns, Villages, Castles, and Lands that reach as far as *Pisidia*; saving such Towns among them, that had been at liberty the Day before they fought with King *Antiochus* in *Asia*. For this when the *Rhodians* had given [the Senate] thanks, they treated concerning the City of *Soli* in *Cilicia*, saying, That they as well as themselves were descended from the *Argives*; from which Cognation they came to love like Brothers. Wherefore they desired this extraordinary favour, that they would deliver that City from being slaves to the Kings. Thereupon King *Antiochus's* Embassadors were call'd and discours'd, but could not be in any wise prevail'd upon, *Antipater* appealing to the League, against which the *Rhodians* desired to have not only *Soli*, but to go over Mount *Taurus* and take all *Cilicia*. Upon that the *Rhodiens* being call'd back into the Senate, when the House had told them, how vehement

ment the Kings Embassadour was, they added; That, if the *Rhodians* thought that matter concern'd the dignity of their City, the Senate would by all manner of means overcome the obstinacy of the Embassadors. With that the *Rhodians* thank'd them much more heartily than before; and said, they would rather yield to the arrogance of *Antipater*, than give any occasion of disturbing the Peace: So that there was no alteration made as to [the City of] *Soli*.

At the same time that these things were done, the *Massilian* Embassadors brought word, that *L. Bæbius*, as he was going into the Province of *Spain*, was circumvented by the *Ligurians*, and, having great part of his Attendants slain, was himself so wounded, that though with some few [Companions] (but no *Lictors*) he got away to *Massilia*; he died there within three days. The Senate, hearing that, decreed, that *P. Junius Brutus*, who was *Pro-Prætor* in *Etruria*, delivering the Province and the Army to one of his Lieutenants (whom he thought fit) should himself go into the farther *Spain*, which should be his Province. This order of Senate and a Letter, was sent by *Sp. Postumius* the *Prætor* into *Etruria*; and *P. Junius* the *Pro-Prætor* accordingly went into *Spain*. In which Province, a little before his Successor came, *L. Aemilius Paulus*, who afterward, to his great glory, conquer'd King *Perseus*, though the year before he had had but ill success; having raised a tumultuary Army, fought the *Lusitanians* in a pitch'd Battle. The Enemies were all totally routed, eighteen thousand Souldiers slain, three thousand three hundred taken, and their Camp seiz'd: The Fame of which Victory made things much quieter in *Spain*. The same year before the 30<sup>th</sup> of December, *L. Valerius Flaccus*, *M. Atilius Serranus*, and *L. Valerius Tappus*, were the *Triumviri*, that carried a Latine Colony to *Bononia* by order of the Senate, consisting of three thousand men; of whom the Horsemen had seventy Acres of Land apiece, and the others fifty. The Land had been taken from the *Boian Gauls*: [as] the *Gauls* had driven out the *Tuscan*s. That same Year many great men stood for the Censorship: which business, as though it had not been in it self enough to have bred any great contest, occasioned another contention much greater. There stood as Candidates, *T. Quintius Flaminius*, *P. Cornelius Scipio* (Son to *Cneius*) *L. Valerius Flaccus*, *M. Porcius Cato*, *M. Claudius Marcellus*, and *M. Atilius Glabrio*; who had conquer'd *Antiochus* and the *Ætolians* at *Thermopylae*. Now to this last of them (because he had made a great many Doles, whereby he had obliged great part of the People) did the favour of the multitude incline. Which so many of the Nobility being not able to endure; that an upstart Fellow should be so far prefer'd before them; *P. Sempronius Gracchus*, and *C. Sempronius Rutilus*, Tribunes of the People appointed him a day of Trial, for that he had neither carried in Triumph, nor brought into the Treasury, some part of the Kings money, and of the booty that was taken in *Antiochus's* Camp. The testimonies of the Lieutenants and Tribunes of the Souldiers were very different. But above the rest of the witnesses *M. Cato* was most taken notice of; whose authority, which he had gained by the constant [uniform] tenour of his Life, the white Gown [used by Candidates] diminish'd. He being a witness [in the case] said, that he did not see, at the Triumph, any of those gold and silver Vessels that were taken among other booty in the Kings Camp. At last, in Envy to him more than any body else, *Glabrio* said, He would stand no longer; seeing that what Noblemen were only in silence vex'd at, that a Competitor, who was as very an upstart as himself, had malign'd with such an horrid act of perjury, as no mult' [or fine] could equal.

There was a Fine laid upon him of a hundred thousand [Sesterces.] Now they contended twice about that matter; but the third time, when the person accus'd had desisted from his pretensions [to the office] the people would neither pass any Votes concerning the Fine, nor the Tribunes be any longer engaged in that business. The Censors created were *T. Quintius Flaminius*, and *M. Claudius Marcellus*. By whose means, there having been [an Audience of] the Senate granted to *L. Aemilius Regillus* (who had defeated *Antiochus's* Admiral by Sea) without the City, in the Temple of *Apollo*; when they had heard what he had done, and with what mighty Fleets of Enemies he had fought, as also how many Ships he had sunk or taken, he had a Naval Triumph granted him by the general consent of the House. He triumph'd upon the first of February: in which Triumph there were carried through the City forty nine Crowns of gold, but nothing near so much money as might have been expected in a Royal Triumph, there being [only] thirty four thousand seven hundred Attick *Tetradrachmes* [each of which was the weight of four Deniers] and of *Cistophori* [another Coin] a hundred thirty one thousand three hundred. Thereupon by order of Senate there were Supplications made; for that *L. Paulus Aemilius* had met with such success in *Spain*. Not long after *L. Scipio* came to the City: who lest he might seem inferior to his Brother for want of a Surname, would needs be called *Asiaticus*. He discours'd of his Achievements both in the Senate and before the People [at which time] there were some, who said, that War was greater for the Fame of it, than for any difficulty that he met with; it being ended in one memorable Battle; and that the glory of that Victory was anticipated at *Thermopylae*. But to one that truly consider'd it, It was a War with the *Ætolians*, at *Thermopylae*, more than with the King. For what Forces had *Antiochus* there? But in *Asia* there were all the powers of *Asia* up in Arms, and Auxiliaries muster'd together from the utmost limits of the East, out of all Nations. Wherefore they not only paid the immortal Gods all imaginable

able honour, for that they had made the Victory as easy as it was great, but likewise decreed, that the General should Triumph. He accordingly triumphed in the Leap-Month [i.e. February] on the last day of it; and his Triumph was a more glorious show to the Eye, than that of his Brother *Africanus*; but, for the account of their achievements, and in respect of the danger and difficulty they met with, no more to be compar'd to it, than if you should set one General in competition with the other, or compare *Antiochus* to *Annibal*. He carried in Triumph two hundred thirty four military Ensigns; draughts of Towns a hundred thirty four, Elephants Teeth a thousand two hundred and twenty, and Crowns of gold two hundred twenty four. Of silver a hundred thirty seven thousand four hundred and twenty pounds; of *Attick Tetradrachmes* two hundred twenty four thousand, of *Cistophores* three hundred thirty one thousand and seventy, of pieces of *Philippian* gold a hundred and forty thousand, of silver Vessels (all of them Emboss'd) a thousand four hundred twenty four pound weight, and of golden ones a thousand pound weight. There were also some Captains of the Kings, with certain Prefects, and thirty two of his Courtiers led before the Chariot. To each Souldier was given the sum of twenty five Deniers; double so much to a Centurion, and treble to an Horseman: besides that there was a Souldiers pay, and a double quantity of Corn bestow'd upon them after the Triumph; as he had allow'd them formerly after the Battle in *Asia*. He triumpht almost an Year, after he went out of his Consulship.

LIX. About the same time *Cn. Manlius* also, the Consul, in *Asia*, and *Q. Fabius Labeo* the Prætor, came to the Fleet. Now the Consul did not want occasions to make War against the *Gauls* [in *Asia*.] But the Sea was at quiet, since *Antiochus* was defeated. As *Fabius* therefore was considering, what he had best do, that he might not seem to keep the Province idle, he thought it most convenient for him to go over into the Island of *Crete*. For there the *Cydonians* were waging a War against the *Gortynians* and the *Gnosians*, and it was reported, that there were a great number of Roman Captives, besides other people of the *Italian* Race, in slavery all over the Island. He therefore setting out with his Fleet from *Ephesus*, as soon as he arrived at *Crete*, sent Messengers about to all the Cities; to charge them to lay down their Arms, and each of them to muster up and bring back the Captives that were within their several jurisdictions; as also, to send Embassadors to him, with whom he might treat of things that equally concern'd both the *Cretans* and the *Romans*. But those words did not much move the *Cretans*: for none, except the *Gortynians* render'd back their Captives. *Valerius Antias* tells us, that there were four thousand Captives render'd, out of the whole Island, because they fear'd the threats of a War: and that that was the reason, (for he had done nothing else) why *Fabius* obtain'd a Naval Triumph. *Fabius* came back from *Crete* to *Ephesus*: from whence, having sent three Ships to the Coast of *Thrace*, he order'd *Antiochus's* Garisons to be drawn out of *Enus* and *Maronia*, that those Cities might be at liberty.

## DECADE

## DECADE IV. BOOK VIII.

## The EPILOGUE.

4. &c. *M. Fulvius* the Consul, in *Epirus*, took the *Ambracians*, whom he Besieged, by surrender. 28. He subdu'd *Cephallenia*: and granted the conquer'd *Ætolians* a Peace. 12, 13, &c. *Cn. Manlius*, the Consul (his Colleague) vanquish'd the *Gallogræcians*, *Tholistogians*, *Testolages*, and *Trocmans*, who were come, under the Conduct of *Brennus*, over into *Asia*; being the only people that on this side *Mount Taurus* were not obedient. 16. Their original and when they first came into those Countries, they now possess, is related. 24. With an Example of Virtue and Chastity in a certain Roman: who being Queen to the King of *Gallogræcia*, whom she was taken, kill'd a Centurion that had offer'd violence to her. 36. A Survey [of the people] was set up by the Censors: at which the Pole came to two hundred fifty eight thousand three hundred twenty eight Roman Citizens. 39. They enter'd into an Alliance with *Ariarathes* King of *Cappadocia*. 45, 46, &c. *Cn. Manlius* (though the ten Embassadors contradicted it, by whose advice he had made a League with *Antiochus*) having pleaded his own cause in the Senate, triumph'd over the *Gallogræcians*. 50. *Scipio Africanus*, having a day appointed him [to appear in Court] as some say, by *Q. Petillius*, Tribune of the People, or, as others, by *Nævius*; for that he defrauded the treasury of the booty taken from *Antiochus*; when the day came, was call'd forth into the *Rostra* [a place where Orations were made] and said, This day, Fellow Citizens! I conquer'd *Carthage*: and so with the People attending upon him, he went up to the Capitol: 53. From whence (lest he might be any more tormented by the injustice of the Tribunes) he went into voluntary exile to *Laternum*; though 'tis uncertain whether he died there or at *Rome*: for there was a Monument set up for him at both places. 55, &c. *Scipio Asiaticus*, Brother to *Africanus*, was accus'd of the same crime (of cheating the publick) and condemn'd; but as he was going to Prison, *Tib. Sempronius Gracchus*, Tribune of the People, who formerly was an Enemy to the *Scipio's*, interceded for him; and for that kindness had *Africanus's* Daughter. 60. When the Pretor had sent the *Quæstors* to take possession of his goods upon the publick account, there was not only no appearance of any money that had been the Kings, but they could not even make up the sum in which he was condemn'd: for he would not accept of an innumerable parcel of money that his Friends and Relations gather'd for him: but what was necessary for him, in cloths, &c. was brought [to his hand].

W Hilst the War continu'd in *Asia*, things were not perfectly quiet, even in *Ætolia*, the *Athamians* giving the first occasion [of disturbance]. For *Athamania* at that time, *Amynder* being expell'd, was under *Philips* Prefects, and kept by a Party of his men; who through their Tyrannical and boundless behaviour had made the people wish for *Amynder* again. Thereupon *Amynder*, who at that time was in banishment in *Ætolia*, had some hopes given him, by Letters from his Friends (who told him the state of *Athamania*) that he should recover the Kingdom: and therefore he sent Messengers back to the Nobility at *Argithea* (which is the Metropolis of *Athamania*) to tell them; that, if they rightly understood the inclinations of his Countrymen, he would get rid of the *Ætolians*, and come into *Athamania* with certain select persons of *Ætolia* (who were the Council of the Nation) and *Nicanor* their State-holder. Whom, when he saw prepared for all manner of deligns, he soon after made acquainted, what day he would enter with his Army into *Athamania*. There were at first but four Conspirators against the *Macedonian* Garison: but these four took six more to their assistance in the business. After which, being afraid that their number, being so small, was more fit for the concealing than the doing of such an exploit, they added a number equal to the former. By this means, being now fifty two in all, they divided themselves into four parts; one whereof went to *Heraclea*, and another to *Tetraphylia* (where the Kings money used to be kept) the third to *Thendonia*, and the fourth to *Argithea*. Now they all agreed among themselves, that, at first, they should walk peaceably about the Forum, as though they had come about some private business; but, upon such a day, they should call all the mob together to drive the *Macedonian* Guards out of the several Castles. When that day came, and *Amynder* was with a thousand *Ætolians* in the Confines [of *Athamania*] the Garisons of the *Macedonians* were routed, by agreement, in four several places at once: and Letters sent all about into the rest of the Cities; [advising them] to vindicate themselves from the Tyrannical Dominion of *Philip*, and restore him to his Hereditary and lawful Kingdom. Thereupon the *Macedonians* were, on all sides, expell'd: though the Town of *Teium* (whereof the Castle was in the hands of a Garison belonging to the King, from the Prefect [or Governour] of which (named *Zeno*) they intercepted a Letter) for some few days made resistance. But then that too was surrender'd to *Amynder* and all *Athamania* was in his power, except the Castle of *Atheneum*, which lies upon the Borders of *Macedonia*.

*Philip*, when he heard that *Athamania* was revolted, set out with six thousand men, and with great celerity came to *Gomphi*: where having left the greater part of his Army (for they would not have endured such long marches) he went with two thousand to *Atheneum*, which was the only [Fort] yet held by his men. From whence making some Tryals of the adjacent parts, when he easily found that the rest were all Enemies, he went back to *Gomphi*, and then return'd with all his Forces together into *Athamania*. After that he order'd *Zeno*, whom

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whom he sent before with one Thousand Foot, to take possession of *Ethopia*, which lies very conveniently above *Argithea*; which Place, when he saw that his own Men were possessed of, he himself encamped near the Temple of *Jupiter Acreus*. Where having been detain'd one Day by foul Weather, he design'd next Day for *Argithea*. And as they were going, the *Athamans* immediately appear'd to them, running several ways to the tops of Banks that were by [the Road side]. At the sight of them the foremost Ensigns stood still, and there was a dread and a consternation in the whole Army; and each of them began to think with himself, what would become of them, if that Army should be led down into the Vales under those Rocks. This disturbance therefore [among his Men] forced the King (who desired, if they would follow him, in all haste to pass the straits) to recall the foremost [i. e. to face about] and carry his Ensigns back the same way that he came. The *Athamans* at first followed quietly at a distance; but, when the *Ætolians* joyn'd them, left them to fall upon the Enemies Reer, and planted themselves about the flanks. Some of them, going before a nearer way, beset the Passes; and the *Macedonians* were in such an hurry, that, as if they were in a confus'd posture of flying, than of a regular march, leaving many of their Arms and Men behind them, they cross the River; which put a stop to their pursuit. From thence the *Macedonians* went back safe to *Gomphi*; and from *Gomphi* into *Macedonia*. The *Athamans* and *Ætolians* ran together from all parts to *Ethopia*, to surprise *Zeno*, and the thousand *Macedonians* there. But the *Macedonians*, having no confidence in that place, went up into an higher Hill, that was more craggy every way: from which the *Athamans*, having found out Avenues to it in several places, presently drove them; and, as they were dispers'd (besides that they could not easily escape through such pathless and strange Rocks) took part of them, and kill'd the rest. Many of them, for fear, threw themselves headlong from the Precipices; few of them escaping, with *Zeno*, to the King. The next day, by virtue of a Truce, they had time given them to bury their slain.

III. *Amynder*, having recovered his Kingdom, sent Embassadors to the Senate at *Rome*, and to the *Scipio's* in *Asia*, who staid at *Ephesus* after a great Battel with *Antiochus*, desiring Peace and excusing himself, that by means of the *Ætolians* he had recovered his Fathers Kingdom, but accused *Philip*. The *Ætolians* went out of *Athamania* into *Amphilochia*, and, by consent of the major part, reduced the whole Nation. When they had gotten *Amphilochia* again (for it formerly belong'd to the *Ætolians*) they descended with the same hopes into *Aperantia*, which was, great part of it, surrendered in the same manner without fighting. *Dolopia* was never subject to the *Ætolians*; but they were to *Philip*. They therefore first took up Arms; but when they heard, that the *Amphilochians* were with the *Ætolians*, and of *Philip's* running away out of *Athamania*, with the slaughter of his Garrison there, they themselves also revolted from *Philip* to the *Ætolians*. But whilst the *Ætolians* thought themselves every way secure from the *Macedonians* upon the score of the Nations that lay round about, there was a report, That *Antiochus* in *Asia* was conquer'd by the Romans. Nor was it long after, before the Embassadors return'd from *Rome* without any hopes of Peace; and brought word, that *Fulvius* the Consul was already come over with an Army. Whereupon they were frighted, and having caused Embassies to be sent, before, from *Rhodes* and *Athens* (that, through the Authority of those Cities, their petitions, which were so lately rejected, might gain the easier access to the Senate) dispatch'd away the Chief Men of their Nation to *Rome*, to try their utmost hopes, having never thought of making Peace before the Enemy was in sight. At this time *M. Fulvius*, having put his Army over to *Apollonia*, was consulting with the Nobility of *Epirus*, where to begin the War. The *Epirotes* were for his attacking *Ambracia*, which then had united it self with the *Ætolians*. For, Whether the *Ætolians* came to defend it, the Fields thereabout were wide enough to fight in; or, whether they declined the conflict, the taking of it would be no difficulty. For there was not only plenty of stuff near at hand, to raise Mounds and other Works; but that *Arethon* also, a navigable River, convenient for bringing thither all sorts of necessaries, ran by the very Walls; besides that the Summer (a season fit for the purpose) was then before them. By this means they persuaded him to march through *Epirus*.

IV. When the Consul came to *Ambracia*, the taking of it seemed to be a great task. For *Ambracia* stands under a rough Hill, which the Inhabitants call *Perrhanthos*. The City toward the Plain and the River, looketh toward the West; but the Castle, that stands upon the Hill, to the East. The River *Arethon*, flowing out of *Acarnania*, falls into a Bay of the Sea, which, from the name of the adjacent City, is called the *Ambracian* [Bay]. But, besides that it is enclosed on this side with the River, and, on that, with Hills; it is also fortified with a strong Wall, that is something more than three Thousand Paces about. *Fulvius* therefore planted two Camps at a small distance one from another, on the Plains side, and built one Fort on a rising ground against the Castle. All which he so endeavoured to join with a Mound and Trench, that neither the besieged might have any outlet from the City, nor those without any avenue to send Auxiliaries in. Upon the report of *Ambracia's* being besieged, the *Ætolians* were already met, by order of *Nicander*, their State-holder, at *Stratum*. From whence they, at first, intended to come with all their Forces, to hinder the

the Siege. But when they saw, the City was, great part of it, encompassed with Works, and that the Camp of the *Epirotes* was pitch'd in a Plain beyond the River; they thought fit to divide their Army. So, *Eupolemus*, going to *Ambracia* with a Thousand nimble Fellows, enter'd the City at such Places, where their Fortifications were not yet quite clos'd up. *Nicander* had a design, at first, with the other part of the Men, to attack the Camp of the *Epirotes* in the Night time; though it was not easy for the Romans to assist him, the River being between. But soon after, thinking that a dangerous enterprise (for fear the Romans should by any means perceive it, or that he should not get safe back again) he was deter'd from this design, and turn'd his course toward the ravaging of *Acarnania*.

The Consul, having finished the Fortifications, wherewith he was to enclose the City, and the Works, that he was to plant against the Walls, attack'd it in five places at once: placing three [Engines] at an equal distance (where the Plain made the Town more accessible) over against *Pyrrheum* (as they call it); one opposite to [the Temple] of *Æsculapius*, and one against the Castle. He hook the Walls with his Rams; and with Beams, that had hooked Irons fasten'd to them, brush'd off the Battlements. The Townsmen, at first, what with the sight, and the thumps given against the Walls with such a terrible noise, were in a great dread and consternation. But when they saw that the Walls (beyond their expectation) were standing, they recover'd themselves again, and with Swipes, loaded with weights of Lead or Stones, or huge Timbers, drove the Rams downward; drew the Hooks with Iron Anchors, which they threw upon them, to the inner part of the Wall, and broke the Beam; and, not only with mighty Sallies upon those that look to the Works, but daily eruptions also upon the several stations [of Souldiers] put the Enemy into a fright. Now things standing thus at *Ambracia*, the *Ætolians* return'd from pillaging of *Acarnania* to *Stratum*. And then *Nicander*, the State-holder, being in hopes by a stout attack to raise the Siege, sent one *Nicodamus* with five hundred *Ætolians* into *Ambracia*: appointing a certain night, and a particular time of night too, wherein not only they should set upon the Enemies Works, that lay toward *Pyrrheum*, from the City; but he himself also might put the Roman Camp into a confusion: for he supposed that by such a doubtful tumult (the Night augmenting their fear) some memorable action might be done. *Nicodamus* therefore, at Midnight, having escaped some of the Watches, and broke through the rest by resolute forcing of his way, got over the *Brachium* [a Work in Fortification, made like an Arm that's bent in with an Elbow] and so quite into the City. By which he gave the Besieged some encouragement and hopes to attempt all manner of things; and as soon as the appointed Night came, immediately attack'd the Works. That undertaking was more dreadful to attempt than effect. Because there was no violence offer'd from without; the Stateholder of the *Ætolians* being either deter'd by fear, or chusing rather to assist the *Amphilochians* (whom he had lately receiv'd into his obedience, and) whom *Perseus*, Son to *Philip*, who was sent to retake *Dolopia* and *Amphilochia*, did then with all his might attempt.

VI. The Roman Works, as I told you before, toward *Pyrrheum*, were planted in three places; which, all at once, though not with the same provision, or force, the *Ætolians* set upon. Some of them came with burning Torches, and others with tow, pitch, and Balls of Wildfire, that made a blaze all over the Field; with which they at the first effort surpriz'd a great many [of the Enemy.] But soon after, when the noise and tumult was propagated into the Camp, and the signal given by Consul, they took up their Arms, and ran out at every Gate to assist [their Party.] In one place the business was carried on with Fire and Sword: but at the other two, the *Ætolians*, having rather only made an attempt, than really engaged in the fight, march'd off from their vain Enterprise. The heat of the Battle therefore was now confin'd to one place: where the two Generals, *Eupolemus* and *Nicodamus* encouraged the men, and fill'd them with almost certain hopes; that *Nicander* would be presently there, according to agreement, and set upon the Enemies Reer. This for some time kept up the Souldiers hearts: but when they saw no signal, as was agreed, given them by their own Party, and that the number of their Enemies increas'd, they, being disappointed, slacken'd their force: till, at last, quite forsaking the design (when they could now scarce make a safe Retreat) they were forced to fly into the City; having burnt part of the works, but lost more men than they themselves kill'd. Now had the matter been carried according to agreement, no doubt but the Works might have been destroy'd on one side at least, with great slaughter of the Enemy. The *Ambracians*, and the *Ætolians* that were within, did not only retreat from the Enterprise of that Night, but for the future also (as though they had been by their own Friends betray'd, were much more backward in all dangerous attempts. For now none of them made sallies out, as before, upon the Enemy, but fought securely in their several Posts upon the Walls, and in the Towers [built upon them.]

VII. *Perseus*, when he heard, that the *Ætolians* were coming, quitted the Siege of the City, which he was then attacking, and, having only pillaged the Country, went out of *Amphilochia* back into *Macedonia*. The *Ætolians* also were call'd thence by the ravage committed upon the Sea-Coast. For *Pleuratus*, King of the *Illyrians*, being come into the *Corinthian*

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thian Bay with sixty Fly-Boats, and having join'd those Ships of the *Acheans*, that were his Fathers, laid waste the maritime parts of *Ætolia*. Against whom there were sent a thousand *Ætolians*, who, which way soever the Fleet went, met them a nearer way through the windings of the shore. Now the Romans at *Ambracia*, by shaking the Walls in many places with their Rams, had made a great breach; and yet they could not get into the City. For not only a new Wall was with equal celerity set up instead of that which was demolish'd, but the Souldiers also standing upon the Ruines served for a Bullwark. Wherefore, seeing the Consuls attempt succeeded but very indifferently by open force, he intended to make a secret Mine under a place that was cover'd with his Galleries. And for some time, that they had work'd Night and Day (not only digging under ground, but carrying out the Earth) they escaped the Enemies knowledge: till on a sudden the heap of Earth, that was higher than ordinary, discover'd their work to the Townsmen. Who being afraid, lest there should have been a passage made, by demolishing of their Walls, into the City, began to dig a Trench within, against that work which was cover'd with the Galleries. Which when they had made as deep, as the bottom of the Enemies mine could probably be, commanding silence, they laid their Ears [to the ground] in several places, to try if they could hear them digging. Which when they had done, they made a strait way into the mine: Nor was it any great difficulty. For in a moment they came to a void space, where the Wall was propt up by the Enemies: and there, (now the two works were join'd, so that there was a way out of the Trench into the mine,) they first with the Iron Instruments that they had made use of in the Work, and after that, with the assistance of Souldiers that soon came under to help them) had an unseen Battle under ground. But the heat of that was quickly over; the besieged putting either Hair-Cloths of Goats Hair to stop the mine, where they thought fit, or sometimes Doors on a sudden before them. There was also a new device of no great difficulty found out against those that were in the mine. They got an Hoghead with an hole bored in it at the bottom, wide enough to put a middle siz'd Pipe into, which they made of Iron; as they also did the lid of the Hoghead, which was it self likewise perforated in several places. This Hoghead they fill'd with light Feathers, and placed it with the mouth to the mine. Through the Holes of the [Iron] [Head or] cover there stuck out long Spears (which they call *Sarisse*) to keep off the Enemy. Then they put a small spark of fire into the Feathers, which with a pair of Smiths Bellows, put into the head of the Pipe, they blew and lighted. From whence there proceeded not only a great quantity of smoke, but that with such an intolerable stink (which when the Feathers burnt, fill'd all the Mine) that hardly any man could endure to stay in it.

VIII. Now things being thus at *Ambracia*, there came two Embassadors [named] *Phæneas* and *Damoteles*, from the *Ætolians* with a free Commission, by Decree of their Nation, to the Consul. For their Stateholder, seeing that, on one hand, *Ambracia* was attack'd, and on the other, that all the Coast was infested by the Enemies Ships; besides that *Amphilochia* and *Dolopia* were ravaged by the *Macedonians*: and that the *Ætolians* were not able to manage three several Wars at one time; call'd a Council, and consulted with the *Ætolian* Nobility, what he had best to do. They were all of opinion, that it was best to sue for Peace (if possible) upon good terms; but it could not be had then, upon tolerable conditions: Saying, That the War was undertaken in confidence of *Antiochus*: but now that *Antiochus* was vanquish'd both by Sea and Land too, and driven almost out of the World, quite beyond the Mountain *Taurus*, what hopes had they of being able to carry on the War? That *Phæneas* and *Damoteles* ought to do (in such a case as that) what was for the good of the *Ætolians*, and consistent with their own integrity. For what room for deliberation, or what choice of things had fortune now left them? The Embassadors therefore were sent with this Commission; to beg of the Consul, that he would spare their City, and take pity on that Nation, which had once been his Ally, but was forced (they would not say by injuries) by calamities at least upon mad actions. That the *Ætolians* had not deserv'd more evil in the War with *Antiochus* than they had done good before, when they fought against *Philip*. That as they were not very largely rewarded then, so neither ought they now to be immoderately punished. To which the Consul answer'd; That the *Ætolians* sued for Peace more frequently than ever truly and heartily. That they should imitate *Antiochus* in Petitioning for Peace, whom they had drawn into the War. That he quitted, not only some few Cities, concerning whose liberty he had contended, but even all *Asia* (a rich Kingdom) on this side the Mountain *Taurus*. That he would not hearken to the *Ætolians*, when they came to treat of Peace, unless they were unarm'd. They must first deliver up their Arms, with all their Horses; and after that give the Roman People a thousand Talents of silver: whereof one half should be paid at present, if they would have a Peace. To which he would also add, as an Article of their League, that they should have the same Friends and Enemies with the Romans.

IX. To which the Embassadors (because those demands were great, and because they also knew the untamed and inflexible resolutions of their own people) gave no answer, but went home again; that there they might over and over consult the Stateholder and the Nobility, upon the whole matter, what to do. Where being receiv'd with clamour and reproof, for protracting the time, when they were bid to bring back any terms of Peace whatever; they return'd to *Ambracia*; but, being circumvented by an Ambuscade, by laid near the Road,

Road, by the *Acarnanians*, with whom they were then at Wars, were carried Prisoners to *Tyrrheum*. This put a stop to the Peace: [but in the mean time] when the *Athenian* and *Rhodian* Embassadors, who came to sollicite on their behalf, were now with the Consul; *Amynder* also King of the *Athamans*, upon promise of security, was come into the Roman Camp; more concern'd for *Ambracia*, where the greater part of the time he had been in banishment, than for the *Ætolians*. The Consul being inform'd by them concerning the case of the Embassadors, commanded them to be brought from *Tyrrheum*; upon whose arrival they began to talk of Peace. *Amynder* was very earnest (which was his chiefest business) to bring the *Ambracians* to a Surrender. But since he did but little good that way by going close up to the Walls, and talking with the Nobility, at last, by the Consuls leave, he went into the City, and partly by his advice, partly by intreaty prevailed with them, to commit themselves to the disposal of the Romans. *C. Valerius* also, Son to *Levinus* (who first enter'd into Alliance with that Nation) being the Consuls Brother, born of the same Mother, did the *Ætolians* a great deal of service. Thereupon the *Ambracians*, having first agreed, that they might send forth the *Ætolians* Auxiliaries, without any molestation open'd their Gates. And then, to give [the Romans] five hundred Eubæan Talents; two hundred in hand, and three hundred more within six years, at equal payments: besides that they should restore to the Romans all their Captives and Fugitives. That no City should be lookt upon as free, which either had been taken by the Romans after that time, when *T. Quintius* came over into Greece, or had voluntarily surrender'd it self: and that the Island of *Cephalenia* should be excluded out of the League: Now though these things were somewhat less than they hoped for; yet the *Ætolians* de-r'd to refer it to their Council; which was granted them. They were taken up for a while by a Debate about the Cities; which having sometime been free, they were very loth should be torn (as it were) from their Body. Nevertheless they all agreed to accept of the Peace. So the *Ambracians* gave the Consul a golden Crown of a hundred and fifty pound weight; besides, that all the Images of brass and marble, with the Paintings, which adorn'd *Ambracia* (where *Pyrrhus* had formerly kept his Court) more than any other Cities in that Country, were taken and carry'd away: but nothing else was hurt or touch'd.

Thereupon the Consul going from *Ambracia* into the Inland parts of *Ætolia*, Encamp'd at *Argos* in *Amphilochia*; which is twenty two thousand paces from *Ambracia*. Thither also came the *Ætolian* Embassadors after the Consul had a good while admired why they staid. From whom when he heard that the *Ætolian* Council approved of the Peace, he order'd them to go to the Senate at *Rome*; and giving them leave to take the *Athenians* and *Rhodians* along with them, as Mediators (together with his Brother *C. Valerius*) himself went over into *Cephalenia*. But at *Rome* they found all the Nobilities Ears and Minds prepossessed with the accusations brought [against them] by *Philip*: who by Embassadors, as well as Letters, complaining, that *Dolopia*, *Amphilochia* and *Athamania*, were forceably taken from him; and that his Garrisons, yea and his Son *Perseus* too, were driven out of *Amphilochia*, made the Senate refuse to give Audience to their Petitions. Yet the *Athenians* and the *Rhodians* were heard very quietly. Of whom the *Athenian* Embassador, *Leon*, Son of *Icesias*, is said also to have prevailed upon them by his Eloquence: who making use of a common similitude, said, The multitude or common people of the *Ætolians* were like a calm Sea, before it was disturb'd by Winds; for as long as they continu'd in Alliance with the Romans, they were at quiet through the native tranquillity of their Nation. But when *Thoas* and *Dicæarchus* from *Asia*, and *Meneæras* with *Damocritus*, from Europe, once began to blow, then that Tempest arose, that dash'd them against *Antiochus*, as upon a Rock.

The *Ætolians* having been long toss'd to and fro in the Debate, at last brought it so to pass, that they agreed upon the terms of Peace, which were these: That the *Ætolian* Nation preserve the Empire and Majesty of the Roman People without fraud or guile. That they suffer no Army, that shall be led against the Romans Friends and Allies, to pass through their Country: nor lend them any assistance. That they have the same Enemies with the Roman People; bearing Arms and waging War in like manner against them. That they restore all Renegadoes, Fugitives and Captives to the Romans and their Allies; save those, that, having been once taken, return'd home, but were taken again: or those, who having been then Enemies to the Romans were taken, when the *Ætolians* were among the Roman Guards. For the rest, that those that shall appear, be deliver'd in a hundred days to the Magistrates of *Corcyra* without deceit. And that those, who shall not appear, be so restored, whenever each of them shall first be found out. That they give forty Hostages at the discretion of the Roman Consul: none of them younger than twelve years of age, nor any older than forty. That neither the Stateholder, Master of the Horse, or publick Notary be made an Hostage, nor any other person, who before was an Hostage to the Romans: and that *Cephalenia* be excluded out of the Articles of the Peace. Concerning the sum of money that they were to pay, and the payments thereof, there was no alteration made from their agreement with the Consul. But it was order'd, that (if they would rather do so) they should give gold instead of silver, so it were at the rate of one piece of gold for ten of silver. That as those Cities, Lands or Men that had once belong'd to the *Ætolians*; or any of them that were either by Arms subdu'd, or voluntarily submitted themselves to the Roman Government,

when *L. Quintius*, and *Cn. Domitius* were Consuls, or after their time; that of them the *Aetolians* should not willingly resume any one. And that the *Oeniade* should be with their City and Lands, all subject to the *Aetolians*. Upon these terms there was a League struck with the *Aetolians*. The same Summer, and upon the very same dayes almost, on which these things were transacted by *M. Fulvius* the Consul in *Aetolia*, the other Consul *Cn. Manlius* waged a War in *Gallogreece*: which I shall now give you an account of. At the beginning of the Spring the Consul came to *Ephesus*, where having receiv'd the Forces from *L. Scipio*, and survey'd the Army, he made a Speech to his men; in which he commended their courage; for that in the War against *Antiochus* they had made an end of it in one Battle; and exhorted them to undertake a new War with the Gauls, who had not only assist'd *Antiochus*, but were of such an unruly spirit, that *Antiochus* was driven beyond the Mountain *Taurus* to little purpose, unless the Gauls were disabled: to which he added some few things which were neither false nor immodest concerning himself. They were all rejoiced to hear the Consul, and agreed to what he said; believing that the Gauls were part of *Antiochus's* Forces: but that, now the King was overcome, they needed not to value them. The Consul was of opinion that *Eumenes* (who was then at Rome) was very unreasonably out of the way; because he knew the Country and the nature of the People; besides that it was his interest to have the Gauls subdued. He therefore sent for his Brother *Attalus* from *Pergamus*, and having persuaded him to undertake the War along with him, he sent him home again under a promise to do what he and his Friends could to raise an Army. Accordingly some few days after, when the Consul was gone from *Ephesus* to *Magnesia*, *Attalus* met him with a thousand Foot, and two hundred Horse: having order'd his Brother *Athenaus* to follow him with the rest of the Forces, and committed the keeping of *Pergamus* to such as he thought would be faithful to his Brother and the Kingdom. The Consul, commending the youth, went forward with all his Forces and Encamped at *Meander*; because that River was not fordable on Foot; but he must of necessity get Boats to put over the Army.

XXIII. Having pass'd the *Meander* they came to *Hiera Come*; where there is a noble Temple of *Apollo*, with an Oracle; and the Priests are said to give their Answers (according as the case happens to be) in Elegant Verses. From hence they arrived in two dayes march at the River *Harpasus*; whither there came Embassadors from *Alibanda*, to desire him, either by his Authority or Arms, to reduce a Castle that had lately revolted from them, and make it submit to their ancient Laws. *Athenaus* also, Brother to *Eumenes* and *Attalus* came thither with *Leusus* of *Crete*, and *Corragus* of *Macedonia*: bringing a thousand Foot and three hundred Horse of mixt Nations along with them. The Consul sending a Tribune of the Souldiers with a small Party, retook the Castle by force and restored it to the *Alabandians*: whilst he himself went directly and Encamped at *Antioch* near the River *Meander*. The head of this River rises at *Celene*; which was formerly the chief City of *Phrygia*. But afterward they removed not far from old *Celene*, to a new City call'd *Apamea*, from *Apamea*, Sister to King *Seleucus*. The River *Marsyas* also, which rises not far from the head of *Meander*, falls into it. And there is a Tradition, that at *Celene*, *Marsyas* play'd upon the Pipe against *Apollo*. Now *Meander*, rising out of the highest part of the Castle in *Celene*, and running down through the middle of the City, is discharg'd first through *Caria*, and then through *Ionia*, into a Bay of the Sea, that lies between *Priene* and *Miletum*. At *Antioch Seleucus*, Son to *Antiochus*, came into the Consuls Camp, according to the League made with *Scipio*, to provide Corn for the Army: where there arose a small debate about *Attalus's* Auxiliaries; for that *Seleucus* said, *Antiochus* had agreed to give Corn to none but Roman Souldiers. But that also was decided by the Consuls resolution, who sending a Tribune gave order; that the Roman Souldiers should not take [any Corn] before *Attalus's* Auxiliaries had receiv'd it. From thence he went on to *Gordintichus* (as they call it) and so in three marches to *Tabe*; a City standing upon the Confines of *Pisidia* on that part that lies toward the *Pamphylian* Sea; where, since the Forces of that side of the Country were entire, there were men very eager to fight. And even the Horse, falling out upon the Roman Army, put them at the first attack into great disorder. But soon after, when it appear'd that they were not equal either in number or courage, being forced into the City, they ask'd pardon for their error, and were ready to yield themselves. They were injoin'd to pay twenty five Talents of Silver, and sixty thousand Bushels of Wheat; and so were admitted to make their surrender.

XIV. Three days after they came to the River *Chaus*: from whence they went and took the City of *Eriza* upon the first attempt. Then they proceeded to the Castle of *Thabusion* which stands upon the River *Indus*; so called from one *Indus* who was there thrown off an Elephant. And now they were not far from *Cibyra*: but no Embassy came from *Moagetes*, King of that City, who was a man very faithless and wayward in all his dealings. Wherefore, to try his inclinations, the Consul sent before him *C. Helvius* with four thousand Foot, and five hundred Horse. This Party was met, just as they enter'd into his Confines, by Embassadors, who told them, that the King was ready to do what they commanded; and desir'd, that he would come peaceably into their Country, keeping the Souldiers from making havoc of it. They brought fifteen Talents from a Crown of Gold; and *Helvius* promising to keep the Country entire from Plunder, order'd the Embassadors to go and wait upon the Consul. To whom (since

(since they said the same thing before him too) the Consul made Answer: *We Romans have not any testimony of the Tyrants good will toward us; besides that all the World know him to be such a person, as that we ought to think of punishing, rather than making an Alliance with him.* The Embassadors being disturb'd at this, desir'd nothing else, than that he would accept of the Crown: and that he would permit the King to come and discourse him in order to atchieve himself. Accordingly the next day, by permission of the Consul the King came into the Camp, cloth'd and attended like an ordinary Man. Where he made a submissive, humble Speech, extenuating his own power, and complaining of the poverty of the Cities in his Dominions; which were (besides *Cibyra*) *Syleum* and *Alimne*. Out of these, he with some diffidence promised (though he beggar'd himself, and all his people) to raise twenty five Talents. Whereunto the Consul reply'd: *This mockery of yours can no longer be born with. Was there not reason enough for your being ashamed of cheating us by your Embassadors when you were absent, but you must persist in the same impudence when present too? Five and twenty Talents would exhaust your Kingdom? Let me tell you, Sirs! unless you pay five hundred Talents to us in three dayes, you must expect a ravage in your Country, and a Siege before your City Walls.* The King though frighted at this denunciation, yet continu'd in his obdurate pretence of poverty; but by degrees making an illiberal addition, sometimes with cavilling, and other whiles with begging and feigned tears, was brought to a hundred Talents: to which were added sixty thousand Bushels of Corn. All this was done within six days.

From *Cibyra* he led the Army through the *Sindian* Territories, and Encamped on the farther side of the River *Calcaures*. The next day they march'd by the Fenn *Caraliis*, and halted at *Mandropolis*. From whence when they went on to the next City named *Lagos*, the Inhabitants ran all away for fear. They therefore rifled the Town, that was forsaken of its people, but abounded in all sorts of provisions. Then from the Spring-head of the River *Lyfis* they went forward next day to the River *Cobulatus*. The *Termessians* at that time having taken the City, attack'd the Castle of *Isionda*: so that the besieged, having no other hopes of aid left, sent Embassadors to the Consul to desire his assistance [saying] that they, with their Wives and Children, being shut up in the Castle, every day expected death either by Sword or Famine. Whereupon the Consul, who before had a mind to go into *Pamphylia*, had then a good occasion offer'd him: and, at his arrival, raised the Siege from before *Isionda*. He granted *Termessus* a Peace (though he took fifty Talents of Silver from them) as he likewise did to the *Aspendians*, and the other people of *Pamphylia*. Out of *Pamphylia* he return'd the first day to the River *Taurus*, and, the next, Encamp'd at *Xyline Come*, as they call it. From thence he went straight to the City of *Cormasa*, the next City to which is *Darsa*. That he found deserted by the Inhabitants for fear, but full of all necessities. Whence as he went on by the Fenns, Embassadors met him from *Lyfimoë*, to surrender their City. Then he came into the *Sagalassene* Territories, a fruitful and a rich soil: inhabited by the *Pisidians*, who are much the best Warriors in all that Country. Whom as that animates, so does the fertility of the soil, the multitude of their people, and the situation of their City, which, among those few that are there is fortified. The Consul, because there was no Embassy ready at the Confines, sent his men to plunder the Country. By that means at last their obstinacy was tamed, when they saw all they had taken away. They therefore sent Embassadors, who, bargaining to give [the Consul] fifty Talents, a hundred and twenty thousand Bushels of Wheat, and sixty thousand of Barly, obtain'd a Peace. From thence going onward to the head of the River *Obrima*, he Encamp'd at a Village called *Aporidos Come*: whither *Seleucus* also came the next day from *Apamea*: and from that place, having first sent his sick men and other cumbersome Baggage to *Apamea*, took Guides of *Seleucus's* providing along with him, and march'd that day into the Plains of *Metropolis*, and the next day, on to *Dimie* in *Phrygia*. Then he came to *Synnada*; the Towns thereabout being deserted for fear. When therefore he had laden his Army with the plunder of them, so that they could scarce march five thousand paces in a day, he came to a place called old *Reudos*. From thence he went to *Anabura*; the next day to the head of [the River] *Alander*, and the third day Encamp'd at *Abassus*: There he continu'd for several dayes; because he was come to the Borders of the *Tolistoboians*.

These Gauls being a vast number of men, either for want of Land [to cultivate] or in hopes of plunder, thinking no Nation, through which they were to pass, equal to them in Arms, came under the conduct of one *Brennus* into *Dardania*. But there arose a Sedition, and twenty thousand men, revolting and dividing themselves from *Brennus*, went with *Leonorius* and *Lutarius*, two petit Kings, another way into *Thrace*. Where, by fighting with those that resisted them, and imposing a Tribute upon such as desired a Peace, when they came to *Byzantium*; they for sometime had all the Coast of *Propontis* Tributary to them, and the Cities of that Region under their Dominion. From thence they had a mind to go over into *Asia*; hearing from the neighbourhood, what a fruitful Country that was. Then, having taking *Lyfimachia* by Treachery, and forceably possessed themselves of all *Cherfoneus*, they went down to *Hellepont*: where seeing that they were divided from *Asia* by such a narrow strait, they were much more inclin'd to get over; and sent Messengers to *Antipater*, the Governour of that Coast concerning their passage. Which affair being protracted beyond



beyond their expectations, there arose another new Sedition between the petit Kings. *Leonorius* went back with the greater part of the men to *Byzantium* from whence he came: whilst *Lutarius* took from the *Macedonians* (that were sent, under pretence of an Embassy, by *Antipater*, as Spies) two men of War and three lesser Ships. With these carrying over his men by parcels night and day, he, in a few dayes, put over all his Forces. Not long after *Leonorius*, by the assistance of *Nicomedes*, King of *Bithynia*, went over from *Byzantium*. Then the *Gauls* united again into one Body, and aided *Nicomedes* against *Lybæa*, who at that time held part of *Bithynia*; but was by their assistance chiefly subdu'd; so that all *Bithynia* became subject to *Nicomedes* only. Going out of *Bithynia* they march'd forward into *Asia*. Now of twenty thousand men there were not above ten thousand arm'd; yet they put all the Nations on this side *Taurus* into such a fright, that those they did, and those they did not come into, all alike, submitted to them. At last, seeing there were three Nations; the *Tolistoboians*, the *Trocmans* and the *Tectosages*: they divided *Asia* into three parts according as it was tributary to each of their people. To the *Trocmans* was given the Coast of *Hellepont*; as the *Tolistoboians* had *Eolis* and *Ionia*, and the *Tectosages*, the Inland parts of *Asia*: who exacted a Tribute (for maintaining of Souldiers) of all *Asia* on this side *Taurus*. Now they chose for their Seat the Country that lies about the River *Halys*: and so great was the terrour of their name, (whose multitude was also encreas'd by daily propagation,) that the Kings of *Syria* too at last refused not to pay them such a certain Revenue. The first that ever refused in *Asia* was *Attalus*, Father to King *Eumenes*: and his bold attempt was seconded by good Fortune; for he overcame them in a set Battle. But yet he did not so subdue them, that they would renounce their pretensions to govern: for they continu'd in the same condition till the War of *Antiochus* against the *Romans*. And then too, when *Antiochus* was beaten, they had great hopes; that, since they lived so far from the Sea, the Roman Army would not come to them.

XVII. Now seeing he must of necessity engage with this Enemy, who was so terrible to all Nations round about, the Consul made a speech to his Soldiers to this purpose, *I know very well (fellow Soldiers) that of all the Nations, which inhabit Asia, the Gauls have the greatest reputation for Warriors. This fierce Nation, that hath wandered in War through almost the whole World, has taken a seat among a most civilized People. Their Bodies are tall, their Hair long and red, their Shields large, and their Swords very long; besides the noise they make when they begin to fight, with their howling, dancing, and the horrid clattering of their Arms when they shake their Shields after their Country manner: which are all industriously design'd to create terrour. But let the Greeks and the Phrygians fear these things, to whom they are unusual and rare: the Romans who are accusom'd to Gallick tumults, know these kinds of vanities. They once indeed at Allia, routed our Ancestors at the first onset: but since that time [our men] have, for these two hundred years, consternated, slain and routed them, like so many Sheep; so that there have been as many Triumphs made for the Gauls, as for all the World beside. Now this we know by experience, that if you weather their first effort, which they make upon you with an eager appetite, and blind fury, their limbs drop with sweat, and they are tired; their Arms fall out of their hands; and the Sun, dust, or thirst, enervate their tender Bodies, as well as their effeminate minds too, when their anger's allay'd, though you use no Sword against them. We have not only tryed their Legions by our Legions, but by one single man engaging with another. T. Manlius and M. Valerius have taught us, how far Roman valour exceeds Gallick Fury. We know that M. Manlius alone forced the Gauls down again, who were in a Body scaling the Capitol. Now those Ancestors of ours had to do with real Gauls, born in their own Country. But these are a degenerated sort of mixt people, as their name of Gallogreeks very rightly imports. For as in Fruits and Beasts, their Seeds are not so conducive to the preservation of their nature, as the propriety of the soil and air, where they are bred alters them. The Macedonians, who have Colonies at Alexandria in Egypt, at Selenicia and Babylon, and other parts of the World, are degenerated into Syrians, Parthians and Egyptians. Massilia in Gaul, has contracted somewhat of their disposition from their Neighbouring Nations: and what do the Tarentines retain of that severe and horrid discipline of the Spartans? No, every thing is born most generous in its own native soil: and that which is planted in a Foreign Land, quite alters its nature into that wherewith 'tis nourished. You therefore shall victoriously destroy the conquer'd Phrygians, who are loaded with Gallick Arms, as you did in the War against Antiochus. I am more afraid, that we shall gain little honour by it, than that the War will be too difficult for us. King Attalus oftentimes defeated and routed them. Do not you think, that Brutes only, which are newly caught, do at first retain their wild fierceness, and afterwards (when they have been fed out of mens hands) grow tame; but that in mollifying the savageness of men, nature observes not the same course. Do you believe these men to be the same, that their Fathers and Grandfathers were? No, they came, banish'd from home, for want of Land to cultivate, through the rough Coast of Illyrium, Pæonia and Thrace, and by fighting their way through the fiercest of Nations, got into these Countries. So that when they were harden'd and exasperated with so many misfortunes, they were entertain'd in a Land, that could glut them with all manner of plenty; and by the help of a fat soil, a good air, and kind Neighbours, all that fierceness, wherewith they came, was perfectly tamed. You therefore, who are the Sons of Mars, must have a care of and avoid, as soon as possible, the pleasures of Asia: so far do these Foreign delights, with the contagion of the discipline*

discipline and manners of their Neighbours prevail toward the extinguishing of the vigour of mens minds. But this falls out very well for you; that as they have not strength by any means equal to yours, so they have still a name equal to that ancient reputation, wherewith they came [hither:] and you will gain the same glory in the War, as though you had overcome the old Gauls with all their former courage.

Then having dismiss'd the Assembly, and sent Embassadors to *Eposognatus*, who, being one of the Petit Kings, had not only continu'd in Alliance with *Eumenes*, but likewise deny'd aid to *Antiochus* against the *Romans*, he removed his Camp. The first day he march'd as far as the River *Alander*, and the next day came to a Village called *Tiscos*; whither there came Embassadors from the *Oroandians*, to desire an Alliance; on whom he impos'd [a Tribute of] two hundred Talents; concerning which, upon their Petition, he gave them leave to make report to their Principals. From thence the Consul march'd with his Army to *Pluendum*, and so Encamp'd at *Alyatti*: to which place the persons sent to *Eposognatus* return'd, and Embassadors from the petit King along with them, desiring, that they [the Romans] would not make War upon the *Tectosages*: for *Eposognatus* himself would go into that Nation, and perswade them to do what was injoin'd them. The petit Kings request was granted; and then the Army was led through the Country which they call *Axylos*; having its name from the nature of it and signifying [without Wood.] For there it neither produces any Wood, nor so much as Thorns, or any other combustible matter; but the Inhabitants use Cow-dung instead of Wood. After that, whilst the *Romans* were Encamped at *Cuballum* a Castle of *Gallogreece*, the Enemies Horse appear'd with a great tumult: nor did they only disturb the Roman Quarters, as coming upon them so suddenly, but likewise kill'd some of them. Which tumult being propagated into the Camp, the Roman Horse fallied out immediately every way, and routed the *Gauls*, killing several of them in their flight. From thence the Consul, who saw, that he was come up to the Enemy, having first secur'd his passage, and then with care got all his men into one Body, march'd forward, and being arrived, without halting, at the River *Sangarius*, resolv'd to build a Bridge over it, because it was not fordable on Foot. This River *Sangarius*, flowing out of the Mountain *Adoreus* through *Phrygia*, runs, in *Bithynia*, into the River *Thymbris*; from whence being now much bigger, by reason that its Waters are doubled, it passes through *Bithynia*; and disembogues it self into *Propontis*: being yet not so memorable upon the score of its bigness; as that it affords the Neighbourhood a vast quantity of Fish. Having pass'd the River, when he had finish'd the Bridge, as they went by the Bankside, the *Galli* [*Cybeles* Priests, who was called the Great Mother] met him from *Pessinus* with the solemn Ornaments belonging to their Function, and prophesied in an inspired sort of Verse; That their Goddess gave the *Romans* free passage to the War, and Victory; with Dominion over that Country. To which the Consul reply'd, That he accepted of the omen, and pitch'd his Camp in that very place. The next day he came to *Gordium*: which is no great Town, but a noted Mart, beyond what Inland places use to be. It has three Seas at almost an equal distance from it; the *Hellepont* by *Sinope*, and the shores of the other Coast, which the maritime *Cilicians* inhabit. It likewise Borders upon many other great Nations; whose Commerce mutual convenience has chiefly brought into that place: This Town at that time they found deserted by the Inhabitants, who were all fled away, but full of all sorts of provisions. Whilst they staid there, Embassadors came from *Eposognatus*, who brought word, that though he had gone himself in person to the petit Kings of the Gauls, he had no reason done him. That they were going out of their Campaign Villages and Countries in great numbers, and taking along with them (besides their Wives and Children) all that they were able to carry off, made toward the Mountain *Olympus*, that from thence, by their Arms and the situation of the place together, they might defend themselves.

After that the *Oroandian* Embassadors brought certain news, That the *Tolistoboians* had possess'd themselves of the Mountain *Olympus*: and that the *Tectosages* were gone to another Mountain called *Magaba*: but that the *Trocmans*, having left their Wives and Children with the *Tectosages*, resolv'd to go in Arms and assist the *Tolistoboians*. Now the petit Kings of these three people at that time, were *Ortiagon*, *Combolomarus* and *Gaulotus*: whose chiefest reason to undertake a War was this; that since they were possess'd of the highest Hills in all that Region, having gotten together all such things as were necessary, though for a long time, they thought by mere Fatigue to tire out the Foe. For they would neither dare to come up such steep and uneven places: or, if they did attempt it, might even with a small force be hinder'd and thrown down again: nor would they, though they lay quiet at the foot of such cold Mountains, be able to endure cold and want. But though the very height of the place sufficiently defended them, they made a Trench also and other Fortifications about the Hills on which they lay. They took but very little care to provide darting Weapons; for that they believ'd the very roughness of the place would afford them plenty of stones.

The Consul therefore, because he foresaw that the fight would be, not hand to hand, but at a good distance from the places attach'd, had prepar'd a vast quantity of Piles [Javelins] light Spears, Arrows, Bullets and little stones, such as might be fit to be thrown in a Sling; and, being furnish'd with all these darting or hurling instruments, march'd toward the Mountain

XVIII.

XIX.

XX.

Mountain *Olympus*; from which he Encamp'd about five thousand paces. The next day, as he went on with four hundred Horse and *Attalus*, to view the nature of the Mountain, and the situation of the *Gallick* Camp, the Enemies Horse, who doubl'd his number, coming suddenly out of their Camp, put him to flight; some few of his men being kill'd as they ran away, but more wounded. The third day he went out with all his Forces to view the several places; and, because none of the Enemies came out of their Fortifications, rode securely round the Mountain; where he observ'd, on the Southside, certain green Banks, that ascended very pleasantly to such a place, but on the Northside, steep and almost perpendicular Rocks: and though most of the rest were unpassable, found out three Avenues: one in the middle of the Mountain, where 'twas grassy; but the two others very difficult on the North-East and South West sides. Having consider'd of these things that day he Encamp'd at the very Foot of the Mountain. The next day, having sacrificed, and appeas'd the Gods by the first offering that he made, he divided his Army into three parts, and led them toward the Foe; himself going up with the greatest part of his Forces, where the Mountain was most accessible. He order'd *L. Manlius*, his Brother, to march up on the North-East side, as far as the places would permit him, and he with safety might. That if he met with any dangerous, craggy part, that he should not contend with the unevenness of such a place, or think to conquer things insuperable: but should come down the side of the Hill and join him. He bad *C. Helvius* with the third part to go leisurely about at the bottom of the Mountain, and afterward on the South-West side to march his men upward. He also divided the Auxiliaries of *Attalus* into three parts of equal numbers: but order'd the youth himself to go along with him; leaving the Horse, with the Elephants in the Plain adjacent to the Hills, and giving charge to the chief Officers [of them] diligently to mind what was done on all sides, and make hast to assist them, where there was occasion for it.

XXI.

The *Gauls* being secure enough of their two sides, that they were unaccessible on that part which lay to the South, in order to block up the way, sent near four thousand arm'd men to possess themselves of a Bank that lies by the pass about a thousand paces from the Camp: supposing that thereby, as with a Fort, they should stop up the Avenue. Which when the *Romans* saw, they straight prepar'd themselves for a fight. Before the Ensigns at a small distance went the Light-Armour, with *Attalus's* Cretan Archers, Slingers, and the *Thrallians* of *Thrace*: whilst the Ensigns of Foot as they were led very gently up so steep a place, so had their Shields before them, only to avoid the Darts, and not as though they resolv'd to engage Foot to Foot. So the Battle was begun at a distance with casting Weapons, being at first pretty equal; for that the situation of the place was an help to the *Gauls*, though the *Romans* had the better on't in point of variety and plenty of Arms. But when they had fought for some time, there was no comparison between them. For their Shields, which were long, but not broad enough for their large Bodies (besides that they were also plain) were no good covering to the *Gauls*. Nor had they by this time any Weapons save Swords: of which, since the Enemy did not engage hand to hand, there was no use. They made use of Stones, which neither were small enough (they having prepar'd none before hand) but such as came by mere chance in the hurry to their hands, nor (being unaccustom'd to that way of fighting) did they either by art or strength inforce their blow. They therefore were pelted with Arrows, Bullets, and Darts (as being unprovided) on all sides; nor could they see, being blinded with anger and fear together, what to do: because they were surpriz'd with a sort of fight, for which they were not any ways fitted. For, as, when they engaged hand to hand, where they could mutually give and take wounds, their spirits were enflamed with passion; so being wounded they could not tell from whence, and at a distance with light Weapons, nor having any place which with blind fury they could run upon, they set, like Wild-Beasts, that are shot through, upon their own party. That which the more discover'd their wounds was that they fought naked; their Bodies also tender and white, as being never stripp'd but in a Battle. By that means they not only lost the more blood out of their fleshy Limbs, but their wounds were also more dreadful, and the whiteness of their Skin was more stained with the black blood. Yet they are not concern'd for such apparent wounds; but cut their own flesh, where the hurt is broader than deeper, and fancy they fight with more honour for that reason. Nevertheless the same persons, when the head of an Arrow, or a Bullet that's got into the flesh at a small Orifice slings them (and those that look for it cannot get it out) are presently mad and ashamed that such a slight thing should be their bane, and throw themselves down all along upon the ground. Others of them rushing fiercely upon the Foe, were wounded on every side: and when they came hand to hand were kill'd by the Light-armour'd Souldiers called *Vehites*. This sort of Souldiers have a Shield of three foot long, and in their right hands Spears, which they use at a distance; being begirt with a *Spanish* Sword. But if they have occasion to engage Foot to Foot, they remove their Spears into their left hands, and draw their Swords. By this time there were but few *Gauls* left alive: who seeing themselves overcome by the Light-armour, and that the Legions were at hand, ran back as hard as they could drive to their Camp, which was now full of fear and tumult; being that there both Women and Children,

Children, and all other people that were unfit to make Souldiers of, were mixt together: so the *Romans* got possession of the Hills, which the Enemy had deserted.

About the same time *L. Manlius*, and *C. Helvius*, having gone upward, as far as the declining Hills would suffer them, when they came to places that were unpassable, turn'd toward that side of the Mountain, which was only accessible, and began both to follow the Consul at a small distance, as though they had agreed upon't before hand; being forced to that by mere necessity, which had at first been their best course. For reserves in such rough places have often been of very great use; that when the foremost chance to be beaten down again, the next may not only shelter the routed party, but come themselves in fresh to the fight. The Consul, when the first Ensigns of the Legions came to the Hills that the Light-arm'd men had taken, order'd his men to take breath and rest themselves a little while; shewing them the *Gauls* at the same time, who lay all along upon the Hills; and said, if the Light-armour did such an exploit, what might be expected from the Legions, from men in perfect armour, and from persons of the greatest resolution? That they must needs take the Camp into which the Enemy being forced by the Light armour betook themselves and trembled. But he order'd the Light-arm'd men to march before; who, whilst the Army halted, had spent that very time to good purpose in gathering up the Weapons that lay all over the Hills, that they might be sure of hurling Arms enough to serve their turns. And now they were near the Camp, when the *Gauls*, lest their Fortifications should not well defend them, flood arm'd before the Bullwark. By which means being born down with all sorts of Weapons (for that by how many the more and thicker they were, so much the harder it was for any Weapon to miss them) they were in a moment of time forced into their Bullwark, having only left strong Guards at the very entrance of their Gates. Upon the multitude that was forced into the Camp there was a great quantity of hurling Weapons thrown, and that many of them were wounded you might know by the noise which was mingled with the cries of Women and Children. At those, that stood as Guards at the several Gates, the *Antesignani* [such as stood before the Ensigns] of the Legions threw Javelins. But they were not wounded; only, having their Shields stuck through, they were many of them fasten'd one to another: nor could they any longer sustain the *Romans* vigour.

XXIII.

Thereupon flinging open their Gates, before the Conquerours got in, the *Gauls* run out of their Camp on every side, with all the speed imaginable, through paths and no paths; nor could any Precipices or craggy Rocks hinder them; for they fear'd nothing else except the Enemy. Wherefore a great many of them, falling headlong down a vast height, were kill'd. The Consul having taken the Camp abstain'd from the plunder and booty of it; bidding his Souldiers, Follow him every man of them in pursuit of the Foe, and augment their fear, now that they already were under such a consternation. The other Army also with *L. Manlius* came thither; but he did not suffer them neither to enter the Camp; sending them straight away to pursue the Enemy. He himself too a while after follow'd them, having committed the keeping of the Captives to the Tribunes of the Souldiers; supposing that the War would be at an end, if in fright a considerable number of them were slain or taken: When the Consul was gone forth, *C. Helvius* arrived with the third party: nor could he keep his men from plundering the Camp; so that the booty became very unjustly theirs, who had not been present at the Battle. The Horse stood a good while, not only ignorant that there had been a Victory obtain'd on their side, but even that there had been a Fight. But at last they too, as far as their Horses could get up the Hills, pursuing the scatter'd *Gauls*, and over-taking them about the Foot of the Mountain, kill'd or took them. The number of the slain could not easily be told, because they ran and were slaughter'd through all the winding ways upon the Mountains: great part of them falling down from craggy Rocks into deep Vales, and part of them being kill'd in the Woods and among the Brakes. *Claudius*, who says there were two Battles fought upon the Mountain *Olympus*, says also, that there were forty thousand men slain: though *Valerius Antias*, who uses to be more immoderate in augment of numbers, tells us they were not above ten thousand. The number of the Prisoners was doubtless full forty thousand; for that they had carry'd along with them a crowd of all sorts and all Ages: more like a people that were going to leave their Country, than to War. The Consul having burnt all the Enemies Arms in one heap, order'd them all to bring the rest of the booty together, and either sold what part of it was to be given to the publick use; or with care, that it should be equal, divided it among the Souldiers. They were also all of them commended publicly, and each man rewarded according to his desert. But above all, *Attalus*, with general assent of the rest: for that youth was not only a person of singular Courage and industry in all enterprizes, and dangers but of extraordinary modesty also.

But now there yet remained an entire War with the *Tectosages*; against whom the Consul went, he arrived in three marches at *Ancyra*, a noble City in that Country: from whence the Enemy was distant a little more than ten thousand paces. Where whilst they were Encamped, there was a memorable action done by a Captive Woman. *Ortiagon* the petit Kings Wife, a Woman of great Beauty, was kept among several other Captives; who were committed to the Custody of a Centurion, that had all the lust and avarice of a Souldier about him.

XXIV.

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him. He therefore first try'd her inclination. Which when he found averse to voluntary Adultery, he offer'd violence to her Body, which Fortune had made a Slave. After which, to alleviate the indignity of the injury, he put the poor Woman in hopes of returning to her own Country: but did not freely, like a Lover, having contracted with her for such a quantity of gold. Now lest any of his own People should know of it, he permitted her to send one of the other Captives (whom she pleas'd) as a Messenger to her own Country: appointing a place near the River; where two, and no more, Friends of the Captive Lady should come next Night with the gold and receive her. It happen'd that a Servant of the same Woman was one of the Captives under the mens Custody. Him therefore the Centurion carry'd, as the Messenger, at the edge of Night, without the Guards: and the next Night the Woman's two Friends and the Centurion with his Captive came to the place appointed. Where when they shew'd the gold, that made up the sum of an Attick Talent (for so much he had bargain'd for) the Woman commanded them with her own mouth to draw their Swords, and kill the Centurion as he was taking hold of the gold. Which when they had done, and cut off his Head, she took it, wrapt it up in her Gown, and carry'd it to her Husband *Ortiagon*, who was fled back home from *Olympus*. Whom before he embraced, she threw the Centurion's Head down before his Feet. At which seeing, he admir'd whose Head it was, or what more than Female Exploit it was that she had done; she confess'd to him what injury she had receiv'd, and how she revenged her forced Chastity, and (they say) by the Sanctity and Gravity of the remaining part of her Life, preserv'd to the last the honour of this Matron-like Achievement.

XXV. At *Ancyra* there came Envoys into the Consul's Camp from the *Tectosages*, desiring, That he would not Decamp from *Ancyra*, before he had discours'd with their Kings. For any conditions of Peace would be more eligible to them than War. The time therefore was to be on the Morrow, and the place, as nigh the middle as could be between the *Gallick* Camp and *Ancyra*. Whither when the Consul was come at the due time with a guard of five hundred Horse, and seeing ne'r an one of the *Gauls* there, was come back; the same Envoys return'd to excuse their Masters, and said, That their Kings could not come upon the score of Religion: but the Nobility of the Nations, by whom the matter might be as well transacted, would come. The Consul also said, that he would send *Attalus*. Accordingly they came on both sides to this Conference: and *Attalus* having brought along with him three hundred Horse for a Guard, they laid down the terms of Peace. But because no end could be put to the business whilst the Generals were absent, they agreed, that the Consul and the Kings should meet there the next day. The disappointment on the *Gauls* part was design'd; first to gain time, till they could put their goods (with which they were unwilling to perish) with their Wives and Children over the River *Halys*; and secondly, because they were contriving a Plot against the Consul himself, who was an heedless man, and suspected not the treacherous intent of the Conference. For which purpose they chose out a thousand Horse of all their numbers, who were men of known Courage. And their treachery had taken effect, had not Fortune stood up for the Law of Nations which they had a design to violate. For the *Roman* Foragers, and those that went to fetch in Wood, were led into that part of the Country where the Conference was to be; the Tribunes supposing that to be the safest place, because they were like to have the Consul's Guard and himself too before them, to oppose the Enemy. Nevertheless they planted their other Guard also of six hundred Horse, nearer to the Camp. The Consul, upon *Attalus*'s Affirmation, that the Kings would come, and the matter might be transacted, went out of the Camp, and when he was got forward about five thousand paces with the same guard, as before of Horse, so that he was not far from the place appointed; he saw, on a sudden, the *Gauls* coming in a full Carier, and a Hostile manner toward him. Wherefore he set his Army in order, and having commanded the Horse to make ready their Weapons and prepare their minds, he at first very resolutely receiv'd the first charge of the Battle, without giving way; but soon after, the multitude pressing on too fast upon him, he by degrees retir'd, though the ranks of his Troops were thereby not at all disorder'd. At last, seeing there was more danger in his staying there, than safety in the preservation of his Ranks, they all ran away as fast as they could. Thereupon the *Gauls* pursu'd them as they ran scatter'd up and down and kill'd them: nor had there been a few of them destroy'd, had not the Guard of Foragers, consisting of six hundred Horse, met them. For they, hearing the fearful cries of their own men afar off, when they had made ready their Weapons, and their Horses came in fresh to obviate the flight of their defeated Party. By that means Fortune was quickly alter'd, and the terror remov'd from the Conquer'd to the Conquerours. For the *Gauls* were routed upon the first attack, the Foragers running together out of all the Fields thereabout, so that the Enemy came upon the *Gauls* on every side: nor could it be safe or easy for them so much as to run away; because the *Romans* pursu'd them, who were already tired, with fresh Horses. Some few therefore escaped; but never an one was taken: though a far greater number of them suffer'd Death for violating the sacred obligations of the Conference: and the *Romans* next day, their minds being inflamed with fury, came with all their Forces up to the Enemy.

XXVI. The Consul spent two dayes in searching into the nature of the Mountain, lest there should

should be any part of it unknown to him: but on the third day, having consulted the Soothsayers, and then sacrificed, he divided his Forces into four parts, and so led them forth: intending to carry two of them up the middle of the Mountain, and to take two upon the sides against the Wings of the *Gauls*. The greatest strength that the Enemy had, were the *Tectosages* and the *Trocmians*, who were in the main Body of their Army, to the number of fifty thousand men. Their Horse, whom they dismounted (because there was use to be made of Horses among craggy Rocks) they placed in the right Wing, being ten thousand persons: whilst *Ariarathes*'s *Cappadocians*, the Auxiliaries of *Morzus* in the left, made up about the number of four thousand. The Consul, as he did upon the Mount *Olympus*, having placed the Light armour in the Front, took care that the same quantity of all kind of Weapons should be ready at hand. When the two Armies approach'd, all things were the same on both sides as they had been in the former Battle, except their Courage, which as it was augmented in the Conquerours by success, so was quite damp'd in the Enemy; for that, though they themselves were not Conquer'd, they lookt upon the miscarriage of their Countrymen as though it had been their own. Wherefore that action being begun in the same manner had the like issue. For there was a Cloud, as it were, of light Weapons thrown all together upon them, which bore down the Army of *Gauls*: nor durst any one of them either run out of their Ranks, lest he should expose his Body every way to their Artillery; nor yet stand still, seeing that the thicker they were together, the more wounds they receiv'd, being as it were a fairer mark for the *Romans* to aim at. But now the Consul supposing that all the Enemies, who of themselves were mightily disturbed, if he should shew them the Ensigns of the Legions, would all immediately run away, took his Light-arm'd men into his Ranks, with the other Party of Auxiliaries, and put forward the main Body.

The *Gauls* being terrified with the memory of the *Tolistoboian* miscarriage, and carrying XXVII. Weapons stuck into their Bodies, as also not only tired with standing, but faint with their Wounds too, could not endure even the first effort and shout of the *Romans*. Wherefore they ran toward their Camp; though few got within the Fortifications. For the greatest part of them flying to the right and left beyond the Camp, went that way which their violent hast at that time carried them: whilst the Victors pursuing them even to their Camp were very levere upon their Reer. But then they halted in the Camp for love of the Booty, nor did any of them pursue the Foe. The *Gauls* stood longer in the Wings, because the *Romans* came later to them: yet they did not bear even the first Volley of Weapons. Mean time the Consul, who could not draw them off that were gone into the Camp for plunder, sent those that had been in the Wings immediately to pursue the Foe. Who having follow'd them for some space, yet slew not above eight thousand men in the flight; for there was no set Battle. The rest got over the River *Halys*; whilst a great Party of the *Romans* staid that night in the Enemies Camp. The others the Consul brought back into their own Camp. The next day he took a view of the Captives, and the booty; which was as much, as the most rapacious Nation in the whole World, who had been by force possess'd for many years of all on this side the Mountain *Taurus*, could heap together. After this the *Gauls*, who had been scatter'd all over the Country in their flight, being met together again in one place, great part of them wounded, or unarm'd, and destitute of all necessaries, sent Envoys to the Consul concerning a Peace. Then *Manlius* to come to *Ephesus*; whilst he himself making halt to get out of those parts that were so cold by reason of *Taurus* being so nigh (for now it was the middle of Autumn) brought back his Victorious Army into Winter Quarters upon the Sea-Coast.

Whilst these things were transacted in *Asia*, all things in the other Provinces were quiet. XXVIII. At *Rome*, the Censors, *T. Quintius Flaminius*, and *M. Claudius Marcellus*, review'd the Senate, of which *P. Scipio Africanus* now the third time chosen President; there being only four names pass'd over [in order to their being put out of the Senate] none of whom had ever rode in a Curule Chair. They were also very mild in their review of the Knighthood. They likewise bargain'd for the building of an House upon the place where that of *Sp. Maelius* (called now *Aequimelium*) stood in the Capitol, and to have the street paved with Flint from the *Capene* Gate to the Temple of *Mars*. The Companions consulted the Senate, to know, where they should be poled: and it was decreed, that it should be done at *Rome*. There were great Waters that Year. The *Tiber* over whelm'd the *Campus Martius*, and all the lower parts of the City twelve times. Now when *Cn. Manlius*, the Consul, had made an end of the War against the *Gauls* in *Asia*, the other Consul *M. Fulvius*, having subdu'd the *Aetolians*, went over into *Cephalenia*, and sent all about to the Cities of that Island, to inquire; Whether they would rather yield themselves to the *Romans*, or try the Fortune of a War? Whereupon their fear so far prevailed with them, that they all submitted to a Surrender. So, Hostages being required of them, the *Nesiotes*, *Cranians*, *Palleans*, and *Samians* (according to the ability of such a poor people) gave twenty. By this means an unexpected Peace smiled upon *Cephalenia*; when on a sudden, one of their Cities, namely the *Samians* (for what reason is not known) revolted. For they said, that since their City was situate in a convenient place, they were afraid, lest they might be forced by the *Romans* to remove from it.

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But whether they form'd these apprehensions in themselves, and by vain fears depriv'd themselves of rest; or whether such a thing might be talk'd of by the Romans, and so brought to their Ears, is not certain: save that, as soon as they had given their Hostages, they presently shut their Gates: nor would they, even at the request of their own Natives (for the Consul had sent to the Walls [of the City] to move the compassion of those that were Parents or Countrymen at least [to the Hostages]) desist from their undertaking. Thereupon the City began (since they return'd no peaceable answer) to be attack'd. The Consul had all sorts of Provisions of Warlike Instruments and Engines brought over from the Siege of *Ambracia*; besides that the Souldiers quickly perfected all such Works, as were to be rais'd. Wherefore their Rams being apply'd in two places at once began to shake the Walls.

XXIX. Nor did the *Samians* omit any thing, whereby either the Works or the Enemy might be removed; but made resistance by two things more especially: the one, in that they still repaired the inward Wall when it was beaten down, with a strong new one; and the other, in that they sallied out of a sudden, one while upon the Enemies Works, and another while upon their Guards: in which attempts they for the most part got the better of it. There was one slight way at last found out, scarce worth the mentioning, to restrain them; [and that was this.] There were a hundred Slingers sent for from *Agium*, *Patra*, and *Dyme*; who had been us'd even from their Childhood (according to the custom of their Country) to throw round stones, that lie upon the Sea-shores among the Sand, into the open Sea. Wherefore they us'd that instrument to greater advantage, and with more certainty, and a stronger blow, than the *Balearian* Slingers did. Neither has their Sling one Leather only [in the bottom of it] as the *Balearian* and that of other Nations hath; but three, which are fasten'd close and hard together with many seams: least the Leather being loose, the [Stone, or] Bullet should rouse to and fro when they are going to sling it; so that lying dead upon the bottom, it is hurl'd forth as from a Cross-Bow. They therefore being us'd to throw Coronets of a small compass from a great distance, did not only wound the heads of the Enemies, but any part of their Faces that they design'd [to hit]. These things kept the *Samians* from sallying forth either so frequently, or so boldly: inasmuch that they desired the *Achaens* from the Walls, for a little time, to draw off; and quietly look on, whilst they engaged with the Romans. The *Samians* held out the Siege for four Months. But at last, since of those few, that they were, some daily fell, or were wounded; and they that remained were tired both in their Bodies and Minds too: the Romans, getting in the Night over the Wall through the Fort, which they call *Cyatis* (for the City runs Westward toward the Sea side) came into the Market-place. Whereupon the *Samians*, seeing part of their City was taken, fled with their Wives and Children into the bigger Fort, and from thence the next day making their Surrender (their City being rifled) they were all sold for Slaves.

XXX. The Consul having set all things in order at *Cephalonia*, and put a Garrison into *Samus*, went over into *Peloponnesus*, at the request of the *Aegians* chiefly and the *Lacedemonians*, who had for a great while together desired his Company there. The meeting of the general Assembly, or Council of *Achaia*, was originally always appointed to be at *Agium*, either out of respect to the dignity of that City, or for the convenience of the place. But this usage *Philopæmen* that Year, first of all endeavour'd to abolish, and therefore prepared a Bill to be pass'd into a Law, that the meeting should be in all the Cities that sent Members to the *Achaian* Parliament, by turns. And accordingly when the Consul was a coming (the chief Magistrates in each City summoning them to *Agium*) *Philopæmen* (who then was Stateholder) order'd the Assembly to be at *Argos*. Whither when it appear'd that they were all resolv'd to come; the Consul also, though he favour'd the *Aegians* most, came to *Argos*: where when, upon debate, he saw the matter incline [the other way] he desist'd from his first design [of being for *Agium*.] After that the *Lacedemonians* engaged him in their quarrel; their City being most infested by a company of people that were banish'd thence: Of whom great part dwelt in the Maritime Castles of the *Laconian* Coast, which was all taken away [from the *Lacedemonians*.] Which indignity the *Lacedemonians* being scarce able to endure (in order to their having some Avenue to the Sea (if they at any time had occasion to send Embassadors either to *Rome*, or any other place) and that at the same time they might have a convenient Port, or receptacle for Foreign Commodities that were of necessary use to them) in the Night time surpriz'd and got possession of a Maritime Village called *Las*. Thereupon the Villagers and the banish'd persons who lived in that Town, were terrified, at first, at the unexpected accident; but afterward, being got together a little before day, with ease expell'd the *Lacedemonians*. Nevertheless all the Sea-Coast was in a fright: so that the Castle, Villages, and the banish'd persons also, that harbour'd there, all in general sent Embassadors to the *Achaens*.

XXXI. *Philopæmen* the Stateholder, who from the very beginning had been a Friend to the cause of the banish'd persons, and always advis'd the *Achaens* to diminish the power of the *Lacedemonians*, upon complaint granted them a Council: in which (he proposing it) there was a Decree made; That since *T. Quintius* and the Romans had deliver'd the Castles and Villages upon

upon the *Laconian* Coast into the protection and custody of the *Achaens*, and that the *Lacedemonians* ought not, according to the League, to have any thing to do with them, whereas the Village of *Las* was Besieg'd, and a great slaughter made there; if the Authors and Abettors of that action were not surrender'd to the *Achaens*, they would look upon the League to be violated. Thereupon Embassadors were presently sent to *Lacedemon* to demand those persons. But that Injunction seem'd to the *Lacedemonians* so tyrannical and unworthy, that if their City had been in its old circumstances, they would undoubtedly have taken up Arms. But that which put them under the greatest consternation was, least, if they should once comply with such Injunctions, and take the Yoke upon them, *Philopæmen* should (as he had been about to do a good while) deliver *Lacedemon* up to the banish'd persons. They therefore, being mad with anger, kill'd thirty men of that Faction, which had held some correspondence with *Philopæmen* and the banish'd men; and made a Decree, to renounce all Alliance with the *Achaens*: and to send Embassadors immediately to *Cephalonia*, who should surrender *Lacedemon* to the Consul *M. Fulvius* and the Romans: and to desire him, that he would come into *Peloponnesus* to receive the City of *Lacedemon* into the protection and government of the Roman People.

Of which when their Embassadors brought word to the *Achaens*, they, by a general XXXII. consent of all the Cities, belonging to that Council, declared War against the *Lacedemonians*. But the Winter hinder'd the immediate waging of it: though their Confines were pillaged by small Inrodes (more like robbing than fair fighting) not only by Land, but in Ships also on the Sea-Coast. This tumult brought the Consul into *Peloponnesus*: by whose Order a Council being appointed at *Elis*, the *Lacedemonians* were sent for to debate the matter. And there indeed was not only a great dispute, but even wrangling also. To which the Consul, who was ambitious enough to favour both Parties, having made several doubtful replies, put an end to all by this one Injunction; that they should desist from the War, till they had sent Embassadors to the Senate at *Rome*. They therefore accordingly dispatch'd an Embassy on both sides to *Rome*. The banish'd men also of *Lacedemon* injoin'd the *Achaens* to take care of their cause and Embassy. *Diophanes* and *Lycortas*, both *Megalopolitans*, were chief of the *Achaean* Embassy: who disagreeing as to publick affairs, at that time also made very different Speeches. For *Diophanes* left the debating of all things wholly to the Senate; [Saying] that they could best put an end to all Controversies between the *Achaens* and the *Lacedemonians*: but *Lycortas* desired (according to the Orders that *Philopæmen* had given him) that the *Achaens* might have the liberty to do what, according to the League and their own Laws, they had decreed: and preserve their own freedom entire, of which they themselves were the Authors. The *Achaens* at that time had great authority with the Romans: who yet did not think fit to make any innovations touching the *Lacedemonians*. Wherefore their Answer was so perplex'd, that the *Achaens* might believe *Lacedemon* left wholly to their disposal; and yet the *Lacedemonians* not imagine that all things were submitted to their pleasure. This power the *Achaens* made a very immoderate and tyrannical use of.

*Philopæmen* was continu'd in his Office; who in the beginning of the Spring having mu- XXXIII. ster'd up an Army, Encamped in the Confines of *Lacedemon*. From whence he sent Embassadors to demand the Authors of the Revolt; with a Promise, not only that their City should be at quiet, if they did what he required; but that the persons also should suffer nothing without being first heard. Now all others for fear were silent; but those whom demanded by name, themselves profess'd they would go; having first the Embassadors word for it. That they should have no violence offer'd to them, till they had answer'd for themselves. There went likewise some other persons of great quality, not only as Advocates to the private persons, but also because they thought their cause concern'd the State. The *Achaens* had never before brought the banish'd persons of *Lacedemon* along with them into their Confines; because they thought nothing would so much alienate the affections of that City [as such an action.] But then the Antesignani of almost all their Army were banish'd persons: who, when the *Lacedemonians* came to the Gates of the Camp, made a Body and met them. Whereupon they first rebuked them; but soon after a quarrel arose, and, when their blood was up, the stoutest of the banish'd persons made an attack upon the *Lacedemonians*. With that they appealed to the Gods and the honour of the Embassadors; that they and the Prætor might remove the croud, protect the *Lacedemonians*, and hinder some, who were going to put Chains upon them: by which means, the multitude being set into an uproar, the tumult increased. The *Achaens* at first ran together only to look on: but soon after, when the banish'd men roared out, what they had suffer'd, desiring aid, and saying at the same time, That they should never have the like occasion, if they slipt that: that the League, which was made in the Capitol, at *Olympia*, and in the Castle at *Athens*, was evacuated by those persons: wherefore before they were oblig'd by another new League, they ought to punish those offenders: the multitude being incens'd at these words, upon one mans crying out, that they should fall upon them, threw stones at them: so that seventeen who in the hurly-burly had Chains put upon them, were slain. The next day sixty three more (that were laid hold on) whom the Prætor had kept from violence; (not because he had a mind to save them, but because he was unwilling they should die without making their defence) being expos'd to the enraged multitude, after they

they had spoken some few words to the prejudiced Audience, were all condemn'd and deliver'd over to Execution.

XXXIV. Now the Lacedemonians being thus afrighted, it was enjoin'd them first to demolish their Walls: and then, that all Foreign Auxiliaries, that had fought for pay under the Tyrants, should depart out of the Laconian Dominions. Next, that all slaves belonging to the Tyrant whom they had freed (of which sort there were a great number) should go away before such a certain time: and that those, who staid there, it should be lawful for the Achæans to take, sell and carry away. That they should abrogate all Lycurgus's Laws and Customs. That they should use the Achæan Laws and Institutions. For by that means they would be all of one Body, and the more easily agree concerning all matters. Now as they did nothing more obediently, than pull down their Walls; so they took nothing more to heart than that the banish'd men should be brought back again. But for all that there was a Decree made at Tegea, in the publick Assembly of the Achæans, touching their being restored. Then mention being made, that the Foreign Auxiliaries were dismiss'd, and that the others who were *ascripti Lacedemoniis* [*i. e.* newly taken into the number of the Lacedemonians] (for so they call'd them, that were freed from the Tyrants) were gone out of the City, and got into the Fields before the Army was disbanded; they thought fit that the Statcholder should go with a Party of nimble Fellows, and laying hold of that sort of men, sell them as Captives of War. Accordingly many of them were taken and sold: and out of that money [receiv'd for them] the Portico at Megalopolis; which the Lacedemonians had thrown down, was, by the Permission of the Achæans rebuilt. The Land also belonging to *Belbina*, which the Tyrants of Lacedemon had been wrongfully possess'd of, was restored to that City, according to an ancient Decree of the Achæans, that had been made in the Reign of Philip, Son of Amyntas. Now the City of Lacedemon being by this means enervated, as it were, was therefore for a long time obnoxious to the Achæans. But no thing was so great a damage to them, as the Discipline of Lycurgus (to which they had been accustomed for seven hundred years) being then abolished.

XXXV. From the Council, where in presence of the Consul there had been a debate between the Achæans and Lacedemonians, *M. Fulvius* (since the year was now just at an end) went to Rome to hold the [Consular] Assembly, and created, for Consuls, *M. Valerius Messala*, with *C. Livius Salinator*: having put by *M. Aemilius Lepidus*, his Enemy, who that year also stood for the Office. Then they chose Prætors [whose names were] *Q. Marcus Philippus*, *M. Claudius Marcellus*, *C. Stertinius*, *C. Atinius*, *P. Claudius Pulcher*, and *L. Manlius Acidinus*. When the Assembly was over; they thought fit that *M. Fulvius* the Consul, should return to the Army in his Province; and to him, as also to his Colleague *Cn. Manlius*, was their Commission continu'd for another Year. That Year there was set up in the Temple of *Hercules*, the Image of the God himself; and a Chariot, drawn by six Horses, all gilded, in the Capitol: whereupon was this Inscription, *Consulem dedisse* [*i. e.* that the Consul gave it. There were likewise twelve brazen Shields set up by the Curule Ædiles, *P. Claudius* and *Ser. Sulpicius Galba*, out of that money, in which they had condemn'd the Fore-stallers of Corn. *Q. Fulvius Flaccus* also, Ædile of the People, set up two gilded Images, upon the Condemnation of one of them; they being severally accused. His Colleague *A. Cæcilius* condemn'd never an one. The Roman Games were thrice perform'd all over, and the Plebeian five times. Then *M. Valerius Messala*, and *C. Livius Salinator*, entering upon their Consulate on the Ides of March, consulted the Senate touching the Common-wealth, the Provinces and the Armies. As to *Ætolia* and *Asia* there was no alteration made: but the Consuls, one of them had *Pisa* with *Liguria* assign'd to him, and the other the Province of *Gaul*: though they were order'd either to agree between themselves, or to cast Lots [which they pleas'd:] besides which they were to raise new Armies; two Legions, with fifteen thousand Latine Foot, and twelve hundred Horse. Now *Messala* happen'd to have *Liguria*, and *Salinator* *Gaul*. Then the Prætors chose: of whom, *M. Claudius* had the City jurisdiction, and *P. Claudius* the Foreign: *Q. Marcus* *Sicily*; *C. Stertinius* *Sardinia*; *L. Manlius* the hither *Spain*; and *C. Atinius* the farther.

XXXVI. As to the Armies, their resolution was this; That the Legions that had been in *Gaul* under *C. Lælius*, should be brought over to *M. Tuccius* the Pro-Prætor into the *Bruttian Territories*: that the Army in *Sicily* should be disbanded; and that *M. Sempronius* the Pro-Prætor should bring back to Rome the Fleet, that was there. For the *Spains* were allotted those two Legions that were already in those Provinces: and that both the Pro-Prætors should raise three thousand Foot and two hundred Horse, as a supply out of their Allies, and carry them over along with them. But before the new Magistrates went into their Provinces, the College of *Decemviri* order'd a Supplication of three dayes continuance to be made in all cross ways, for that, in the day time, between nine and ten a Clock it grew on a sudden very dark. There was also a nine days Sacrifice appointed, because in the *Aventine* it had rained Stones. The *Campanians* (when the Censors had forced them to be poled at Rome, pursuant to an Order of Senate, that was made the year before, for before it was uncertain, where they should be poled) petition'd, that they might marry Women, who were Roman Citizens; and that if any of them had formerly married such Wives, they might still keep them; as also, that their Children and

and Heirs, who were born before that time, might be lookt upon as Legitimate: both which desires of theirs they obtain'd. Concerning the *Formians*, *Fundanes*, and *Arpinates*, *C. Valerius Tappus*, Tribune of the People propos'd; that they should have the privilege of voting; which before they had not. Which propos'd of his four Tribunes of the People oppos'd, because it was not made by authority of the Senate; though when they understood that it was the Peoples and not the Senates right to give any Body (whom they thought fit) the freedom of Voting, they desisted. So the Bill was pass'd: that the *Formians* and *Fundanes* should vote in the *Æmilian Tribe*, and the *Arpinates* in the *Cornelian*: and accordingly in those Tribes they were then by order of the Commons (which *Valerius* propos'd) first poled. *M. Claudius Marcellus* the Censor, having by Lot gain'd the precedence of *T. Quintius*, made a Survey [of the people:] at which there were poled, of Citizens, two hundred fifty eight thousand three hundred and eight; and when the Pole [or Survey] was over, the Consuls went into their Provinces.

That Winter, in which these things were transacted at Rome, there came Embassies to *Cn. Manlius*, who was first Consul, and then Pro Consul, whilst he Winter'd in *Asia*, from all the Cities and Nations, that are on this side Mount *Taurus*: and as the Romans gain'd a more renowned and noble Victory over *Antiochus* than over the *Gauls*; so that over the *Gauls* was more joyful to their Allies, than the other over *Antiochus*. For it was more tolerable to them to be Slaves to the King, than to endure the savage severities of a barbarous people, who put them every day into an uncertain terrour, how far the tempest (as it were) of their ravage would carry them. Wherefore (as men, who had liberty given them by the routing of *Antiochus*, but Peace by subduing of the *Gauls*) they came, not only to congratulate, but brought Crowns of gold also along with them, each one according to their abilities. There came likewise Embassadors from *Antiochus*, and from the *Gauls* themselves, for conditions of Peace; as also from *Ariarathes*, King of *Cappadocia*, to desire pardon, and pay a Fine for their offence, in that they had assisted *Antiochus*. He therefore was injoin'd to pay two hundred Talents of silver. The Answer made to the *Gauls*, was; that, when King *Eumenes* came, they should have conditions of Peace given them. The Embassies of the Cities were dismiss'd with favourable Answers, more joyful than they came. The Embassadors of *Antiochus* were order'd to carry their money and the Corn into *Pamphylia*, according to the League made with *L. Scipio*; for that he would come thither with his Army. Then in the beginning of the Spring, having survey'd his Army, he march'd away, and in eight dayes came to *Apamea*. Where having staid three dayes, he went in three marches again from *Apamea* into *Pamphylia*, whither he had order'd the Kings men to convey the Money and the Corn. There were a thousand and fifty Talents of silver receiv'd and carry'd to *Apamea*; and the Corn was divided among the Army. Thence he march'd to *Perga*; which was the only City thereabout that was kept by a Garison of the Kings. But when he came near to it, the Governour of the Garison came to meet him, desiring thirty dayes time, to consult King *Antiochus* touching the surrender of the City. Whereupon he gave them the time [they desired] and till then left the Garison. From *Perga*, having sent his Brother *L. Manlius* with four thousand men to *Oroanda*, to collect the remaining part of the money that he had bargain'd for, he himself, having heard that King *Eumenes* and ten Embassadors were come from Rome to *Ephesus*, order'd *Antiochus's* Embassadors to follow him, and led his Army back to *Apamea*.

There, according to the opinion of the ten Embassadors, there was a League drawn up *XXXVIII* in words much to this purpose: Let there be an Alliance between King *Antiochus* and the Roman People upon these terms: That the King suffer no Army, that is about to make War against the Roman People or their Allies, to pass either through his Kingdom, or any other Territories in his Dominions: nor assist them with any provisions, or otherwise. That the Romans and their Allies do the same to *Antiochus* and all his Subjects. That *Antiochus* shall not wage War with any Islanders, nor go over into Europe. That he depart out of all Cities, Countries, Villages, and Castles on this side Mount *Taurus* as far as the River *Halys*, and from the Vale of *Taurus* even to those Hills, where it inclines toward *Lycaonia*. That he carry no Arms out of those Cities, Countries, or Castles, out of which he marches; or if he do, that he restore them to the right Owners. That he take back no Souldier or other person whatever out of the Kingdom of *Eumenes*. If any Citizens of those Cities, that are taken from King *Antiochus*, are with King *Antiochus*, or within the bounds of his Kingdom, that they all return to *Apamea* by such a day. But that those who are out of *Antiochus's* Kingdom, with the Romans, or their Allies, either go away or stay there [as they please.] That he restore to the Romans and their Allies, all Slaves, Fugitives, Prisoners of War, or any Freeman, that is a Captive or Renegado. That he deliver up all his Elephants, and provide no more. That he deliver up all his long Ships and their tackle: and that he have not above ten swift Gallies, none of which to be row'd with more than thirty Oars; unless he be provoked to make War with those against whom the Romans have left him to his liberty, and then he may make use of more. That he sail not about the Promontories of *Calycadnus* and *Sarpedon*; unless any Ship of his be to bring money, Tribute, Embassadors, or Hostages. That King *Antiochus* shall not have the privilege to hire Souldiers out of those Nations that are under the Roman Government: no not so much as to entertain Volunteers. That all Houses, or other Buildings

Buildings within the Confines of Antiochus's Kingdom, that belong to the Rhodians or their Allies, be in the same condition, as they were before the War, and in the possession of the Rhodians or their Allies. That if any money be due, it should be demanded [of them.] If any thing were taken away, that they should have the privilege to search for, inquire about and retake it. That if they were possess'd of any Cities (that ought to be deliver'd up) to whom Antiochus gave them, he should draw the Garrisons out of them: and see that they were carefully surrender'd. That he should pay twelve thousand Attick Talents of good silver in twelve years at equal payments (every Talent to weigh full eighty pounds of Roman weight) with five hundred and forty thousand Bushels of Wheat. That he give King Eumenes three hundred and fifty Talents within five years: and instead of Corn, as the value of it, a hundred twenty seven Talents. That he give twenty Hostages to the Romans; who after three years should not be less than eighteen, nor more than fifty five years of Age. That if any of the Roman Allies should voluntarily wage War against Antiochus, he might repel force by force: so that he did not either keep any City by right of War, or take it into his Alliance. That they should decide Controversies among themselves by law and judgment, or, if they both agreed, by War. There was likewise in this League an Agreement made concerning the surrender of Annibal of Carthage, Thoas of Atolia, Mnasimachus of Acarnania, and those Chalcidenses, Embulidas and Philo. And that if they should think fit hereafter to add or alter any thing therein, it might be done without any damage to the League.

XXXIX. The Consul swore to observe this League; and there went certain persons to exact the same Oath from the King; namely, Q. Minucius Thermus, and L. Manlius, who was then by chance come back from Oroanda, and wrote to Q. Fabius Labeo, who was Admiral of the Navy, to go immediately to Patara, to destroy and burn all the Kings Ships that were there. He accordingly went from Ephesus, and cut to pieces or burnt fifty Men of War; taking Telmessus (the Inhabitants whereof were terrified at the sudden arrival of the Navy) in the same Expedition. Out of Lycia, he forthwith cross'd over into Greece by the Islands, having order'd those that were left at Ephesus to follow him. Then having staid some few dayes at Athens, till the Ships came from Ephesus to Piræus, he brought his whole Fleet thence back into Italy. Cn. Manlius, when he had receiv'd, (among other things that he was to have) the Elephants also, from Antiochus, and had given them all as a present to Eumenes, after that try'd the causes of the several Cities; many of which were much disorder'd amidst their innovations. King Ariarathes also, having by the intercession of Eumenes, (to whom he at that time had betroth'd his Daughter) got half the money remitted which he was injoin'd to pay, was receiv'd into Friendship. When the causes of the Cities were all heard, the ten Embassadors made a great deal of difference in their conditions. To those that had been stipendiary to King Antiochus, and of the Roman side, they gave their freedom: but all such as had been on Antiochus's side, or stipendiaries to King Attalus, they order'd all to pay a Tribute to Eumenes. They likewise granted a particular immunity to the Colophonians, that dwell in Notium, to the Cymeans and Milesians by name. But to the Glazomenians besides their immunity they gave the Island of Drynusia too for a present, restoring to the Milesians also that Land which they call Sacred; as they likewise added Rheteum and Gergithum to the Ilian Territories; not so much for any late deserts, as upon the score and in remembrance of their Extraction, [they being derived from the Ilians or Trojans.] There was the same reason for their freeing Dardanium also in like manner. They likewise not only presented the Chians, Smyrneans, and Erythraeans (upon the account of their singular fidelity shewn in the late War) with Lands, but paid them all extraordinary honours. To the Phocaans they not only restored the Lands, which they had before the War, but likewise permitted them to use their ancient Laws. The Rhodians had those things confirm'd, that were given them by the former Decree. For Lycia and Caria were given [to them] as far as the River Meander; excepting Telmessus. To King Eumenes they assign'd Chersonesus in Europe, and Lyfimbachia, with the Castles, Villages and Lands [thereabouts] [in the same manner, and] with the same Boundaries wherewith Antiochus had enjoy'd them; restoring to him both the Phrygians; the one lying to the Hellespont, and the other, which they call the greater [Phrygia:] with Mysia (which King Prusias had taken away from him) Lycaonia, Myliar, Lydia, and several Cities particularly named, as, Tralleis, Ephesus and Telmessus. Concerning Pamphylia, seeing there was a dispute between Eumenes and Antiochus's Embassadors (for that part of it was on this side, and part of it beyond Taurus) the whole matter was refer'd to the Senate.

XL. Having made these Leagues and Decrees, Manlius, with the ten Embassadors, and his whole Army went to Hellespont; whither he summon'd all the petit Kings of the Gauls, and prescribed and denounced unto them conditions, on which they should keep Peace with Eumenes; that they might no longer wander up and down in Arms; but keep within the bounds of their own Dominions. Then having muster'd together all the Ships on that Coast (Eumenes's Fleet being also brought by his Brother Athenaus from Elea) he went over with all his Forces into Europe. After which, marching slowly through Chersonesus (for that his men were heavy laden with Booty of all sorts) he halted at Lyfimbachia: that he enter Thrace with his Beasts as fresh and entire as possible; because they generally dreaded to march through that Country. That day that he went from Lyfimbachia he came to the River Melus (as

(as they call it) and thence the next day to Cypsela. From whence, for about ten thousand paces, the way was woody, narrow, and rough: Upon account of which difficulty he divided his Army into two parts; ordering the one to go before, and the other to follow at a great distance, with the carriages between them; which were Waggon with the publick money and other pretious Booty. Wherefore as he travelled through the Woods, ten thousand Thracians, made up of four Nations, the Asians, Cenians, Maduatenes, and Coletes, beset the way at the very streights [of the pass.] Now 'twas believ'd, that this was not done without King Philip of Macedons knowledge and contrivance: for that he knew, the Romans would not return any other way home than through Thrace, and how much money they carry'd with them. In the first Body was the General, who was much concern'd for the roughness of the wayes. The Thracians stir'd not, till the Souldiers were all gone by. But when they saw that the foremost were got beyond the streights, to which the hindmost were not yet come near, they set upon the Baggage and Carriages. And having slain the Guard thereof, they partly rifled what was in the Waggon, and partly took away the Beasts from under their burdens. Whereupon when the noise [of it] came, first to them that were now just enter'd into the Wood behind, and then also to the foremost Body, they ran on both sides up to each other, and engaged in a disorderly fight in several places at the same time. Now the Thracians, being cumber'd with their burdens, and many of them (that they might have their hands empty to catch what they could) unarm'd, the very Booty [which they got] expos'd them to slaughter: whilst roughness of the places betray'd the Romans to the Barbarians, who ran upon them through paths that they well knew, or lay sometimes in wait along the hollow Vales. The very Carriages also and the Waggon (as it happen'd) falling inconveniently in their several wayes were a great hinderance to the one or the other side in the time of their fight; in which there fell, here a Robber, and there one that endeavour'd to get the booty again. So that, according as the place was even or uneven for this or that Party, according as the Souldiers minds were, and according to their numbers (for sometimes they met with more than they themselves were, and sometimes with fewer) the Fortune of the fight was various: though many fell on both sides. And now Night drew nigh, when the Thracians quitted the Battle; not to avoid Wounds or being kill'd, but because they had booty enough.

The foremost Body of the Romans Encamp'd in an open place without the Woods, near the Temple of Bendis [i. e. Diana] whilst the other part staid in the middle of the Wood; Encamp'd round with a double bullwark to guard the Carriages. The next day (having search'd the Wood, before they removed) they join'd the foremost. In that Battle, though they lost part of their Carriages, and Servants, with some Souldiers (for they fought almost all over the Wood) they receiv'd most damage by the death of Q. Minucius Thermus, who was a strong and a valiant man. That day they arrived at the River Hebrus; from whence they pass'd the Enion Territories, by the Temple of Apollo, which the Natives call Zerynthus. Then they came to another freight about Tempyra (for that's the name of the place) which was as rough as the former; but, because there are no Woods about it, is not a convenient place for an Ambuscade. Hither, with the same hopes of prey, came the Thracians (who are a Nation in Thrace too) but, because the naked Vales gave way for them to be seen at a distance besetting the pass, there was less terror and tumult among the Romans. For though the place were uneven, yet they must of necessity fight hand to hand, in a regular manner, and in the open Field. Wherefore coming close up, and with a shout falling briskly on, they first removed the Enemy from their Post, and afterward forced them back again. Thereupon began the flight and slaughter of them, their own streights being their greatest hinderance. After this, the Romans, being Victorious, Encamped at a Village of the Maronites, called Sare: from whence they went next day into the Plain called Campus Priaticus; where they staid three dayes to take in Corn, partly out of the Maronites Country, and partly out of their own Ships, that follow'd them with all sorts of Provisions. From their Camp there it was a dayes Journey to Apollonia; from whence they march'd through the Abderites Dominions to Neapolis: which was all along a quiet rode, by reason of the Greek Colonies in those parts. But the remaining part of the way, as they went through the middle of Thrace Day and Night, if it were not troublesome to them, was yet suspected so to be, till they came into Macedonia. But that same Army found the Thracians more civil to them, when they were led the same way by Scipio, for no other reason but because they had less booty to lose. Though at that time also Claudius says; that 15000. Thracians met Mutines the Numidian, who went before to view the Country. That there were 400 Numidian Horse, and some few Elephants. That Mutines's Son broke through the midst of the Enemies with a hundred and fifty chosen Horsemen: and that the same person soon after, whilst Mutines (having placed the Elephants in the middle, and the Horse in the Wings) was engaged with the Enemy, gave them a diversion in the rear, by which means the Enemy, who were put into great disorder by that storm (as it were) of Horse, never came up to the body of foot. Cn. Manlius led his Army through Macedonia into Thessaly: from whence coming through Epirus to Apollonia (not fighting the Sea at that time of Year so much, as that he durst cross it) he Winter'd there.

When the Year was almost out, the Consul M. Valerius came out of Liguria to Rome in order

XLI.

XLII.



order to choose new Magistrates; having done nothing, that was memorable in his Province, so as that that might have been a reasonable Plea for his coming later than ordinary to [hold] the Assembly. The Assembly for proposing of Consuls was on the 16<sup>th</sup> of February: and there were chosen, *M. Aemilius Lepidus*, and *C. Flaminius*. The day after, the Prætors were elected; namely, *Ap. Claudius Pulcher*, *Ser. Sulpicius Galba*, *Q. Terentius Culleo*, *L. Terentius Massaliota*, *Q. Fulvius Flaccus*, and *M. Furius Crassipes*. When the Assembly was over, the Consul refer'd it to the Senate, what Provinces they would please to assign the Prætors. Whereupon they order'd two to be at Rome, for the doing of justice [between man and man] two out of Italy, [which were] *Sicily* and *Sardinia*; and two in Italy [which were] *Tarentum* and *Gaul*; and immediately, before they enter'd upon their Offices, they were commanded to cast Lots. *Ser. Sulpicius* happen'd to have the City, *Q. Terentius* the Foreign Jurisdiction; *L. Terentius* *Sicily*; *Q. Fulvius* *Sardinia*; *Ap. Claudius* *Tarentum*; and *M. Furius* *Gaul*. That year *L. Minucius Myrtilus*, and *L. Manlius*, for that they were said to have beaten the *Carthaginian* Embassadors, were deliver'd (by order of *M. Claudius* the City Prætor) by the Heralds to the Embassadors, and carry'd to *Carthage*. There was then also a report of a great War in *Liguria*, that increas'd every day more and more. Wherefore to both the new Consuls (that day when they propos'd the settling of the Provinces and other publick affairs) the Senate assign'd *Liguria* for their Province. This order of Senate the Consul *Lepidus* oppos'd; saying, it was an unworthy thing, that both the Consuls should be shut up in the *Vales* of *Liguria*. That *M. Fulvius* and *Cn. Manlius* had been now two years, the one in Europe and the other in Asia, as though they had been substituted to reign there instead of *Philip* and *Antiochus*; wherefore, if the Senate resolv'd, that the Armies should continue in those parts, that Consuls were more fit than private men to command them. That they wander'd with the terror of War through Nations, against whom there was no War declar'd, selling Peace for money. That, if it were necessary to keep those Provinces with standing Armies, then as *M. Fulvius* and *Cn. Manlius* had succeeded *M. Acilius* and *L. Scipio* in the Consulate; so *C. Livius* and *M. Valerius* ought to succeed *Fulvius* and *Manlius*. That now surely, since the *Ætolian* War was ended, Asia retaken from *Antiochus*, and the Gauls conquer'd, the Consuls ought to be sent to the Consular Armies, or the Legions to be brought back from thence, and render'd to the Commonwealth. The Senate, though they heard what was said, yet still persever'd in their former resolution; that *Liguria* should be both the joint Province of both the Consuls together; and gave order that *Manlius* and *Fulvius*, quitting their Provinces, should bring the Armies thence, and come back to Rome.

XLIII.

Now there was a Pique between *M. Fulvius* and *M. Aemilius*, the Consuls; *Aemilius* affirming, among other things, that he was made Consul two years the later by means of *M. Fulvius*. Where to create Envy against him he suborn'd the *Ambracian* Embassadors to come into the Senate and accuse him. Who thereupon complain'd, that they had a War waged against them, even in time of Peace, though they had done all that the former Consuls injoin'd them, and were ready to perform the same obedience to *M. Fulvius*: that their Country was first ravaged, whereby their City was put into fear of being rifled and butcher'd, insomuch that by their dread they were forced to shut their Gates. After that, that they were beseged, attack'd, and had all the severities of War exercised upon them by slaughter, fire, ruine and rifling of their City. That their Wives and Children were carried away into slavery; their goods taken from them: and (which troubled them most of all) their Temples through the whole City rob'd of all their Ornaments. That the Images of their Gods, yea and the Gods themselves were forced from their seats and carry'd away: the Walls and Pillars stript [of their Furniture] so that the *Ambracians* had now no Gods left to adore or pray to. Now whilst they complain'd of these things, the Consul criminously asking them, by compact, more questions, seem'd to get out of them what they would not of themselves have declar'd. At which the Senate being moved, *C. Flaminius* the other Consul undertook *M. Fulvius's* cause, saying, That the *Ambracians* went in an old beaten road. For so *M. Marcellus* was accused by the *Syracusan*es and *Q. Fulvius* by the *Campanians*. And at the same rate they might suffer *T. Quintius* to be accused by King *Philip*, *M. Acilius* and *L. Scipio* by *Antiochus*, *C. Manlius* by the Gauls, and *Fulvius* himself by the *Inhabitants* of *Ætolia* and *Cephalenia*. Do you suppose, *Grave Fathers*! that either *M. Fulvius* himself, or I for him, will deny, that *Ambracia* was attack'd and taken; or that their Images and Ornaments were carry'd thence, and other things done, which are usual at the Sacking of Cities; when he resolves to demand a Triumph for these very actions? When he resolves to have carry'd before his Chariot, and to fix upon the Posts of his House, [the draught of] *Ambracia* taken, with the Images which they accuse him for carrying away, and the other spoils of that City? There is no reason why they should separate themselves from the *Ætolians*; the *Ætolians* and the *Ambracians* case being both the same. Wherefore either let my Colleague exercise his enmity in another cause; or, if he hath more mind to do it in this, let him keep his *Ambracians* till *M. Fulvius* comes hither. I shall not suffer any thing to be determin'd either concerning the *Ambracians*, or the *Ætolians*, whilst *M. Fulvius* is absent.

XLIV.

Now *Aemilius* declaring that his Enemies malice had a great deal of cunning with it (as all the World knew) for that he by delays would so protract the time that he might not return to Rome as long as his adversary was Consul, there were two dayes spent in a contest between

between the two Consuls. But nothing could possibly be determin'd of whilst *Flaminius* was present. Wherefore they took the opportunity when *Flaminius* was absent, and, upon the report of *Aemilius*, an Order of Senate was made; That the *Ambracians* should have all their goods again; that they should be at liberty and use their own Law. That they should take what customs they pleas'd both by Sea and Land, so that the Romans and their Allies the Latines, were free from them. That as to the Images and other Ornaments which they complain'd were taken out of their Temples, they would leave them to the College of Priests (when *M. Fulvius* was come back to Rome) who should do what they thought good in it. Nor was the Consul content with this, but afterward, when there was but a few in the House, added th' is also to the order of Senate; That *Ambracia* did not seem to be taken by force. Then there was a Supplication of three days continuance appointed by the *Decemviri* for the peoples health; because a grievous pestilence depopulated both City and Country. Alter which the *Latine Ferie* [i. e. Holy dayes] were celebrated. Which religious offices when the Consuls had perform'd and made an end of their Levy (for both of them were for having new Souldiers) they went into their Provinces; and disbanded all the old Army. After the Consuls were gone, the Pro-Consul *Cn. Manlius* came to Rome; who having a Senate granted him at the Temple of *Bellona* by *Ser. Sulpicius Galba*, the City Prætor; told what exploits he had done, and desired, that for those things the Gods might have all honour ascribed to them, and he himself ride in Triumph through the City. But the greater part of the ten Embassadors that had been with him (and above all others, *L. Furius Purpureo* with *L. Aemilius Paulus*) withstood it: saying:

XLV.

"That they themselves were assign'd to *Cn. Manlius* as Embassadors for the making of a Peace with *Antiochus*, and perfecting that League and those terms which were begun with *L. Scipio*. That *Cn. Manlius* did all he could to disturb that Peace, and to take *Antiochus*, if he had given him an opportunity, by an Ambuscade: but that he perceiving the Consuls design (though he had been often aimed at in Conferences [which *Manlius* had] desired [to have with him]) had not only avoided any meeting, but even the sight of him. That having a desire to go beyond *Taurus*, he could hardly be kept, even by the intreaties of all the Embassadors, from running the risque of that misfortune which the *Sibylls* Verses had foretold touching those that went beyond the fatal bounds. Yea that nevertheless he drew his Army nearer, and Encamped almost upon the very tops of the Mountains where the Waters flow down on both sides [i. e. near the Wells.] When he found no occasion to make War there, the Kings men being quiet, that he led the Army round into *Gallagrecia*; against which Nation he made War without any Authority from the Senate, or consent of the People: which who ever dar'd to do on his own head? That the Wars against *Antiochus*, *Philip*, *Annibal*, and the *Carthaginians* were but of very late dayes. But that concerning all those, the Senate was consulted, and the People gave their consents. That Embassadors were often sent before hand, and demands made [of what belong'd to them] till at last [the Heralds] were sent to declare a War. Now, *Cn. Manlius*! what did you do, that may make us able to say, this was a publick War of the Roman People, and not thy private Robbery? But wert thou content with that very thing it self: didst thou lead thy Army straight on toward those, that you had pitch'd upon as their Enemy; or did you not rather wander through all the by-ways, recesses and Corners of *Pisidia*, *Lycæonia*, and *Phrygia* (since you stood in a cross way, that whither soever *Attalus*, Brother to *Eumenes*, turned his Forces, thither thou (a mercenary Consul) might'st with the Roman Army follow him) to pick up money among the petit Kings and Garisons? For what hadst thou to do with *Anomada*? or what with other People, that were equally innocent? But how did you carry on the War, for which you desire to triumph? Didst thou fight upon an even place, and at your own time? Indeed you desire very well, that all honour may be paid to the immortal Gods; first, in that they would not let the Army suffer for the rashness of their General, who made War against all the Laws of Nations: and secondly, for that they gave us Beasts not men to cope with.

XLVI.

"Do not you imagine that the name only of the *Gallagrecs* is mixt; their Bodies and their minds too were mixt and adulterated long before. If they were the same Gauls, with whom we have fought a thousand times with various success in Italy, would any one have return'd (do you think) to have given an account of the Battle, for all that our General [*Manlius*] did? He fought twice with them, but both times in a very disadvantageous Post, where his Army was in a low Vale, almost under the very Feet of the Enemies; so that if they had not thrown their Weapons down upon him, but only come down with their own naked Bodies, they might have easily crush'd our men. What then prevented it? Why truly the great Fortune and terrible name of the Roman People. For they, though they were such huge giantlike Fellows, were restrained and almost astonish'd at the ruine of *Annibal*, *Philip*, and *Antiochus*. They were confternated into a flight with Slings and Arrows: nor was there any Sword through all the Army embriued with blood in that gallick War: but like swarms of Bees they all flew away at the first Volley of those light Weapons. But alas! we, even we (the same persons) (by which Fortune shews us, what might have happen'd, had we been to deal with people fit to be called

"Enemies)

"Enemies) when on our way back we fell into the hands of the *Thracian* Robbers, we were slain, routed, and dispossest of all our Carriages. *Q. Minucius Thermus*, in whom we suffer'd much more, than if *Cn. Manlius* had perished, by whose rashness that misfortune was occasion'd, with many other stout men, was slain: and the Army, which was bringing back the spoils of King *Antiochus*, dissipated into three parts, the foremost in one place, the hindmost in another, and the Baggage in a third. He skulk'd one Night among the Brambles in Dens of Wild Beasts. And do you demand a triumph for this? If there had been no defeat or ignominy receiv'd in *Thrace*, over what Foes would you desire to triumph? Over them (I suppose) whom the Senate or People of *Rome* had decreed to be their Enemies. For upon that ground was a triumph granted to this [Person] *L. Scipio*, and to that [Gentleman] *Manius Acilius* over King *Antiochus*: and so also a little before to *T. Quintius* over King *Philip*, and to *P. Africanus* over *Annibal*, the *Carthaginians* and *Syphax*. Yea even those little things (after the Senate had already determin'd of a War) were inquir'd after; How they should declare it; whether to the Kings themselves, or whether it were sufficient that the denunciation of it should be made to any one Garrison? Will you then have all these things corrupted and confounded? Will you have the Laws of Arms abolish'd? Shall there be no Heralds? Yes (Heaven forgive my saying so) let Religion go to wreck; and do you forget that there are any Gods at all. But will you not have the Senate neither consulted touching a War? Nor the people ask'd whether they are willing that there should be Arms rais'd against the *Gauls*? It was but just now that the Consuls desired to go into *Greece* and *Asia*: yet since you steadfastly resolved that *Liguria* should be their Province, they obey'd you. They therefore, if they come off with Victory in the War, will justly desire a triumph of you, by whose Authority they waged it.

XLVII. Such was the Discourse of *Furius* and *Emilius*: to which we are inform'd, that, *Manlius* answer'd in words to this effect: "The Tribunes of the People, Grave Fathers! were formerly us'd to oppose those that demanded a Triumph: But I have reason at present to thank them, for that (whether they shew'd such respect to my Person, or to the greatness of what I have done) they seem'd ready not only to approve of my honour, but also, if occasion were, to propose it. I have, indeed, some Enemies among the ten Embassadors, whom our Ancestors gave to Generals, as their Council, to assist them in the honourable management of a Victory. *L. Furius*, and *L. Emilius* will not suffer me to get up into the triumphal Chariot, but take the glorious Crown off my Head: whom I (if the Tribunes should have deny'd me a triumph) should have summon'd as witnesses of what I had done. I truly envy no mans honour: [but this I must say, that] you, Grave Fathers! when the Tribunes of the People of late (who were stout, brave men) would have hinder'd *Q. Fabius Labeo* from triumphing, by your authority deterr'd them. And he triumph'd, though his Enemies said (not that he waged an unjust War, but) that he never saw an Enemy. Yet I, who have fought so many pitched Battles with an hundred thousand of the fiercest Enemies; who have taken or kill'd above forty thousand men; who have destroy'd two of their Camps: who have left all the Country on this side Mount *Taurus* more at quiet than *Italy* now is; am not only wrongfully kept from triumphing, but forced my self to plead my own cause before you, Grave Fathers! being accused by my own [Council the] Embassadors. Now their accusation, Grave Fathers! is, if you observe, twofold: for they said, first, that I ought not to have waged War against the *Gauls*, and then, that I did it rashly and imprudently. The *Gauls* [said they] were not thy Enemies; but thou laidst violent hands upon them whilst they were at quiet, and did as they were commanded. I do not desire, Grave Fathers! that what you know in general of the barbarity of the Gallick Nation, and their inveterate hatred to the *Roman* name, you would believe of these *Gauls*, that inhabit *Asia*. But do you judge of these *Gauls*, as they are in themselves, without any regard to the infamy and envy of the whole Nation. I wish King *Eumenes*, and all the Cities of *Asia* were here; that you might hear their accusations rather than mine. Do but send Embassadors into all the great Towns of *Asia*, and enquire, whether they are freed from greater servitude by *Antiochus's* being removed beyond Mount *Taurus*, or by my Conquest over the *Gauls*? Let them tell you, how often their Country was laid wast, and their Cattle driven away: when they had scarce the liberty even to redeem their Captives, but heard, that their men were sacrificed, and their Children offer'd to Idols. Know, that their Allies paid a Tribute to the *Gauls*; and that so they must have done (though they are now by you deliver'd from the Kings Yoke) even to this day, if I had not taken pains to prevent it. That the farther *Antiochus* had been removed from, so much the more tyrannically would the *Gauls* have domin'd in *Asia*; and that you would have added all the Region on this side *Taurus* to the Dominions of the *Gauls* and not to your own. But besides that these things are all true, the *Gauls* also robbed *Delphi*, where was once the universal Oracle of all Mankind, in the very navel [or Centre] of the World: and yet the *Roman* People did not declare or make War against them for it. But I truly was of opinion that there was some difference between that time, when *Greece* and *Asia* were not as yet in your hands (as to the order-

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"ing and observing what was to be done in those parts) and this, wherein you have made *Taurus* the boundary of the *Roman* Empire; wherein you give immunity and liberty to the several Cities: wherein to some Nations you add; some you mulct in [part of their] Lands; on other you impose a Tax: you augment or diminish; give or take away Kingdoms; and think it your business to see that they have Peace both by Sea and Land. Would you have thought that *Asia* had been freed, if *Antiochus* had not drawn out his Garisons; though they were quiet in their several Forts? If the Gallick Armies should wander up and down in such numbers [as they us'd] would your presents that you made to King *Eumenes*, or the liberty of the Cities stand good.

"But why do I talk at this rate? as though I had not found, but made the *Gauls* our XLVIII. Enemies? I appeal to thee, *L. Scipio*; whose courage and good fortune both, I, thy Successor, desired and obtain'd of the Gods; and thee, *P. Scipio*, who borest the Character of a Lieutenant, and the majesty of a Colleague, not only with thy Brother but with all the Army; whether you know that there were Legions of *Gauls* in *Antiochus's* Army? Whether you ever saw them in the Field, placed in both Wings? (for that seem'd to be the strength of their Forces) or fought with them, as just Enemies? Whether you kill'd them? or carried off their spoils? Yet the Senate decreed, and the people consented, that these men should make War, not with the *Gauls*, but with *Antiochus*. Though I suppose they intended it at the same time against all that were in his Garisons. Of whom, excepting *Antiochus*, with whom *Scipio* had made a Peace, and with whom you had particularly order'd him to strike a League, there was none but what were Enemies, for that they had born Arms for him against us. In which circumstances though the *Gauls* had been more than any others, together with certain petit Kings and Tyrants; yet I not only made a Peace with the rest, whom I forced, according to the dignity of their Empire, to atone for their offences; but also try'd whether the *Gauls* minds could be alter'd from their native savageness: and when I found they were untamable and implacable, I then at last thought fit by force and Arms to restrain them. And now, having acquitted my self from any fault in undertaking the War; I must give you an account how I mannaged it. In which affair I truly should be confident of my cause, though I were to plead, not before a *Roman* but a *Carthaginian* Senate: where they say, Generals are hang'd up though they have even a Victory, if they did it by improper or ill means. But since I am in such a City, as therefore calls the Gods to their assistance when they begin or do any action, because it leaves no room for calumny in those things that the Gods have approved of, and hath, among its solemn words (when it decrees a supplication or a triumph) For that he hath well and prosperously mannaged the publick business; if I would not; if I thought it an odious and a proud act to boast of a mans own valour: but should desire, upon the score of my own and my Armies success (in that we had subdu'd so great a Nation without any loss of men) that all honour might be paid to the immortal Gods, and I ride up in triumph into the Capital (from whence, when I had rightly performed my Vows, I set forth) would you deny the immortal Gods and me that [honour?]

"But I fought in an uneven [disadvantageous] place [they say:] pray tell me; how XLIX. could I fight in a place more convenient? when the Enemy had possession of the Mountain? and were in a fortified place? for I must have access to the Foe, if I would overcome him. What if they had had a City in that place, and should have kept within the Walls? Why they must have been besieged. What? Did *Manius Acilius* fight with King *Antiochus* in a Plain, at *Thermopylae*? What? Did not *T. Quintius* force down *Philip* in the same manner, when he was upon the Mountains above the River *Aius*? For my part truly I do not see, either what a sort of Enemy they themselves fancy it to have been, or what they would have it seem to you. If [they think the *Gauls*] degenerated and softened by the pleasures of *Asia*, what danger was there in going against them even in so unequal and disadvantageous place? but if dreadful upon the score not only of their savage minds, but the strength of their Bodies also; how can you deny a triumph to so great a Victory? Envy, Grave Fathers! is blind; nor knows she any thing, save how to detract from virtuous actions, by taking off from the honour and reward of them. I beg your pardon, Grave Fathers! if my Speech be longer than ordinary; since 'tis not out of any vanity, to brag of my own actions, so much as of necessity to acquit my self from those crimes, that are charg'd upon me. Could I make my passage all along through *Thrace* (which was narrow) even instead of steep, or cultivated instead of Woody? and prevent the *Thracian* Robbers from lurking in Ambuscades which they were acquainted with? Could I hinder our Baggage from being stolen? or every single Beasts from being carry'd off? Could I preserve every particular person from Wounds? or keep that stout and strenuous Hero, *Q. Minucius* from dying of his hurt? Upon this accident, where by it unhappily fell out, that we lost so good a Citizen, they hang. But that the two Bodies of the Vanguard and the Reer (in a rough pass, a strange place, and when the Enemy had set upon us) circumvented the Army of the Barbarians, that were employ'd in [pilfering from] our Carriages; killing and taking many thousands that very day, and

"and many more in a few days after; this, if they were silent, they believ'd you would not be acquainted with, though the whole Army be witness of what I say. Now if I had never drawn my Sword in *Asia*, or so much as seen an Enemy there; yet, as Pro-Consul, I should have deserv'd a Triumph for the two Battles in *Thrace*. But I have now said enough: save that I ought, Grave Fathers! to crave your pardon, for tiring your Patience with so many words.

L. His accusation, that Day, had prevail'd beyond his Defence, had they not protracted the debate till the Evening. Then the Senate was dismiss'd, with such an opinion, that 'twas thought they would deny him a Triumph. But the next Day the Relations and Friends of *Cn. Manlius* endeavour'd all they could for him, and the Authority of the Seniors prevail'd, who denyed, That there was any precedent; that a General who, having conquer'd their inveterate Enemies, settled his Province, and brought his Army back, should enter the City like a private Person, and dishonourably, without a Chariot and a Laurel Crown. This made them ashamed to be any longer his Enemies, and so they generally decreed him a Triumph. But that which stifled the mention and memory of this contention, was a greater contest that arose with a Person far greater and more renowned. For the two *Q. Petilius* summon'd *P. Scipio Africanus* (as *Valerius Antias* says) to tryal. Which action of theirs Men interpreted according to their several inclinations; some accused, not the Tribunes, but the whole City, for enduring of it, and said, That two of the greatest Cities in the whole World were found to be at the same time ungrateful to two great Men, but that Rome would be the more ungrateful [of the two] if, as conquer'd Carthage had driven conquer'd Annibal, into banishment, so victorious Rome should expel their conquering Scipio. Others, That no one Citizen ought to be so eminent as that he should not answer according to Law; for that nothing was so much like an equality in liberty, as for every particular person, how powerful soever, to make his defence [if any thing were laid to his charge]. What other thing could with safety (much less the grand affairs of state) be committed to any Mans management, if he must not give an account for it? and that violence was no injustice upon him, who could not submit to the rules of common equity. These kind of discourses past till such time as the Day of hearing came. Now there was never any Man before, nor was even that Scipio himself (either when he was Consul or Censor) carry'd into the Forum with a greater flux of People, than went along with him that Day to his Tryal. Where being order'd to plead for himself, he (without mentioning his Crimes) began and made so magnificent a speech concerning his own achievement, that it was evident, no Man was ever either better, or more truly commended. For he spoke of his Actions with the same Courage and Spirit, wherewith he performed them. Nor was it irksome to hear him, because he related them to save himself, and not out of vain Glory.

LII. The Tribunes of the People having recounted the old crimes of Luxury committed in the Winter Camp at *Syracuse*, and the Plemian Tumult at *Locri*, to give the greater credit to the present accusation, charg'd him, by suspicions more than by arguments, with taking of Money, saying, That his captive Son was restored to him without ransom, and that Scipio was every other way courted by *Antiochus*, as though the Peace and War of Rome had depended upon his pleasure only. That he was a Dictator to the Consul, and not a Lieutenant, in the Province: nor went he thither for any other reason, but that (what Spain, Gaul, Sicily, and Africa, so long ago were perswaded of) it might appear to Greece, Asia, and all the Eastern Kings and Nations, that one single Man was the head and chief support of the Roman Empire; that their City (which was Empress of the whole World) lay under the umbrage of Scipio, whose Nods were as good as the Decrees of the Senate, or the Authority of the People. Thus, though they could not touch him with any infamous charge, they loaded him with all the Envy they could. By which means their speeches lasted till Night, and so the tryal was put off till another Day. When that Day came, the Tribunes sate in the *Rostra* by break of Day; and the party accus'd came with a great number of Friends and Clients through the midst of the Assembly into the *Rostra* [i. e. the place for Orations] where after all People were commanded to be silent, he told them, This Day (O Tribunes of the People, and you, my fellow Citizens) I fought with Annibal and the Carthaginians a pitch'd Battel in Africk, with good success. Wherefore, because on this Day we ought to lay aside all strife and quarrelling, I will go hence into the Capitol, to salute the great and good Jove, Juno, Minerva, and the rest of those Gods who preside over the Capitol and the Castle; and will give them thanks, for that this very Day, and at many other times, they gave me courage and ability to manage the publick business so much to advantage; and do you, Romans, as many of you as have leisure, go along with me, to beseech the Gods, that you may have more Noblemen like me; for if from seventeen Tears of Age to this time, in which I am now an old Man, you have always been before-hand with me in your honours, yet I have outdone yours honour by my actions. With that he went up from the *Rostra* into the Capitol, whither the whole multitude immediately turn'd and follow'd him; inasmuch that the very Clerks and Serjeants [or such like Officers] at last left the Tribunes; nor was there any one with them, except a company of Servants, and the Cryer that cited the party accused, out of the *Rostra*. Scipio went, not only into the Capitol, but through all the City too, with the People, round about, to every Temple of the Gods; so that that Day was full as solemnly kept, and with as much joy (through the favour of the People, and their estimation of his true greatness) as

as that on which he rode into the City in Triumph over King *Syphax* and the Carthaginians.

This was the last happy Day that Scipio saw. For after that, having a prospect of Envy and Controversies, with the Tribunes (his Tryal being put off to a longer Day) he went to *Luternum* [where he had an Estate] with a resolution not to come back to make his defence. For his Courage and Spirit was greater (besides that he was us'd to better fortune) than that he should acknowledge himself guilty of any crime, or submit himself to the low condition of those that are fain to plead their own Causes. So, when the Day came, and he, though absent, began to be cited, *L. Scipio* told the Court by way of *Essoigne*, That he was sick and could not come. Which excuse [or *Essoigne*] the Tribunes that had summon'd him, not admitting of, they said, "His not coming to make his defence proceeded from the same Pride, whereby he had left the Court, the Tribunes of the People, and the Assembly [before] and that he, accompanied with those very Men, from whom he had taken the right of passing sentence upon him, and their Liberty, had triumphed over the Roman People, whom he drew like Captives after him; having that Day made a secession on [i. e. departure or separation of the People] into the Capitol from the Tribunes of the People. And now [said they, fellow Citizens] you have the reward of that rashness. For he, by whose leading and perswasion you left us, has now himself left you. But does our courage every Day so much decrease, that we who, seventeen Years ago, when he had an Army and a Fleet, durst send the Tribunes of the People, and the *Ædile*, into Sicily to take and bring him back to Rome, dare not now, though he be a private Person, send any body to fetch him from his Country House to make a Legal Defence for himself? Thereupon the Tribunes of the People being appeal'd to by *L. Scipio*, decreed, That if he were excus'd upon the account of sickness, that should be admitted as a good *essoigne*, and the Day be put off by their Colleagues. Now *Tib. Sempronius Gracchus* was at that time Tribune of the People, who had a quarrel with *P. Scipio*. But he therefore, though he forbade his name to be set to the Decree of his Colleagues, so that all People expected that he should deliver a more severe opinion than the rest, made this determination, That seeing *L. Scipio* excus'd his Brother upon the score of his being sick, he thought that a sufficient *essoigne*; and that he would not suffer *P. Scipio* to be accus'd before he came back to Rome. Nay, and then too, if he appeal'd to him, he would assist him toward the preventing of his tryal. That *P. Scipio*, by his great Achievements and the Honours, which the Roman People had conferr'd upon him, was come, by the consent both of Gods and Men, to that height, that for him to stand upon his tryal in the *Rostra*, and hear the railing taunts of a company of Boys, was a greater dishonour to the Roman People than to himself.

But he added to his determination [upon the point] this sign of his indignation also, Shall that great Conquerour of Africa (Tribunes) the mighty Scipio, stand at your feet? did he therefore rout and defeat four most renowned Generals of the Carthaginians in Spain, and four Armies? did he therefore take *Syphax*, subdue Annibal, make Carthage tributary to us, and remove *Antiochus* (for *L. Scipio* made his Brother a sharer in this Glory) beyond the Mountain *Taurus*, to submit to the two *Petilius*? or that you should triumph over him? Shall famous Men never get, either by their own merits, or the honours you confer on them, into a secure, and, as it were, a sacred refuge; where their age may be sure to be, if not so venerable, yet inviolable [as an Altar?]. His determination, and this speech together, moved not only all the rest, but even the accusers also themselves, and they said, They would deliberate concerning their privileges and what was their duty [in the case]. Then, when the Assembly of the People was dismiss'd, they call'd a Senate, wherein the whole order, but more especially the consular and the senior part, gave *Tib. Gracchus* a great many thanks, for that he had prefer'd the Commonwealths [Interest] before his own private piques; and the *Petilius* were mightily inveigh'd against, for that they desired to grow famous upon the ruines of another Mans reputation, and sought for spoils out of *Africanus*'s Triumph. After that there was nothing said touching *Africanus*, who dwelt at *Luternum* without any desire to come again into the City. And they say, that dying in the Country, he ordered himself to be buried in that very place, and that his Monument should be there built, lest his Funeral should be celebrated in his own ungrateful Country. He was a very remarkable Person, but more upon the score of his skill in War, than his management in Peace; though the first part of his life was more memorable than the last. For in his Youth he was continually waging War, but in his Age, Affairs also declin'd [with him] nor was there matter enough for his genius [to be employ'd in]. What was his second Consulship to his first; yea, though you add his Censorship too? What was his Lieutenantship in *Asia*, which was of no advantage by reason of his illness, besides that it was blasted by the misfortune which happened to his Son, and, after his return home, by the necessity of either undergoing a [dishonourable] sentence, or flying from that and his Country at the same time? But yet he alone had the Glory of putting an end to the Punick War, which was the greatest and most perilous that ever the Romans waged.

Upon the Death of *Africanus*, his Enemies grew more spiteful: of whom *M. Porcius Cato* was the chief; who, even when he was alive also, was wont to snarl at his greatness. And by his

LII.

LIII.

LIV.



his advice some think the *Petillii*; not only enter'd upon their project, whilst *Africanus* was alive; but, after he was dead also, prefer'd a Bill; which was this: That you [the Senate] be pleas'd to order that inquiry to be made, what money was taken, carried away, or levied from King *Antiochus*, and his Subjects: and that concerning so much of it, as hath not been accounted for in the publick Treasury, *Ser. Sulpicius* the Cuy Prætor make report to the Senate: but that the Senate name any one [else] of the present Prætors to make such inquiry. This Bill *Q. and L. Mummius* at first oppos'd: but they thought it reasonable, that the Senate should inquire concerning any money that had not been brought into the treasury according to the constant usage in former times. The *Petillii* also condemn'd the grandeur and tyranny of the *Scipio's* in the Senate: whilst *L. Furius Purpureo*, who was one of the ten Embassadors in Asia, thought they ought to enlarge the Bill; and inquire, not only what moneys were taken from *Antiochus*, but likewise from other Kings and Nations too: out of malice to his Enemy *Cn. Manlius*. Then *L. Scipio*, who, it appear'd, was like to say more for himself than against the Law, stood forth to dissuade them. He complain'd, that such a Bill should be prefer'd after the Death of his Brother, who was a person so extraordinarily valiant and renowned: [and said] Was it too little for *P. Africanus* not to be praised in the Rollra after his Death, unless he were accus'd also. That the Carthaginians were content with the banishment of *Annibal*; but that the Roman People were not satisfied even with the death of *P. Scipio*: unless his good name too were taken from him after he was buried, and his Brother also (which was another accession to their Envy) made a sacrifice [to their malice.] *M. Cato* was for passing the Bill (who hath an Oration extant concerning the money taken from King *Antiochus*) and deterr'd the *Mummius's* (the Tribunes) from being against it. Wherefore these two laying aside their intercession [or, no longer opposing of it] all the Tribes voted, as he had propos'd.

LV. After that when *Ser. Sulpicius* propos'd the question to them, who should make the inquiry according to the *Petillian Bill*; the Senate order'd *Q. Terentius Cæcilius* the Prætor to be the man. Before whom, being either so great a Friend to the *Cornelian* Family, that they who tell us that *Scipio* dy'd and was buried at Rome (for such a report also there is) say likewise that he attended at the Funeral, as formerly at his triumph, with a Cap on his Head, and at the *Capene Gate* gave Wine sweeten'd with Honey to those that follow'd the Corps; for that he, among other Captives, was by *Scipio* retaken in Asia: or so great an Enemy, that for his extraordinary animosity, he was particularly chosen by that Faction that was against the *Scipio's*, to make this inquiry; before this Prætor (I say) whether too favourable or too severe [I cannot tell] *L. Scipio* was presently call'd in question: and at the same time an information brought, and the names taken of his Lieutenants, *A. and L. Hostilius Cato*, and *C. Furius Aculeo* the Questor. Yea, that all of them might seem concern'd in the same Conspiracy to rob the publick, two Clerks [or Notaries] also and a Messenger [were taken up.] *L. Hostilius*, the Clerks, and the Messenger were acquitted before any Sentence pass'd upon *Scipio*: but *Scipio*, *L. Hostilius* the Lieutenant, and *C. Furius* were condemn'd: [upon this account] for that *Scipio*, (to make a better accommodation of peace between him and *Antiochus*) had receiv'd six thousand pounds of gold, and four hundred and eighty of silver, more than he had return'd into the Treasury: *A. Hostilius* eighty pound of gold with four hundred and three of silver; and *Furius* the Questor a hundred and thirty of gold, and two hundred of silver. These sums of gold and silver I find set down in (*P. Africanus*) *Antias*. Now in *L. Scipio's* Case, I would rather have it to be the Bookellers fault, than a lie of the Authors, as to the sum of gold and silver. For it is more likely, that the weight of silver was greater than that of the gold: and that the mulct laid upon him was rather four Millions of Sesterces than eight hundred Millions: and that so much the more still, for that they say, *P. Scipio* himself was required to give an account of such a sum in the Senate: as also, that having order'd his Brother *Lucius* to bring the Book of that account, as the Senate was looking upon it, he with his own hands, tore it all to pieces: as being very angry, that, after he had brought into the Treasury twenty Millions of Sesterces, an account of four Millions should be required of him. And that with the same assurance of mind, when the Questors were afraid to take any money out of the Treasury contrary to Law, he ask'd for the Keys and said, he'd open the Treasury, who had been the cause of its being shut.

LVI. They are also of very different opinions in many other things concerning *Scipio's* later days, especially his Tryal, his Death, Funeral, and place of Burial: so that I cannot tell which story to believe. They do not agree concerning his Accuser: some saying that *M. Navius*, and others, that the *Petillii* summon'd to his Tryal: Nor concerning the time, when he was to be try'd; nor of the year in which he dy'd: nor where he dy'd, or was buried. Some say, that he dy'd and was buried at Rome, and others at *Liternum*. But there is a Monument and Statues erected for him in both places. For at *Liternum* there was a Monument, and upon it a Statue; which I my self saw not long ago thrown down by a Tempest, and at Rome (without the *Capene Gate*) there are three Statues, two whereof are said to be [the Statues] of *P. and L. Scipio*, and the third of *Q. Ennius* the Poet. Nor is this difference among Historians only, but the Speeches also [which were made upon that occasion] (if at least those that go under that Title (of *P. Scipio*, and *Tib. Gracchus*) were really theirs) are contradictory to each other. The Title of *P. Scipio's* Oration bears in it the name

name of *M. Navius*, Tribune of the people, though the Oration it self is without any name at all of an accuser, but only calls him sometimes *Rascal*, and elsewhere *Fop*. Nor has *Gracchus's* Oration it self made any mention either of the *Petilliuses* being *Africanus's* accusers, or of the Day appointed for his Tryal. But he that would accommodate this matter to *Gracchus's* Oration, must tell you quite another story, and follow those Authors, who say, that when *L. Scipio* was accus'd and condemn'd for taking of Money from the King, *Africanus* was a Lieutenant in *Etruria*; From whence, as soon as he heard of his Brothers misfortune, he made haste and (quitting his Lieutenantship) went to Rome; where going from the Gate Strait into the Forum (seeing it was said that his Brother was going to Prison) he refus'd him from the Officer, and (more out of natural affection than civility) offer'd violence to the Tribunes, who strove to detain him. For this *Gracchus* himself complains of, That the power of the Tribunes was destroyed by a private Person. And at last, though he promised assistance to *L. Scipio*, he adds, That it was a thing of more tolerable example, that the Tribunes power and the Commonwealth should seem to be overcome by a Tribune of the People, rather than by a private Person; but yet he blames him for this one insistent action at such a rate, that, in chiding him for degenerating so far from himself, he makes him amends for the reproof he gave him with heaping many commendations upon him for his former moderation and temperance. For he says, That the People were once rebuked by him, for that they would needs have made him perpetual Consul and Dictator; that he forbade the setting up of any Statues for him in the Assembly Court, in the Rostra, in the Senate House, in the Capitol, or in *Jove's Chapel*; as also, that he was against the making of a Decree, that his Image should be carry'd out of the Temple of *Jupiter* (the good and great) in a triumphal habit.

These things being said in commendation of him, even by an Enemy, shew'd the greatness of his mind in his being able to set bounds to his Honours as he was a Citizen of Rome. 'Tis very probable that his younger Daughter (for the elder undoubtedly was placed out by her Father to *P. Cornelius Nasica*) was married to this *Gracchus*. But 'tis not well known, whether she were betrothed and married after the Death of her Father; or whether those opinions are in the right [which say] that *Gracchus* (when *L. Scipio* was going to Prison, and none of his Collegues would assist him) swore, That all the enmity he bore to the *Scipios*, still continued; nor did he do anything to ingratiate himself [with them]; but yet he would not suffer *P. Africanus* to be carry'd into that Prison, to which he had seen the same *Africanus* lead the Kings and Generals of their Enemies. That the Senate, that Day happening to sup in the Capitol, rose all up together, and desired, That, whilst the Feast lasted, *Africanus* would betroth his Daughter to *Gracchus*. Which Espousals being rightly perform'd amidst that publick solemnity, that *Scipio*, when he came home, told his Wife *Emilia*, That he had betrothed his younger Daughter. At which she being in a Woman-like passion, and saying, That, if he design'd to marry her to *Gracchus*, her Mother ought to have known of it. That *Scipio*, being overjoy'd that she should hit so right upon the same Person, made answer, That she was betrothed to that very Man. Now these things ought to be laid before you concerning so great a Person, though Opinions and Authors vary about them.

When the Tryals were, by *Q. Terentius* the Prætor, made an end of, *Hostilius* and *Furius* being condemn'd, gave sureties the same Day to the City Questors. *Scipio*, arguing that all the Money which he had receiv'd was in the Treasury, and that he had nothing which belong'd to the publick, was going to Prison. But *P. Scipio Nasica* appeal'd to the Tribunes, and made a speech full of real Glories, not only of the *Cornelian* Race in general, but particularly of his own Family. "That his Parents, and those of *P. Africanus*, as also of *L. Scipio*, who was now going to Prison, were *Cn. and P. Scipio*, two great and famous Men. "That they (when for some Years they had advanced the Roman Fame in Spain, against many Generals and Armies too of the Carthaginians and Spaniards, not only in War, but in that they had given those Nations an instance of the moderation and honour that Romans were endowed with) at last both dy'd for the good of the Roman People. Now though it would have been enough for their Posterity to have maintain'd that Glory which they got, yet that *P. Africanus* so far outdid his Fathers praises, that he made People believe, he was not born of Humane Blood, but of Divine Extraction. That *L. Scipio* of whom they then discour'd (to pass by all that he had done in Spain and Africa, when he was his Brothers Lieutenant) who had been Consul, was not only look'd upon by the Senate as a fit Person to have Asia for his Province (though out of course) and the management of the War against *Antiochus*; but by his Brother also, who after two Consulships, one Consulship and a Triumph, went into Asia as his Lieutenant. Where, lest the greatness and splendour of the Lieutenant should obscure the Consuls Glory, it so happened, that, the Day whereon *L. Scipio* conquer'd *Antiochus* at *Magnesia*, *P. Scipio* was sick at *Elea* some few Days journey from thence. That that Army was not less than that of *Annibal*, with which they had fought in Africa; and that there was among many other Generals of the Kings, that very same *Annibal* too, who had been General in the Punick War. And that the War also was so managed, that no body could blame so much as fortune for it. But yet now, in time of Peace, they are seeking out for an accusation [against him] and say, that he sold Peace for Money. That by this means the ten Embassadors also were

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"at the same time arraign'd, by whose advice the Peace was made. Yea, that there were some of the ten Embassadors, who accused *Cn. Manlius*: but their accusation did not prevail, not only so far as to gain credit to what they charg'd upon him, but not so much as to retard his triumph.

LIX.

"But that indeed, in *Scipio's* Case, the conditions of Peace were suspected as being too favourable to *Antiochus*. For his Kingdom was left entire; he posses'd all, after he was conquer'd, that he had before the War: but though he had a great quantity of gold and silver, there was no part of it brought into the publick Treasury, but all turn'd to private use. Was not there more gold and silver brought in before all Peoples Eyes at *L. Scipio's* Triumph, than at ten other Triumphs and put them all together? For what should I speak of the Confines of his Kingdom? [or say] That *Antiochus* had all *Asia* and the adjacent parts of *Europe*: how great a tract of Land that is from the Mountain *Taurus* to the *Aegean* Sea; since all people know how many, not only Cities, but Nations too it contains. That this Country, which is above thirty dayes Journey long, and ten broad between the two Seas, was taken away from *Antiochus* as far as the Mountain *Taurus*, he being driven into the most remote Corner of the World. What, if the Peace were granted him for nothing, could be taken from him more? That when *Philip* was conquer'd, he had *Macedonia* left him; and *Nabis* *Lacedemon*. Nor was there any crime invented against *Quintius*; for he had not *Africanus* for his Brother, who, when he should by his glory have done *L. Scipio* good, quite contrary through the Envy that lay upon him, did him an injury. That there was more gold and silver thought to have been brought into *Scipio's* House, than could have been made of all the Goods he had if they had been sold. Where then is that gold of the Kings? Where are so many Estates that he receiv'd? There must have been an heap of this new gains in his House, which costs him not much in keeping. But what could not be made of his goods, his Enemies would fetch out of his Body and back by vexation and contumelies against him: so far, as to put a person of such Renown in Prison, among a parcel of Thieves and Robbers, where he should die in the dark and the Stocks; and afterward be thrown forth naked before the Prison: which would be a disgrace to the City of *Rome* as well as to the *Cornelian* Family.

LX.

In opposition to this *Terentius* the Prætor repeated the *Petilian* Bill, the order of Senate, and the Sentence [pass'd] concerning *L. Scipio*: [and said] that he, unless the money that he was adjudg'd to pay, were brought into the publick Treasury, had nothing else to do but to order the party condemn'd to be taken and carry'd to Prison. The Tribunes having withdrawn, to consult, a little after *C. Fannius*, according to his own, and all the rest of his Collegues opinions, saving *Gracchus*, declared, that the Tribunes would not hinder the Prætor from exercising his authority. But *Tib. Gracchus* said this was his resolution; That he would not hinder the Prætor from making the money that was adjudg'd of *L. Scipio's* goods: but yet that he would not suffer *L. Scipio* (who had conquer'd the most opulent King in all the World; had propagated the Roman Empire to the utmost Borders of the Earth; oblig'd *Eumenes*, the *Rhodians*, and so many other Cities of *Asia* by his kindness, and imprison'd a great number of their Enemies chief Officers, whom he led in Triumph) to be in Jail among the Enemies of the Roman People; and therefore charg'd them to let him go. This resolution of his was heard with so much assent, and people were so glad to see *L. Scipio* dismiss'd, that the sentence scarce seem'd to have been pass'd in the same City. Then the Prætor sent the Questors to take possession, on behalf of the publick, of *L. Scipio's* goods: in which there neither appear'd any token of the Kings money, nor was there even so much made of them, as the sum in which he was condemn'd amounted to. His Relations, Friends and Clients rais'd money among themselves for *L. Scipio*; in so much, that if he would have accepted of it, he might have been somewhat richer than he was before his misfortunes. But he would not take any of it. What was necessary for him in Cloths [and the like] was bought for him by his Relations: and the Envy of the *Scipio's* fell upon the Prætor, his Council, and the Accusers.

## DECADE

## DECADE IV. BOOK IX.

## The E P I T O M E.

2. *Æmilius* the Consul, having subdu'd *Liguria*, joined that road, which comes from *Placentia* to *Ariminum*, to the *Via Flaminia*, or *Flaminian* way. 6. The principles of Luxury are said to be brought in by the *Asian* Army. The *Ligurians*, all about the *Appennine* were subdu'd. 8, 9, &c. The *Bacchanalia*, a *Grecian* Solemnity [in honour of *Bacchus*] celebrated in the night time, which was the seminary of all wickedness, having become the occasion of a vast multitudes entering into a conspiracy, was inquir'd into and discover'd by the Consul, who punish'd a great many [of the conspirators] and abolish'd it. T. Q. *Flaminius*, Brother to *Titus*, was put out of the Senate by the Censors (*L. Valerius* *Flaccus* and *M. Porcius* *Cato*, who was a very great man for managing affairs either in Peace or War) for that he, when he had Gaul for his Province as Consul, (upon the request of one *Philip* a *Carthaginian* whom he lov'd) had kill'd a certain Gaul with his own hands; or, as some say, had with an Axe beheaded a Condemn'd Prisoner, at the request of a certain *Placentian* youth, whom he was in love with. There is an Oration of *M. Cato* extant against him. 52. *Scipio* died at *Uternum*. 51. And, as though Fortune had resolv'd to join two Funerals of the two greatest men together; *Annibal*, being deliver'd up to the Romans (by *Prusias* King of *Bithynia*, to whom, when *Antiochus* was now conquer'd, he had fled) who had sent *T. Quintius* *Flaminius* to demand him, poison'd himself. 50. *Philopamen* also, General of the *Achaans*, and a very great man, was likewise poison'd by the *Mc-senians*, who had taken him in the War. 55. The Colonies of *Potentia*, *Pisaurum*, *Parma* and *Mucina* were planted. 56. Good success against the *Celtiberians*; with the beginning and causes of the *Macedonian* War. The original whereof proceeded from *Philip's* resentment, that his Kingdom should be impair'd by the Romans, and that he was forced to draw his Garrisons out of *Thrace* and other places.

W Hilst these things were transacted at *Rome* (if so be they were done that year) both the Consuls made War in *Liguria*. That Enemy was design'd, as it were, by Fate to keep up the military Discipline of the Romans in the intervals of such great Wars: nor did any other Province more sharpen their Souldiers to Courage. For *Asia*, by the pleasantness of its Cities, the plenty of all things both by Sea and Land, the effeminacy of the Enemy, and [the help of] the Kings wealth made their Armies more rich than valiant. Especially under the Command of *Cn. Manlius* they were dissolute and negligent. Wherefore their march through *Thrace* being somewhat rougher, and their Enemy more exercised [in Arms] by great misadventures chastiz'd them. In *Liguria* there were all things, that could excite a Souldier: Mountainous and craggy places, which for them to take, and to dispossess the Enemy of, was very difficult: steep wayes, that were also narrow, and beset with Ambuscades: a light, swift, and surprizing Foe, that would not suffer them in any place, or at any time, to be quiet or secure: a necessity of attacking fortified Castles, which was both laborious and dangerous: a poor Country, that oblig'd Souldiers to be sparing, as not affording much booty. Wherefore no Sutlers [or Scullions for the Camp, &c.] follow'd them, nor did a long train of Beasts extend their Army: which consisted of nothing but arms and men, who placed all their hopes in their Arms. Nor was their ever wanting either opportunity or cause for a War with those People; for, by reason of their domestick poverty they made inroads into the Neighbouring Countries; though they did not fight so as to run the hazard of all they had.

*C. Flaminius* the Consul, having fought several successful Battles with the *Frintates* of *Liguria* in their own Country, accepted of their surrender, and disarm'd them: but when he chastized them for not delivering up their Arms so sincerely as they should have done, they fled into the *Angine* Mountains: Whither the Consul presently follow'd them. But they again made halt from thence, and the greatest part of them ran unarm'd through pathless places, and over craggy Rocks (as hard as they could drive) where the Enemy could not follow them, till they got beyond the *Apennine*. But those that staid in the Camp were circumvented and taken. Then the Legions were led beyond the *Apennine*. There [the Enemy] having for some time defended themselves by the height of the Mountain which they were posses'd of, soon after surrender'd themselves. Then their Arms were look'd after with greater care, and all taken away. From thence the War was transfer'd to the *Apuan* *Ligurians*, who had made such incursions into the Territories of *Pisa* and *Bononia*, that they could not be well inhabited, or cultivated. And having quite subdu'd these people also, the Consul gave Peace to the adjacent Nations. Now, since he had so brought it to pass, that the Province was quiet from War: lest his Souldiers should be idle, he march'd from *Bononia* to *Arretum*. *M. Æmilius*, the other Consul, burnt and laid wast the Countries of *Liguria*, with all the Villages that lay in Plains or Vales, whilst they themselves kept upon two Mountains called *Ballyta* and *Sniffimontium*: and then setting upon those also that were upon the Hills he first teased them with light Skirmishes; and at last, having forced them down into the Field, overcame them in a set Battle, at which he vow'd [to build] a Temple to *Diana*. Having subdu'd all on this side the *Apennine*, *Æmilius* set upon the *Tras-*

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mountains

*montanes* [or those that lived beyond the Mountains] (among whom were the *Brinates* of *Liguria*, whom *C. Flaminius* had not visited) subdued them all, took away their Arms, and brought the multitude [of them] down from the Hills into the Plain. Then, when he had settled *Liguria*, he led his Army into the Gallick Dominions; and made a way from *Placentia* to *Arminum*, to meet the *Flaminius* [way]. In the last Battel, that he had with the *Ligurians* hand to hand, he vow'd [to build] a Temple to Queen *Juno*. Now these things were done in *Liguria* that Year.

III. In *Gaul* *M. Furius* the Prætor, who in time of Peace desired a plausible pretence for a War, had taken their Arms from the innocent *Cenomans*. Of which the *Cenomans* complained to the Senate at *Rome*, but were referred to the Consul *Emilius*, whom the Senate had impowred to make inquiry, and determine [of the matter]. They therefore having had a great contest with the Prætor carryed the cause, and had their Arms restored to them, the Prætor being order'd to quit the Province. Then there was a Senate [or audience of the Senate] granted to the Embassadors from the Latine Allies, who were come thither in great numbers from all parts of *Latium*. Upon whose complaint, That a great many of their Citizens were come to *Rome*, and there were poled; *Q. Terentius Culleo* was imploy'd, To inquire after all such persons, and whomsoever the Allies could prove to be poled, or rated (he or his Father) in their Cities, when *C. Claudius* and *M. Livius* were Censors, or after their time, to force them to return to the place, at which they were so poled. Upon this search being made, twelve Thousand Latines returned home; for the City was even at that time oppress'd with a vast multitude of Foreigners.

IV. Before the Consuls returned to *Rome*, *M. Fulvius* the Proconsul, came back out of *Ætolia*. Wherefore in the Senate [held] at the Temple of *Apollo*, after he had discours'd concerning his Atchievements in *Ætolia* and *Cephalonia*, he desired of them, That for his good and prosperous management of the publick affairs, they would order, that all honour should be paid to the immortal Gods, and decree him a Triumph. *M. Aebutius* Tribune of the People shew'd, that he was resolv'd to interpose, if any thing were determin'd in that affair before the arrival of the Consul *M. Emilius*, For he would contradict it, and gave him charge, when he went into his Province, that that debate should be kept entire till he came. That *Fulvius* lost nothing but time; for the Senate would, even when the Consul was present, determine as they pleas'd. To which *M. Fulvius* [reply'd], That if either the pique between him and *M. Emilius* were unknown to the World, or with how ungovernable and almost Kingly fury he exercised those animosities; yet it was not to be endured, that the Consuls being absent should hinder their [performing] all honour to the immortal Gods, or retard a deserved and a due Triumph; or that a General, who had done great things, and a victorious Army, should stand at the Gates with their Booty and Captives, till the Consul, who staid away for this very reason, should be pleas'd to come back to *Rome*. But since there is a known grudge between him and the Consul, what justice can any Man expect from him, who carry'd an order of Senate to the Treasury, which was made surreptitiously, when there were but few in the House? That he thought *Ambracia* was not taken by force, which was attack'd with a Mound and Galleries, where there first works were fired and new ones made, where they fought about the Walls, both above and under ground, for fifteen Days together, where, when the Soldiers had now got over the Walls, they had a doubtful consist [in the Town] from break of Day till Night, and where there were above three Thousand of the Enemy slain. And then, what a calumny has he brought to the High Priests, concerning the Temples of the Immortal Gods being rifled in the City, when it was taken? unless it be lawful for the City to be adorn'd with the spoils of *Syracuse*, and other Cities, that had been taken, but against *Ambracia* only, when that was taken, the right of War must not take place. That he desired the Senate and the Tribunes, that they would not make him the scorn of his haughty adversary.

V. Hereupon they all [were of his side] some perswading, and others rebuking the Tribune. But *Tib. Gracchus*'s Oration prevailed most, [who said], That it was a thing of ill example to make use of even his own animosities as he was a Magistrate; but that a Tribune of the People should concern himself to inquire into the piques between other Men, was dishonourable, and becoming the Authority and the sacred Laws of that Colledge. That every Man ought by his own judgment to hate or love, and to approve or disapprove of things [as he himself saw cause] not to depend upon the look or nod of another, or be carry'd about by the force of another Mans inclination, and (being a Tribune of the People) stand up for an angry Consul, or remember what *Emilius* had privately charg'd him with; to forget that the Tribuneship was committed to him by the Roman People; and that, for the assistance and to defend the liberty of private Persons, and not to assert the Majesty forsooth of Consuls. That he was not well aware of this neither; that it would be deliver'd down as a memorandum to posterity; that, in the same Colledge one of the Tribunes of the People laid aside his private animosity for the sake of the Commonwealth, whilst another of them maintained even that of another Person, which was impos'd upon him. The Tribune, overcome by these rebukes, went out of the Court, and then, upon the proposal of *Ser. Sulpicius* the Prætor, *M. Fulvius* had a Triumph decreed him. Who when he had given the Senate thanks, added, That he had vow'd [to celebrate] the grand Games to *Jupiter* (the good and great) that Day on which he took *Ambracia*. That for that purpose the Cities had contributed a hundred and ten Pounds of Gold. Wherefore he desired, that that Gold might be deduct'd out of the

the money which he was to bring into the Treasury at his Triumph. The Senate thereupon order'd the Colledge of Priests to be consult'd; whether it were necessary, that all that gold should be laid out upon the Games? To which the Priests answering negatively, that it was not material, in point of Religion, how much money was spent upon the Games; the Senate left *Fulvius* at his liberty to lay out what he would, so he exceeded not the sum of eighty thousand [Sesterces.] He had resolv'd to triumph in the Month of *January*; but when he heard that the Consul *Emilius*, (upon the receipt of a Letter from the Tribune *Aebutius* concerning the laying down of his intercession) as he was coming to *Rome* to obstruct the Triumph, was fallen sick by the way, he, lest he might have more to do in the case of his triumph, than he had in the War, anticipated the day of his triumphing. So he triumph'd over the *Ætolians* and *Cephalonia*, on the 21<sup>st</sup> of *December*. There were golden Crowns of a hundred and twelve pound weight carried before his Chariot, and a thousand eighty three pound of silver; with two hundred forty three pound of gold; of *Attick Tetradrachms* [a Coin] a hundred and eighteen thousand; of *Philips* money twelve thousand four hundred twenty two [pieces] two hundred eighty five brazen Statues; two hundred and thirty marble Statues; besides Arms, Weapons, and other spoils of the Enemy in abundance; with battering Engines [to sling great Weapons or Stones] and other Warlike Instruments of all sorts; and Officers, who were either *Ætolians*, and of *Cephalonia*, or Kings men left there by *Antiochus*, to the number of twenty seven. He presented a great many Tribunes, Prefects, Horsemen, and Centurions, both Romans and Allies, with military gifts, that day, in the *Circus Flaminius*, before he rode into the City: giving to each Souldier, out of the booty, twenty five Deniers; double to a Centurion, and treble to an Horseman.

VI. And now the time for the Consular Assembly was at hand; at which, because *M. Emilius*, whose business it happen'd to be, could not be present, *C. Flaminius* came to *Rome*. By him were created for Consuls *Sp. Postumius Albinus*, and *Q. Marcius Philippus*. Then the Prætors were made; [whose names were] *T. Manius*, *P. Cornelius Sulla*, *C. Calpurnius Piso*, *M. Licinius Lucullus*, *C. Aurelius Scaurus*, and *L. Quintus Crispinus*. At the latter end of the Year, when the new Magistrates were now chosen, upon the 4<sup>th</sup> of *March* *Cn. Manlius Vulso* triumph'd over the *Gauls*, that dwelt in *Asia*. Now the reason why he triumph'd later than ordinary, was, lest he should have been put to make his defence in the time of *Q. Terentius Culleo*'s Prætorship, by the *Perillian* Law; and he set on fire by the flame of that Sentence, whereby *L. Scipio* was condemn'd: the Judges being more incens'd at him than the other, for that, whereas the other had kept the Military Discipline strictly up, he, being his Successor, had corrupted it by any manner of extravagancy. Nor did those things only reflect upon him, which were said to have been done a great way off and out of sight, in his Province; but those also much more, that were seen in his Souldiers every day. For the original of Foreign Luxury was introduced into the City by the *Asiatick* Army; who were the first that brought bras Beds, rich Coverlets, Counterpanes, and other woven Furniture, and (which were then lookt upon as magnificent Household-stuff) Tables with one Foot, and Cupboards [or Side-Tables] to *Rome*. Then too were singing Women that play'd upon the Lute and the Harp, with other methods of diversion first added to their Feasts; which began themselves likewise to be prepared with greater care and cost; and a Cook, who among the ancients was the meanest Slave they had, to be in esteem, in use, and valued: so that what was before mere drudgery, became an Art. But yet those, which then were seen, were scarce the Seeds of future Luxury.

VII. *Cn. Manlius* carry'd in his Triumph golden Crowns of two hundred and twelve pound weight; of silver a hundred and twenty thousand pound; of Gold two thousand two hundred and three pound; of *Attick Tetradrachms* a hundred twenty seven thousand; of *Cistophores* two hundred and fifty; of *Philippicks* in gold sixteen thousand three hundred and twenty; with a great quantity of Gallick Arms and spoils, which were carried in Waggon, besides fifty two great Officers of the Enemies that were led before his Chariot. He divided among his Souldiers, to each man forty two Deniers; double that to a Centurion; giving a double stipend to each foot man, and treble to an Horseman. Many people of all qualities were presented with military gifts, and follow'd his Chariot. And then, there were such Verses spoken by the Souldiers upon their General, that it was easily discern'd, they were said of an indulgent and ambitious Leader; and that the triumph was more glorious through the favour of the Souldiers, than of the People. But *Manlius*'s Friends prevailed so far as to gain the good will of the people too; for by their solicitations there was an order of Senate made, that out of the money which was carry'd in Triumph, that Contribution which the People had made to the publick of money to pay the Army, which was not paid before that time, should be return'd to them. And accordingly the City Questors paid twenty five [Deniers] and a half for a thousand bras pieces, with care and fidelity. At the same time two Tribunes of the Souldiers came out of the two *Spains* with Letters from *C. Atinius*, and *L. Manlius*, who then govern'd those Provinces: by which Letters they were inform'd, that the *Celtiberians* and *Lusitanians* were in Arms, and pillaged the Territories of their Allies. About that affair the Senate refer'd the whole Consultation to the new Magistrates. At the Roman Games (that year) which *P. Cornelius Cethegus*, and *A. Postumius Albinus* set forth, a Mast of a Ship [that was



set up there to have Sails ty'd from it to keep off the *Sun*, &c. from the Spectators] which in the Circus was not fasten'd so well as it should have been, fell upon the Statue of *Pollentia*, and beat it down. At that religious accident the Senate were concern'd, and thought that one day ought to be added to the Celebration of the Games; that two Statues ought to be set up instead of that one; and that a new one ought to be made, that should be gilt. The *Plebeian Games* also were perform'd all over one day by Order of the *Aediles C. Sempronius Blaesus*, and *M. Furius Luscus*.

VIII. The next Year, *Sp. Postumius Albinus*, and *Q. Marcius Philippus*, the Consuls, were diverted from taking care of the Army, Wars and Provinces to take revenge for an intestine Conspiracy. The Prætors chose their Provinces: *T. Manius* the City; *M. Licinius Lucullus* had [the Jurisdiction] between Citizens and Foreigners; *C. Aurélius Scawus* *Sardinia*; *P. Cornelius Sulla* *Sicily*; *L. Quintius Crispinus* the *hither Spain*; and *C. Calpurnius Piso* the *farther*. Both the Consuls were order'd to make inquiry into the intestine Conspiracies. There came an ordinary man out of *Greece* first into *Etruria* (without any of those many Arts which that learned Nation hath taught us for the furnishing of our minds as well as Bodies; but only) as a small Priest and Prophet: nor did he openly and in the face of the World profess to make any gain of what he taught, or publickly to infuse a religious dread into mens minds, but he was the chief manager of certain secret Rites, called *Initia*; which were at first deliver'd to some few People; but soon after began to be divulged to all Men and Women too. Now to this religious performance there were added the pleasures of Feasting and Wine, to draw the more folks in. And when Wine and the Night (the Men and Women being mix'd together, young and old all in a Crowd) had extinguish'd all sense of shame; first there were debaucheries of all sorts committed; every one having that pleasure ready prepared for them, to which their nature was most inclin'd. Nor had they one sort of crimes only: but ingenious Men and Women lay promiscuously with one another: and false Witness, false tokens, Testimonies and Judgments came out of that same Office [of Roguery.] So also many times people were poison'd or kill'd in their own Houses, so as that their Bodies sometimes could not be found that they might be buried. Many things were carry'd on by Treachery, and many more by Force. But that which concealed their outrages, was, that by reason of their howlings, and the noise of their Drums and Cymbals, no body could hear the cries of those that complain'd, when they had violence offer'd to them or were kill'd.

IX. The stain of this mischief came out of *Etruria* to *Rome*, like an infection as it were. Where at first the bigness of the City, which was more capacious, and wide to hold such ill People, concealed their Villanies. But at last *Postumius* the Consul discover'd them by this means. *P. Aebutius*, whose Father had been a Trooper at the publick charge, being left an Orphan, when his Guardians were dead, was educated under the Tutelage of his Mother *Duronia*, and his Father-in-Law *T. Sempronius Rutilus*; of whom his Mother was mighty fond. Now this Father-in-Law, having managed his Guardianship at that rate, that he could not give a good account of it, had a mind either to have the young Boy either taken off, or obliged by some Bond to be at his disposal. The *Bacchanalia* [Rites in honour of *Bacchus*] therefore were the only way [to do his business.] So the Mother call'd the Lad [and told him] that she had vow'd, when he was sick, that as soon as he grew well again, she would initiate him in the *Bacchanalia*. That now being obliged by her Vow through the blessing of the Gods, she would perform it. That he must live chaste for ten dayes, and that the tenth day she would carry him to Supper, and afterward, when he was clean wash'd, into the Sacrary [or holy place.] Now there was one *Hispala Fecenia*, a noted Curtizan, and a Libertine [i.e. one born of Parents that were Slaves] worthy of more gain than when a Girl she had been used to, who even after she was manumitted [i.e. had her freedom given her] maintain'd her self in the same manner. With this Woman *Aebutius*, being a Neighbour, kept Company: which was no damage either to his Estate or Credit. For she loved him dearly, and, since his Friends gave him but a small allowance, by her munificence kept him. Yea she went so far out of affection to him, that after her Patrons Death, because she was under no Bodies protection, having desired a Guardian of the Tribunes and the Prætor, when she made her Will, she left *Aebutius* her sole Heir.

X. Now these pledges of love being between them, so that they kept nothing secret the one from the other, the youth, in jest, bid her not think much, if for some few nights he lay from her. That he, upon the score of Religion, had a mind to be initiated at the *Bacchanalia*, to discharge a Vow that he made for his recovery out of sickness. Which when the Woman heard, being much troubled, she said, God forbid! It was better for her and him both to die, than that he should do so, and pray'd that a thousand Curses might light on their heads who had perswaded him to it. Whereupon the youth admiring at her words, and the great disorder she was in, bad her spare her Curses; for his Mother, by the consent of his Father-in-Law, had commanded him so to do: Why then (said she) your Father-in-Law (for peradventure we may not so justly accuse your mother of it) makes haste to destroy your chastity, credit, hopes and life. At which when he so much the more admired, and ask'd, what the matter was, She, (begging pardon of the Gods and Goddesses, if forced by the love she bore him, she revealed things that ought

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to have been concealed) told him that when she was a waiting Maid she went along with her Mistress into that Sacrary; but since she was free, never came within it. That she knew that to be the Shop of all sorts of Corruptions; and that it was known that for two years there had been no body initiated above twenty years of Age. That, as soon as any person was introduced, he was deliver'd, like a Sacrifice, to the Priests; who carry'd him into a place, that ring round about with howlings, and a noise of singing, Cymbals, and Drums, that the Voice of any one that complain'd, when lustful violence was offer'd to them, might not be heard. Wherefore she desir'd and beseech'd him, that he would disengage himself from that design by any means whatsoever; and not throw himself headlong into that place, where he must both do and suffer all the most abominable things imaginable: nor would she let him stir from her, before the young man had promised, that he would keep away from those mysteries.

When he came home, and his Mother began to tell him, what he must do that day, and what again on the other dayes that he was to keep in order to his initiation; he said, he would do nothing at all [of what she said] nor did he intend to be initiated: at which Discourse his Father-in-Law was present. Immediately the Woman cry'd out; That he could not lye from *Hispala* ten Nights. That being intoxicated with the poison and enchantments of that Serpent, he had no respect or reverence for his Father-in-Law, his Mother, nor the Gods themselves: and so his Father-in-Law on the one side, and his Mother on the other rebuking him, turn'd him and four Servants out of Doors. Thereupon the young man went to his Aunt *Aebutia*, and told her the reason why he was turn'd out by his Mother. And after, by her advice, the next day complain'd to the Consul *Postumius* in private where there was no body by. The Consul, bidding him come to him again three dayes after dismiss'd: whilst he himself ask'd *Sulpicia*, a grave Woman, and his Mother-in-Law, Whether she knew an old Woman called *Aebutia* in the *Aventine*? to which she replying, that she did know her to be a good old fashion'd Woman: he said, He must needs speak with her: and therefore she must send a Messenger to her to come [thither.] *Aebutia*, being sent for by *Sulpicia*, came; and some small time after, the Consul, as though it had come in by chance, began a Discourse concerning her Brothers being robb'd of his Estate, by those that should not have done it, he was then at her House, as being turn'd out of Doors by his Mother; for that the modest Youth (God be praised) would not be initiated in the *Bacchanalia*, which were rites, as Fame went, very obscene.

Then the Consul supposing he had found sufficiently concerning *Aebutius*, that he had not told him a lie, sending *Aebutia* away, he desired his Mother-in-Law, that she would send for *Hispala* also to him, out of the *Aventine*, where, being a Libertine, she was not unknown to the Neighbourhood. For he had some questions to ask her too. At which Message *Hispala* being troubled, that she should be sent for to so noble and grave a Lady, without knowing for what reason; when she saw the Lictors in the Porch, the crowd of Consular persons and the Consul himself, she was almost ready to dy. But the Consul taking her and his Mother-in-Law into the inner part of the House, he told her, that if she could find in her heart to tell the truth, she needed not to be troubled; for she should have either that good and noble Lady *Sulpicia's* word, or his [for her security:] upon condition, that she would declare to him all that was usually done in the Grove of *Simela*, at the *Bacchanals* in the Night time, when those rites were perform'd. Which when she heard, the Woman was so taken with a dread and trembling over all her Limbs, that for a good while she could not speak: till at last coming to her self, she said, that being but a very little Girl, and a Servant, she was initiated with her Mistress. But for some years, since she was manumitted, she knew nothing of what they did there. Now the Consul commended her for that, that she did not deny but she was initiated, and declared the rest too with the same fidelity. But when she said, She knew nothing more of the matter, he reply'd, That he should not give her the same Pardon, nor shew her the same favour, if she were convicted by another person, as if she confess'd the truth of her self: and that he was inform'd by that other person of all that she had told him.

The Woman supposing (as it really was) that *Aebutius* was the discoverer of the secret, fell down at *Sulpicia's* Feet, and first began to entreat her, that she would not suffer the discourse of a Libertine Woman with her Lover to be turn'd into not only a serious but even a capital matter also: [and said] that she spake those things to deter him, and not because she knew anything. With that *Postumius* being incens'd with anger, told her, That then too she thought, sure, that she was putting her shams upon her Lover *Aebutius*, and was not talking in a grave Ladies House, and with a Consul. But *Sulpicia* took her up, and not only encouraged her, but endeavour'd to mitigate her Son-in-Laws Anger. At last, when she came to her self, having very much to blame *Aebutius* for his perfidiousness, who had made her such a return for her great deserts in that very case, she said, she fear'd the Gods very much, whose secrets she had discover'd, but men much more, who would tear her to pieces with their own hands for being such an Informer. Wherefore she desired this one thing of *Sulpicia*, and of the Consul too; that they would send her to some place out of Italy, where she might lead the rest of her life in safety. The Consul bad her be of good cheer, and said, He would take care, that she should live secure at *Rome*. Then *Hispala* declared the original of the sacred rites [before mention'd:] [saying] "That at first

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"that Temple was for Women only, nor was there any Man admitted into it. That they had three set Days in a Year, in which in the Day time they were admitted among the *Bacche* [Women that celebrated the Rites of *Bacchus*]. That the Matrons were wont to be created Priestesses by turns. But that *Paculla Minia*, a Priestess of *Campania*, quite alter'd all [their Ceremonies] as though she had done it by direction from the Gods. For it was she that first initiated two Men (who were her Sons) *Minius*, and *Herennius Cerrinius*, changing the diurnal Sacrifices into nocturnal ones; and, instead of three Days in a Year for initiation, making five every Month. By which means the Rites were grown promiscuous, and Men mingled with Women, besides that the licentiousness of the night was added also, in which there was no manner of villany or lewdness omitted. That there were more lustful enormities committed by the Men among themselves, than by the Women. That if any one were unwilling to endure such shameless actions, and flow to wickedness, they were sacrificed for Victims: for they thought nothing unlawful, which was the greatest tenet in their Religion. That the Men, as though they were mad, prophesied with a fanatical motion or tossing of their Bodies; and that the Matrons ran down to the *Tiber*, in the habit of *Bacche*, with their Hair about their Ears, and burning Torches in their Hands; and putting their Torches into the Water (which were made of solid Sulphur and Lime) took them away again still lighted. That they used to say, those Men were snatch'd away by the Gods, whom they tyed to an Engine, and carryed away into secret Dens and Caves. And that they were such, as would not either conspire, associate in villany, or endure their lustful uncleanness. That they were so vast a number, as that they were now almost another People, among whom there were some noble Men and Women. That two Years last past it was ordered, that no Body should be initiated, who was above twenty Years of Age; and that they made it their business to get People of such an Age, as would endure their folly and lewdness.

XIV. Having made the full discovery, she threw her self again at his Feet, and desired in the same Words, *That he would send her away*. Whereupon the Consul desired his Mother-in-law, that she would make some part of the House void, for *Hispala* to go into. She allotted her the upper part of the House [call'd *Cenaculum*] to which (the Ladders that were on the outside being lock'd up) there was a passage through the House. With that *Fecenia's* Goods were all presently brought thither, and her Family sent for; besides that *Abutius* also was ordered to come to the Consul's Client. So when both the Informers were in his power, *Postumius* related the thing to the Senate. To whom when he had declar'd in order, first what he was informed of, and then what he had found out by inquiry, the Fathers were in a great fright, not only upon the publick account, lest those Conspiracies and nightly Meetings should occasion any secret treachery or danger, but privately also, each Man for himself, lest any of them might be any way concern'd in that extravagance. The Senate therefore thought they ought to thank the Consul, for that he had search'd into that affair with great care and without any noise. After that they commit the enquiry concerning the Bacchanals and those Holy Nocturnal Rites, out of course, to the Consuls, who were to take care that that affair did not turn to any disadvantage to *Abutius* and *Fecenia* the discoverers, and to invite other Informers also by rewards to come in. That the Priests of those Rites, whether Men or Women, should be sought for through all Towns and Burroughs (and not only in Rome) that they might be in the hands of the Consuls. That there should also be an Edict made in Rome, and sent over all Italy, *That no Man, that was initiated into the Ceremonies of Bacchus should meet or assemble to celebrate those Rites, nor do any such sacred Office. But before all things else, that enquiry should be made concerning those, who met, or assembled, to offer any act of lust, or other wickedness.* This the Senate decreed; and the Consuls commanded the Curule Aediles to get together all the Priests of that order, and, when they had them in hold, to keep them in a private Chamber [not a Prison] whilst the Aediles of the People took care that no Rites were performed in private. The *Triumviri Capiteles* were also ordered to set watches all about the City, and see that there were no nightly meetings, as also to take care of Fire. There were five Men allowed as assistants to these *Triumviri*, that each of them in his own Region, or Ward, might look to the Houses on this side *Tiber*.

XV. The Magistrates being set upon these Duties, the Consuls went up into the *Rostra*, and having summon'd an Assembly, when the Consul had made an end of that solemn Form of Prayer, that Magistrates are wont to repeat before they speak to the People, he thus began, "This solemn address to the Gods, fellow Citizens! was never (not only so futable, but) so necessary to any Assembly, to admonish you, that these are the Gods whom your Ancestors design'd to worship, venerate, and pray to; and not those who by corrupt and foreign Ceremonies, incite Mens minds, who are mad, as it were, with fury, to all sorts of wickedness and lust. Truly I cannot tell either how to hold my tongue, or what to say. If you are ignorant of any thing, I'm afraid I shall leave room for negligence; and if I discover all, I fear, I shall terrifie you too much. But whatever I shall say, know that 'tis less than the heinousness and greatness of the thing requires. But I'll take care it shall be enough to be a caution to you. I do not doubt, but that you have heard that the Bacchanals have not only been long ago celebrated all over Italy, but that they are now also

"also in many places of the City (and that not only by report, but by their nocturnal howlings and bawlings, which ring over all the Town) but do not know what the meaning of it is. Some People believe it to be a kind of Worship paid to the Gods, others a sort of loud sport and merriment; and, whatever 'tis, that no great number are concerned in it. Now as to their multitude, if I should say that there are many Thousands of Men, you must of necessity be frighted, unless I also add, who and what sort of Cattle they are. First then, great part of them are Women, and that was the original of this evil; after whom there come come Men very like those Women, who are both buggers and buggerers, fanatical fellows that sit up all Night, amazed with Wine and nocturnal Clamours. Their Conspiracy has yet no life in't, but it has a vast increase every Day, in that they are daily more and more. Your Ancestors, nor even you, would not assemble so rashly and accidentally, unless, when the standard being set up in the Castle, upon the score of an Assembly [of the several Centuries] the Army was drawn forth; or when the Tribunes of the People had appointed a Council, or some Magistrate had summon'd the People to an ordinary Assembly; and wheresoever the multitude was, there they thought there ought to be a lawful Governour of the Rabble. Now what do you think, first, of these nocturnal meetings, and next, of the promiscuous Assemblies of Men and Women together? If you should know at what age Men are initiated, it would not only move your pity but your shame too for them. Do you think, *Romans!* that Young Men, who are initiated into this Order, are fit to be made Soldiers of? Shall we put them in Arms that come out of such an obscene [not Temple, but] Brothel-House? Will such fellows as these, that are covered all over with Buggeries of their own and other Mens, fight for the Chastity of their Wives and Children?

"It would be somewhat less, if they were grown effeminate only by their Vices (for that was once most of their disgrace) keeping their hands from evil actions, and their minds from treacherous thoughts. There never was so great a mischief in the Commonwealth, that concern'd more Men, or things. For whatsoever has been done for these several Years, through Lust, Treachery, or any other sort of Wickedness, has sprung, you must know, out of this same holy place. But they have not yet put in practice all the villany which they have conspired to commit. Their impious Conspiracy keeps yet within the bounds of private Crimes, because they have not strength enough to ruine the Commonwealth in general. But the mischief grows and creeps forward every day, and is already greater than to be obstructed by a private fortune, but looks and aims at the whole Commonwealth. [And let me tell you] *Romans!* unless you take a special care, their nocturnal Assembly may be equal to this of yours now in the day time, which is by the Consul lawfully called. They, each one of them at present in their several private Capacities, are afraid of you met all together at an Assembly. But when you are gone home, or at your Country House, they'll meet again to consult at once about their own safety and your destruction. Then will they, when all together, be dreadful to you who are separated from each other. Wherefore you ought, every Man of you to wish, that all your Relations and Friends be well affected; and if any Mans lust, or fury, has carryed him violently away into that gulph, to think that such a person is devoted to them, with whom he has conspired to the perpetration of all villany and lewdness, and not his Friend. But I am not sure, that some even of you will not fall into the same error; for nothing is more specious and apt to deceive Men than a false Religion. Where the will of the Gods is made the pretext for wicked actions, we are commonly afraid, lest, whilst we punish the iniquities of Men, we should violate any thing of Divine Right that's mingled with [such pretences]. But for this Religious Fear, innumerable Decrees of the High-Priests, Orders of Senate, and the Responses of the Augurs [Soothsayers] free you. How often were the Magistrates charg'd in the time of our Fathers and Grandfathers, to forbid the performance of any foreign Rites? to keep such little pretending Priests and Prophets out of the Forum, the Circus and the City? to get together their canting Books of Prognostications, and burn them? and to abolish all sorts of Sacrifices, but such as were made after the Roman way? For they, who were Persons very skilful in all Laws both Divine and Humane, thought, that nothing contributed so much to the dissolution of Religion, as when Men sacrificed, not according to the usage of their Country, but after a foreign manner. These things I thought good to advertise you of before hand, lest any superstition should disturb your minds, when you saw us pulling down the *Bacchanalia*, and dissipating those wicked meetings. All these things we will do with the favour and by the consent of the Gods, who, because they were angry that their Majesty should be contaminated by such wickedness and lust, brought these things out of darkness into the light; nor would have them laid open, that they might go unpunished, but that they might be revenged and suppressed. The Senate has committed the inquiry concerning that matter to me and my Colleague, out of course, and we will do with all diligence what in us lies. We have already committed the care of the nocturnal watches throughout the City to their inferiour Magistrates. It is also reasonable that you, in your several stations, perform with speed your duties, according to what shall be commanded, and endeavour

to prevent any danger or tumult that may arise through the Treachery of those that are concern'd in this criminal case.

XVII. Then they commanded the Orders of Senate to be read (and propos'd a reward for Informers:) That if any one had brought any person to them, or the name of any absent person, who upon his being accus'd was fled, they would set him a certain day: at which unless he appeared upon Summons, he should be condemn'd in his absence. That if any man, who was then out of Italy, were named, they would give him a longer day, if he would come and make his defence. Wherewithal they made an Edict; That no man should sell or buy any thing in order to an escape; nor that any man should receive, conceal, or any ways assist those that fled [from Justice.] The Assembly being dismiss'd, there was a great terrour all over the City. Nor did it contain it self within the Walls only of the City, or the bounds of Rome, but they began to tremble all over Italy upon the receipt of Letters from their Friends concerning the Order of Senate, the Assembly, and the Edict of the Consuls. Many persons, that might after the day, on which the thing (in the Assembly) was discover'd (they having set Watches at all the Gates about the Town) were laid hold on, as they were running away, and brought back again by the *Triumviri*; whilst the names of many others were notified. Some of them, both Men and Women, kill'd themselves; there being above seven thousand of both Sexes said to be in the Conspiracy. But the heads of the Conspiracy as was well known, were *M.* and *L. Catinius*, two ordinary Roman Citizens, *L. Opitermius*, a *Faliscan*, and *Minus Cerrinius*, a *Campanian*. That from these men sprang all those Villanies and Enormities: and that they were the chief Priests and Promoters of such [impious] holy rites. Wherefore there was care taken, that they should be laid hold on as soon as possible. Nor did they, when they were brought to the Consul, and had made their confession, put any stop to the Sentence concerning them.

XVIII. But there were so many persons who fled the City, that, seeing many men lost both the benefit of the Law and their goods too [against them;] the Prætors *T. Menius* and *Marcus Licinius* were forced by the Senate to differ the business to the 30<sup>th</sup> day [after that time] till the Consuls should have made an end of their Inquiries. The same solitude (for that they, whose names were brought in, did not Answer, or were not to be found in Rome) forced the Consuls to go about into the several Towns, there to make inquiry and perform the part of Judges. Those that were only initiated (and had said Prayers, according to the sacred form (which the Priests repeated before them) in which was contained a cursed Conspiracy to do all acts of Villany and Lechery; but had not committed any of those things, to which by Oath they were obliged) they left in Bonds behind them; but those that had been defiled by Lust or Murder, or those that had been contaminated by false Testimonies, false Tokens, forging of Wills, or other Frauds, they put to Death. There were more kill'd, than put into Prison; though there were great numbers, in both cases, both of Men and Women. The Women that were condemn'd they deliver'd to their Relations, in whose hands [or Tutelage] they were; that they might punish them in private: But if there were no person fit to punish them, they did it in publick. After that the Consuls were injoin'd; first to pull down all the *Bacchanalia* at Rome, and then all over Italy; except there were any ancient Altar, or consecrated Image in them. And for the future it was provided by order of Senate; That there should be no *Bacchanalia* at Rome, or in any part of Italy. That, if any man thought such a Sacrifice so solemn, and necessary, that he could not omit it without being guilty of a great sin, he should come and tell the City Prætor: that the Prætor should consult the Senate; by whose permission (when there were an hundred at least of the Senators present) that Sacrifice might be performed; but so, that there should not be above five present at it; nor any common [publick] money, any Master of the Ceremonies, or any Priest [allow'd.]

XIX. After that there was another Order of Senate annex'd to this (upon the proposal of *Q. Marcius* the Consul) that concerning them, whom the Consuls had made use of as Informers, the whole matter should be refer'd to the Senate, when *Sp. Postumius*, having made an end of his Inquiries, came back to Rome. They thought fit to send *Minus Cerrinius* of *Campania* to Prison at *Ardea*: and to give order before hand to the Magistrates of that place, to look to him more narrowly, than ordinary; not only lest he should make his escape, but likewise, that he might have no opportunity to destroy himself. *Sp. Postumius* came some time after to Rome; upon whose Proposal of a reward for *P. Aebutius* and *Hispala Fecenia* (because by their means the *Bacchanals* were discover'd) there was an Order of Senate made; That to each of them the City *Questors* should give out of the Treasury a hundred thousand pound of brass [money] and that the Consul with the *Tribunes* of the People, should take care as soon as possible to propose to the Commons, that *P. Aebutius* should be discharg'd from serving in the Wars; so that he should not be a Soldier against his will; nor should the Censor assign him a publick Horse [i. e. force him to be a Trooper:] and that *Fecenia Hispala* should have the liberty to bestow, or diminish [her Patrimony] to marry out of her Patrons Family [i. e. with any other man besides his freed men,] and take whom she pleased for her Guardian, as if her Husband had so order'd it by his Will: and that she should have the liberty to marry a man that was ingenuously born, who should not be look'd upon to be by that any way degraded, or disparaged. And that the Consuls, for the time being, or those that should hereafter be, should take care, that that Woman had no hurt done to her, but that she

she might live in safety: all which the Senate order'd and thought fit to be done. All these things therefore were propos'd to the Commons; and done according to the order of Senate; and as to the impunity and rewards of the other Informers, the whole matter was left to the Consuls.

And now *Q. Marcius*, having made an end of all Inquiries within his district, was preparing to go into the Province of *Liguria*, after he had receiv'd three thousand Roman Foot, a hundred and fifty Horse, and five thousand *Latin* Foot, with two hundred Horse as a Supplement [to his Forces.] The same Province was also assign'd to his Colleague with the same number of Horse and Foot. They likewise receiv'd the Armies, which *C. Flaminius* and *M. Aemilius* the Consuls the year before had. But they were farther order'd by the Senate to raise two new Legions: besides that they exacted twenty thousand Foot from the *Allies* and *Latines*: with thirteen hundred Horse, three thousand Roman Foot, and two hundred Horse. All this Army, except the Legions, they thought fit to send as a Supplement to the Army in *Spain*. Wherefore the Consuls, whilst they themselves were employ'd about their Inquiries [into the *Bacchanalia*] committed to *T. Menius* the chief care of making the Levy. When they had made an end of their Inquisitions, *Q. Marcius* went first into that part of *Liguria* where the *Apuans* live. Whom whilst he pursu'd a great way into their secret Woods (which were their constant lurking places and refuges) he was circumvented in a disadvantageous place amidst the strait pass which was beset before-hand [by the Enemy.] There he lost four thousand Souldiers, and three Ensigns belonging to the second Legion; besides that eleven Banners belonging to the *Latine* *Allies*, were taken by the Foe; and a great many Arms, which, because they were an incumbrance to them in their flight through those Woody places, they threw away all along [as they went.] But the *Ligurians* ceased to pursue, before the Romans stopp'd their flight. The Consul, as soon as he was got out of the Enemies Territories, lest it should be known, how much his Forces were diminish'd, disbanded his Army in an *Allies* Country: though he could not, for all that, stifle the report of his ill success: for the Wood from whence the *Ligurians* had chased him was called *Saltus Marcius*.

About the time that this news came out of *Liguria*, there were Letters brought out of *Spain*, full of joy and sadness mixt together. For *C. Atinius*, who two years before had gone Prætor into that Province, fought a pitch'd Battle in the *Asian* Dominions with the *Insitanians*: in which there were six thousand men slain; the rest being totally routed and forced to quit their Camp. After which he led his Legions to attack the Town of *Asia*; which he also took with almost as much ease as he had done the Camp; but, as he unwarily went under the Walls, being wounded, he in a few dayes dy'd. Having read the Letter concerning the Death of the Pro-Prætor, the Senate thought fit to send a man to overtake *C. Calpurnius* the Prætor at the Port of *Luna*, and tell him, that the Senate thought it requisite (lest the Province should be without a Governour) for him to make hast and go into it. He, that was sent, came within four dayes to *Luna*; from whence *Calpurnius* was departed some few dayes before. In the hither *Spain* too *L. Manlius Acidinus*, who went thither at the same time, when *C. Atinius* went into his Province, had a conflict with the *Celtiberians*: from which they drew off without knowing who had the better of it, save that the *Celtiberians* decamp'd the next Night: and the Romans had an opportunity not only to bury their [dead] men, but to gather up the spoils of the Enemy. Some few dayes after, the *Celtiberians*, having raised a greater Army, on their own accord provoked the Romans to Battle at a Town called *Calagurris*. Now there is no reason given, why, when their numbers were increased, they were yet weaker [than before:] for they were conquer'd that bout, twelve thousand of them slain, above two thousand taken, and the Romans took their Camp: yea, had not the coming of his Successor rebated the Conquerours vigour, the *Celtiberians* had been totally subdu'd. The new Prætors led both the Armies into their Winter Quarters.

At the same time, when this news came out of *Spain*, the Games called *Taurilia* were celebrated for two dayes upon a religious account. After which *M. Fulvius*, who prepared for them ten dayes together, set forth those Games, which he had vow'd in the *Aetolian* War. There came many Artists out of *Greece* for honours sake; and then also the Romans first saw Wrestling [which was at that time shewn] with hunting of Lions and Panthers; so that the sport was perform'd with the variety and plenty of almost this Age [of ours.] Then they kept a nine dayes solemnity, for that in *Picenum* it had rained stones for three dayes, and fiery meteors were said lightly to have sing'd the Cloaths of many people. There was also one day of supplication added, for that the Temple of *Ops* in the Capitol was burnt by lightning. Upon which score the Consuls sacrificed with the greater sort of Victims, and purg'd the City. About the same time there was a report came from *Umbria* too, that there was a Male and Female Bullock born of almost twelve years old. They therefore abominating that Prodigy, commanded it to be driven out of the Roman Territories, and kill'd as soon as possible. The same year the *Transalpine* Gauls coming over into *Venetia*, without Ravage or War, not far from that place, where *Aquileia* now stands, made choice of a place to build a Town. Whereupon Embassadors being sent from Rome, beyond the Alps, about that business, they receiv'd this Answer; That they neither went from home by the an-



thority of their own Nation; nor did they know what to do in Italy. At that time *L. Scipio* set forth the Games, which he said he had vow'd in the time of the War against *Antiochus*, for ten days together, out of that money which was raised for that purpose by the Kings and the several Cities. *Valerius Antias* says, that, after his being condemn'd, and that his goods were sold, he was sent Embassadour into *Asia*, to decide the Controversies between the two Kings, *Antiochus* and *Eumenes*. That then the money was raised for him, and Artists gather'd together out of all *Asia*: and that after his Embassy he moved the Senate concerning the Games, of which before he had made no mention since the War, in which he said they were vow'd.

XXIII. When the year was now expiring, *Q. Marcius* was to go out of his Office whilst he was absent: and *Sp. Postumius*, having made an end of the Inquisitions with all care and integrity, held the Assembly. There were created for Consuls, *Ap. Claudius Pulcher*, and *M. Sempronius Tuditanus*. The next day their Prætors were chosen, viz. *P. Cornelius Cethegus*, *A. Postumius Albinus*, *C. Afranius Stellio*, *C. Atilius Serranus*, *L. Postumius Tappianus*, and *M. Claudius Marcellus*. At the end of the Year, since *Sp. Postumius* had brought word, That, as he travelled over both the Coasts of Italy, he found two Colonies deserted, the one in the upper Sea, which was *Sipontum*, and the other in the lower Sea, called *Buxentum*; there were three persons chosen by *T. Menius* the City Prætor, (pursuant to an order of Senate) to carry Planters thither; [whose names were] *L. Scribonius Libo*, *M. Tuccius*, and *Cn. Babius Tampilus*. The War that was at hand with King *Perseus* and the *Macedonians* did not proceed from those causes, that many people imagine, nor from *Perseus* himself; but was set on foot by *Philip*. For he himself, if he had lived, would have carry'd on that War. One thing troubled him most of all, when he had conditions imposed upon after he was conquer'd; that the Senate had taken away from him the power of punishing those *Macedonians* who had revolted from him in the War; though, seeing *Quintius* had left out that whole matter in the terms of the Peace, he had not despaired of obtaining that [freedom]. Then when *Antiochus* was conquer'd at *Thermopyle*, and they had shar'd the manage of the War between them, so that at the same time *Acilius* attack'd *Heraclea*, and *Philip* *Lamia*, (when *Heraclea* was taken) for that he was order'd to march off from the Walls of *Lamia*, and the Town was surrender'd to the Romans, he took that ill. But the Consul asswaged his Anger, in that he himself hastening to *Naupactum*, whither the *Ætolians* were fled, permitted *Philip*, to make War upon *Athamania* and *Amynder*; and to add those Cities, which the *Ætolians* had taken from the *Thessalians*, to his own Kingdom. Nor had he much ado to drive *Amynder* out of *Athamania*, and take several Cities. He likewise reduced *Demetrias* (which is a strong City, and very opportunely situated for all designs) with the *Magnetians*, to himself. After that he took some Cities in *Thrace* too, that were disturb'd by the Vice of taking a new and unusual liberty (through the seditious of their Nobility) by joining with the party, which was overcome in that domestick broil.

XXIV. By this means for the present was the Kings Anger against the Romans appeas'd. But yet he never ceased even in times of Peace from raising of Forces, to make use of in War, whenever he had an occasion. He encreased the Revenues of his Kingdom, not only out of the Fruits of the Country, and Customs in the Sea Port Towns [for Wars exported and imported] but he likewise not only set men to dig the old Mines, that had been long intermitted, but made new ones too in many places. But, to restore the multitude of men, whom he had lost in the War, he not only provided for a new Generation of men, by forcing all people to get and breed up Children; but he brought over a great number of *Thracians* also into *Macedonia*: where, being for some time quiet from Wars, he bent all his thoughts and care upon a method how to augment the wealth of his Kingdom. But then there came the same reasons again, to move his passion against the Romans. For the complaints of these *Thessalians* and *Perræbians* (concerning their Cities being possess'd by him) and of the Embassadours of King *Eumenes* (concerning some *Thracian* Towns that were taken by force) were so heard, that it was evident enough they were not neglected. But that which moved the Senate most was, that they had heard, he affected the possession of *Ænus* and *Maronea*; for they did not care so much for the *Thessalians*. The *Athaman* Embassadours also came, complaining (not that they had lost some part, or the Borders of their Country, but) that all *Athamania* in general was now in the Kings hands. Banish'd persons too of *Maronea* were beaten out by the Kings Guards, because they had defended the cause of their liberty. They brought word not only that *Maronea*, but *Ænus* also was in *Philip's* possession. There likewise came Embassadours from *Philip* to clear him of those accusations: who said, That there was nothing done, but by permission of the Roman Generals. That the Cities of *Thessaly*, *Perræbia*, *Magnesia*, and *Athamania*, with *Amynder*, were in the same case, as the *Ætolians*. That when *Antiochus* was beaten, the Consul, being himself employ'd in attacking the Cities of *Ætolia*, sent *Philip* to retake those Cities: and that they being now subdu'd by force did pay obedience [to him]. The Senate, that they might not determine of any thing in the Kings absence, sent Embassadours to discuss those points, [whose names were] *Q. Cassius Metellus*, *M. Babius Tampilus*, and *T. Sempronius*: just before whose coming

coming there was a Council appointed of all those Cities, who had any controversy with the King, to meet at *Tempe* in *Thessaly*.

XXV. There when the Roman Embassadours, in the place of Arbitrators, the *Thessalians*, *Perræbians* and *Athamans*, as the Accusers, and *Philip*, to hear the crimes [charg'd against him] like a Prisoner, were [all] set together; every one of those, who were the heads of the Embassies, according to their natural inclination, their good or ill will to *Philip*, discours'd more mildly or severely. Now there came into the debate, *Philippopolis*, *Tricca*, *Phalonia*, *Eurymene*, and the other Towns thereabouts; whether they belong'd to the *Thessalians*, though they were by force taken away and kept by the *Ætolians* (for it was well known that *Philip* took them from the *Ætolians*) or whether they had been anciently *Ætolian* Towns. For *Acilius* granted them to the King upon that condition only, if they had anciently belong'd to the *Ætolians*; and if they were under the *Ætolians* out of their own free will, and not compell'd by force of Arms. The debates touching the Towns of *Perræbia* and *Magnesia* were much of the same nature: for the *Ætolians* had confounded the rights of them all by their possessing of them upon several occasions. But to these things that were in debate, there were added the complaints of the *Thessalians*; that he was resolv'd, if he must restore those Towns, they should have them all rifled and deserted. For besides those that were lost by the Fortune of War, he had taken away five hundred of the best of their youth into *Macedonia*, and there unworthily employ'd them in servile business; besides that he took care, that those which he was forced to render to the *Thessalians* should be of no use to them. That *Thebes* in *Pthiotis* was a Sea Port, that had once been very advantageous to the *Thessalians*. But the King having got a Fleet of Merchant-men, that were to sail by *Thebes* to *Demetrias*, had taken all the trade thither. That now he did not abstain from violating Embassadours neither who are lookt upon as sacred by all Nations; for he laid an Ambuscade for those that were a going to *Quintius*. Whereby all the *Thessalians* were put into such a fright, that never an one of them durst so much as open their mouths, either in their Cities, or in the publick Assemblies of their Nation. For the Romans, who were the Authors of their liberty, were a great way off: that a tyrannical Master stuck close to their sides, who hinder'd them from making use of the Romans goodness: but what was freedom, if their tongues were not free? That even now, in confidence of the Embassadours, they groan'd rather than spake: and that, unless the Romans found out some way, whereby the Greeks, that lived in *Macedonia*, might be eased of their fears, and *Philip's* audacity taken off; it was not only to no purpose that he was conquer'd, but that they were set at liberty. That he ought to be held in with a straight rein, like a *Wrestly Horse*, that will not easily be ruled. Thus spake the last of them somewhat sharply; though the former had mildly allayed his wrath, desiring, that he would pardon them, since they pleaded for liberty; and that, laying aside the austerity of a Master, he would use to shew himself an Ally and a Friend; and thereby imitate the Roman People, who chose to make themselves Allies by love rather than by fear. When the *Thessalians* had been heard; the *Perræbians* said, that *Gommocondylum*, (which *Philip* had named *Olympias*) belong'd to *Perræbia*, and desired, that it might be restored to them. They made the same request also concerning *Malleæ* and *Ericinium*. The *Athamans* too demanded back their liberty, together with the Castles of *Athenæum* and *Petneum*.

XXVI. *Philip*, that he might seem rather an accuser, than guilty, himself also beginning with complaints, said, that the *Thessalians* had taken by force and Arms, *Menclais* in *Dolopia*, which formerly belong'd to his Kingdom. As also, that *Petra* in *Pieria* was taken by the same *Thessalians* and the *Perræbians* [together.] That they took *Xynie*, which was undoubtedly an *Ætolian* Town, into their own Dominions; and that *Perachelois*, which belong'd to *Athamania*, was wrongfully made part of the *Thessalian* Territories. For, as to the crimes that were objected against him, concerning his laying wait for the Embassadours, and frequenting or forsaking such and such Sea-Ports, the one was very ridiculous (that he should give an account, what Ports his Merchants or Mariners went to) and other was quite contrary to his constant usage. For it was now so many years, that their Embassadours had never ceased to carry Stories of him, one while to the Roman Generals, and another while to the Senate at Rome; yet which of them did he ever abuse so much as in words only? That they pretended, there was an Ambuscade once laid for those that were a going to *Quintius*; but they did not say what, what befel them. That such crimes were invented by them, who sought for something, which they might falsely object, when they had nothing of truth [to tell.] That the *Thessalians* did insolently and immoderately abuse the indulgence of the Romans, whilst they too greedily guzzled down pure liberty, as those that had been long thirsty [did Wine.] That, upon the same score, they, like Slaves, who are, contrary to their expectations, on a sudden set at liberty, they try'd the freedom of their speech and tongue: and vaunted themselves by inveighing and railing against their Governours. Then raised by his passion he added; That Sun was not yet set for all dayes [that were to come:] which threatening saying of his, not only the *Thessalians*, but the Romans also took [as spoken] against them. And, when the murmur that arose upon those words was at last again allay'd, he then made Answer to the Embassadours of the *Perræbians* and *Athamans* [in this manner.] That the use of those Cities, for which they pleaded, was altogether the same: That the Consul *Acilius*, and the Romans gave him then, when they belong'd to the Enemy. That if they that gave him that present would take it from him again, he knew he must yield; but they would thereby do an injury to a better

a better and a more faithful Friend, to oblige a light and an useless [parcel of] Allies. For there was no obligation more fading than that of liberty; especially among such people, as by making a bad use of it were like to destroy it. Having heard the case, the Embassadors declared, That they thought fit the Macedonian Garisons should be drawn out of those Cities; and that the Kingdom should be bounded by its ancient limits. As to the injuries which they complain'd were done to them on both sides, that they would appoint a legal method how a decision should be made between those Nations and the Macedonians.

XXVII. The King being mightily offended with what they said, they went thence to Thessalonica, to inquire concerning the Cities of Thrace. Where the Embassadors of King Eumenes [told them;] That, if the Romans had a mind, that Aenus and Maronea should be free, it did not suite with their modesty to say anything else, save to admonish them; that they would leave them really and not verbally free; nor suffer their gift to be intercepted by another person. But if they less regarded the Cities in Thrace; yet it was more consonant to reason, that Eumenes should have those Towns, that were subject to Antiochus, as the rewards of War, than that Philip should: whether upon the score of his Father Attalus's merits in the War, which the Roman People waged against Philip; or of his own, who was concern'd in all the toil and danger of the War with Antiochus, both by Sea and Land. Besides that he had the judgment of the ten Embassadors in the case before hand; who when they gave him Chersonesus and Lyfimachia, gave him Maronea and Aenus too; which by their very Neighbourhood were as it were dependencies upon that greater present. For upon the account of what merit toward the Roman People, or right of Government (since they were so far from the Confines of Macedonia) had Philip put Garisons into those Cities? That they would order the Maronites to be called in; and from them they should receive a more satisfactory account of the state of those Cities. Then the Maronean Embassadors being call'd in, said, That the Kings Garison was not only in one part of the City; but in several places at the same time, and that Maronea was full of Macedonians. By which means the Kings flatterers domineered there. That they alone had the liberty to speak both in the Senate and in other publick Assemblies; and that they not only took to themselves but confer'd upon others also all kinds of honour. That every good man, who had any regard to his liberty and the Laws, was either banish'd his Country, or forced to live there in disgrace and silence, subject to a parcel of Rascals. They also added some few words concerning the right of their Borders; saying, That Q. Fabius Labco, when he was in those parts, set Philip a boundary; which was to be the Kings old road, that goes into the Paroreia [i. e. the Country, near the Mountain:] of Thrace, and comes no where nigh the Sea: but that Philip afterward went a new way, whereby to take in the Cities and Country belonging to the Maronites.

XXVIII. To this Philip, taking a quite different method of Discourse, from that which he lately used against the Thessalians and Perrabians, said; "I have no controversy with the Maronites, or with King Eumenes, but even with you, Romans! from whom I have long observ'd that I can have no justice [done me.] I thought it reasonable, that the Macedonian Cities, which in the time of the Truce, had revolted from, should be again restored to me; not because that would be any great addition to my Kingdom (for they are not only small Towns, but situate also upon the very Frontiers [of my Dominions]) but because the example would conduce very much to the keeping of the other Macedonians within [the bounds of their Allegiance.] But this was deny'd me. Then, being order'd, in the Atolian War, by the Consul Manius Acilius, to attack Lamia, when I had been long fatigued there with Battles and Works; as I was just ready to scale the Walls, and had almost taken the City, the Consul recall'd me, and forced me to draw my Forces off from it. To make me amends for the injury it was permitted, that I should retake some certain Castles (rather than Cities) of Thessaly, Perrabia, and Athamania. And those too, you, Q. Cecilius! some few dayes after, took from me. A little before that, the Embassadors of Eumenes, forsooth, took it for an unquestionable truth, that, what belongs to Antiochus, it was more reasonable, Eumenes should be Master of than I. But that I take to be quite contrary. For Eumenes could not have kept his Kingdom, not only, if the Romans had not been Victorious, but also, if they had not waged a War [against Antiochus.] Where he is oblig'd to you, not you to him. But as to my Kingdom, every part of it was so far from being in danger, that I slighted Antiochus's offer, though he promised me three thousand Talents, fifty men of War, and all the Cities of Greece, which I was formerly possess'd of, as a reward, if I would be his Ally. For I pretended to be his Enemy, even before that Manius Acilius came with his Army into Greece; and with him, as Consul, I bore any share in the War, that he appointed me [to take.] To the succeeding Consul, L. Scipio, also, when he resolv'd to lead his Army by Land to the Hellespont, I not only granted a free passage through my Kingdom, but I secur'd the wayes too, made Bridges, and provided him all sorts of necessaries: and that not only through Macedonia, but Thrace too; where, among other things, the Barbarians were to behave themselves peaceably also. For this my kindness (not to say, desert) toward you; whether, Romans! became you most; to add somewhat, in order to enlarge and encrease my Dominions by their munificence, or to take from me, what I had, either in my own right, or of their bounty? as you now do. The Macedonian Cities, which you your

"selves

"selves confels were once part of my Kingdom, are not restored. Eumenes comes to rob me, just as he did Antiochus, and pretends, forsooth, a Decree of the ten Embassadors to [cover] a most impudent Calumny; though by that he may be most of all baffled and put out of countenance. For therein it is plainly and literally set down; That Chersonesus and Lyfimachia should be given to Eumenes. Where, I pray, are Aenus, Maronea, and the Cities of Thrace named? What he durst not so much as desire of them, shall he obtain of you, as if they had granted it to him? It imports me [to know] in what number you would have me to be with you. If you resolve to persecute me as an open Enemy, go on, and do as you have begun. But if you have any respect for me, as a King, that is your Ally and Friend; I beseech you, do not think I deserve such hard usage.

The Kings Speech made the Embassadors somewhat concern'd; wherefore by a moderate kind of Answer they left the matter in suspense; [saying;] That if those Cities were given to Eumenes by Decree of the ten Embassadors, they would make no alteration. But if Philip had taken them in the War, he should enjoy them, as the reward of Victory, by right of War. If neither of those suppositions were true, they thought fit to refer the decision of the case to the Senate; and, to the end, that all things should continue entire, that the Garisons, which were in those Cities, should be drawn out. These were the chief reasons, that alienated Philips affections from the Romans; so that we may suppose this War was not raised by his Son Perseus upon any new grounds, but was entail'd upon him, for these causes, by his Father. At Rome there was no suspicion of a Macedonian War. L. Manlius the Pro-Consul was return'd from Spain; who desiring of the Senate a triumph in the Temple of Bellona, might have obtain'd it by the greatness of his achievements; but the example hinder'd it; for that there was such provision made, according to the usage of their Forefathers, that no Man, who had not brought home his Army, should triumph, unless he had left his Province totally subdu'd, and in perfect Peace to his Successor. Yet they allow'd Manlius a middle sort [or a less degree] of honour; to wit, that he come Ouant into the City. He brought along with him fifty two golden Crowns, a hundred twenty two pounds of gold, and sixteen thousand and three hundred of silver; besides that he declared in the Senate, that Q. Fabius the Questor was coming after him with ten thousand pound of silver, and eighty of gold; which he would likewise bring into the Treasury. There was a great insurrection of the Slaves in Apulia that Year. L. Postumius the Prator had Tarentum for his Province: who made a strict inquiry concerning the Conspiracy of the Shepherds, who infested all the publick roads and pasture grounds with Robberies; condemning seven thousand of them (though many fled for it) many whereof he punish'd. The Consuls having been long detain'd in the City, about the business of their Levies, went at length into their several Provinces.

The same Year, in Spain, the Prators, C. Calpurnius and L. Quintius, having, at the beginning of the Spring, brought their Forces out of their Winter Quarters, and join'd each other in Beturia, march'd forward into Carpetania, where the Enemies Camp was, being unanimously resolv'd and ready to engage. Not far from Hippo and Toletum, two Cities, there happen'd a Skirmish between their Foragers. Whom whilst they on both sides assisted from their Camp, all their Forces were by degrees drawn forth into the Field. In that tumultuary Battle, both the place, and manner of the fight were for the Enemy. The two Armies of the Romans, were beaten and forced back into their Camp. But the Enemies did not pursue them. So the Roman Prators, lest their Camp should have been the next day attack'd, about the dead time of the next night gave the signal privately, and led away their Army. At break of day the Spaniards came in Battalia up to their Bullwark, and marching into the Camp, which, contrary to their expectations, were deserted, they took what was left there in the hurry [which the Romans, at their departure were in,] and, going back into their own Camp, continu'd there at quiet for some few dayes. Of the Romans and their Allies, (in the Battle, and their flight) there were slain five thousand, with whose spoils the Enemy arm'd themselves: and thence they march'd to the River Tagus. In the mean while the Roman Prators spent all that time in mustering up of Spanish Auxiliaries out of the several Cities, that were their Allies, and in recovering their Souldiers Courage from the terror of the late unfortunate Battle. When they thought they had strength enough, and that the Souldiers also, to obliterate their former disgrace, desired [to see] the Enemy, they went and encamped twelve thousand paces from the River Tagus. From whence, at the third Watch, taking up their Ensigns, they came in a square Body at break of day to the Bank of Tagus. The Enemies Camp was beyond the River upon an Hill. Immediately therefore in two places, where they could wade through, Calpurnius on the right hand, and Quintius on the left, led the Army over: whilst the Enemy lay still, and wondering at their sudden arrival, stood to deliberate; though they might have put them into a consternation even as they were passing the River. In the mean while the Romans, having carry'd and gather'd all their Baggage into one place, because they saw the Enemy now coming on, so that they had not time enough to Encamp, set themselves in Array. In the middle were placed Calpurnius's fifth Legion, and Quintius's eighth (which was the strength of the whole Army) and they had the plain open before them as far as the Enemies Camp, free from all fear of Ambuscades.

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XXXI. The Spaniards, seeing the two Roman Armies on the hither bank (that they might take them, before they could join each other, or marshal their Men) ran out of their Camp as fast as they could to engage them. Whereupon there was, at the beginning, a very fierce Battle, the Spaniards on the one side being proud of their late Victory, and the Roman Soldiers fired by their unusual disgrace. The main Body, consisting of two stout Legions, fought very bravely; whom when the Enemy saw they could not force to quit their post, they began to attack them wedge-wise, pressing upon the middlemost in greater numbers still and thicker. With that, when Calpurnius the Prætor saw the main Body so hard put to't, he sent two Lieutenants (*T. Quintilius Varius*, and *L. Juventius Thalna*) in all haste to encourage each Legion: bidding them inform and tell them, That in them alone lay all their hopes of conquering and preserving Spain. If they gave ground, that never a man in that Army would ever see (not only Italy, but not so much as) the farther Bank of *Tagus* any more. In the mean while he himself, riding a little way about with the Horse of two Legions, fell in upon the Flank of the Enemies wedge, that prest so hard upon the main Body. *Quintius* with his Horse attack'd the other Flank of the Enemy: though *Calpurnius's* Horse fought far more resolutely; and the Prætor himself above all the rest. For he first assaulted the Foe, and so engaged himself in the midst of them, that it could scarce be discern'd, what side he was of. So the Horse were animated by the Courage of their Prætor, and the Foot by the bravery of the Horse. The foremost Centurions were ashamed, to see their Prætor amidst the Weapons of the Enemy: and therefore they, every one of them, urg'd on the Ensign-Bearers, bidding them carry up the Banners, whilst all the rest immediately renew'd the noise, and cry'd out, Follow, to the Souldiers. They therefore made their effort as it were from an higher ground: and thereby, like a torrent, came rowling down, and totally routed the consternated Spaniards, who could not bear the shock, the Romans came fast upon them one after another. As they fled into their Camp the Horse pursu'd them, and, being mixt among the crowd of the Enemy, got into the Camp [along with them.] Where, by the help of those that were left to guard the Camp, the Fight was renew'd; and the Roman Horse were forced to alight. As they were at it, the fifth Legion came up; and after them, the rest of the Forces, as fast as they could. The Spaniards were kill'd all round over the whole Camp; nor did there above four thousand men escape. Of whom about three thousand, who had still kept their Arms, possess'd themselves of an adjacent Hill; whilst the other thousand half-arm'd stragled about the Country. There were of the Enemy at first above thirty five thousand, of whom there was only so small a share [as these] left after the Fight. There were taken, of Military Ensigns a hundred thirty three. Of the Romans and their Allies there fell not many more than six hundred, and of the Provincial Auxiliaries about a hundred and fifty. There were five Tribunes of the Souldiers lost, and some few Roman Horse, which made the greatest show among them of a bloody Victory. They staid in the Enemies Camp, because they had not time to fortify their own. The next day the Horsemen were publicly commended by *C. Calpurnius*, and presented with new Trappings [for their Horses;] besides, that he declar'd, that they were the chief cause of the Enemies being routed, and their Camp taken. *Quintius* the other Prætor presented his Horsemen with Chains [for Ornament, to wear about their Necks or Arms] and Buttons [for their Cloaks.] Many of the Centurions also in both Armies had Presents made to them, especially those, that were in the main Body.

XXXII. The Consuls, having made an end of their Levies and other affairs which they had at Rome, led their Army into the Province of *Liguria*. *Sempronius* marching from *Pise* into the Territories of the *Apuan Ligurians*, (by laying wast their Country, and burning their Villages, with their Castles) open'd a passage all along even to the River *Macra*, and the Port of *Luna*. The Enemy got upon an Hill which was the ancient seat of their Forefathers: from whence (when [the Romans had] conquer'd the unevenness of the place) they were, in the Battle, tumbled down. *Ap. Claudius* also equal'd the valour and success of his Colleague by several prosperous Battles against the *Ingaunians* of *Liguria*: besides that he took six of their Towns; and in them many thousand people [Prisoners.] Of whom he beheaded forty three who were the Authors of the War. But by this time the time of the Assembly was at hand. Yet *Claudius* came to Rome, before *Sempronius* (whose duty it happen'd to be to hold the [Consular] Assembly) because his Brother *P. Claudius* stood for the Consul: and had for his Competitors three Patricians [of the Degree of Senators] namely, *L. Amilius*, *Q. Fabius Labeo*, and *Servius Sulpicius Galba*, who were old Candidates, and stood again for that honour, which their former repulses had made them think to be the more due to them. And farther, since there could not be above one Patrician chosen, it would be the more difficult to carry it, when four stood [for the Office.] There were also several worthy Plebeians that stood, viz. *L. Porcius*, *Q. Terentius Culleo*, *Cn. Babius Tamphilus*, who, though they had been formerly repulsed were still in hopes one time or other to obtain that defer'd honour. *Claudius* was the only new Candidate amongst them all. In the opinion of the people there was no question but *Q. Fabius Labeo*, and *L. Porcius Licinus* were design'd [for the place.] But the Consul *Claudius*, running all about the Forum without any Lictors along with his Brother, (though his Adversaries, and the greater part

part of the Senate cry'd out, That he ought to remember that he was Consul of Rome, rather than that he was Brother to *P. Claudius*: and that he should sit in the Court, either as a Judge, or a silent Spectator of the Assembly, yet) could not be taken off of his immoderate zeal. The Assembly was likewise several times disturbed by the great content of the Tribunes of the People, who were either for or against the Consul; till *Appius* at last so far prevailed, that *Fabius* was put by, and he got his Brother in. So *P. Claudius Pulcher* was chosen contrary to his own, and all other peoples expectations. *L. Porcius Licinus* kept his station, because the Plebeians strove not with that heat as *Claudius* did, but were much more moderate. Then the Assembly was held for chusing of Prætors; and into that office were put, *C. Decimius Flavius*, *P. Sempronius Longus*, *P. Cornelius Cethegus*, *Q. Nevius Matho*, *C. Sempronius Blasius*, and *A. Terentius Varro*. These things were done that year, wherein *Ap. Claudius* and *M. Sempronius* were Consuls.

In the beginning of the next year, wherein *P. Claudius* and *L. Porcius* were Consuls; after that *Q. Cecilius*, *M. Babius* and *T. Sempronius*, who were sent to decide the Controversies between *Philip*, *Eumenes*, and the Cities of *Thessaly*, had given an account of their Embassy, they introduced the Embassadors also of those Kings and Cities into the Senate. Thereupon the same things were again repeated that had been said before the Embassadors in Greece. And then the Senate order'd another new Embassy into *Macedonia* and *Greece* (of which *Ap. Claudius* was the head) to see, whether the Cities were restored to the *Rhodians*, *Thessalians*, and *Perræbians*. They were likewise order'd, to see the Garisons drawn out of *Aenus* and *Maronea*, and that all the Sea Coast of *Thrace* were deliver'd from *Philip* and the *Macedonians*. They were also commanded to go into *Peloponnesus*, from whence the former Embassy had departed and left things more unsettled than if they had never come thither. For among other things they were also dismiss'd without an Answer, nor were they, upon their request, admitted to have an Audience of the *Achean* Council. Of which *Q. Cecilius* making great complaint; and the *Lacedæmonians* lamenting at the same time, that their Walls were pull'd down; that their common people were carry'd away into *Achaia* and sold, and that *Lycurgus's* Laws, by which their City had been till that day upheld, were taken from them; the *Acheans* said most in excuse for having deny'd the Embassadors admission to their Council; reciting a Law, which forbade any Council to be summon'd, unless it were upon the score of Peace or War, or when Embassadors came from the Senate with Letters, or other written Commissions or Messages. But that that might be no excuse for the future, the Senate shew'd them, that they ought to take care, that the Roman Embassadors might always have the freedom of coming to the Council of their Nation; as they themselves, whenever they would, had admission into the Senate [at Rome.]

These Embassies being dismiss'd, *Philip*, when he heard, that he must quit the Cities, and draw forth his Garisons; was incens'd against them all, but vented his Anger chiefly upon the *Maronites*. Wherefore he commanded *Onomastus*, who was Governour of the Sea-Coast, to kill all the heads of the contrary Faction. And accordingly he, having got a Company of *Thracians* into the Town in the night time, by means of one *Cassander*, a Subject of the Kings that had lived a great while at *Maronea*, made such a slaughter, as though he had taken the City in War. Now therefore when the Roman Embassadors complain'd, that he shou'd shew himself so cruel to the innocent *Maronites*, and so insolent to the Roman People, as to kill them, to whom the Senate had thought fit to restore their liberty; he said, that business did not at all concern either himself or any of his [Subjects]. But that they fell out among themselves; whilst some of them were for delivering the City up to him; and others, to *Eumenes*. Which they might easily know, if they would but ask the *Maronites*; as being well assur'd, that, since they were all so much consternated at the late slaughter [which was made in their Town] never a man of them would dare to open his mouth. *Appius* said, They ought not to make any question of a thing that was so plain. But if he would acquit himself from the charge, he ought to send *Onomastus* and *Cassander*, by whom the thing was said to be committed, to Rome, that the Senate might examine them. That saying of his at first so disturbed the King, that his colour went and came, nor could he keep his Countenance. But soon after, having recover'd himself, he said, that, if they pleas'd, he would send *Cassander*, who had been at *Maronea*. But what had *Onomastus* to do with the matter? who had not been (not only at *Maronea*, but) so much as in the adjacent Country? For he not only was tender of *Onomastus*, who was a great Favourite of his own, but likewise was much more afraid, lest he should turn Informer: because as he had himself contrived the thing with him, so he had formerly employ'd him in many such designs. *Cassander* too is thought to have been poison'd by men that were sent after him through *Epirus*, lest he should make any discovery.

So the Embassadors went away from the Conference with *Philip*, in such a manner, that they shew'd, They were not pleas'd with any thing [that he had said]; and *Philip*, not doubting, but that he must of necessity renew the War, yet because his strength was not yet ripe for such an affair (to cause a delay) resolv'd to send *Demetrius*, his younger Son, to Rome, not only to clear him of the crimes laid to his charge, but also to mitigate the Senates displeasure; being pretty confident, that the youth himself too, who, when he was an Hostage at Rome, had given some proof of his Princely Genius, would do something or other to purpose. In the mean time, under pretence of assisting the *Byzantians*, but in deed,

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deed,



deed, to terrifie the petit Kings of *Thrace*, he went [into those parts] and having defeated them in one Battel, in which he took their General *Amodocus*, he returned into *Macedonia*, having sent before-hand to sollicite the *Barbarians*, that inhabit near the River *Ister*, to make an irruption into *Italy*. By this time the Roman *Embassadors*, that were ordered to go out of *Macedonia* into *Achaia*, were expected; against whom, that they might have their Ensigns all ready laid, *Lycortas* their State-holder appointed a Council. In which they discours'd concerning the *Lacedemonians*, saying, That they, of *Enemies*, were become their *Accusers*; and that there was danger, that they might be more dreadful now they were conquer'd, than when they were yet engaged in the War. For in the War the *Achæans* had made use of the Romans as their *Allies*; but that now the same Romans were more favourable to the *Lacedemonians* than to the *Achæans*, since even *Areus* and *Alcibiades*, both banish'd Persons, that had been restored by their means, had undertaken an Embassy to Rome against the Nation of the *Achæans* which had so well deserv'd of them; and had inveigh'd so much against them, that they seem'd still to be in exile and not restored. Thereupon they all cry'd out, There should be a report made concerning those persons in particular; and so, since all things were carry'd with heat and not with judgment, they were condemn'd to dye. Some few Days after the Roman *Embassadors* came, and had a Council summon'd [to give them audience] at *Clitor* in *Arcadia*.

XXXVI. But before they did any thing, the *Achæans* were afraid, and thought, how unequal the debate was like to be, for that they saw *Areus* and *Alcibiades*, whom they, in their last Council, had condemn'd to dye, with the *Embassadors*; nor [for that reason] durst any one of them so much as speak. *Appius* said, That those things, of which the *Lacedemonians* complain'd, displeas'd the Senate, viz. First, the slaughter of those Persons, who, being called forth by *Philopæmen* to take their tryal, were kill'd; and next, when they had been so barbarous to those Men, neither did their cruelty abate in any kind. For the Walls of that most famous City were demolish'd, their ancient Laws abrogated, and the Discipline of *Licurgus*, so celebrated through all Nations, quite destroyed. When *Appius* had said this, *Lycortas* (not only as he was *Prætor* [State-holder] but also because he was of *Philopæmen*'s faction, who had been the Author of all things that were done at *Lacedæmon*) made this answer, 'Tis much more difficult, *Appius Claudius*! for us to speak before you, than it was lately to the Senate. For then we were to answer the *Lacedæmonians*, who accus'd us; but now we are accus'd by you your selves, before whom we are to make our defence. Which unequal circumstances of ours we undergo with that hope, that you'll hear us with the [impartial] mind of a Judge, laying aside that heat, wherewith you just now spake, I truly (since you, a little while ago, mentioned those things, of which the *Lacedemonians* complain'd, not only formerly here, to *Q. Cæcilius*, but afterward also to the Senate of Rome) shall believe that I answer, not to you but to them, in your presence. Now you charge us with the slaughter of those Persons, who, being summon'd by *Philopæmen* to make their defence, were kill'd; but this crime, Romans! I suppose ought not only not to have been objected to us by you, but not so much as even before you. Why so? why because it was in their League, that the *Lacedæmonians* should not meddle with the maritime Cities. Now when they took up Arms, and by force in the Night time seiz'd those Cities, from which they were ordered to abstain, if *T. Quintius*, or the Roman Army had been then in *Peloponnesus*, as before, the surpriz'd and oppress'd [Inhabitants of those places] would have all fled to them. But since you were a great way off, whither should they run but to us, their *Allies*, whom they had seen assisting *Gytheum*, and attacking *Lacedæmon* with you upon the like occasion? 'Twas upon your account therefore that we undertook a just and a pious War. Which since some People commend, (nor can the *Lacedæmonians* themselves blame us for it) and the Gods too approved of, who gave us the Victory; how do these things, that were done by the Law of Arms, come now into dispute, though the greatest part of them does not at all concern us. Indeed we were the Persons that summon'd them to a tryal, who had excited the multitude to take up Arms, that by force had taken and rifled the maritime Towns, and made such a slaughter of the chief Men in them; but that they were killed as they were coming to make their defence, is their charge, *Areus* and *Alcibiades* (who now, forsooth, are our accusers) and not ours. For the banish'd *Lacedæmonians* (of which number they were two, and then with you, as having chosen the maritime Towns for their habitation) thinking themselves to be aimed at; made an attack upon them, by whose means they were driven into Exile (but even there (which the more enraged them) could not live in quiet for them); and so *Lacedæmonians* kill'd *Lacedæmonians*, and not *Achæans*. Nor does it concern us to argue whether they were justly or injuriously slain.

XXXVII. But sure, *Achæans*! it was you, that abolish'd the ancient Laws and Discipline of *Lycurgus*, and pull'd down their Walls. Both which objections how can the same persons make; since the Walls of *Lacedæmon* were not built by *Lycurgus*, but some few years ago, in order to dissolve *Lycurgus*'s Discipline? For the Kings made them of late dayes as a guard and defence to themselves, not to the City. And if *Lycurgus* were alive again, he would be glad to see them down; and would say, that now he saw the face of his Country, even ancient *Sparta*. You, *Lacedemonians*, ought not to have expected *Philopæmen*, or the *Achæans*, but should with your own hands have removed and thrown down all the Monuments their of Tyranny. For those were your ugly scars (as it were) of servitude; for though you had lived free without Walls for almost eight hundred years, and

and sometimes also had been chief of all Greece, yet you were afterward Slaves for a hundred years, bound up in Walls (made round about your Town) like Fetters. As to the abrogation of the Laws, I suppose, the Tyrants abolish'd the ancient *Lacedæmonian* Laws; and that we did not take away their own (which they then were not possess'd of) but gave them ours: nor did we do the City any small kindness, when we made it part of our Council, and mingled them among us: that so there might be but one Body of men, and one general Council in all *Peloponnesus*. Then, I conceive, if we our selves had lived under one sort of Laws, and had injoin'd them another, they might have well complain'd, and have been angry, that they were so hardly dealt with. I know, *Appius Claudius*, that what I have hitherto said, hath not been proper for *Allies* to say before their *Allies*, nor like a free Nation; but rather like Slaves that are making their defence before their Masters. For if those words of the Cryer were to any purpose, whereby you order'd the *Achæans* to be first of all [declared] free, if the League continue in force; if our Alliance and Friendship be equally preserv'd [on both sides] why do you (since I do not desire to know what you Romans did after you had taken *Capua*) require to be inform'd, what we *Achæans* did, when we had conquer'd the *Lacedæmonians* in War? Why some of them were kill'd, suppose, by us. What? Did not you behead the *Capuan* Senators? We demolish'd their Walls. Did not you (not only pull down their Walls, but also) take away their City and Country from them? The League, you'll say, is equally obliging [on both sides] [to the Romans as well as] the *Achæans*, to see to; but in reality the *Achæans* have but a precarious sort of liberty: besides, that the Government is in the hands of the Romans. I know it, *Appius*; and, if I ought not to be, I am not vex'd at it. But I desire you, that, what difference soever there be between the Romans and the *Achæans*, yet ours and your *Enemies* may not be in the same, or rather better circumstances with you, than we, who are your *Allies*. For we were the cause of their being equal with us; when we gave them our Laws, and made them part of the *Achæan* Council. But that's too little for them that are conquer'd, which satisfies the Conquerours. They desire more as *Enemies*, than they have as *Allies*. Those things which we are obliged by Oath to preserve in Monuments of Letters cut in stone for an eternal memorial of them, as sacred and inviolable, they would have us (for-swear our selves and) abolish. Romans, we honour, and (if you'll have us say so) fear you: but we honour and fear the immortal Gods much more. He was heard with the assent of the greatest part, and they all thought, he had spoken according to the majesty of a Magistrate: so that it easily appear'd, that by dealing gently he could not maintain his dignity with the Romans. Then *Appius* said, he would advise the *Achæans* by all means, whilst they might voluntarily do it, to be Friends [with the *Lacedæmonians*] lest they should soon afterward be forced to it against their wills. This saying of his was heard with a general sorrow, but made them afraid to refuse his commands. They only desired, that the Romans would alter what they pleas'd as to the *Lacedæmonians*; but would not oblige the *Achæans* to make those things void which they had establish'd with an Oath: and then the Sentence of Death against *Areus* and *Alcibiades*, which lately made, was revers'd.

At Rome, in the beginning of that Year, when they had discours'd concerning the Pro- XXXVIII  
vinces of the Consuls and *Prætors*, the Consuls had *Liguria* (because there was no War any where else) allotted them. The *Prætors*, *C. Decimus Flavius* had the City, and *P. Cornelius Cethegus* the Jurisdiction between Citizens and Foreigners; *C. Sempronius Blasus* *Sicily*; *Q. Nevius Matbo* *Sardinia* (and was also to inquire concerning their poisoning there) *A. Terentius Varro* the hither *Spain*; and *P. Sempronius Longus* the farther. From those two Provinces there came about that time, two *Embassadors* named, *L. Juventius Thalna*, and *T. Quintilius Varus*. Who having inform'd the Senate, what a mighty War was made an end of in *Spain*, desired at the same time, that all honour might be ascribed to the immortal Gods for their great success, and that the *Prætors* might be permitted to bring away their Armies. Thereupon a Supplication was order'd of two dayes continuance: and when they talk'd of the Armies that were under the Consuls and the *Prætors*, they gave order that the whole matter concerning the Legions being brought home, should be reported [to the House.] Some few days after the two Legions, which *Appius Claudius*, and *M. Sempronius* had had, were allotted to serve under the Consul in *Liguria*. Concerning the Spanish Armies, there was a great contest between the new *Prætors* and the Friends of them that were absent, viz. *Calpurnius* and *Quintius*. Both sides had the Tribunes of the People, and the Consuls [to back them.] The former of whom declar'd, that they would interpose against the Order of Senate, if they voted that the Armies should be brought home; and the latter, that, if such an intercession were made, they would suffer nothing else to be decreed. At last the favour born to the persons absent was over-power'd, and an Order of Senate made; That the *Prætors* should raise four thousand Roman Foot, and four hundred Horse; with five thousand Latine Foot, and five hundred Horse, which they should take along with them into *Spain*. And that when they had distributed these men into four Legions, they should disband all above five thousand Foot, and three hundred Horse in each Legion; but those first of all, who were old Souldiers, and then such as *Calpurnius* and *Quintius* had found to be most stout and serviceable in the War.

When this sedition was allay'd, there strait arose another upon the Death of *C. Decimi-* XXXIX  
us the *Prætor*. *Cn. Sicinius*, and *L. Puppins* (who had been *Ædiles* the Year before) and *C. Valerius*, *Flamen* *Dialis* [i. e. *Jupiter*'s High Priest] and *Q. Fulvius Flaccus* (who, because

he had been design'd to be Curule Ædile, was without a white Gown, but stickled most of all) stood for the same place; and Flaccus contended against the Flamen. But, though at first he seem'd to be equal with him, and soon after to have the better of it, part of the Tribunes of the People said, *They ought not to regard him, because he was not capable of, nor could he, as a single person, bear two Offices, especially Curule ones [i. e. eminent in the state] at the same time; whilst some of them said, they thought it reasonable he should be discharg'd from the obligation of the Laws, that the People might have the liberty of making who they would Prætor.* L. Porcius the Consul was first of opinion, *Not to take his name; and next, that he might do so by authority from the Senate, having summon'd the Senators together, he said, he refer'd it to them [to consider] that against all Law, and by an example which was not tolerable to a free City, one, who was set down for Curule Ædile, stood for the Prætorship; but that he, unless they thought any way else more convenient, design'd to hold the Assembly according to Law.* Whereupon the Senate voted, *That L. Porcius the Consul should treat with Q. Fulvius, that he might not be an hinderance to the holding of a Legal Assembly for choosing of a Prætor in the room of C. Decimius.* So when the Consul came to discourse with him according to the order of Senate, Flaccus told him, *That he would do nothing unworthy of himself.* By which ambiguous and imperfect answer he gave them some reason to hope, that he would do as they would have him, and yield to the authority of the Senate. But at the Assembly he nevertheless made a greater bustle than before, complaining, *That the Consul and the Senate extorted from him the kindness of the Roman People, and laid upon him the envy of a double honour, as though it were not manifest, that, as soon as he were design'd for Prætor, he would immediately renounce his Ædileship.* The Consul seeing his resolution, as a Candidate, still encrease, and that the favour of the People inclin'd more and more toward him, dismissing the Assembly, call'd a Senate, where they were generally of opinion, *That, since the Authority of the Senate did not at all move Flaccus, they ought to treat with him before the People.* Thereupon an Assembly being call'd, when the Consul had done speaking, Flaccus, who continued even then of the same mind, gave the Roman People thanks, *That they had been pleas'd, with so much zeal (whenever they had had the liberty of declaring their inclinations) to make him Prætor, and [said] that he would not slight the favour of his fellow Citizens to him.* That resolute saying of his gain'd him so much the more favour, that without all doubt he had been Prætor, if the Consul would have taken his name. Thence arose a great Contest, not only among the Tribunes themselves, but with the Consul too, till he call'd a Senate, and it was decreed, *That since Flaccus's obstinacy, and the evil zeal of some People hinder'd their holding an Assembly for choosing of a new Prætor according to Law, the Senate were of opinion that there were Prætors enough; that P. Cornelius should have both jurisdictions in the City, and should set forth Games to Apollo.*

XL.

This Assembly therefore being dissolv'd by the prudence and courage of the Senate, there was another held with greater heat, as being not only concerning a far more weighty affair, but among a greater number of much more powerful Men. For L. Valerius Flaccus, P. and L. Scipio, Cn. Manlius Vulso, and L. Furius Purpureo (who were Patricians) with M. Porcius Cato, M. Fulvius Nobilior, T. and M. Scipronius (Longus and Tuditanus who were Plebeians) were fierce contenders for the Censorship. But M. Porcius far excell'd all the Patricians and Plebeians too of the most signal Families. For in this Person there was so great a force of wit and understanding, that, where-ever he had been born, he seem'd to have been able to make his own fortune, as wanting no skill to manage either private or publick business. He understood both City and Country Affairs. Their knowledge in the Law promoted some Men to the greatest honours, others their Eloquence, and others their Military Renown. But, this Man had such a versatile head to all sorts of things, that you would have sworn, he had been born for that only, which he was about, whatever 'twas. In War he was exceeding stout, and famous for a great many signal Battels, who also, when he came to great Honours, was an incomparable General. He likewise, in Peace, if you consulted the Law, was very skilful; if a Cause were to be pleaded, very eloquent; nor such an one, whose tongue was only active whilst he lived (but who had left no Monument of his Eloquence behind him) no, his Eloquence does, and still shall live, prefer'd in his sacred Writings of all sorts. There are many of his Orations both for himself, and also for and against others. For he tired out his Enemies, not only by accusing them, but also by pleading of his own Cause. He had too many quarrels that continually kept him in action, but he weathered them all. Nor can you easily determine, *Whether the Nobility teaz'd him more, or he them.* This is certain, he was a Man of an obstinate Spirit, a sharp Tongue, and took too much freedom in his Speeches; but then his mind was invincible to all [unlawful] desires, and he was a Person of rigid innocence, a contemner of [popular] favour, and of Riches. In parsimony, and undergoing of toil and danger, he seem'd to have a Body and Soul too of Iron, which was not broken even by old Age it self, that dissolves all things. For in the eighty sixth Year of his Age he both pleaded and wrote his own Cause, and in the ninetieth brought Sergius Galba to his trial before the People.

XLI.

This man (as in the whole course of his Life, so then also) the Nobility malign'd, whilst he stood for that office: and all the Candidates came together (save L. Flaccus, who had been his Collegue in the Consulate) to put him by the honour: not only that they themselves

themselves might rather have it; nor because they were vex'd to see a new man a Censor, but also, because they expected a severe Censorship, and such as would endanger many mens Reputations, from a person, who as he had been injur'd by many people, so was desirous of revenge. For even at that time he stood for the place, with menaces in his mouth; complaining, *that they were against him, who fear'd a free and a courageous Censorship; and Voted at the same time for L. Valerius; [saying] That, having him alone for his Collegue, he could chastize the new enormities [of the present times] and recal the ancient customs and manners.* The Audience being enflam'd with these words, they (though the Nobility were against it) not only made M. Porcius Censor, but added L. Valerius Flaccus too as his Collegue. After the Assembly for Censors, the Consuls and Prætors went into their several Provinces; except Q. Nevius, who was detain'd four months at least, before he went into Sardinia, by Inquisitions that he was to make concerning Poysoning; great part whereof he perform'd without the City in several Corporations and Boroughs, because it seem'd more convenient for him so to do. If you'll believe Valerius Antias, he condemn'd two thousand men. L. Postumius also the Prætor, who happen'd to have Tarentum for his Province, punish'd great numbers of the plotting Shepherds, and prosecuted the remainder of the Inquest concerning the Bacchanals with all diligence. For he pass'd Sentence upon many men (who either when summon'd, had not appeared, or having bilk'd their Sureties, were then lurking in that part of Italy) as guilty; though some he caught and sent to the Senate at Rome; where they were all put into Prison by P. Cornelius.

XLII.

In the further Spain things were all quiet, since the Lusitanians had been vanquish'd in the last War. In the hither, A. Terentius took the Town of Corbio (which is in the Suesetan Territories) with Galleries and Works. After which the hither Province also was at rest all the Winter. The old Prætors C. Calpurnius, and L. Quintius return'd to Rome; where they had each of them a triumph decreed by general consent of the Senate. But Calpurnius triumph'd first over the Lusitanians and Celtiberians. He brought in eighty three Crowns of gold, and twelve thousand pounds of silver. Some few days after L. Quintius Crispinus Triumph'd upon account of the same Lusitanians and Celtiberians; bringing in his triumph the like quantity of gold and silver. The Censors, M. Porcius and L. Valerius, survey'd the Senate, whose expectation was mixt with fear. They turn'd seven out of the Senate: one of which was a person very remarkable, both for his Birth and Honours, called L. Quintius Flaminius, a Consular man. 'Tis said, that in the memory of our Forefathers it was order'd, that the Censors should make a remark upon every one, whom they put out of the Senate. There are extant indeed other sharp Speeches of Cato's against those men, that he either removed from the order of Senators, or from whom he took their Houses: but the most severe one of all is against L. Quintius; which if he had made, as an Accuser, before his removal, and not as Censor afterward, even T. Quintius, his Brother (though he had then been Censor) could not have kept Quintius in the Senate. Among other things he laid to his charge: *That one Philip, a Carthaginian (who was his beloved, and a remarkable \* Catamite) was [by him] carry'd from Rome into the Province of Gaul, in hopes of great Presents. That that Boy, when he wantonly rally'd with him, was often wont to upbraid the Consul, that, just before the Sword-Prize, he was taken from Rome, to oblige his Lover. And that as they were once making merry together, when they were now heated with Wine, that news was brought whilst they were in the midst of their jollity, that a Boian Gentleman was come thither as a Fugitive, he and his Children. That he had a mind to wait upon the Consul, and have his promise of protection face to face. That being brought into the Tent he began to speak to the Consul by an Interpreter. But that, as he was at talking to him, Quintius said to his Catamite; Hast thou a mind (since thou camest away from Rome before the Gladiators fought) to see this Gaul here die? and that he had scarce seriously consented to it, before the Consul, upon the Catamites yielding to it, with a drawn Sword, that hung over his head, whilst the Gaul was a speaking, first wounded him in the head, and then, as he was running away, and implor'd the assistance of the Roman People, and all those that were present, ran him through the side.*

XLIII.

Valerius Antias, as one who never had read Cato's Oration, but believ'd an idle story only, which was set abroad without any certain Author; tells us another Tale, though very like this, as to the Lust and Cruelty of it. That at Placentia he sent for a noted Woman, that he was in Love with, to a Feast. And that there as he was boasting of himself to the Whore, among other things, he told her, how severe he had been in his Inquisitions, and how many men he had in hold, already condemn'd to die, whom he resolv'd to behead. Whereupon, that she, lying at Table next below him, said, *she never saw any body behead a man, and therefore would fain see such a sight.* And that upon this occasion, he, being an indulgent Lover, commanded one of those miserable Creatures to be brought in, and beheaded him [before her.] Now this was a cruel and a barbarous action, he it as the Censor, or as Valerius faves; that, amidst their Cups and good cheer, where people used to sacrifice to the Gods in good Victuals, and to utter good wishes (to satisfy the curiosity of a Whore who lay in the Consul's bosom) an humane Victim should be slain, and the table besprinkled with blood. At the end of Cato's Speech Quintius is offer'd his choice, that if he deny'd that action, and those other things which were objected against him, to give security to make his own defence; but if he confessed it,

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not to think any man would be sorry for his disgrace, who, when he was mad with Wine and Lust, had made sport with the blood of a man at a Feast.

XLIV. In the Survey of the Knighthood, *L. Scipio Asiaticus* had his Horse taken from him. In rating of people also he was a grievous and a sharp Censor to all sorts of men. He order'd the under Officers to take an account in the Books of Rates of the Ornaments and attire of Women, together with their Sedans [or Litters] that were worth above fifteen thousand Asles of Bras. And farther, that all Slaves, under twenty Years of Age, that had been bought since the last Survey, for ten thousand Asles or more, should be valued at ten times as much as they were worth, and that for all such things the Masters should pay three Asles in the thousand. They cut off all the publick Water that flowed into any private House or ground; and demolish'd all Buildings or Balconies belonging to private persons, that jetted out into publick places, within thirty dayes. After that, they bargain'd for the making of Works, out of the money which was design'd for that purpose; for the paving of [several] Ponds with stone, and scouring the common Sewers, where it was necessary; as also for the making of such Sewers in the *Aventine* and in other places, where there as yet were none. *Flaccus* also by himself made a Mound at the *Neptunian Waters*, that the people might have a way; and a passage over the Hill at *Formia*. *Cato* bought two Courts [called] *Menim* and *Titium* in the Stone-quarries, with four Shops for the publick; and built a stately Fabrick there which was called *Porcia*. They also farm'd out the publick Revenues at very high rates, but got the publick work done at the lowest that they possibly could. Which bargains since the Senate (tired out by the intricacies and tears of those that farm'd or undertook such Revenues or Works) thought fit to rescin'd, and had order'd all things to be fetled anew; the Censors, having by an Edict removed all those persons (from the place where such Contracts were made) that had eluded the former Bargains, let out and contracted for the very same things at a very little less price. This was a remarkable Censorship, and full of broils; which kept *M. Porcius* (who was lookt upon to be so severe) in an hurry all his life time. The same year two Colonies were carry'd, *Potentia* into *Picenum*, and *Pisaurum* into the *Gallick Territories*: where each man had six Acres of Land allotted him. The same *Triumviri*, *Q. Fabius Labco*, and *M. and Q. Fulvius* (*Flaccus* and *Nobilior*) divided the Land and carry'd the Planters thither. The Consuls of that year did nothing that is worth the remembring either at home or abroad.

XLV. For the next year they chose as Consuls, *M. Claudius Marcellus*, and *Q. Fabius Labco*; who, upon the Ides of *March* [i. e. the 14<sup>th</sup> day] on which they enter'd upon their Consulship, made a Proposal concerning theirs and the Prætors Provinces. For Prætors were created, *C. Valerius*, *Jupiters* High-Priest, (who had stood for it the year before) *L. Postumius Albinus*, *P. Cornelius Sisenna*, *L. Puppius*, *L. Julius* and *L. Sicinius*. To the Consuls was assign'd the Province of *Liguria*, with the same Armies that *P. Claudius* and *M. Porcius* had had. The *Spains* were reserv'd to the Prætors of the former year, with their Armies, without casting Lots for them. The Prætors were order'd so to chuse, that one of the jurisdictions in the City might be the Province of the *Flamen Dialis* [i. e. *Jupiters* Priest]. He happen'd to have the Foreign jurisdiction, and *Cornelius Sisenna* had the City; *Sp. Postumius Sicily*; *L. Puppius Apulia*; *L. Julius Gallia*; and *Cn. Sicinius Sardinia*. Of whom *L. Julius* was order'd to go away by times. Now the *Transalpine Gauls* having (as I told you before) got over into *Italy* through a strange pass that was never before known, a Town in that part of the Country that is now called *Ager Aquileiensis*. The Prætor therefore was enjoin'd, to hinder (as much as in him lay, without making a War) the carrying on of that [work.] If he must of necessity make use of his Arms to obstruct it, he was to send the Consuls word; for the Senate resolv'd that one of them should lead the Legions against the *Gauls*. In the end of the last year there was an Assembly held for chusing of an *Augur*: and *Sp. Postumius Albinus* was created in the room of *Cn. Cornelius Lentulus*, who was then deceas'd.

XLVI. At the beginning of this year *P. Licinius Crassus* the High-Priest dy'd; in whose place *M. Sempronius Tuditanus* was chosen. *C. Servilius Geminus* was also created High-Priest. Upon the score of *P. Licinius's* Funeral there was a Dole of flesh given, and a hundred and twenty *Gladiators* fought; besides that there were Funeral Games set forth for three dayes; after which there was a Feast. And at that, there being Tables spread over all the *Forum*, a Tempest that arose, with violent showers, forced a great many people to set up Tents there: which, when it was all clear again, were removed. Whereupon they commonly said, they had done as the Soothsayers had prophesied; that it was necessary for Tents to be set up in the *Market-place*. When they were discharg'd from this religious obligation, another was laid upon them; for that it had rained blood two dayes together in the Court of *Vulcan*: for the expiation of which prodigy, the *Decemviri* appointed a Supplication. Before the Consuls went into their Provinces, they introduced the Foreign Embassadors from beyond Sea into the Senate. Nor were there ever before so many men from those parts at *Rome*. For since the report went about all the Nations, that inhabit near *Macedonia*, That accusations and complaints against Philip were not neglectfully heard by the Romans, but that it

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was worth a great many mens while to complain; each City and Nation, yea and many particular persons privately too (for he was a grievous Neighbour to all people) came to *Rome* either in hopes to ease their misery, or to gain the comfort at least of being condoled. There likewise came an Embassy from King *Eumenes*, with his Brother *Athenens*, to complain; not only that the *Garisons* were not drawn out of *Thrace*; but also, that *Auxiliaries* were sent to *Prusias* in *Bithynia*, who then waged War against *Eumenes*.

*Demetrius*, who was then but a very young Man, was to answer to all these things, XLVII. though it was an hard matter for him to remember either what was objected, or what was to be said against it. For they were not only many objections, but most of them mere trifles too; about the controversie concerning their Borders, their Men who were taken away, their Beasts that were driven away, about determinations in Law that were made according to his pleasure, who was Judge, or not at all, and of things that were adjudged either by force or favour. Now the Senate, seeing that *Demetrius* could not inform them of these things so clearly, nor they conceive them plainly enough from him, and were withal concern'd at the rawness and the disturbance of the young Man, they order'd him to be ask'd, Whether he had any thing to shew them under his fathers hand? To which he answering, that he had; they thought it most proper to take the Kings own answers to each particular. Wherefore they immediately desired the Book, and then gave him leave to read it. Now the cases upon each head were drawn up in short, so as that he said, He had done some things according to the decrees of the Embassadors, and that it was not his fault that he did not do the rest so, but theirs rather themselves who accus'd him. He likewise had therewith mixt complaints, touching the injustice of the decrees, and [shew'd] how unequally the debate was managed before *Cæcilius*; as also, that they all insulted dishonourably, and not according to any desert of his, over him. The Senate took these remarks of his provoked mind; but whilst the young Prince was excusing some things, and saying that he would undertake for others, That they should be as the Senate would be pleas'd to have them, they thought fit to make him this answer, That his father had done nothing more prudently nor more to the Senates mind, than that, however those things were done, he was willing to give the Romans satisfaction by his son *Demetrius*. That the Senate could wink at, forget and endure many things that were past, and believ'd also that they ought to believe *Demetrius*. For they had his Soul still for an hostage, though they had given his body back to his father; and knew, that, as far as he could be (preserving the duty he owed to his father) he was a friend to the Romans. And that for his honours sake they would send Embassadors into *Macedonia*; that if any thing were done less than ought to have been done, it might be even then performed without an expiation for what was omitted. Besides which, that they would have Philip know, that he stood as fair as ever in the good of the Romans upon the score of his son *Demetrius*.

These things, that were done to advance his Grandeur, turn'd strait into envy, and soon XLVIII. after to the ruine of the young Man. Then the *Lacedæmonians* were introduced. Whereupon there were many small Controversies started, but those that held the longest were, whether those Persons, which the *Acheans* had condemn'd, should be restored or no? whether they had kill'd those Persons whom they had kill'd unjustly or according to Law? and farther, whether the *Lacedæmonians* should stay in the *Achaean Council*? or whether the privileged of that one City, in *Peloponnesus*, should be separate, as it had been formerly? Whereupon it was resolv'd, That the Men should be restored, and the judgments, that had pass'd, be revers'd; that *Lacedæmon* should continue in the *Achaean Council*; and that this Decree should be written and signed both by the *Lacedæmonians* and the *Acheans*. *Q. Marcius* was sent Embassador into *Macedonia*, being ordered at the same time to inspect the affairs of their Allies in *Peloponnesus*. For there also were not only dissensions still remaining from their former animosities, but the *Messenians* too had revolted from the *Achaean Council*. Of which War if I should go about to set forth the cause and management, I should seem unmindful of my design, whereby I propos'd no farther to touch upon foreign matters, than as they are coherent with the affairs of *Rome*.

That was a memorable event, that, when the *Acheans* had gotten the better in the War, XLIX. *Philopæmen* their State holder was taken [Prisoner] as he was going to prepossess himself of *Corone*, which the Enemy aimed at, being surpriz'd in a rough Vale where he, with some few Horse, was. They say, he might have escaped by the assistance of the *Thracians* and the *Cretenians*, but was ashamed to leave those Horse-men (the best in all their Nation, whom he himself had lately chosen out) and therefore staid. So whilst he, himself bringing up the Reer, made way for them to get through the narrow pass, by undergoing the shock of the Enemy, his Horse fell down, and what with the fall it self, what with the weight of the Horse that fell upon him, was almost kill'd, being now seventy Years of Age, and grown very weak through a tedious Disease, of which he was just then recovered: so the Enemy came upon him, whilst he was down, and took him. At first (since they knew him) for modesty and in contemplation of his Merits, they took him up as though he had been their own General, refresh'd him, and carry'd him out of his pathless Vale into the Road, though through their extraordinary sudden joy they could hardly believe their own Eyes. Part therefore of them sent Messengers before hand to *Messene*, That they



they had made an end of the War; for Philopœmen was taken, and coming thither. Which report at first seemed so incredible, that the Messenger was not only taken for a Lye, but even a mad man too. But soon after, when several came, one after another, and told the same story, at last they believ'd it. And before they were well assur'd that he was come near the City, they all flock'd out to see the show, Freemen and Slaves, Women and Children. Whereupon the crowd fill'd up the Gate, whilst each particular person, unless he were convinced by his own Eyes, thought he could not be sufficiently assur'd of so great a thing. They therefore, that brought Philopœmen, could hardly get in at the Gate for the throng of people that came out to meet them; besides, that a numerous multitude had blockt up the rest of the way. By this means the greatest part of them being debar'd from the sight of him, they got into a Theatre, which stood by the roads side, and all with one Voice desired, that he might be brought thither for the people to look upon. But the Magistrates and Nobility, fearing, lest their compassion for so great a man, when he was before them, should cause any tumult (for some of them probably would be moved by their respect to his former grandeur, compar'd with his present condition, and others by their remembrance of his extraordinary merits) they set him in view at a good distance: but immediately took him away out of their sight; since the Prætor, *Dinocrates*, said, that the Magistrates had a mind to ask him some questions about the great occasion of the War. Then having brought him into the Court, and called a Senate, they began to advise.

L. By this time it was toward Evening, e'r they had resolv'd (not only upon other matters, but) where they might keep him safe the next night. For they were amazed at the greatness of his former condition and courage: so that they neither durst take him home with them, nor entrust any single person with the custody of him. But by and by some of them put the rest in mind, that there was a publick Treasury under ground, which was wall'd about with square stone. Into that therefore he was (bound and) put, and a great stone, wherewith it was cover'd, by the help of an Engine laid upon it. Thus they, thinking it more secure to trust to a place, than to any man to keep him, expected till the next Morning. The day following the whole multitude, remembring his former merits toward their City, were of opinion, that they ought to spare him, and through him to seek out remedies for their present misfortunes: though the Authors of the revolt, in whose hands the Commonwealth was, did all in secret contrive his Death; but whether they should hasten or defer it, was the question. At last those who were most desirous to have him punish'd, prevail'd; and there was a person sent to carry him poyson. When he took the Cup, they say, he spoke no other words, but only ask'd, *Whether Lycortas (who was the other General of the Achæans) and the Horsemen escaped safe?* To which when it was answer'd, *Yes*; that he said; *'Tis very well*; and thereupon drinking off the Cup without any fear at all, not long after expired. Nor was their joy for his death of any long continuance to the Authors of that Cruelty. For *Messene* being overcome in the War, deliver'd up the Criminals at the request of the *Achæans*, and restor'd Philopœmen's bones too, who was buried by the whole *Achæan* Council, and had so many humane honours by them confer'd upon him, that they could hardly abstain for [paying him] divine ones. By Writers, both *Greeks* and *Latines*, there is so much attributed to this man, that by some of them it is set down as a signal remark upon this Year; That three famous Generals deceas'd that Year, Philopœmen, Annibal, and P. Scipio: so equal did they make him to the greatest Generals of the two most puissant Nations in the World.

LJ. Mean while T. Quintus Flaminius came Embassadour to King *Prusias*, whom the Romans suspected, not only for having entertain'd Annibal after his flight, but also for making War against *Eumenes*. Thereupon, whether because it was objected against *Prusias* by Flaminius, that (among other things) there was a man in his Court, who was of all men living the greatest Enemy to the Romans; and had advis'd his own Country first, and next (when they were subdu'd) King *Antiochus*, to wage a War against the Roman people: or because *Prusias* himself, to gratifie Flaminius who was there present, and the Romans, resolv'd of himself to kill or deliver him up into his power; upon the first interview with Flaminius, there were Souldiers immediately sent to guard Annibal's House. Annibal had always had in his mind the prospect of such an end, in that he not only saw the inexpiable hatred of the Romans to him, but also that he ought not to put any confidence in those Kings; besides, that he had particular experience of *Prusias's* levity. He likewise was much concern'd at the arrival of Flaminius, as though it was like to be fatal to him. Now, that he might always have some way to escape, when ever he should be set round with danger, he had made seven wayes to go out of his House: and some of them private too, lest they might be stopp'd up by a guard. But the severe commands of Kings make every thing discoverable, that they have a mind to find out. For they surrounded the whole House with guards, so that no body could get out. Annibal therefore, when he was told, that the Kings Souldiers were in his Porch; endeavour'd to make his escape at a back Door, which was out of the way, and the most private out-let; but finding that too block'd up by a Company of Souldiers, and that all the House was environ'd quite round with Guards, he call'd for that Poyson, which he had long before prepared for such an occasion: *Let us free*, said he, the Roman People

People from their tedious care; since they think it long to expect the death of an old Man. Flaminius will gain no great, or memorable Victory over a person disarm'd and betray'd. How much the Roman people are alter'd in their carriage, even this day is a sufficient argument. Their Fathers gave King *Pyrthus* (who was their Enemy, in Arms, and with an Army in Italy) warning to take care of Poyson: but they have now sent a Consular Embassadour, to perswade King *Prusias* basely to murder his Guest and Friend. With that having sent some Curfes upon the Head and Kingdom of *Prusias*, he invoked the Gods of Hospitality as Witnesses of his violated Faith, and so drank up the Bowl. Thus dy'd Annibal.

LII. Polybius and Rutilius say, that Scipio dy'd this Year: though I agree not either with them, or Valerius: not with them, because I find L. Valerius who was Censor with M. Porcius, in the time of their Censorship, chosen President of the Senate, though Africanus had been so for two Surveys last past: who whilst he lived, unless he were put out of the Senate (which is a remark that no body has ever made upon him) no other President would have been chosen in his room. And as for Antias, M. Nevius, Tribune of the People, confutes him; against whom there is an Oration inscribed, P. Africanus. This same Nevius in the Books of the Magistrates was Tribune of the people when P. Claudius and L. Porcius were Consuls: but he enter'd upon his Tribuneship when Ap. Claudius, and M. Sempontius were Consuls upon the 9<sup>th</sup> of December: from which time 'tis three Months to the Ides of March, on which P. Claudius and L. Porcius enter'd upon their Consulate. By this account he might have lived in the time of Nevius's Tribuneship, and he have summon'd him to a Tryal at Law; but have deceas'd before the Censorship of L. Valerius and M. Porcius. Now these three men, who were the most Renowned in their several Nations, made not their Exit out of this Life more agreeably as to the time, than that ne'r an one of them came to an end that was suitable to the splendor of their lives. For first of all, they every one of them dy'd out of their native soil, nor were so much as buried there. Annibal and Philopœmen were taken off by poyson: of whom Annibal being banish'd, was betray'd by his Host; whilst Philopœmen being taken Prisoner was kept under Confinement till he dy'd: and Scipio, though he were not banish'd, yet, having a day set him, on which he did not appear upon the Summons, but was indicted though absent, condemn'd not only himself, but his Funeral too to voluntary banishment.

LIII. Whilst these things were done in Peloponnesus (from whence I digress'd) the return of Demetrius and the Embassadours into Macedonia, had variously affected the minds of several people. The commonalty of the Macedonians, who were allrighted at the War which they were like to have with the Romans, lookt upon Demetrius, as a Peace-maker, with great favour: and at the same time were very confident that they should make him King after the Death of his Father. For though he were younger than Perseus, yet he was born of a Legitimate Wife, and Perseus of an Harlot: who, as he was born of a common Prostitute, had no mark or proof of his having a certain Father; but that Demetrius was extremely like to Philip: besides, that the Romans would place Demetrius in his Fathers Throne: but did not value Perseus in the least. This they generally said: wherefore Perseus was mightily concern'd, lest his Age alone should not be prevalent enough for him, since in all other circumstances his Brother was superiour to him: besides, that Philip himself also, believing, that it would not be in his disposal which he should leave his Heir, thought his younger Son to be more troublesome to him, than he desired. He was sometimes offended at the Macedonians flocking to him, and vex'd, that there should be another Palace whilst he was alive. For as the young man was return'd (no question of it) more haughty [than before] relying upon the judgments of the Senate toward him, having those things granted to him, that were deny'd to his Father: so every mention of the Romans gained him as much Envy with his Brother and Father both, as it did honour among the other Macedonians: especially when there came other Embassadours from Rome, and he was forced to depart, and draw all his Garisons out of Thrace, as also to do other things, either by Decree of the former Embassadours, or according to some new constitution of the Senate: but all with great regret and sorrow. And that so much the more, because he saw his Son more frequently with them than with him: yet he shew'd himself obedient toward the Romans, lest he should give any present occasion for their making of a War: and to turn their minds from the suspicion of any such designs, led his Army into the middle of Thrace where the *Odrysiens*, *Dantheletes*, and *Bessians* inhabit. There he took Philippopolis, a City, that was deserted by its Inhabitants, who run away from it, they and their whole Families, into the tops of the adjacent Hills: and took the Champaign Barbarians, when he had pillaged their Country, by surrender. Then, having left a Garison in Philippopolis, which not long after was expell'd by the *Odrysiens*, he began to build a Town in *Deuriopus*.

LIV. That is a Region of *Paonia* near the River *Erigonus*, which running through *Paonia* out of *Illyricum*, is discharg'd into the River *Axius*. Not far from *Stobi*, an ancient City, he commanded the new City [which he built there] to be called *Perseis*, in honour to his eldest Son. Whilst these things were transacted in Macedonia, the Consuls going into their Provinces, Marcellus sent a Messenger before-hand to L. Porcius the Pro-Consul, that he should bring his Army up to the new Town, which the Gauls had built. But when the Consul

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came the Gauls surrender'd themselves; being in number twelve thousand armed men. A great many of them had Arms, that they took up in hast out of the Fields, which to their sorrow were all taken from them; besides other things, that they had plunder'd the Country people of, and brought along with them. Of which things they sent Embassadors to Rome to make complaint: who being introduced into the Senate by L. Valerius the Prætor, declared; That they, seeing their multitudes in Gaul were too abundant, being forced for want of Land [to cultivate] and other necessities, went over the Alps to seek a seat. And where they saw a place uninhabited, and solitary, there without injury to any man they sate themselves down. That they had begun likewise to build a Town: which shew'd, that they came not to molest any Country or City whatsoever. That M. Claudius sent a Message to them; that, unless they would surrender themselves, he would make War upon them. Whereupon, that they, preferring a certain, though not an honourable Peace, before the uncertain casualties of War, put themselves first into the protection of the Romans before they were absolutely subject to them. That after some few dayes they were order'd to depart both from their Country and City; and that they design'd to go quietly into what part of the World they could. But that then, first, their Arms, and, at last, all they had was taken away from them. Wherefore they desired of the Senate and people of Rome, that they would not be more severe upon them, who had innocently surrender'd themselves, than they were to Enemies. To this Speech the Senate order this Answer to be return'd, That neither they did well, in coming over into Italy, and endeavouring to build a Town in a Foreign Territory, without the leave of any Roman Magistrate, that was Governour of that Province: nor was the Senate willing, that, since they had surrender'd themselves, they should be plunder'd. Wherefore they would send Embassadors along with them to the Consuls: who, if they return'd from whence they came, should cause all things to be restored to them: and who should go forthwith beyond the Alps, to warn the Gallick People, that they should keep their mobile at home. That the Alps which was a boundary almost insuperable, was in the midst between them: nor would it be better with them, than it had been for those who first had made them passable. The Embassadors, that were sent, were L. Furius Purpureo, Q. Minucius, and P. Manlius Acidinus. [Upon whose arrival] the Gauls, having all things restored to them, that they were justly possess'd of, march'd out of Italy.

LV. The Transalpine people gave the Roman Embassadors a very kind Answer. But the Seniors of them rebuked the Roman People for their excessive lenity; in that they suffer'd those men to pass unpunished, who, without the consent of their own Nation, had gone and taken possession of a Territory belonging to the Roman Empire, and endeavour'd to build a Town in a foreign soil. That they ought to have set a good heavy mulct upon them for their temerity. But since they had even restored them their goods also, they feared, lest by such their indulgence, more of the same Nation would be excited to make the same attempt. They entertain'd and presented the Embassadors with many presents. M. Claudius the Consul, having driven the Gauls out of the Province, began to prepare for the Istrian War: having sent a Letter to the Senate [to desire leave] that he might carry his Legions over into Istria. That the Senate granted: but this they debated; whether they should carry a Colony to Aquileia: nor was it agreed upon; whether it should be a Colony of Latines, or of Roman Citizens. At last the Senate thought it best to send a Latine Colony; and the *Triumviri* created for the performing of that duty, were P. Scipio Nasica, C. Flaminius, and L. Manlius Acidinus. The same year *Mutina* and *Parma*, Colonies of Roman Citizens, were planted: in which two thousand men, through that Country, which was lately in the hands of the Boians, but formerly of the Tuscans, received, each one, at *Parma*, eight Acres, and at *Modena* five. The *Triumviri*, that carry'd them thither, were M. *Amilius Lepidus*, T. *Abitius Cævus*, and L. *Quintius Crispinus*. The Colony of *Saturnia* also, consisting of Roman Citizens, was carry'd into the *Cælestran* Territories, by the *Triumviri*, Q. *Fabius Labeo*, C. *Afranius Stellio*, and Tib. *Sempronius Gracchus*: and each man had ten Acres of Land given him.

LVI. The same Year A. *Terentius*, the Proprætor, not far from the River *Iberus*, in the *Ausetan* Dominions, not only fought several prosperous Battels with the *Celtiberians*, but also took some Towns which they had fortified in that Country. The farther was that Year at peace, not only for that P. *Sempronius* the Proprætor was long sick, but likewise that the *Lusitanians*, since no body provoked them, were all quiet. Nor was there any memorable action done in *Liguria* from the time that Q. *Fabius* was Consul there. M. *Marcellus* being recall'd out of *Istria*, dismissing his Army, return'd to Rome to hold the Assembly; in which he created for Consuls Cn. *Babius Tamphilus*, and L. *Amilius Paulus*, who had been Curule Ædile with M. *Amilius Lepidus*, and Consul five Years before, when that same *Lepidus* was made Consul after two repulses. Then they chose Prætors, Q. *Fulvius Flaccus*, M. *Valerius Levinus*, P. *Manlius* (the second time) M. *Ogubnius Gallus*, L. *Cæcilius Dentor*, and C. *Terentius Istra*. At the end of that Year there was a supplication appointed upon the score of certain Prodigies; for that they were satisfied, that it rained Blood two Days together in the Court of Concord; and that it was reported, That not far off of Sicily there arose out of the Sea an Island that had never before appeared. *Valerius Antius* says, that *Annibal* dyed this Year, in which Embassadors were sent about that matter to *Prusias*, namely

(besides *Quintius Flaminius*, whose Fame was great in that affair) L. *Scipio Asiaticus*, and P. *Scipio Nasica*.

## DECADE IV. BOOK X.

## The EPILOGUE.

4. When Philip had given order that all the Noble-mens Children, whom he had in custody, should be brought together and put to Death, Theoxena, upon the account of her own and her Sisters Children, who were very young, fearing the Kings Lust, brought forth several Swords, with a Cup full of Poyson, and perswaded them, that they would avoid the imminent disgrace [that was like to come upon them] by Death; and having prevailed upon them, kill'd her self also. 5, 6, &c. The contels between Philip of Macedon's two Sons, Demetrius and Perseus, are related. 8. And how Demetrius, who through the malice of his brother, was first of all falsely accused of Parricide (among other things) and aspiring to the Kingdom. 24. It was at last, as being a friend to the Romans, destroyed by Poyson, and how the Kingdom of Macedonia, when Philip was dead, came to Perseus. 16, 25, &c. The great success that several Generals met with in Liguria and Spain against the Celtiberians. 29. The Books of Numa Pompilius, both in Greek and Latine, were found lock'd up in a stone Chest in a field belonging to L. *Petillius* the Notary under Janiculum, by Men that were a ploughing there. In which, when the Prætor, to whom they were carryed, had read several things tending to the dissolution of Religion, he swore to the Senate, that it was against the interest of the Commonwealth, that they should be either read or kept. And therefore by an order of Senate they were burnt in the Assembly Court. 34. The Colony of Aquileia was planted. 54, &c. Philip being sore troubled in mind, that he had made away with his Son Demetrius, by the instigation of his other Son who falsely accused him, studied how to be revenged on Perseus, and had a mind rather to leave Antigonus his Successor in the Kingdom. But whilst he was thinking of this affair he was snatch'd away by Death, and Perseus came to be King.

I. IN the beginning of the next Year the Consuls and Prætors chose their Provinces. To the Consuls there was ne'r an one to be assign'd except *Liguria*. M. *Ogubnius Gallus* happened to have the City Jurisdiction, and M. *Valerius*, that among Foreigners. Of the two Spains, the hither fell to Q. *Fulvius Flaccus*, and the farther to P. *Manlius*; to L. *Cæcilius Dentor*, Sicily; and to C. *Terentius Istra*, *Sardinia*. Then the Consuls were commanded to make their Levies. Now Q. *Fabius* had written word from *Liguria*, That the *Apuians* were inclining to a Rebellion; and that there was some danger, lest they should make an in-road into the Territories of *Pile*. And from the Spains they were likewise informed, That the hithermost was in Arms, and a War waged with the *Celtiberians*; but that in the farther, by reason that the Prætor had been so long sick, all their military Discipline was dissolv'd through ease and luxury. Upon these grounds they thought fit to have new Armies raised, four Legions for *Liguria*, each one consisting of five Thousand two Hundred Foot and three Hundred Horse; to which there were added of the Latins fifteen Thousand Foot and eight Hundred Horse; and that these should be the two Consular Armies. They were farther ordered to raise seven Thousand Foot (of the Allies and Latines) and six Hundred Horse, to send to M. *Marcellus* in Gaul, whose Commission, though he were out of his Consulship, was continued. They likewise gave order for the raising of four Thousand Roman Foot and two Hundred Horse, with seven Thousand Foot and three Hundred Horse (of the Allies) to go into both the Spains. And Q. *Fabius Labeo* too was continued in Commission for another Year, with the Army that he had in *Liguria*.

II. That Year it was a very stormy Spring; for the Day before the *Palilia* [a Feast in honour of *Palis*, the Goddess of Shepherds] about noon a mighty Tempest arising with a Wind, did great damage to many places both sacred and prophane. It threw down the brazen Statues in the Capitol, carried a door from the Temple of *Luna*, that is in the *Aventine*, and fix'd it in a Monument upon the back Walls of the Temple of *Ceres*. It likewise overturned several other Statues in the *Circus Maximus*, with the Pedestals on which they stood, and miserably dissipated the roots of certain Temples which it forc'd off. Wherefore the Tempest was turn'd into a Prodigy, and the Soothsayers ordered a Sacrifice to be made upon account thereof. The like was also at the same time done, for that they heard there was a Mule with three feet born at *Reate*; and from *Formia*, that the Temple of *Apollo* at *Cajeta* was burnt with Lightning. For these Prodigies, there was a Sacrifice made of twenty bigger sort of Victims, and Supplication for one Day. At the same time they were inform'd by a Letter from A. *Terentius* the Proprætor, that P. *Sempronius* was dead in the farther Province after he had been above a Year sick. Wherefore the Prætors were commanded to go the sooner into Spain. Then the Foreign Embassadors were introduced into the Senate. First those of King *Eumenes* and King *Pharnaces* and of the *Rhodians*, who complained of the slaughter made in *Sinope*. There came likewise about the same time Embassadors from

the *Acheans* and *Lacedaemonians*: to whom there were Answers given, when *Marcus* had been first heard, who was sent to view the affairs of *Greece* and *Macedonia*. To the Kings of *Asia* and the *Rhodians* they made this Answer; That the Senate would send Embassadors to see how those things stood.

III. *Marcus* had encreased their concern about *Philip*: For he said, that *Philip* had done what the Senate order'd him, at such a rate, that it easily appear'd, he would no longer do so, than he of necessity was oblig'd to it: nor was it hard to guess, that he design'd to renew the War, since all things, that he at that time either said or did, tended that way. And he indeed now first brought over almost all the Horsemen out of the maritime Towns, with their Families into *Emathia* (as it is now called) formerly called *Paeonia*; delivering their Cities to be inhabited by the *Thracians* and other *Barbarians*; because he supposed that these would be a more faithful sort of men in the Roman War. That made a great disturbance in all *Macedonia*, and very few people when, with their Wives and Children, they left their House and home could contain their grief in silence; but you might have heard them Curse the King, as they went in Drove along, their hatred so far overcame their fear. By this means his tyrannical mind grew suspicious of all persons, places and times: till at last he began to declare openly, That there was no safety now left for him; before he had laid hold of and secured the Children of those men, that he had put to death, and taken them off one after another.

IV. That Cruelty, which was hateful in it self, was render'd yet more horrid by the destruction of one Family. He had kill'd *Herodius*, Prince of the *Thessalians*, many years before; and his Sons-in-Law sometime after. So that his Daughters were left Widows, with each of them a Son; their names being *Theoxena* and *Archo*. Of whom *Theoxena*, though she had many Suiters, was still against Marrying: but *Archo* was Married to one *Poris*, who was far the greatest man in all the *Aenean* Nation: to whom when she had born several Children, she left them all very small and dy'd. *Theoxena*, that her Sisters Children might be educated under her care, married *Poris*: and, as though she her self had bore them all, took the same care of her Sisters Children, as of her own. When therefore she heard of the Kings Edict for apprehending the Children of those persons that had been kill'd: supposing that they would be expos'd to the Lust, not only of the King, but their Keepers too, she bent her mind upon a cruel design, and dar'd to say, That she would kill them every one with her own hand before they should come into the Kings Clutches. But *Poris* abominating the very mention of so barbarous an action, said, he would carry them to Athens to people that would take great care of them, and would go along with them himself. Accordingly they went from *Thessalonica* to *Aenea* at a set time of Sacrifice, which was made each year with great Ceremony in honour of their Founder *Aeneas*. Where having spent that day in solemn Feasting, they got a board a Ship which *Poris* had laid ready, about the third Watch, when all people were a sleep, as though they were going back to *Thessalonica*; though they intended to cross over into *Enbaea*. But the Wind being against them it was day before they could get off far from the Land: and therefore the Kings men, who guarded that Harbour, sent an arm'd Vessel to fetch their Ship into [the Harbour] with an heavy Injunction, that they should not return without her. When they came near her, *Poris* was very intent upon encouraging the Rowers and Sailers; and sometimes lifting his hands to Heaven desired the Gods to assist him. In the mean time the resolute Woman, being return'd to her former project, which she had premeditated a great while before, prepared the Poyson and brought out a Sword; after which having placed the Cup, and several drawn Swords before their Eyes; Death, said she, is the only revenge. And these are the ways to Death: wherefore as each of you are most inclined, by that means make your escape from the Kings Tyranny. Come on my Lads, first, you that are the Elder, take the Swords in your hands: or drink up this Cup, if you are more inclined to die a slow Death. The Enemies were at hand, and the Author of their death at the same time urged them forward. So they being taken off by different means fell headlong over-board and half dead: till she her self at last, embracing her Husband, who was her Companion in Death, threw her self down into the Sea; and the Kings men boarded the Ship after the Owners were all out of it.

V. The cruelty of this action added new flame, as it were, to the Kings Envy; insomuch that the people in general curs'd both him and his Children: which execrations being in a short time heard by all the Gods, caus'd him to be barbarous even to his own blood. For *Perseus* seeing that his Brother *Demetrius* grew every day into greater favour and esteem with the *Macedonian* Commonalty, and gain'd more love still of the *Romans*, supposed himself to have no hopes of the Kingdom, but what depended upon wickedness, and therefore set all his thoughts upon that only. But because he saw that he was not able of himself to compass even so much as that which in his effeminate mind he had design'd, he made it his business to try, by cross questions, how every one of his Fathers Friends stood affected [to it]. Some whereof at first pretended to scorn any such thing, because they had most hopes of *Demetrius*. But soon after, seeing that *Philip*'s hatred to the *Romans* encreas'd (which *Perseus* indulg'd, but *Demetrius* did all he could to oppose) they foreseeing what would be the end of an Youth who was so unwary to frustrate his Brothers base design, supposed it

it the best way to promote what he was carrying on, and to cherish the hopes of the stronger; which made them join themselves to *Perseus*. As to other things they left them to be done each in its due time: but at the present they agreed, to enflame the King by all means against the *Romans*, and to put him upon the thoughts of a War, to which he was already inclined. And at the same time, to make *Demetrius* every day more suspected, they design'd their manners and customs, others their achievements, and others the form of their very City, which was not yet adorn'd either with private or publick works, and others all their great men in particular; the young man being unwary and out of love to the *Roman* name, as well as in opposition to his Brother, by defending all these things, made himself suspected by his Father, and more obnoxious to accusations. Wherefore his Father kept him altogether ignorant of what his designs were upon the *Romans*; having set his affections wholly upon *Perseus*, with whom he consulted about that affair both day and night. By this time those persons were come back again, that he had sent into the *Basternian* Dominions for aid, and brought thence certain noble young men, some of which were of the Royal Family: and one of them promised *Philip*'s Son his Sister in Marriage; by which Alliance of their Families the King was much enlivened. Then *Perseus* [said], What good do these things do us? There is not near so much security in foreign aids, as there is danger from treachery at home. I will not say we have a Traitor, but I'm sure we have a Spy in our very bosom, whose body indeed (since he was an hostage at Rome) the *Romans* have restored to us, but keep his Soul themselves. The Eyes of almost all the *Macedonians* are fix'd upon him; and they say, they'll have no other King, but whom the *Romans* have given them. The old Mans mind, which was in it self much disturb'd, was yet by these words put into a greater Commotion, and he received those accusations more with his heart than his Countenance.

It happened, that the time of surveying and purifying the Army was then come, the manner of which solemnity is thus, The head of a Bitch cut off in the middle, and the fore part with the Entrails is laid on the right hand, and the hind part on the left hand of the way. Between this divided Victim the Army marches through. Before the front of them are carried the remarkable Arms of all the *Macedonian* Kings even since the original [of that Monarchy] and then the King himself follows after with his Children. Next comes the Kings Regiment and his Guard du Corps; and after all the common multitude of *Macedonians* bring up the Reer. By the Kings side, on each hand, march'd his two Sons, *Perseus* who was now thirty Years of Age, and *Demetrius* twenty five; the former in the strength of his Age, and the latter in the flower, and the ripe Offspring [both] of a fortunate Father, had his mind been sound. Now it was the custome, when the Rites of this lustration were over, for the Army to draw off, and dividing into two parties to engage each other as though they had been in earnest. The Kings Sons were to be the Generals in this pretended Fight. But indeed it was not only the resemblance of a Battel, for they fell on as though they were to contend for the Kingdom; and there were many Wounds made with stakes [which they had in their hands] nor was there any thing wanting, save Swords, to make it look like a real conflict. That party, which *Demetrius* commanded, had far the better of it; at which, though *Perseus* was much concern'd, yet his prudent Friends were glad of it, and said, that very thing would afford good matter of accusation against the young Man.

There was that Day a Feast made by both of them for their Companions, that were on each side; and though *Perseus*, invited by *Demetrius* to Supper, had deny'd to come, yet upon such a Festival Day, kind entertainment, and youthful merriment, made them both very mellow. There they recounted the passages of their imaginary Battel, with drollery upon their Adversaries, insomuch that they did not spare the very Captains themselves. To take an account of these words, there was a Spy sent from *Perseus*'s entertainment, who being somewhat too negligent in his behaviour, was met by certain young Men that went by chance out of the entertaining Room, and beaten. *Demetrius* not knowing what was done, What then (said he) do we go to be merry with my Brother? to mitigate by our innocent mirth his passion, if any yet remain in him since the fight. With that they all cry'd out, they would go, excepting those, who fear'd a present revenge for their having beaten the Spy. But since *Demetrius* forc'd them also along, they hid Swords under their Coats, whereby to defend themselves, if any force should be offer'd to them. But there can be nothing kept secret in an intestine quarrel. Both Houses were full of Spies and Traytors. So there ran an Informer to *Perseus* before-hand, to tell him, that there were four young Men coming along with *Demetrius* arm'd with Swords. Now though the reason of that was manifest (for he knew that one of his guests was beaten by them) yet to make the thing appear the worse he order'd his Gate to be lock'd; and from the upper part of his House, out at the windows that look'd into the street, he forb'd the company to come near his Door, as though they had come to murder him. *Demetrius* therefore, after he had roared at him a little (as being somewhat in Drink) return'd to his own Feast, and was still ignorant of the whole matter.

The next day *Perseus*, as soon as he could come to his Father, going into the Palace with a di-

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VIII.



a disturbed Countenance, stood silent at a distance before him. Whereupon when his Father ask'd him; *Whether all things were well or no? What was the occasion of his melancholy?* he reply'd; *Know, Father, that all my life is now clear gains to me. For I am now attempted, by my Brother, not with secret Ambuscades: but he comes in the night with arm'd men to my House to kill me: where I was fain to shut my Door, and defend myself from his fury by the guard of my Walls.* By this means having infused a dread into his Father, mixt with admiration, he added; *And if you'll have but the patience to hear me, I'll make you understand the whole story very plainly.* To which Philip made Answer, that he would hear it, and commanded Demetrius forthwith to be called, with two of his oldest Friends, who were not privy to any animosity between the Brothers, and had been seldom of late at Court, namely *Lyfimachus* and *Onomastus*, to advise with. Whilst his Friends were a coming, he walked alone, (his Son standing at a distance) and revolved many thoughts within himself. When news was brought that they were come, he went into a private room with his two Friends, and as many of his Guard *du Corps*, giving his Sons leave to bring three men unarm'd in along with them. Where when he was late down; *I, said he, sit here, one of the most miserable Fathers in the World, being my self to act the Judge between my two Sons (the one an accuser [of his Brother] for Parricidy, and the other the person accused) and like to find in my own Children the stain either of a feigned or a real crime. Truly I long ago was afraid of this approaching storm, when I saw your faces, which did not look like those of Brothers, and heard some words [that you had spoken of one another.] But yet sometimes I was in hopes, that your passions might abate, and your suspicions be clear'd up. [I knew] that even Enemies had laid aside their Arms, and made a League; as also, that the private pique of many men had been made an end of: [and therefore I hoped] that you would one day remember the fraternal relation that is between you; with that childish innocence and conversation that was formerly between you, and my Precepts too, which I am afraid I gave in vain to deaf Ears. How often have I, in your hearing, detesting the Examples of Brotherly discords, told you the horrid events thereof? whereby they had utterly ruined themselves, their Children, Families and whole Kingdoms? I have also fit you better Examples on the other side: viz. that the sociable agreement between the two Kings of the Lacedaemonians, was the support both of them and their Country for many Ages. That the same City, when the custom came up for every one to make himself King that could, was destroy'd. And at this day, how have these two Brothers, Eumenes and Attalus, from so small a beginning, that they were almost ashamed to call themselves Kings, made themselves equal to me, Antiochus, or any other King of this Age, by nothing more than Brotherly unanimity. Nay I did not omit even Roman Examples, which I had either seen or heard of: of T. and L. Quintius; who waged War against me: of P. and L. Scipio; who conquer'd Antiochus: of their Father and Uncle, whose perpetual concord all their life time was continu'd even in their deaths: but neither could the wickedness of the one, and the issue, which looked like wickedness, deter you from ill-natur'd discord: nor the good inclinations and good fortune of the other, persuade you to Friendship and Sobriety. Even now whilst I am living here before you, you both, by your wicked hopes and desires, already enter upon my estate: and wish that I may only live so long, till by surviving the one of you, I may make the other an undoubted King at my death. You cannot endure either a Brother or a Father. You have no love or reverence for any thing: but an insatiable appetite to be a King swallows up all other desires. Come on; profane your Fathers Ears, and try who shall lay most accusations upon the other, as you are like soon after to decide it with your Swords in your hands. Say openly, what either of truth you can, or what you can devise: my Ears are unlockt, which hereafter, when I have distinguish'd one of your crimes from the other, will be shut up.* When he had said thus in a great heat, all the Company cry'd, and there was a sad silence for a great while.

- IX. Then *Perseus* spoke: "Yes no doubt of it; we should have open'd the Door in the night, let in the arm'd Rioters, and submitted our Throats to the Sword, since 'nothing' is believ'd but an action that's already committed; and that I am scandaliz'd as much, though there be wait laid for me, as though I were a Robber or an Assassin. They do not to no end declare, that you have but one Son, and that's *Demetrius*; and call me a Subject born of an Harlot. For if I had the esteem, and the love of a Son with you, you would not be severe upon me, who complain of ill designs that I have discover'd, but upon those, that had contrived them; nor would my life be of so little value to you, as that you should not be moved either with my past danger, or by my future; supposing that the intended Assassins go unpunish'd. Wherefore if it ought to die in silence, let us hold our Tongues, only desiring of the Gods, that the wicked design which began at me may end in me also, and that you may not be hit through my side. Now if as men who are circumvented when alone, by the direction of meer nature are taught to implore the assistance of men that they never saw before, so it be lawful for me also, seeing a Sword drawn against me, to cry out; I beg of you for your own sake, and as you are my Father (which name whether of us has most regard for, you long before now were sensible) that you would hear me so, as though raised up by my Cries and lamentations in the night time you had come into my assistance, and caught *Demetrius* with his arm'd Companions then in my Porch. What I would then have roared out, when upon that present occasion I was in a consternation, the same thing I complain of now, the next day."

"Brother!

"Brother! we have not lived a great while like men that used to Feast together: you have a mind to be King: but my Age obstructs that hope of yours, as does the Law of Nations also, the ancient usage of the *Macedonians*, and the judgment of my Father too. You cannot attain to it but through my blood. You endeavour and attempt all you can, 'tis true; but as yet either my care or fortune has hinder'd your Parricidy. Yesterday, at the lustration, the exercise, and imaginary Battle, you made it almost a mortal conflict; nor did any thing keep me from Death, save that I suffer'd my self and my men to be overcome. After that, from an hostile Engagement, as if it had been but a Brotherly sort of sport, you would have drawn me in to Sup with you. Do you believe, Father! that I should have sup'd among unarm'd persons, when there came arm'd men to Feast with me? Do you believe I was in no danger in the night time, whom they almost kill'd in the day, even whilst you looked on? Why camest thou at this time a night; what like an Enemy to one that was angry, or with Companions all girded with Swords? I durst not trust my self with you as a Guest, shall I entertain you when you come with arm'd men to Feast with me? If the Gate had been open, you must have been preparing for my Funeral, Father! at this time, that you hear me complaining to you. I do not say any thing maliciously, as an Accuser, nor from arguments make doubtful deductions. For what? Does he deny that he came to my Gate with a multitude? or that there were arm'd men with him? Pray send for those that I shall name. They indeed may dare to do all things, that durst do this; but yet they will not dare to deny it. If I, having laid hold of them within my threshold with their Swords in their hands, should have brought them to you, you would have thought it true: and therefore take them for as good as caught, when they confess it.

"Now Curse Ambition for the Kingdom, and heighten Brotherly rage: but let not your Execrations, Father! be blind; but discern and distinguish between an Assassin, and he that was designed upon. \*\*\* That he is guilty. He that would have kill'd his Brother, let him lie under the displeasure of his Fathers Gods: and let him that was like to fall by his Brothers wickedness, find a refuge in the Mercy and Justice of his Father. For whither else shall I fly, whom neither the solemn lustration of thy Army, the exercise of thy Souldiers, nor his own House, nor a Feast, nor the Night which was by nature kindness design'd for mortals to rest in, can secure? If I go upon his invitation to my Brother, I must die; if I receive my Brother to an entertainment within my Gate, I must die also. So that I cannot avoid his evil designs upon me either by going, or slaying. Whither shall I betake my self? I have paid homage to none, Father, but the Gods and you. I have not the *Romans* to fly to. They desired my destruction, because I am sorry for their injuries; because I am vext that so many Cities, so many Nations, and, now of late, that the Sea Coast of *Thrace* was taken from thee. They do not hope that *Macedonia* will be there, whilst either you or I am alive. If my Brothers wickedness take off me, and old Age you, or that they have not the patience to stay till that time; they know, that the King and Kingdom of *Macedonia* will be theirs. If the *Romans* had left you any thing out of *Macedonia*, I should believe that left as a receptacle for me also. But there is security enough [you'll say] among the *Macedonians*. You saw yesterday the Souldiers violence against me. What did they lack, but Swords? But that which they wanted in the day, my Brothers guests took up in the Night. What should I speak of great part of the Nobility, who have reposed all their hopes of honour and Fortune in the *Romans*, and in him, who can do what he pleases with the *Romans*? Nor do they only prefer that [Boy] before me, who am his Elder Brother, but almost even before you, that are his King and Father: For 'tis he [forsooth] upon whose account the Senate remitted your penalty; who now protects you from the *Roman Arms*; and think fit that your Age should be obliged and obnoxious to his Youth. For him the *Romans* stickle; for his sake all the Cities were freed from thy command, and all the *Macedonians* too, that enjoy the *Roman Peace*. But for me, Father, what hopes or security is there, save in you only?

"What do you think is the design of that Letter which *T. Quintius* just now sent you, in which he says, that you did your self great Service, in sending your Son *Demetrius* to *Rome*: and advises you, to send him again with more Embassadors, and those the chief men of *Macedonia* too? *T. Quintius* is at present his Counsellor, and Master in all affairs. He hath renounced you, as a Father, and taken him in your stead. There first of all their sacred designs are contrived. And now they seek assistance to carry on their Counsels; when he advises thee to send more, and those the best men in *Macedonia* along with him. They that go hence entire, and sincere to *Rome*, believing that they have Philip for their King, return from thence ting'd and infected by *Roman Arts*. *Demetrius* with them is all in all; and him they call King, though his Father be yet alive. Now if I resent these things, I ought immediately to hear, not only from others, but from you, Father, also an accusation against ambition for a Kingdom. But I, if it be laid to my charge, do not acknowledge it. For whom do I put out of his place, that I may succeed him my self? My Father is the only person before me; and that he may long be so, I beseech

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IX.

"the Gods. May I so survive him, if I deserve it, as he would have me. If my Father deliver to me the Inheritance of the Kingdom, I'll take it. But he desires the Kingdom, and that wickedly too, who hastens to leap over the order of Age, of nature, the *Macedonian* Customs, and the Law of nature. His elder Brother, to whom the Kingdom not only of right, but according to the will of his Father belongs, stands in his way. I'll take him off [says *Demetrius*]; I shall not be the first man that has got a Crown by killing of a Brother. My Father being an old man, and alone, when he has lost his Son, will be more afraid upon his own account, than to revenge his Sons death. The *Romans* will rejoice at it, and defend the fact. These, Father, are uncertain, but not vain hopes. For so the case stands; you may remove all danger of life from me, by punishing those, who took up Swords to kill me: but if he should second their wickedness, thou couldst not revenge my death.

XII. When *Perseus* had made an end of speaking, the Eyes of them, that were present, were set upon *Demetrius*, as though he had been going immediately to answer him. But for a good while they were all silent; till mere necessity at last (though they all saw that before he could not speak for crying) overcame his grief; and, since he was bid to speak, [*Demetrius*] thus began: "All those things which formerly have been the greatest help to persons accused, my Accuser, Father, hath anticipated. For by pretended tears [shed] in order to anothers ruine, he hath render'd all my real tears suspected to you. Though he himself, ever since I came back from *Rome*, hath plotted against me in private Cabals with his Accomplices, day and night; yet he fixes upon me the character not only of an Assassin, but of barefaced Robber and Murderer. He affrights you with his own danger, that he may hasten the destruction of his innocent Brother by your means. He says, he hath no place of refuge in all the World, that I may not have any hopes left even with you. He loads me, who am circumvented, alone, and helpless, with the Envy of foreign favour, which is more a disadvantage than a kindness to me. And how maliciously does he bring that in; when he mingles the action of this night with an ineffective against the rest of my life? that he might not only make you suspect this business, (of which you shall know the truth) by the other tenour of my life; but also might support that vain accusation touching my hopes, inclinations and designs by this nocturnal, feigned and contrived argument. He likewise studied to make the accusation appear sudden and unpremeditated; as though it had arisen from this nights unexpected fear and tumult. But, *Perseus*, you ought, if I had been a Traytor to my Father and the Kingdom; if I had enter'd into Conspiracies with the *Romans* or any others, who were my Fathers Enemies, not to have expected the story of this night, but accused me of Treason before this time: but if that distinct from this had been a vain accusation, and would have shew'd your Envy against me more than my crime, you ought even now to have omitted it, or deferr'd it to another time: that the World might see, whether I had laid wait for you, or you for me by a new and peculiar sort for malice. Yet I, as well as I can in this sudden disorder, will separate what you have confounded: and will discover the design of this night to be either yours or mine. He would have you believe, that I had a design to kill him, that so, when my Elder Brother was taken off, who, by the Law of Nations, the custom of *Macedonia*, and according to your judgment (as he says) is to have the Crown, I, the younger, might succeed into his place, whom I had murder'd. What then is the meaning of that other part of his Oration, in which he says that I court the *Romans*, and that, in confidence of them, I am put into some hopes of the Kingdom? For if I believ'd that the *Romans* were so powerful, that they could make whom they pleas'd King of *Macedonia*, and trusted so much in the favour that they had for me; what need was there to kill my Brother? Was it, that I might wear a Diadem embred in my Brothers blood? That I might be execrable and hateful to those very men, of whom by my real, or at least my counterfeit probity, I have gain'd so much good will, if any peradventure they have for me? unless you believe that *T. Quintius*, by whose instigation and advice you say I am now govern'd, though he himself live in so much amity with his own Brother, advis'd me to murder mine. He also hath collected not only the kindness of the *Romans*, but the judgments of the *Macedonians*, with the consent of almost all the Gods and Men, whereby to make it credible that he shall not be equal to me in the contest; and yet, as though I were weaker than him in all other things, pretends that I fled to the last refuge of wickedness. Would you have this to be the conclusion of the case; that which of us two was afraid, lest the other should seem more worthy of the Kingdom, he should be thought to have had a design to kill his Brother?

XIII. "But let us pursue by all means the order of this contrived accusation. He says, that he hath been aimed at several ways: and hath brought all those methods of destruction in to the compass of one day. I design'd to kill him in the day time after the Lustration, when we engaged, and that, forsooth, on the Lustration day: I design'd, when I invited him to Supper (as he's pleas'd to tell you) to poyson him: I design'd, when I came to be merry with him, and had some men following me with Swords, to murder him. You

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"see, what reasons I chose to commit Parricidy in [times] of sport, feasting and merriment. What day? What sort of a day? Why that whereon the Army was survey'd and purified; whereon the Royal Arms of all the *Macedonian* Kings that ever were, being carry'd before us between the divided Victim, we two alone, by their sides, Father, march'd before, and an Army of *Macedonians* follow'd us. When I was purified and expiated by this Sacrifice, though I had done that before which deserv'd to be atoned for; yet even at that time especially when I saw the Victim lye near the way where we march'd, was meditating upon that Parricidy, that Poyson, and those Swords which were prepared against that Feast. Pray with what other holy rites should I afterward have purg'd my mind, which was so contaminated with all sorts of wickedness? But his Soul being blinded by a desire to accuse me [right or wrong] whilst he would render all things suspicious, confounds one thing with another. For if I design'd to take you off at Supper by Poyson, what was less convenient, than by a resolute Engagement in the Field, to make you angry? so that you might justly refuse to come to Supper (as you did) though invited? Now, since you in anger deny'd me, was it my best way to endeavour to appease you, that I might have another opportunity, seeing I had once prepared the Poyson; or was it better to quit that design for another; to kill you with a Sword, and even that day too, under pretence of making merry with you? But why, if I thought you avoided my Supper for fear of death, did I not suppose you would avoid my Entertainment [or Banquet] after upon account of the same fear?

"I am not ashamed, Father, to own it, if I did take a dose of Wine more than ordinary, among my Companions, upon such an holy day [as that was]: but I desire you also to inquire, with what mirth, with what sport the Feast was yesterday kept at my House; to which that joy (which you perhaps may think amiss of) made some addition; that in the youthful conflict with Arms, our side had not the worst on't. This misfortune and fear of my life] soon dispelled the strength of the Wine, which if they had not intervened, our Assassins would have been all drunk and asleep. If I had been to have storm'd thy House, and, when I had taken that, to have kill'd the Master of it, would I not have refrained from Wine for one day? Would I not have kept my Souldiers front it? But lest I only should defend my self with too much simplicity, my good Brother also, who is not at all suspicious, tell you, I know nothing else, nor argue any thing; save that they came to my House with Swords. If I should ask you, how you know that to be true: you must of necessity confess, either that my House was full of their Spies, or that they took up their Swords so openly, that all people might see them. And lest he might seem either before to have inquir'd into any thing; or now maliciously to have argu'd, he bad you ask of them whom he had named, whether they had Swords or no? that, as in a doubtful matter, when you had ask'd them that, which they confess, they be lookt upon as persons convicted. But indeed you [Brother] bid that question be ask'd; Whether they took Swords along with them to kill you? Whether by my advice and knowledge? For that's what you'd be at; and not what they confess and is evident; to wit (as they say) that they took them for their own defence. Whether they did well or ill in it, they must give an account of their own actions. Do not you mingle my case with theirs, that hath no relation to it; or declare, whether we were design'd to set upon you openly or privately. If openly, why had we not all Swords? why no body, besides them, who beat thy Spy? If privately, what order was there observ'd in the design? That when the Feast was over, and I was gone away drunk, four men should have staid behind to set upon thee when thou wast asleep? how must they have lost their aim, being strangers belonging to me, and most of all suspected, for having been in a quarrel a little before? or how could they have escaped, when they had kill'd thee? Could thy House have been storm'd and taken with four Swords?

"But you, [*Perseus*] omitting this nocturnal story, return to that which you are sorry for, and enflames your Envy. Why [say you] *Demetrius*! is there any mention ever made of thy being King? Why are you thought by some men a person, fitter to be your Fathers Successor than I am? Why dost thou render my hope (which if thou wert not in being, would be certain) doubtful and solicitous! Thus *Perseus* thinks, though he does not say so: this makes him my Enemy and Accuser: these things fill your Kingdom [Father] with informations and suspicions. Now I, Father, as I neither ought at present to hope for the Crown, nor perchance never contend for it, because I am an younger Brother, and because you are pleas'd that I should submit to my Elder; so neither ought I either before, or now so to behave my self, as to seem unworthy to be your Son, or of any esteem among all other men. For so I shall be lookt upon, not for my modesty, but for my Vice, in not yielding to him to whom in justice and equity I ought. You tell me of the *Romans*: and those things that should be my glory, you make my crime. I never desired to be deliver'd as an Hostage to the *Romans*, nor to be sent Embassador to *Rome*. When I was sent by you, I did not refuse to go. And both times I so behaved my self, as not to shame you, your Kingdom, or the Nation of the *Macedonians*. Wherefore you, Father, were the cause of my Friendship with the *Romans*. As long as you have

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"Peace

"Peace with them, I will also be your Friend: but whensoever a War begins, I, who was formerly no useless Hostage or Embassadour for my Father, will be your bitterest Enemy. Nor do I desire, that, at this time, the favour of the Romans should stand me in any stead; I only beg it may do me no hurt. It neither began in War, nor is it reserv'd for a War. I was a pledge for Peace, and sent Embassadour to maintain Peace. Let neither of those things be reckon'd, either my honour or my crime. If I have done any thing impiously against you, Father, or wickedly against my Brother, I don't desire any Pardon. If I am innocent, I beg, that I may not be loaded with Envy, since I cannot with [just] accusations. My Brother does not accuse me first here this day; but I am the first that he accuses openly and for nothing. If my Father were angry with me, it would become you [*Perseus*] who are my elder Brother, to beg pardon for me, and excuse the errors of my youth: but in that which should be my security, lies my destruction. I was snatcht from Feasting and Drinking, almost half a-sleep to make my defence [upon an accusation] of Parricide: and am forced, without any Advocates, without any Patrons, to speak for my self. If I had been to speak for another, I would have taken time to study and compose an Oration, when I had nothing else to lose but the reputation of my wit. But now, being altogether ignorant upon what score I was sent for, I [came and] heard you angry, bidding me make my defence, and my Brother accuse me. He made a Speech which he prepared and studied a long time before against me; whilst I had only that time in which I was accused to think what I should say. Should I in that short space have hearken'd to my Accuser? or consider'd of my defence? Being amazed at the sudden and unexpected misfortune, I could scarce understand what was objected against me, much less do I well know how to clear my self. What hopes could I have, had I not my Father for my Judge? Before whom though I am outdone by my Elder Brother in point of love, yet I ought not to be, (as a person accused) in point of compassion. For I pray, that you may preserve your self for mine and your own sake too. He desires that you would kill me for his security. What then do you imagine he'll do to me, when you deliver the Kingdom to him, who thinks that even now, he ought to be gratified with my blood?"

XVI. As he said this, his sorrow at the same time stopp'd both his breath and mouth. Philip, commanding them to withdraw, when he had discours'd some little while with his Friends, declar'd; That he would not decide their Controversy by words only, or the Debate of one hour, but by inquiring into each of their Lives, Manners, Words and Actions, and observing them in small as well as great things: inasmuch that it was evident to them all, that the crime [charg'd upon him] for last Nights [work] was easily taken for truth; and that Demetrius's great Friendship with the Romans was much suspected. These Seeds, as it were, were sown whilst Philip was alive, of a Macedonian War, which was to be waged chiefly against *Perseus*. Both the Consuls went into *Liguria*, which at that time was the only Consular Province. And because they there met with good success, there was a Supplication appointed for one day. There came about two thousand *Ligurians* to the utmost Borders of the Province of *Gaul*, where *Marcellus* was Encamped, desiring to be received. *Marcellus*, having commanded the *Ligurians* to tarry in the same place, consulted the Senate by a Letter: to which the Senate order'd *M. Ogulnius*, the Prætor, to send for an Answer; That it was more reasonable, the Consuls, whose Province it was, should determine, what was for the good of the Commonwealth, than they. That at that juncture they did not think fit, that the *Ligurians* should be taken in by surrender, and have their Arms thereupon taken from them: but that the Senate judg'd it to be meet, that they should be referr'd to the Consuls. At the same time the Prætors came, *P. Manlius*, into the farther Spain, which he had also govern'd in his former Prætorship; and *Q. Fulvius Flaccus* into the hither, where he receiv'd the Army from *Terentius*. For the farther was destitute of a Governour by the death of *P. Sempronius* the Pro-Prætor. The *Celtiberians* set upon *Fulvius Flaccus*, as he was besieging a Spanish Town, call'd *Urbicua*. There they had several sharp Engagements: in which there were many Roman Souldiers wounded and kill'd. But *Fulvius* by his resolution got the better of it, in that he could not by any means be forced from the Siege: and the *Celtiberians*, tired out with several Battles, march'd away. Thereupon the City, when their Reliefs were gone, within few dayes was taken and plunder'd; and the Prætor gave the spoil to the Souldiers. *Fulvius* having taken this Town, and *P. Manlius*, having only muster'd up the Army into one Body, which before was scatter'd (without doing any other remarkable action) carry'd the Armies into their Winter-Quarters. These things were done that Summer in Spain. *Terentius*, who was come home out of that Province, enter'd the City *Ovant*: and brought in nine thousand three hundred and twenty pounds of silver; eighty pounds of gold, and two golden Crowns of sixty seven pounds.

XVII. The same year the Romans were Arbitrators concerning part of their Dominions then in Debate between the People of *Carthage*, and King *Massinissa*. *Massinissa*'s Father, *Gala* had taken it from the *Carthaginians*: but *Syphax* had put *Gala* out of possession, and given it back to the *Carthaginians* as a present for the sake of his Father-in-Law *Asdrubal*: and *Massinissa* that year had again driven the *Carthaginians* thence. This Debate was managed before

the Romans with no less heat, than when they engaged with their Swords in the Field. The *Carthaginians* demanded it, because it had originally belong'd to their Ancestors, yea and afterward came to them again by means of *Syphax*. *Massinissa* said, that he had only retaken a Territory that belong'd to his Fathers Kingdom, and kept it by the Law of Nations; being superiour [to them] both in the cause and the possession of it: and that he feared nothing else in that dispute, than, lest the modesty of the Romans, whilst they were tender of indulging a King, who was their Ally and Friend against both his and their common Enemies, should be a disadvantage to him. The Embassadours did not change the right of possession; but refer'd the whole matter to the Senate at Rome. In *Liguria* there was nothing afterward done: for they retired first into pathless Woods, and then dismissing their Army, got away privately into Villages and Castles all over the Country. The Consuls too had a mind to disband their Army, and consulted the Senate about it; who order'd the one of them to disband his Army and come to Rome to create Magistrates for the [ensuing] year, and the other to Winter with his Legions at *Pise*. There was a Report, that the *Transalpine Gauls* were arming their young men; but no body knew, into what part of Italy that multitude would pour it self. The Consuls so agreed between themselves, that *Cn. Babius* should go to hold the Assembly [at Rome] because *M. Babius* his Brother stood for the Consulate.

The Assembly therefore for chosing of Consuls was held: in which there were created XVIII. for Consuls *P. Cornelius Cethegus*, and *M. Babius Tamphilus*. After them the Prætors were chosen [namely] the two *Q. Fabius's* (*Maximus*, and *Buteo*) *C. Claudius Nero*, *Q. Petillius Spurius*, *M. Pinarus Posca*, and *L. Dronius*: to all whom, when they enter'd upon their Offices, there were allotted these Provinces. The Consuls had *Liguria*, and of the Prætors, *Q. Petillius* the City, *Q. Fabius Maximus* the Foreign [Jurisdiction] *Q. Fabius Buteo* *Gaul*, *C. Claudius Nero* *Sicily*, *M. Pinarus* *Sardinia*, and *L. Dronius* *Apulia*; to which the *Istrians* were added, because the *Tarentines* and *Brundisians* brought word, that the Sea-Coasts [thereabout] were infested by Pirates from Foreign parts. The *Massilians* made the same complaint concerning the *Ligurians*. Then the Armies were settled: four Legions to the Consuls, which were to consist of five thousand, that should be two hundred of them Roman Foot, with three hundred Horse, and fifteen thousand of the Allies and Latines with eight hundred Horse. In the Spains the old Prætors had their Commissions continu'd to them, with the Armies which they had: and for a Supplement there were allow'd three thousand Roman Citizens with two hundred Horse, of the Latine Allies six thousand Foot and three hundred Horse. Nor was the care of the Navy omitted: for the Consuls were order'd to create a *Duumvirate* [i. e. two Officers] for that purpose, by whom twenty Ships launch'd out from the Docks of their Allies, were to be fill'd with Roman Citizens, that had been Slaves; and that none but Freeborn persons should command them. The Sea-Coast was so divided between the *Duumviri*, to be defended with ten Ships [a piece,] that the Cape of *Minerva* was as it were the hidge in the middle, and the one of them secur'd all to the right as far as *Massilia*, as the other did all to the left as far as *Barrum*.

There were many strange Prodigies that year, not only seen at Rome, but related from abroad. In the Court of *Vulcan* and *Concord* it rained blood, and the High-Priests brought word that the Spears moved; and that at *Lavinium* *Juno Sospita*'s Statue cry'd: Besides, that there was so great a pestilence in the Country, Corporations, Burroughs, and in the City too, that they [who had the care of Funerals] could hardly bury the dead. The Senate being much concern'd at these Prodigies and this mortality, decreed, that not only the Consuls should sacrifice with the greater sort of Victims to what Gods they thought fit, but that the *Duumviri* also should consult their Books. By their order there was a Supplication appointed for one day through all the Temples in Rome. By their advise also the Senate voted, and the Consuls set forth an Edict, that there should be a Supplication, and Holy-dayes kept through all Italy for three dayes together. The Pestilence was so strong, that when (by reason of the revolt of the *Corfians*, and that the *Illyrians* had rais'd a War in *Sardinia*) the Senate had order'd that eight thousand Latine Foot, and three hundred Horse should be rais'd, for *M. Pinarus* the Prætor to take over with him into *Sardinia*, there were such a multitude of men dead, and the Consuls sent word there were so many sick in all parts, that they could not make up that number of Souldiers. The Prætor therefore was order'd to take what men were wanting, of *Cn. Babius* the Pro-Consul, who Winter'd at *Pise*; and from thence to cross over into *Sardinia*. *L. Dronius* the Prætor, who happen'd to have the Province of *Apulia*, was injoin'd likewise to make inquiry into the *Bacchanalia*, whereof some remaining Seeds, as it were, appear'd since the former mischiefs in the year last past. But those Inquisitions were rather begun by *L. Puppis* the Prætor, than brought to any issue. The Senate therefore bid the new Prætor cut that [letter] off, lest it should creep any further. Then the Consuls also, by authority from the Senate, propos'd to the people Laws concerning canvassing for Offices.

Then they brought the several Embassadours into the Senate; first those from King *Eumenes*, *Ariarathes* the *Cappadocian*, and *Pharnaces* of *Pontus*: who had no other Answer, then that the Senate would send certain Deputies to inquire into and determine their Controversies. After them, the Embassadours from the banish'd *Lacedæmonians* and *Acheans*

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XX:



were introduced; and the banish'd men had some hopes given them, that the Senate would write to the *Acheans*, to restore them. The *Acheans* discours'd of the retaking of *Atene*, and how matters were settled there, with satisfaction to the Senate. There came likewise two Embassadors from *Philip*, King of *Macedonia*, named *Philocles* and *Apelles*, upon no business, in which the Senate was to be their assistance; they being sent more to spy, and inquire concerning those Correspondencies with the *Romans*, of which *Perseus* had accused *Demetrius*; and especially of those held with *T. Quintius* against his Brother, touching the Kingdom. These men the King had sent, as persons indifferent, that were not inclined to favour either side: but indeed they were not only instruments but Partners too in the contrivance of *Perseus* against his Brother. *Demetrius*, being ignorant of all things, except his Brothers wickedness, that had lately broken out, at first had not any great hopes, though some he had, that he might reconcile his Father. But after that, he every day had less and less confidence in his Fathers affection, since he saw his Ears so besieged (as it were) by his Brother. Wherefore looking narrowly to his words and actions, for fear of encreasing any Bodies suspicions [of him] he so far abstained from any mention of, or contagion of *Romans*, that he would not so much as let them write to him; because he found that by that sort of accusations his [Fathers] mind was most exasperated [against him].

XXI.

At the same time *Philip*, lest his Souldiers should grow useless by being idle, and also to remove all suspicions of his being about to raise a War against the *Romans*, having appointed his Army to Rendezvous at *Stobi* in *Paonia*, went on and led them into *Medica* [a Region of *Thrace*]. He had a desire to get to the top of the Mountain *Amus*; because he believ'd a vulgar opinion, that the *Pontick* and the *Adriatick* Seas, together with the River *Ister* and the *Alps*, might [from thence] be seen all at once: and that those things being all in his view, would be of no small importance toward his design of a *Roman* War. He therefore having enquired of people, that knew the Country, about the way up to the top of *Amus*, and it being agreed upon by all of them, that there was no way for an Army, and that the passage would prove very difficult for a few, though the nimblest Fellow he had; he, to cajole his younger Son with familiar Discourse, because he resolv'd not to take him along with him, ask'd him; Since the difficulty of their passage was so great, whether it were better to persist in his design, or quit it? But if he went on, he could not in these circumstances forget *Antigonus*: who being tost in a dreadful storm, when he had all his Family with him in the same Ship, was said to have commanded his Children, not only themselves to remember, but likewise to tell their Posterity, that none of them should dare to hazard themselves and their whole Family in one bottom. That he therefore, since he remembered that Precept, would not run the risque of losing two Sons at one throw (as it were of a Die; but, because he had a mind to take the elder along with him, would send his younger Son back into *Macedonia*, as a reserve to his hopes, and to secure the Kingdoms. *Demetrius* was not ignorant that he was sent away, lest he should be privy to his design; when, in sight of the places [his Father] consulted, which was the nearest way to the *Adriatick* Sea and to *Italy*, and how he should manage the ensuing War. But he thought fit at that time not only to obey his Father, but to shew a greater readiness than ordinary, lest by his unwillingness to obey he might have caused a [farther] suspicion. Now that his passage into *Macedonia* might be secure, *Didas*, one of the Kings Prætors, who was Governour of *Paonia*, was order'd to attend him with a small Guard. Him also *Perseus* had drawn in (as well as a great many more of his Fathers Favourites, ever since all people were fully satisfied, to whom the King inclined to leave the Inheritance of the Kingdom) to be one of the number of them that conspired his Brothers Death. He therefore at that time commanded him, that he should by all manner of address insinuate himself as much as possible into his favour, that he might find out all his secrets, and pry into his most hidden thoughts. So *Demetrius* departed with a Guard more dangerous to him, than if he had gone alone.

XXII.

*Philip*, having first march'd over *Medica*, and then through the Deserts that lie between that and *Amus*, came at last the seventh day to the Foot of the Hill. Where having staid one day to chuse out such men as he designed to take with him, the third day he began his Journey. His task at the bottom of the Hills was easy; but the higher they got, they met with places which were more and more Woody, besides that many of them were pathless also. After that they came to a dark way, where through the thicknes of the Trees and the Boughs, being woven one into another, they could hardly discern the Sky. But when they came near the top, (which is seldom seen in other places) all things were so covered with Clouds, that they were retarded as though they travelled by Night, and the third day they arrived at the very top. When they came thence, they did not at all contradict the common opinion; more, I suppose, lest the vanity of their Journey should have been exposed, than that several distant Seas, Mountains and Rivers could be seen from that one place. They were all tired, and, above the rest the King, who was very old, with the difficulty of the passage. When therefore he had sacrificed there upon two Altars, dedicated to *Jupiter* and the Sun; he, who had been three dayes a going up, came down in two, fearing the nocturnal Colds most of all, which there even in the Dog-Days was like to that of Winter [in other places.] Having struggled all that time with many difficulties

difficulties he found no greater pleasure in his Camp: where there was the greatest scarcity that could be, as being in a Region, enclosed on every side with Deserts. Wherefore having staid only one day to rest them who had been with him, he march'd, as though he had fled, in all hast into the Country of the *Dentheletes*. They were his Allies; but yet the *Macedonians*, by reason of their necessity plunder'd them, as though they had been Enemies. For they ravaged and laid wast, first all the Country Houses round about, and some Villages too, to the great shame of the King; when he heard the Voices of his Allies, in vain imploring [the aid of] all the Gods [that had the care] of Allies, and calling upon his own name also. Having taken away Corn from thence, he went back into *Medica* and attack'd a City, which they call *Petra*, pitching his Camp upon the Plain Avenue. But he sent his Son *Perseus* about with a small Party, to assault the Town from the higher ground. The Townsmen, since terror beset them all around, having given Hostages, for the present surrender'd themselves: though, when the Army was retired, they, having forgot their Hostages, left their City, and fled into fortified places and the Mountain. *Philip*, seeing his Souldiers were tired with all sorts of toil, without any effect, and now, that his suspicions against his Son were increased by the treachery of the Prætor *Didas*, return'd into *Macedonia*.

For this person who (as I told you before) was sent to attend [*Demetrius*] having gain'd upon the simplicity of the young Prince, who was unwary, and not without reason very angry with his Relations) by flattering him, and pretending himself to be concern'd for his condition (freely offering his service in all adventures whatsoever) upon promise to be true to him discover'd his secrets. *Demetrius* designed to fly to the *Romans*: for which purpose he thought the Governour of *Paonia* sent by Heaven to be his Assistant: through whose Province he hoped he might safely escape. This design was presently betray'd to his Brother, and by him discover'd to his Father. First there was a Letter brought to him, as he was besieging *Petra*: whereupon *Herodorus* (who was the chief of *Demetrius*'s Friends) was put into Prison, and *Demetrius* order'd to be so kept, as that he might think himself at liberty. These things, besides others, made the Kings coming into *Macedonia* very melancholy. But though he was much concern'd at the present accusations [made against *Demetrius*]; yet he thought fit to expect them, whom he had sent to inquire into all affairs at *Rome*. When he had spent some Months in anxiety upon this account, at last the Embassadors came, though all things were ready contrived before-hand in *Macedonia* which they should say. They (besides other wicked actions) brought the King a sham Letter, sign'd with a counterfeit Seal, as from *T. Quintius*: in which there was a request made; That if the young man, through his over-weening desire to be King, had held any correspondence with him, he would do nothing against any one of his own Children: and that he was not such a person, as could be thought likely to be the author of any impious design. This Letter gave credit to *Perseus*'s accusations. Wherefore *Herodorus* immediately, having been long tortur'd, dy'd in torment without discovering any thing of the matter.

XXIII.

Then *Perseus* accused *Demetrius* a second time to his Father, for designing to fly through *Paonia*: besides, that certain persons also, who were corrupted to be his Companions, came in against him. But the counterfeit Letter from *T. Quintius* stuck most upon him. Yet there was no solemn Sentence given openly against him; to the end, that he might rather be privately destroy'd; though that was done, not out of regard to him, but lest his punishment should discover their designs against the *Romans*. Now therefore, though he himself was to go from *Thessalonica* to *Demetrius*, he sent *Demetrius* to *Asterium* in *Paonia*, with the same *Didas* for his Companion: and *Perseus* to *Amphipolis*, to receive the *Thracian* Hostages. But as *Didas* was going away from him, they say, he gave him Orders, to kill his Son. Accordingly *Didas* either made, or at least pretended to make a Sacrifice, to the Celebration of which *Demetrius* being invited, came from *Asterium* to *Heraclea*. At that Feast they say, he gave [*Demetrius*] Poyson; which as soon as he had drunk up the Cup, he soon perceiv'd. Thereupon being presently very sick, he left the Room, and retiring into his Bed-Chamber, in great torment, complain'd of his Fathers Cruelty, his Brothers Parricidy, and *Didas*'s Treachery. With that, one *Thyrus*, a *Straberean*, and one *Alexander*, a *Berrean*, throwing Carpets over his Head and Mouth, stopt his breath. So the innocent Youth was made away with by Enemies, that were not content to let him dye even a single death.

XXIV.

Whilst these things were transacted in *Macedonia*, *L. Aemilius Paulus*, having his Commission continu'd to him, though he were out of his consulate, in the beginning of the Spring brought his Army into the Country of the *Inganni*, who are a people of *Liguria*. When he first Encamp'd in the Confinis of the Enemy; there came Embassadors to him as Spies, though they pretended to desire a Peace. Whereupon when *Paulus* deny'd that he would make any Peace with them but upon their surrender; they did not so much refuse that, as they said, that it would require time, to perswade the Country sort of people. For which end, there was a Truce granted of ten dayes; but they then desired, that the Souldiers might not go to Forage, and fetch Wood beyond the Mountains next to their Camp. For those cultivated places were part of their Territories. Which when they had obtain'd; they muster'd up all their

XXV.

their Army behind those very Mountains, from whence they had fore-closed the Enemy, and immediately with a great multitude began at once to attack the Roman Camp, at every Gate. They assaulted it as hard as they could for one whole day: insomuch that the Romans had not so much as time to carry forth their Ensigns, nor room to set their men in Array. Wherefore they stood thick in the Gates, and defended their Camp more by resisting than by fighting. About Sun-setting, when the Enemy was retired, he sent two Horsemen with a Letter to *Cn. Babius* the Pro-Consul at *Pise*, [to desire him] *that he would come with all speed to his relief, who was besieged in the time of a Truce.* *Babius* had deliver'd his Army to *M. Pinarus*, who was going into *Sardinia*. But he not only sent the Senate word by Letter, *that L. Æmilius was besieged by the Ligurians*: but he likewise wrote to *M. Claudius Marcellus*, who govern'd the next Province from thence [to advise him] *that, if he thought fit he should carry over his Army out of Gaul into Liguria, and free L. Æmilius from the Siege.* But these Auxiliaries were like to come too late. The *Ligurians* next day return'd to their Camp. *Æmilius*, because he knew they would come, though he could have led his men into the Field, kept within his Bullwark, to protract the business till such time as *Babius* could come with his Army from *Pise*.

XXVI. *Babius* Letter caused a great consternation at *Rome*; and that so much the greater, in that, some few days after, *Marcellus*, having deliver'd his Army to *Fabius*, came to *Rome*, and took away all their hopes, that the Army, which was in *Gaul*, could be brought over into *Liguria*, because there was a War with the *Istrians*, who hinder'd the Colony to be carry'd to *Aquileia*: [saying] *that Fabius was gone thither, nor could he return now the War was begun.* That hope of relief too (which was the only hope they had) was more slow than the time it self required, if so be the Consuls hasten'd to go into their Province. Which that they might do, the Senators, every man of them, cry'd out upon them. But the Consuls said, *They would not go before they had made an end of their Levy; nor was it their fault, but the force of the distemper, that made them be so long about it;* yet they could not withstand the general consent of the Senate, but were forced to set forth in their Warlike Garb, and appoint the Souldiers, whom they had raised, a day to Rendezvous at *Pise*. They had leave, wherever they came, immediately to muster up tumultuary Souldiers, and take them along with them. The Prætors also, *Q. Petillius*, and *Q. Fabius* were order'd; *Petillius*, presently to raise two Legions of Roman Citizens, and to swear all of them, that were under fifty years of age: and *Fabius* to require of the Latine Allies fifteen thousand Foot, and eight hundred Horse. There were two Naval Officers created, namely, *C. Mutinius*, and *C. Lucretius*, and Ships provided for them: whereof *Mutinius*, whose Province was the *Gallick Bay*, was commanded, *to bring his Fleet as soon as possible to the Coast of Liguria; if he might be any way serviceable to L. Æmilius and his Army.*

XXVII. *Æmilius*, seeing there was no hopes of aid from any hand, believed his Horsemen were intercepted, and therefore thinking, he ought not any longer to defer the business, but to try his own fortune, before the Enemy came, who now attack'd [him] much more slowly and heartlessly [than before]; set his Army in Battalia at the four Gates, that upon the signal being given they might sally out on every side at once. To the four extraordinary [select] Regiments he added two; of whom he made *M. Valerius*, his Lieutenant, Commander; and order'd them to sally out at the extraordinary [Prætorian] Gate. At the principal Gate on the right hand he marshall'd the Spear-men of the first Legion, placing the *Principes* [or second division] of the same Legion in the Rear. Of these *M. Servilius*, and *L. Sulpicius*, Tribunes of the Souldiers, were made Commanders. The third Legion was set in Battalia against the left principal Gate; with this alteration only, that the *Principes* stood in the Front, and the Spear-men in the Rear: and this Legion was Commanded by *Sea. Julius Caesar*, and *L. Aurelius Cotta*, Tribunes of the Souldiers. *Q. Fulvius Flaccus*, the Lieutenant, was posted at the Questors Gate with the right Wing, two Regiments and the *Triarii* of two Legions being order'd to stay in defence of the Camp. Then the General himself went about and made an Harangue at every Gate, and by what provocations soever he could, whetted on the indignation of the Souldiers: one while accusing the treachery of the Enemy, who, though they desired Peace, and though they had a Truce granted them, yet even in the very time of that Truce, came to attack the Camp: another, telling them, what a shame it was, that the Roman Army should be besieged by the *Ligurian* (rather than Enemies) Robbers. With what face can any of you (if you escape hence by help of others, and not by your own Valour) meet (I do not say, those Souldiers, who conquer'd *Annibal*, *Philip*, or *Antiochus*, the greatest Kings and Generals of our Age, but) those men, who formerly pursu'd and kill'd these very *Ligurians*, as they ran from them through their pathless Woods, like Sheep? Shall a *Ligurian* Enemy come up to a Roman Bullwark; when a Spanish, a Gallick, a Macedonian, or a Carthaginian Foe dare not? Shall they now besiege us of their own accord, who formerly lay lurking in the devious Woods, where though we search'd so narrowly for them, they were hardly to be found? Upon this the Souldiers set up a general Huzza, and said; *It was no fault of the Souldiers; who had no signal given them to sally forth: but if he would have given them notice, he should find, that the Ligurians and the Romans were still the same men, as before.*

XXVIII. There were two Camps of the *Ligurians* on this side the Mountains: from which at first they

they all march'd forth by Sun rising, composed, and in Battalia: but then they took not up their Arms before they were well satisfied with Meat and Wine; and went out scatter'd and in disorder; as having certain hopes, that the Enemy would not bring their Ensigns without their Bulwark. Against them therefore, as they came in such a confused manner, the Romans, who were in the Camp, setting up an universal Huzza, (all of them, even to the Snapack-Boys and Scullions) sally'd out at every Gate. Which so surprized the *Ligurians*, that they trembled, as though they had been circumvented by an Ambuscade. For a little time there was some show of a fight; but soon after they fled as fast as they could drive, and were kill'd (many of them in their flight: the Horsemen having a signal given them, to mount their Horses, and let no Soul escape: so they were all forced into their Camp in great consternation, and afterward even from thence too. There were that day slain above fifteen thousand *Ligurians*, and two thousand five hundred taken. Three days all the whole Nations of the *Ingaurian Ligurians* gave Hostages, and surrender'd themselves. The Masters of Ships and Mariners were then taken up, who had been Pirates, and all put into Prison: of whose Ships *C. Matienius*, the *Duumvir*, had taken thirty two upon the Coast of *Liguria*. *L. Aurelius Cotta*, and *C. Sulpicius Gallus* were sent to *Rome* to carry this news, and a Letter to the Senate: and at the same time to desire, that *L. Æmilius*, having totally settled the Province, might come away, bring with him the Souldiers and disband them. Both these requests were granted by the Senate, and a supplication was appointed to be made for three days in all the Temples; besides that the Prætors were order'd, *Petillius*, to dismiss the City Legions, and *Fabius*, to put a stop to the Levy of the Allies and Latines: and also, that the City Prætor should write to the Consuls, *That the Senate thought fit, the tumultuary Souldiers raised upon a sudden insurrection should be disbanded as soon as possible.*

XXIX. The Colony of *Gravisea* was that year carried into that part of the *Tuscan Territories*, which was formerly taken from the *Tarquinius*: and five Acres [of Land] given [to each Planter.] The three persons that carried them thither were *C. Calpurnius Piso*, *P. Claudius Pulcher*, and *C. Terentius Istra*. This Year was remarkable for great drought and scarcity of Fruits: for they say, it never rained for six months together. The same Year, in a field belonging to *L. Petillius* (a Notary) under *Janiculum*, as the Husbandmen were digging (a little too deep) they found two stone Chests about eight foot long, and four foot broad, whereof the Lids were fasten'd down with Lead. Each Chest was written upon with Latine Letters; that in the one, *Numa Pompilius*, the Son of *Pompo*, and King of the Romans, was buried; and that in the other were the Books of *Numa Pompilius*. Which Chests when, by the advice of his Friends, the Lord [of the soil] had open'd; that which had the name of being the Kings Coffin, was found empty, without any sign of an humane Body, or any thing else, all being wasted by the long Consumption of so many years. In the other Chest there were two Bundles, bound about with wax'd and pitch'd Cords, which had in them each seven Books, not only entire, but that lookt very fresh too. Seven of which were Latine, concerning the Priviledges and Authority of the High-Priests; and the other seven Greek, touching the Philosophy that could be in that Age. *Valerius Antias* says, they were Pythagorean Books: pinning his Belief upon that common Opinion, and plausible Lye, that *Numa* was an Auditor to *Pythagoras*. These Books were read, first, by his Friends, that were there present, but soon after, when several other people had, and they were grown common; *Q. Petillius*, the City Prætor, being desirous to read them, took them from *L. Petillius*, who was his menial Servant; for *Q. Petillius*, when he was Questor, had chosen him to be one of his ten Clerks. Having read the Arguments [or Heads] of what was in them, when he found that many things [therein contained] tended to the dissolution of Religion, he told *L. Petillius*, that he would throw those Books into the fire. But before he did so, that he would give him leave to try, if he thought he had either any right, or could make any Friends, to get them again: and that he should do without incurring his displeasure. The Clerk [or Scribe] therefore went to the Tribunes of the People; from whom the matter was refer'd to the Senate. The Prætor said, *He was ready to make Oath, that those Books ought not to be read and kept.* Whereupon the Senate Voted, *That it was enough for the Prætor to promise them his Oath. That the Books should be burnt as soon as possible in the Assembly Court: And that there should be a sum of money paid to the Lord [of the soil] for the Books, as much as Q. Petillius, the Prætor, and the major part of the Tribunes should think reasonable.* But that the Clerk did not take: though the Books were burnt in the Assembly Court (the Fire being made by the Priests Servants, that attended at Sacrifices) before all the People.

XXX. There was a great War arose in the hither Spain that Summer. For the *Celtiberians* had got together to the number of thirty five thousand men, more than they had hardly ever before had. *Q. Fulvius Flaccus* was then Governour of that Province: who having heard that the *Celtiberians* were arming their youth, had himself likewise muster'd up all the Forces he could from their Allies; though he was no way equal to the Enemy for number of Souldiers. In the beginning of the Spring he led his Army into *Carpetania*, and pitch'd his Camp at a Town called *Ebura*, having put a small Garison into the place. Some few dayes after, the *Celtiberians* Encamped about two thousand paces from thence under an Hill. Whom when the Roman Prætor saw there, he sent his Brother *M. Fulvius* with two Troops of the Allies

Allies Horfe to view the Enemies Camp; commanding him to ride up as high as he could to their Bullwark, to see how big it was; *but that he should not engage, but retire, if he saw the Enemies Horfe come out [upon him.]* He did according as he was order'd. So for some dayes there was no farther motion made, than to show these two Troops, and strait draw them off again, if the Enemies Horfe fall'd out of their Camp. At last the *Celtiberians* also, marching out of their Camp at every Gate, with all their Forces, both Horfe and Foot together, stood in Battalia fronting [the Romans] in the midst between the two Camps. The place was all plain and fit to fight in, where the *Spaniards* stood expecting the Enemy. The Roman kept his men within the Bullwark for four whole dayes together, and they in the same place all that time kept their Army in Array. The Romans stirr'd not: wherefore the *Celtiberians* lay in their Camp, because they could not get an opportunity of fighting. Only their Horfe went out to their Station [or Post] that they might be in a readines, if the Enemy made any motion. Behind their Camps they both went to forrage and fetch in Wood, nor did either of them hinder the other.

XXXI. The Roman, when he thought he had given the Enemy sufficient hopes, by resting so many dayes, that he would not move first, commanded *L. Acilius*, with the left Wing, and six thousand Provincial Auxiliaries, to go about the Hill, which was on the Enemies back: and thence, when he heard a shout, run down into their Camp. They accordingly went, and that in the Night too, for fear of being seen. At break of day *Flaccus* sent *C. Scribonius*, Prefect of the Allies to the Enemies Bulwark, with the extraordinary Horfe of the left Wing. Whom when the *Celtiberians* saw, not only to come nearer than ordinary, but in greater numbers than they had used, all their Horfe fall'd out of the Camp; the Foot having also a signal given them to do the same. *Scribonius* (as he was order'd) as soon as he heard the noise of the Horsemen, turn'd his Horses and rode back toward the Camp. Thereupon the Enemy follow'd the more eagerly. First the Horfe, and then the Body of Foot, came, not doubting, but they that day should take the Enemies Camp. They were not above five hundred paces from the Bulwark. Wherefore, when *Flaccus* thought, that they were drawn away far enough from securing their own Camp (having marshall'd his Army within the Bulwark) he fall'd forth at three places together: setting up an Huzza, not only to animate his men to the fight, but also, that those, who were upon the Hills, might hear. Nor did they stay; but ran down as they were order'd, to the [Enemies] Camp: in which there were not left, for a Guard to it, above five hundred armed men; who were so terrified at their own fewness, the multitude of the Enemy, and the surprize of the thing, that the Camp was taken almost without any resistance. *Acilius* threw fire into the Camp upon that side which was most visible to the Defendants.

XXXII. The hindmost of the *Celtiberians*, who were in the Army, first saw the flame: and thereupon it was reported all over the Field, *That their Camp was lost, and just then all on fire*: but what terrified them encouraged the Romans. For they heard the noise of their Victorious Party, and saw the Enemies Camp on a flame. The *Celtiberians* for a little time stood wavering in their minds: but when they saw they had no place to retire to if they were beaten, nor any hopes but in fighting it out, they again with greater resolution renew'd the Battle. In their main Body they were hard put to it by the fifth Legion. But against the left Wing, in which they saw that the Romans had placed Provincial Auxiliaries of their kind, they with more confidence march'd up. And now the left Wing of the Romans had like to have been beaten, had not the seventh Legion come in: besides, that at the same time, in the very heat of the Battle, there came from the Town of *Ebura*, those that were left in Garison there, and *Acilius* was behind them. The *Celtiberians* therefore were for a long time kill'd in the middle: and all those who escaped ran every way all over the Country. After whom the Horfe was sent in two divisions, and kill'd many of them. There were that day slain twenty three thousand of the Enemies; four thousand eight hundred, with above five hundred Horses, ninety eight military Ensigns, taken. This was a great Victory, but yet not bloodless. For of the Romans there fell out of the two Legions, somewhat above two hundred, of the *Latine* Allies eight hundred and thirty, and of the Foreign Auxiliaries about two thousand four hundred. The Prætor carried the Victorious Army back into his Camp; *Acilius* being commanded to stay in the Camp that he himself had taken. The next day the spoil of the Enemy was gather'd up; and they publickly presented [with a share thereof] whose valour had been signal [in the action.]

XXXIII. After that when they had carry'd the wounded men into the Town of *Ebura*, they led the Legions through *Carpetania* to *Contrebia*. Which City being besieged, sent to the *Celtiberians* for aid, but they tarrying too long, (not that they did so on purpose, but because they being far from home were hinder'd by foul wayes (caused by continual rains) and swelling torrents) despair'd of their assistance, and so surrender themselves. *Flaccus* also, forced by these violent storms led all his Army into the City. The *Celtiberians*, who were gone from home, being ignorant of this surrender, when at last they had got over the Rivers (they being abated) and were come to *Contrebia*; seeing no Camp without the Walls, supposing it either to be removed to the other side, or that the Enemy was retired, running forward without any caution came up to the Town. The Romans made a sally upon them at

at two Ports, and setting them in disorder routed them. That which hinder'd them not only from making resistance, but from flying too, viz. that they came not in one Body, nor thick about their Ensigns, was a great security and advantage to them in their flight. For they ran stragling all over the Plain, nor could the Enemy ever compass them in a body together. Yet twelve thousand of them were slain, and above five thousand taken, with four hundred Horses, and sixty two military Ensigns. Those that were scatter'd in the flight and ran home, turn'd back the other Body of *Celtiberians* that were a coming, by telling them of the surrender of *Contrebia* and their own misadventure. Whereupon they presently betook themselves all into their Castles and Villages. *Flaccus* marching from *Contrebia*, led his Legions through *Celtiberia*, plundering all the Country as he went: besides that he attack'd many Castles, till such time, as the greatest part of the *Celtiberians* came and made their surrender.

These things were done in the hither Spain that year: and in the farther, *Manlius*, the XXXIV. Prætor, fought some prosperous Battles with the *Lusitanians*. *Aquileia*, a *Latine* Colony, was planted in the Country belonging to the *Gauls* the same Year: in which three thousand Footmen had fifty Acres a piece, each Centurion a hundred, and every Horseman a hundred and forty. The three that carry'd them thither, were *P. Cornelius Scipio Nasica*, *C. Flaminius*, and *L. Manlius Acidinus*. There were two Temples that year dedicated; the one to *Venus Erycina* at the *Colline* Gate (which was dedicated by *L. Porcius Licinus* the *Duumvir* (Son to *Lucius*) and vow'd [to be dedicated] by *L. Porcius* the Consul, in the *Ligurian* War) and the other to *Piety* in the Herb-Market; which was dedicated by *Manius Acilius Glabrio* the *Duumvir*; who also set up a gilded Statue (the first of that kind in all Italy) for his Father *Glabrio*. He was himself the person, that had vow'd that Temple that day he fought with *Antiochus* at *Thermopylae*: and had agreed for the building of it by Order from the Senate. At the same time, that these Temples were dedicated, *L. Aemilius Paulus* the Pro-Consul triumph'd over the *Ingaunians* of *Liguria*. He brought in twenty five golden Crowns: besides which there was no other gold or silver born in that triumph. But there were many Captive Princes of *Liguria* led before his Chariot. He gave three hundred [Asses] of brags to each of his Souldiers. The *Ligurian* Embassadors enhanced the glory of that triumph, who came to desire a perpetual Peace. [Saying] that the *Ligurian Nation* were now resolv'd, never to take up Arms, but by command from the people of Rome. To which *Q. Fabius* by Order of the Senate made them this Answer; that that protestation was not new to the *Ligurians*: but it was very much their interest that their mind should be new, and agreeable to their words. That they should go to the Consuls and do as they bid them. For the Senate would believe no body else, save the Consuls, that the *Ligurians* were really and sincerely inclined to Peace. So there was Peace in *Liguria*. In *Corfica* they fought with the *Corfians*: of whom *M. Pinaris*, the Prætor, kill'd two thousand in one Battle; by means of which overthrow they were induced to give Hostages, and a hundred thousand pound of Wax. From thence the Army was led into *Sardinia*: where they had a prosperous Battle with the *Ilians*, a Nation not thoroughly subdu'd even to this day. The hundred Hostages were the same year restored to the *Carthaginians*, and the Romans made a Peace with them, not for themselves only, but on the behalf of King *Massinissa* too: who at that time kept that part of the Country, which was in debate, with an armed force.

The Consuls therefore had now nothing to do in their Province. So *M. Bæbius*, being re- XXXV. call'd to Rome, to hold the Assembly, created, for Consuls, *A. Postumius Albinus Lusius*, and *C. Calpurnius Piso*. After them the Prætors were made, viz. *Tib. Sempronius Gracchus*, *L. Postumius Albinus*, *P. Cornelius Mammula*, *Tib. Minucius Molliculus*, *A. Hostilius Mancinus*, and *C. Menius*: who all of them enter'd upon their Office upon the Ides of March [i.e. the fifteenth.] In the beginning of that year, in which *A. Postumius Albinus*, and *C. Calpurnius Piso* were Consuls, *A. Postumius*, the Consul, brought those men into the Senate, who came out of the hither Spain, from *Q. Fulvius Flaccus*: [namely] *L. Minucius*, a Lieutenant, and two Tribunes of the Souldiers, *T. Manius*, and *L. Terentius Massa*. Who having given an account of two prosperous Battles, and the surrender of *Celtiberia*, and the total subduing of that Province: and [consequently] that there was no necessity of sending any money, as they used to do, to pay the Souldiers, nor any Corn to the Army for that year; desired of the Senate, first, that upon the score of their good success, all honour might be paid to the Gods: and next, that *Q. Fulvius*, being now ready to depart that Province, might bring the Army away with him, whose valour, not only he himself, but many other Prætors before him, had had so much experience of. Which, besides that it ought to be, was almost necessary to be done. For the Souldiers were so obstinate, that they could not in all probability be any longer kept in the Province: but would come thence without orders, if they were not dismiss'd, or fly out into a pernicious Mutiny, if any man should keep them there by force. The Senate decreed that both the Consuls should have *Liguria* for their Province. Then the Prætors chose; [of whom] *A. Hostilius* happen'd to have the City, and *Tib. Minucius* the Foreign [Jurisdiction.] *P. Cornelius* Sicily, *C. Menius* *Sardinia*, *L. Postumius* the farther, and *Tib. Sempronius* the hither Spain. Who because he was to succeed *Q. Fulvius*, (lest the Province should be deprived of the old Army) said, *I desire to know of you, L. Minucius! since you tell us, that the*

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Province



Province is totally subdu'd, Do you think that the Celtiberians will always continue true to us; so as that Province may be kept without an Army? If you cannot either undertake or affirm any thing touching the fidelity of those Barbarians; but think, that 'tis necessary to have an Army there; would you advise the Senate to send a Supplement into Spain? So as that those Souldiers only, who are superannuated for service, may be disbanded; and fresh men mixt with the old ones? or would you have them draw the old Legions out of that Province and raise and send new ones [in their stead] when raw men will possibly prove so contemptible, as to incite even the tamer sort of Barbarians to renew the War? 'Twas easier to say [the business was done] than really subdue a Province, that, of their own nature, were Warlike, and apt to rebel. Some few Cities (for ought I hear) whom the adjacent Winter Camp was severe upon, came and submitted to a surrender, but those that were farther off are still in Arms. Which things standing thus, I therefore now declare, Grave Fathers! That I will manage the publick business with that Army which is now in being: and, if Flaccus bring those Legions away with him, will choose only peaceful places for my Winter Quarters, nor expose new Souldiers to so fierce and Warlike a Foe.

XXXVI. Then the Lieutenant answer'd to the questions propos'd to him: That neither he nor any body else could foretell, what the Celtiberians had either then in their minds, or would hereafter undertake. Wherefore he could not deny, but that it was better to send an Army even to subdu'd Barbarians, who were not yet sufficiently inur'd to command: but whether it were necessary that Army should be a new, or an old one, was his part to determine, who could tell, with what fidelity the Celtiberians would continue in peace: and was likewise assur'd, that the Souldiers would be quiet, if they were kept any longer in that Province. If a man might guess what their thoughts are, by what they talk among themselves, or by the shouts, that they set up, when their General was publickly speaking to them, 'tis well known that they cry'd out, that either they would keep their Leader there in the Province, or would go with him into Italy. This Debate between the Prætor and the Lieutenant was interrupted by a propos'd of the Consuls; who thought fit that their Provinces should be set in order, before they talk'd of the Prætors Army. The Consuls were order'd to have a perfect new Army: consisting of two Roman Legions with their Horse, and of the Latine Allies, as many as ever, viz. fifteen thousand Foot, and eight hundred Horse. With this Army they were charg'd to make War against the Apuan Ligurians. P. Cornelius and M. Babius were continu'd in Commission; and order'd to keep their Provinces, till the Consuls came: but then were commanded to disband the Army, that they had, and return to Rome. After that they discours'd concerning Tib. Sempronius's Army. For whom the Consuls were commanded to raise a new Legion of five thousand two hundred Foot, with four hundred Horse, besides a thousand Roman Foot, and fifty Horse, injoining the Latine Allies to bring in seven thousand Foot, and three hundred Horse. With this Army they thought fit that Tib. Sempronius should go into the hither Spain. Q. Fulvius had leave, if he thought good, to bring away with him all those Souldiers, that had been transported into Spain (being Roman Citizens, or Allies) before Sp. Postumius, and Q. Marcius were Consuls: and also, when the supply came, all above ten thousand four hundred Foot, and six hundred Horse, in the two Legions, with twelve thousand Foot, and six hundred Horse of the Latine Allies, whose valour he had made use of in the two Battles against the Celtiberians. There were supplications likewise decreed, for that he had so successfully managed the publick affairs: and the other Prætors were sent into their several Provinces. Q. Fabius Buteo was continu'd in Commission in Gaul. That year they resolv'd, there should be eight Legions, besides the old Army, that was in Liguria with great hopes of being sent: though that Army was with great difficulty made up, by reason of the pestilence, which had now for three years together wasted the City of Rome, and all Italy besides.

XXXVII. The Prætor Tib. Minucius, and, not after him, the Consul C. Calpurnius dy'd, with many other eminent men of all ranks. At last their mortality began to be thought a Prodigy: wherefore C. Servilius the High-Priest was order'd to prepare expiatory Sacrifices against the wrath of the Gods, the Decemviri to look into their Books; and the Consul to vow offerings to Apollo, Æsculapius, and to Health, as well as to give gilded Statues, all which he vow'd and gave: The Decemviri appointed a Supplication for two dayes upon the score of the sickness, in the City and through all Corporations and Burroughs: at which all above twelve years of Age were Crowned, and pray'd with Laurel in their hands. They also had some suspicion that there was humane Villany in the Case: and therefore C. Claudius the Prætor, who, chosen in Tib. Minucius's room, was order'd by the Senate to inquire concerning any Poyson that was given in the City, or within ten thousand paces thereof; and C. Manius through all the Towns and Burroughs above ten miles off, before he went over into his Province of Sardinia. The Consuls Death was most of all suspected. For he was said to be destroy'd by Quarta Hostilia, his Wife. But as soon as Q. Fulvius Flaccus, her Son, was declar'd to be Consul in his Father-in-Laws room, Piso's Death began to be a little more infamous: and there were Witnesses, who after Albinus and Piso were declared Consuls, at the Assembly where Flaccus receiv'd a repulse, said his Mother upbraided him, saying, 'twas now the third time, that he had been deny'd the Consulship, and added, that he should prepare himself to stand; for within two months she'd so order the business, that he should be Consul.

ful. Among many other testimonies, to this purpose, this saying also of hers, which was verified by too true an event, caus'd Hostilia to be condemn'd. In the beginning of this Spring, whilst the new Consuls were employ'd in the Levy at Rome, the one of them dying made all things go on so much the slower, till they had held an Assembly and chosen another in his place. In the mean time P. Cornelius and M. Babius, who, in their Consulship, had done no memorable exploit, led their Army into [the Country of] the Apuan Ligurians.

The Ligurians, who before the coming of the Consuls into the Province, had not expected a War, being surpris'd, surrender'd themselves to the number of twelve thousand. Then Cornelius and Babius (having first by Letters consult'd the Senate) resolv'd to bring down out of the Mountains into the Champaign Country a great way from their habitations, lest they should hope to return: supposing that they should never any otherwise make an end of the Ligurian War. Now there was a Territory, belonging publickly to the Romans, in the Country of the Samnites, which had formerly belong'd to the Taurasines: into which they having a mind to carry over the Apuan Ligurians, let forth an Order, That the Ligurians should come down from the Mountains with their Wives and Children, and bring all they had along with them. Whereupon the Ligurians often times desired by their Embassadors, that they might not be forced to leave the native seat, where they were begotten, and the Sepulchres of their Ancestors, promising Arms and Hostages. But seeing they were not able to prevail, nor had strength enough to make a War, they obey'd the Edict. Of them therefore were brought away at the publick charge full forty thousand Freeborn People with Women and Children: among whom there was distributed of silver a hundred and fifty thousand Sesterces, to buy them necessaries for their Families. Cornelius and Babius, (those that brought them thither) were made Overseers for dividing of the Land, and giving [each man his share.] Yet at their own request, there were five persons allow'd them, to advise with. Having transacted the affair, and brought the old Army to Rome, they had a Triumph decreed them; they being the first that ever triumph'd without making a War. There were only some of the Enemies led before their Chariot, because there was nothing taken to carry, lead, or give the Souldiers at their triumph.

The same year Fulvius Flaccus the Pro Prætor, in Spain, because his Successor came late XXXIX. into the Province, drawing out the Army from their Winter-Quarters, began to waste the farther part of Celtiberia, whence they had not come to make their surrender. By which means he provoked rather than terrified the minds of the Barbarians; who having privately muster'd up a good number of men, beset the Manlian Wood, through which they knew, the Roman Army would pass. When L. Postumius Albinus his Colleague was going into the farther Spain, Gracchus had charg'd him, that he should persuade Q. Fulvius to bring his Army to Tarraco. That there the old Souldiers should be disbanded, and the Supplement distributed, and that he himself would order the whole Army: besides that Flaccus had a short day appointed him, by which his Successor should come. This news made Flaccus leave off what he design'd to do, and all in haste to carry his Army out of Celtiberia. Whereupon the Barbarians, being ignorant of the reason [why he did so] supposing, that he perceived and feared their revolt, and that they had got Arms privately together, beset the Wood so much the more intently. Into which when the Roman Army at break of day enter'd, the Enemies arising from two places at once invaded the Romans. Which when Flaccus saw, he allay'd the first tumults by bidding the Centurions command them to stand all in a Body, every man in his Rank and File, and make ready their Arms, and having put all their Carriages, and the Beasts into one place, he partly in person, partly by his Lieutenants and Tribunes of the Souldiers, as the time and place required, let all his Forces, without any fear, in Array: telling them, that they had to do with persons, who had been twice surrender'd; had now indeed more wickedness and treachery in them; but not more courage or resolution. That they would make his return into his Country, which before was like to be ignoble, very famous and memorable: and that they should carry to their Triumph at Rome, Swords embrew'd with the fresh slaughter of their Enemies and spoils running down with blood. The time would not suffer him to say any more. For the Enemy came upon them, and they were already engaged in the utmost parts: and then the whole Army fell to it.

The Fight was severe on both sides, but the fortune of it various. The Legions fought XL. very bravely, nor did the two Wings behave themselves any worse: but the Foreign Auxiliaries were hard put to it by men of like Armour, who were somewhat a better sort of Souldiers, and could not maintain their ground. The Celtiberians perceiving that they were not equal to the Legions in a regular way of fighting, and hand to hand, made an impression into them, in a body like a wedge. At which kind of fighting they are so good, that they cannot be endured, what part soever they with their Force attempt. And then also the Legions were put into disorder, and the main Body of the Army almost interrupted. Which conternation when Flaccus perceiv'd he rode up to the Legionary Horse, and cry'd out; Are you able to afford me no assistance? Or shall this whole Army be ruin'd? To which they making a general loud reply, and saying, let him tell them, what he would have done, and they'd do it out of hand, he had them double their Troops, the Horsemen of the two Legions,

and let their Horses go into the wedge of the Enemies, wherewith they gaul our men: which you will do with greater force of their Horses, if you let them go unbridled upon them: which we read, that the Roman Horsemen have done many times to their great commendation. They obey'd his command, and pulling off their Bridles ran to and fro to the great slaughter of the Enemy, and broke through all their spears. The wedge being dissipated, in which lay all their hopes, the Celtiberians trembled, and, being ready to quit the fight, lookt about, which way to make their escape. The Alary Horse too, when they saw so memorable an exploit done by the Roman Horse, were themselves inflamed by their valour, and without any word of command rode in among the disorder'd Enemies. With that all the Celtiberians were put to flight, and the Roman General seeing the Enemy run away, vow'd to build a Temple to Fortuna Equestris, and to make Games in honour of the Good and Great Jupiter: so the Celtiberians were scatter'd and slain over all the Wood. 'Tis said, there were seventeen thousand of the Enemies slain that day, above three thousand taken, with two hundred seventy seven military Ensigns, and Horses near eleven hundred. That day the conquering Army lodg'd in no Camp. But yet this Victory was not gain'd without the loss of Souldiers; for of the Romans there were slain four hundred seventy two, and of the Latine Allies a thousand and nineteen, with whom there also fell, of Auxiliaries three thousand. By this means the conquering Army having regain'd their former honour, was led to *Tarracon. Tib. Sempronius* the Prætor (who came thither two days before) went out to meet *Fulvius* at his arrival, and congratulated his good management of the publick affairs. Whereupon, they agreed unanimously as to the Souldiers, whom to disband, and whom to keep [still upon duty.] Then *Fulvius*, when he had shipped the Souldiers, that were dismiss'd, went to Rome, and *Sempronius* carry'd the Legions into Celtiberia; whilst both the Consuls led their Armies into Liguria two several ways.

XLII. *Postumius*, with the first and the third Legion, beset two Mountains, called *Baliffa* and *Suifmontium*, keeping the narrow passes of those places so close, that he hinder'd them from getting any provisions; and subdu'd them by meer want of all necessaries. *Fulvius*, having, with the second and fourth Legion, attack'd the *Apuan Lignrians* from *Pisa*, received the surrender of all of them, that dwelt upon the River *Macra*, and putting seven thousand of them on Board certain Ships [that he had provided] sent them over to *Naples*, along the Coast of the *Tuscan* Sea: from whence they were brought into *Samnium*, and a place assigned them to inhabit among the Natives of that Country. In the mean time *A. Postumius* cut down the Vines and burnt the Corn belonging to the *Ligurians* that lived upon the Mountains; till they were forced by the misfortunes of War, to submit and surrender their Arms. From thence *Postumius* departed and put to Sea, to visit the Coast of the *Ingurian Ligurians*, and *Intermelians*. But before these Consuls arrived at the Army, which was appointed to Rendezvous at *Pise*, *A. Postumius*, and *M. Fulvius Nobilior*, Brother to *Q. Fulvius*, were Commanders of it. *Fulvius* was a Tribune military in the second Legion; who, during his months [wherein he was to command] disbanded that Legion, engaging the Centurions upon Oath to return the money [designed for their pay] into the Roman Treasury to the *Questors*. Which when *Postumius* heard of at *Placentia* (for thither, as it happen'd, he was then gone) he pursu'd those disbanded men with some of his nimblest Horse, and brought as many of them as he could overtake, after he had rebuked them, back to *Pisa*. Concerning the rest he sent word to the Consul: who, upon his proposal of the case, got an Order of Senate made, that *M. Fulvius* should be banish'd into Spain, beyond new Carthage: besides that Letters were given him by the Consul to carry to *P. Manlius* in the farther Spain. The Souldiers were order'd to repair back to their Colours; and for a mark of disgrace to them, it was decreed, that they should have but six months pay for that year; and that every Souldier, who did not return to the Army, should be sold by the Consul, he and all he had.

XLII. The same year *L. Dronius*, who was come out of *Illyricum* (where he had been Prætor the year before) to *Brundisium*, leaving his Ships there in Harbour, came to Rome; [and there,] discoursing of the exploits that he had done, very confidently laid the blame of all the Piracy that was practis'd upon the Sea-Coast to the charge of *Gentius* King of the *Illyrians*: [saying] That all the Ships that pillaged the Coast of the upper Sea, came out of his Kingdom. Concerning which affair he had sent Embassadors to the King, but they could never have the liberty of speaking with the King. Now at the same time there were Embassadors come from *Gentius* to Rome, who said, that at that time when the Roman Embassadors would have had admittance to the King, he was sick in the farthest parts of his Kingdom. And therefore, that *Gentius* begg'd of the Senate; that they would not believe those false accusations, which his Enemies had forged against him. But *Dronius* added farther; that several persons (both Citizens of Rome, and Latine Allies) had receiv'd great abuses in his Kingdom; as also, that, by report, some Roman Citizens were detained at *Corcyra*. Thereupon it was by the Senate thought fit, that they should all be brought to Rome, where *C. Claudius* the Prætor should be judge of the case, and that till then Answer should be given to King *Gentius* or his Embassadors. Among many others, who dy'd this year of the Plague, there were several Priests also taken off; of whom *L. Valerius Flaccus*, the High-Priest was one; into whose place they chose *Q. Fabius*

*Labeo*:

*Labeo*: and *P. Manlius* who was lately come back out of the farther Spain) *Triumvir* in the ordering of the sacred Feasts; in whose room they Elect'd *Q. Fulvius* Son to *Marcus*; being then under seventeen years of Age. Concerning the choice of a King of the Sacrificers into the place of *C. Cornelius Dolabella*, there was a Contest between *C. Servilius* the Arch-Priest, and *Cornelius Dolabella*, *Duumvir* of the Navy, whom the High Priest commanded to lay down that Office, that he might instal him in the other: But he refused it, and for that reason the Priest set a Fine upon him; upon which *Dolabella* appealed, and argu'd the case before the people. When many of the Tribes, being called in, voted, that the *Duumvir* ought to be obedient to the High-Priest, and that the Fine should be remitted, if he laid down his Office, at last it thunder'd, and that broke up the Assembly. Then the Priests thought it a sin to inaugurate *Dolabella*, but inaugurated *P. Cælius Siculus*, who had been instal'd in the second place. At the end of this year *C. Servilius Geminus* the High Priest himself also deceas'd, who was one of the *Decemviri* appointed to oversee the holy rites: and in his place of Priest the College of Priests chose *Q. Fulvius Flaccus*. But *M. Aemilius Lepidus* was chosen to be High-Priest (though many great men stood for that office) and *Q. Marcus Philippus* was made *Decemvir* of the holy rites in the room of the same [*C. Servilius Geminus*.] Besides him there died *Sp. Postumius Albinus*, an *Augur* [or Soothsayer] into whose place *P. Scipio*, Son to *Africanus*, was by the *Augurs* Elect'd: The same year the *Cumans* had leave (upon their Petition) publickly to speak Latine, and for their Cryers to sell [goods] in Latine.

The Senate gave the *Pisans* thanks for a promise which they had made of Lands, wherein the Romans might plant a Latine Colony: and three persons were Elect'd for that purpose, viz. *Q. Fabius Buteo*, with *M. and Publius*, both surnam'd *Popillius Lenas*. Then there were Letters brought from *C. Manius* the Prætor (who, besides that he was to be Governour of *Sardinia*, had this charge also given him, That he should inquire into the Arts of poisoning, practis'd in all places, above ten miles off Rome.) That he had already condemn'd three thousand persons, and that upon informations, which were made to him, that affair every day encreas'd: inasmuch that he must either quit that business, or resign his Province. *Q. Fulvius Flaccus* return'd from Spain to Rome with great Fame for the actions that he had done: laid without the City, to expect his triumph, was chosen Consul with *L. Manlius Acidinus*; and after some few dayes rode into the City triumphant, with the Souldiers, whom he had brought home, attending upon him. He carried in his Triumph a hundred twenty four golden Crowns; of Gold thirty one pounds, and a hundred seventy three thousand two hundred Coined pieces of *Oscan* Silver. He distributed among his men fifty Deniers apiece out of the Booty; double of which he gave to each Centurion, and to the Horsemen treble: doing the same to the Latine Allies, and bestowing upon every Souldier double pay. That year *L. Villius*, Tribune of the People, prefer'd a Bill for the determining how many years of Age every man should necessarily be, before he should be capable of standing for, or having any publick Office. Thence it was, that all their Family was surnam'd *Annales* [from *Annus*, an Year.]

XLIV. Many Years after that, there were Created four Prætors (pursuant to the *Bebian* Law, which ordained that every other Year there should be four Elect'd) namely, *Cn. Cornelius Scipio*, *L. Valerius Levinus*, *Q.* and *M.* both named *Mucii*, and surnam'd *Scævola*. *Q. Fulvius* and *L. Manlius* had the Government of the same Province with those of the year before, and the same numbers of Horse and Foot, both Citizens and Allies. *Tib. Sempronius* and *L. Postumius* were still continu'd in Commision in the two Spains with the same Forces that they had. And for a Supplement, the Consuls were order'd to raise three thousand Roman Foot, three hundred Horse, five thousand Latine Foot, and four hundred Horse, *P. Mucius Scævola* happen'd to have the City Jurisdiction, and was to inquire concerning the practice of poisoning within the City and without for ten miles round. *Cn. Cornelius Scipio* had the Foreign Jurisdiction; *Q. Mucius Scævola* was made Governour of *Sicily*, and *C. Valerius* of *Sardinia*. *Q. Fulvius*, the Consul, before he did any publick business, said, he would acquit both himself and the Commonwealth in point of Religion by performing those Vows that he had made. For he declared, that on the day, when he fought the last Battle with the Celtiberians, he made a Vow to set forth Games in honour of (the great and good) *Jupiter*: as also to build a Temple to \* *Fortuna Equestris*; and that for that end the Spaniards had rais'd him money. Thereupon those Games were resolv'd upon in the Senate, and order was given for the Creating of two *Duumviri*, to contract for the building of such a Temple. But as to the money it was prefix'd, That the sum, spent upon those Games, should not be more, than was allow'd to *Q. Fulvius Nobilior* for his Games, after the *Ætolian* War. And that in order to these Games, he should not send for, raise, receive, or do any thing, against the Order of Senate, that was made, touching Sports, in the year, when *L. Æmilius* and *Cn. Bebius* were Consuls. This order of Senate was made by reason of the extravagant expences, laid out upon the Games of *Tib. Sempronius*, the *Ædile*: which were very burdensome, not only to Italy and the Latine Allies, but to the Foreign Provinces also.

The Winter that year was very severe, for Snow and all kind of stormy weather; which kill'd all the Trees that were in danger of nipping colds: besides that that tempestuous Season

\* God-defs of Horsemanship.

Season was of a longer duration than other years it used to be. By which means the *Latine* Holy dayes were so disturb'd by a sudden and intolerable storm that then arose upon the Mountain, that the Priests gave order they should be celebrated a second time. The same tempest threw down several Statues in the Capitol, disfiguring many places with Thunderbolts. It overturn'd the Temple of *Jupiter* at *Taracina*, the white Temple at *Capua*, with the Gate called *Porta Romana*, and the Battlements of the Wall in several places. Among these Prodiges it was reported also from *Reate*, that there was a Mule foaled with three Feet. Upon which score the *Decemviri* were order'd to consult the *Sibylls* Books; and by direction out of them, declar'd, to what Gods, and with what Victims Sacrifice should be made: and (seeing many places were defaced with Thunder) that there should be a supplication made in the Temple of *Jupiter* one whole day. After this, the Games that *Q. Fulvius* had vow'd were set forth with great solemnity for ten days together: and then was the Assembly held for chusing of Censors, in which there were Elected *M. Aemilius Lepidus*, the High-Priest, and *M. Fulvius Nobilior*, who had triumph'd over the *Aetolians*. Now between these two persons there was a known grudge, which was many times very publicly shewn in several fierce contests both in the Senate, and before the People. When this Assembly was over, the two Censors, (as it was the ancient usage) fate together in their Curule Chairs [of State] in the *Campus Martius*, near the Altar of *Mars*: to which place there soon flock'd the best men of the Senate, with a numerous train of Citizens at their Heels; among whom *Q. Caelius Metellus* made this Speech: Censors! We have not forgotten, that you were very lately chosin by the whole Roman People as Overseers of our manners; and that we ought to be admonish'd, and ruled by you, and not you by us. Yet we ought nevertheless to shew, what, in you, either offends all good men, or they at least would wish to be alter'd. When we consider you singly (*M. Aemilius!* and you, *M. Fulvius!*) we have not this day in the City any persons, whom, if we were to chuse again, we would sooner prefer than you. But when we look upon you both together, we cannot but fear, that you are very ill paired, and that it will not be so great an advantage to the Common-wealth in that you please all of us so well, as it may be a disadvantage, that you displease one another. For many years together there have been great animosities between you, very prejudicial to you your selves; which we are afraid, may from this time forward prove much more fatal to us and the Common-wealth, than to you. For what reasons we fear this, we could give you a long account, but that perhaps your implacable enmity hath already captivated your minds. These grudges we all desire you this day, and in this Temple, to make an end of; and, since the Roman People have join'd you together by their Votes [in the same office] that you would let us unite you in reconciliation and Friendship also. With one mind, with one design, chuse the Senate; survey the Knighthood; number the Citizens, and set up a Pole [in order to view and purifie the people.] And whereas you in almost all your Prayers you are to use these words; That such or such a thing fall out successfully to me and my Colleague, look, that you wish it truly and heartily, and make men believe, that what you desire of the Gods, you sincerely pray may come to pass. *T. Tatius* and *Romulus* reigned together in this very City with great unanimity, though they had formerly fought as Enemies in the midst of the Forum. Not only animosities, but Wars too have their periods: and oftentimes the greatest Foes become the most faithful Friends, yea and our Fellow-Citizens also. The *Albanes*, when their City was utterly ruin'd were brought to Rome, and the *Latines* with the *Sabines* were taken into the freedom of the City. That common saying, because 'twas so true, became a Proverb, viz. That Friendship should be immortal, and animosity mortal. Hereupon arose an humme, to shew their assent, and soon after their Voices all at once desiring the same thing, interrupted *Metellus's* Oration. Then *Aemilius*, among other things, complain'd, that *M. Fulvius* had hinder'd him twice of having the Consulate, which otherwise he had been sure to carry. And *Fulvius* on the contrary urged, that he had always been by *Aemilius* malign'd, and that he had brought an action against him, with security to answer the judgment, to his great disgrace. Yet both of them pretended, that if the other would, he would submit to the arbitrement of so many great persons of the City. Thereupon, at the instant request of all who were there present, they shook hands, and promised, to forgive and put an end to all manner of quarrels: and then (all the Company commending them for what they had done) they were carried to the Capitol. Where the Senate much approved of and praised, not only the care of the Nobility in such an affair, but the easy compliance of the Censors also. And therefore when the Censors desired, to have a Summ of money for the carrying on of publick works, they had an years Revenue allotted them.

XLVII. The same year *L. Postumius*, and *Tib. Sempronius* the Pro-Prætors in Spain agreed so between themselves, that *Albinus* should go through *Lusitania* against the *Vaccæ*, and come back into *Celtiberia*. But *Gracchus* went into the most remote parts of *Celtiberia*, because in that Country there was a greater War. First he took the City of *Munda* by storm, surprizing it suddenly in the night time: from whence having receiv'd Hostages, and put a Garison into it, he march'd on, attacking Forts, and burning all the Country Towns, till he came to another very strong City, which the *Celtiberians* call *Certima*. Where, being about to apply his Engines to the Walls, there came Embassadors out of the Town, who made a Speech to him full of ancient simplicity and plainness; not denying but that they were

were minded to fight him, if their strength had been sufficient. For they desired leave to go into the *Celtiberian* Camp, to get Auxiliaries: but if they could not get any, then they would consult themselves apart from those people what 'twas best to do. *Gracchus* gave them leave, and they went; but some few dayes afterward brought along with them ten Embassadors more. It was then Noon; and therefore the first thing they desired of the Prætor, was, that he would order them some drink. When they had drank each of them one Cup round, they call'd for another, to the great diversion of all that stood about them, they being so rude, and void of all manner of breeding. Then the eldest of them began and said; We are sent to you from our Nation, to ask you, upon what assurance you make War against us? To which *Gracchus* reply'd; He came upon the confidence, that he had in a gallant Army: which if they had a mind to see, he would give them the satisfaction of it, that they might be the better able to inform their Countrymen how things stood: and thereupon commanded the Tribunes military, to put all the Forces both Horse and Foot in Battalia, and let them charge one the other, as in a fight. The Embassadors, when they had seen this show, went and deterr'd their Countrymen from sending any succours to the besieged City. The Townsmen therefore having to no purpose set Fires (which was the signal agreed upon) in their Turrets, when they saw themselves disappointed of their only hope of succours, came and made their surrender. Thereupon they were order'd to pay two Millions four hundred thousand Sesterces, and to deliver up forty of their best and noblest Horsemen; not as Hostages (for they were injoin'd to serve as Souldiers) though they really were as a pledge for their future fidelity.

From thence he march'd next to the City of *Alce*, where the *Celtiberians* Camp lay, XLVIII. from whom the Embassadors so lately came. And when he had for some dayes teased with small Skirmishes, by sending his Light-armour against their several Guards, he daily contrived still greater occasions of fighting, that he might draw them all out of their Fortifications. And when he saw, that he had effected what he wish'd for, he order'd the Commanders of the Auxiliaries, that after a short conflict, they should on the sudden turn their backs and run toward the Camp as with all speed, as though they had been outdone in numbers: whilst he himself set the Army in Array within the Bulwark at every Gate. Nor was it long before he saw his own men running away (as he had design'd they should) and the *Barbarians* pursuing them as hard as they could. By which time he had got all his Forces ready marshall'd for this very purpose within the Bulwark: and therefore staying only so long, till his own party had made their free passage into the Camp, he set up a shout, and sall'y'd forth at all Gates together. The Enemy was not able to bear this unexpected Effort; nor were they, who came to assault another's Camp now able so much as to defend their own. For they were presently routed, put to flight, forced back with consternation into their Bulwark, and, at last, turn'd out of their Camp. That day there were nine thousand of the Enemy slain, three hundred and twenty were taken Prisoners, with a hundred and twelve Horses, and thirty seven military Ensigns. Of the Roman Army there fell a hundred and nine.

After this Battle *Gracchus* march'd with his Legions, to ravage *Celtiberia*; and whilst he plunder'd all places as he pass'd along, (inasmuch that the people, some for fear, and some of their own free-will, submitted to him) he in a few dayes took a hundred and three Towns by surrender, and got a vast booty. Thence therefore he carry'd his Army back to *Alce*, from whence he came, and began to attack that City. The Townsmen sustained the first assault of the Enemies, but when they saw they were not only attempted by force of Arms, but with Engines and Works also, they trusted no longer to the strength of the City, but all ran into the Castle: though from thence also at length they resign'd (having sent Envoys before hand) both themselves and all they had into the hands of the Romans. Thence therefore they carry'd a great Booty: for many noble Captives were at their disposal, among whom there were two Sons and one Daughter of one *Turris*; who was a petit King of those parts, for the most puissant of all the *Spaniards*. He, having heard of the misfortune that had befallen his Children, sent Messengers to procure him a secure passage to *Gracchus*, and came into the Camp. And first he ask'd *Gracchus*, Whether he and his should live? To which the Prætor answer'd; They should: Whereupon he again desired to know; whether he might serve as a Souldier under the Romans? Which seeing *Gracchus* also granted; Then (said he) I'll follow you against all my old Allies, since they neglect to assist me. From which time he follow'd the Romans, and assisted them with his stout and faithful endeavours upon many occasions.

After that, *Ergavia*, a noble and a powerful City, being terrified at the misfortunes of other people round about, open'd their Gates to the Romans. Some Authors say, that these Towns did not surrender themselves truly and sincerely; but that as soon as he had drawn his Legions out of any Region, they presently in that part of the Country renew'd the War, and that he afterward fought a great Battle hand to hand with the *Celtiberians*, near the Mountain *Cauris*, from break of day, till Noon: in which there were many men slain on both sides: and that the Romans had not much the better of it in any other respect, save that, the next day, when the *Celtiberians* staid within their Rampier, they provoked them out to fight; gather'd up the spoils



spoils of the field from Morning to Night, on the Morrow, and, the third day, engaged again in a fiercer Battle: in which at last the Celtiberians were undoubtedly conquer'd, and their Camp taken and rifled. That there were twenty two thousand Enemies that day slain; above three hundred taken, with about the same number of Horses, and seventy two military Ensigns. That by this means the War was made an end of, and that the Celtiberians made a true and a real Peace, without any such like inconstancy as they formerly were guilty of. They tell us farther, that the same Summer Postumius fought a remarkable Battle in the farther Spain with the Vaccei; of whom he slew thirty five thousand, and took their Camp. But 'tis more likely, that he came too late into that Province to do any such thing that Summer.

LI. The Censors made a new choice of Senators with great unanimity: and for President of the Senate was Elected *M. Aemilius Lepidus*, who was himself Censor, and High-Priest. Three Senators were turn'd out of the House: but *Lepidus* kept some in, whom his Colleague (by Skipping their names) design'd to leave out. Out of that summ of money which was given and divided between them, they caus'd these works to be made; *Lepidus* rais'd a Mound or Wharf at *Tarracina*, which was a work not at all agreeable to the people, for that he had an estate there himself, and seem'd to defray his private charges with the publick money. He built a Theatre, and a stage near the Temple of *Apollo*. He likewise bargain'd for the polishing and white-washing of *Jupiter's* Temple in the Capitol, and of all the Pillars about it. From which Pillars he also removed all such Statues, as seem'd to be inconveniently placed one opposite to the other; taking away all the shield and military Ensigns of all sorts, that were fasten'd to them. But *M. Fulvius* contract'd for the doing of more works than he, and those too of greater use: namely for the making of a Port, and Piles in the River *Tiber*; upon which Piles some years after *P. Scipio Africanus*, and *L. Mummius* (when they were Censors) caus'd Arches to be built: and likewise, a Palace behind the new Banquers Shops, with a Fish-Market that had other Shops round about it, which he sold to private people. He likewise made a Market-place and a Portico without the Gate, called *Tergemina*, and another behind the Docks, near the Temple of *Hercules*: besides that he built a Temple, behind that of *Hope*, to *Apollo*, the Physician. But they had, besides this, another summ of money in common, which they laid out in procuring Water to be brought into the City, and Arches to be made. This work was obstructed by *M. Licinius Crassus*, who would not suffer the Water to be convey'd through his ground. They also set up several new Taxes for importation of goods and customs: taking care likewise that many publick Chappels, that were then in the hands of private persons, should be reduced to the common service of the City, and ly open for all the people. They alter'd the manner of giving Votes, and divided the Tribes into Wards, according to the different ranks of men, and their several Occupations or Callings.

LII. At that time also one of the Censors, *M. Aemilius Lepidus*, petition'd the Senate, that he might be allow'd a summ of money, whereby to set forth the Games at the Dedication of the Temples of *Queen Juno*, and *Diana*, which he had vow'd to build in the Lignrian War eight years before: and accordingly for that end the Senate decreed him twenty thousand *Aſſes*. He therefore dedicated both those Temples in the *Circus Flaminius*; setting forth Stage-Plays three dayes together, after the Dedication of the Temple of *Juno*, and two days after that of *Diana*; and every one of those dayes in the cirque [or publick place for shews.] The same person also dedicated a Temple in the *Campus Martius* to the Sea-Gods, which *L. Aemilius Regillus* eleven years before had vow'd in a Sea fight against the Fleet of King *Antiochus*. Over the Gates of that Temple was fix'd a Table with this Inscription. To put an end to a great War between two Kings \* the head \* to subdue \* for making of Peace \* this consist \* when *L. Aemilius Regillus* the Prætor, Son of *M. Aemilius* was going forth \* Under the Protection, Command, good Fortune, and Conduct of him, between *Ephesus*, *Samos* and *Chios*, the Consul himself looking on, with *Antiochus*, all the Army, Horse and Elephants, the Fleet of King *Antiochus* was before so conquer'd, routed, batter'd, and put to flight, and there that day sixty two long Ships taken with all their Allies. After which fight \* King *Antiochus* and his Kingdom. \* For that reason he vow'd to build a Temple to the Sea Gods. In the same manner there was another Table with the like Inscription was set up over the Gates of the Temple of *Jupiter* in the Capitol.

LIII. Two dayes after the Censors had chosen a new Senate, *Q. Fulvius* the Consul went into *Liguria*, and having pass'd with his Army over pathless Mountains, Vales and Forests, fought a pitch'd Battle with the Enemy: in which he not only won the day, but at the same time forced their Camp too. Thereupon three thousand of the Enemies, and all that part of *Liguria* came and surrender'd themselves to him. All which the Consul plant'd in the Champaign part of the Country; placing Garisons upon the Hills. About this affair there were Letters brought in all hast to *Rome*; where, upon the score of those Atchievements, there was a Supplication appointed for three dayes: during which time the Prætors sacrific'd forty of the bigger sort of Victims. By the other Consul *L. Manlius* there was nothing done in *Liguria* worth taking notice of. Three thousand *Transalpine Gauls* pass'd over the *Alpes* into *Italy*, without offering any act of Hostility, to desire of the Consul and the Senate, that they might be quiet under the Command of the Roman People. But the Senate order'd

order'd them to depart out of *Italy*; and commanded the Consul *Q. Fulvius* to make inquiry into that matter, and to punish them, who had been the Authors and Ring Leaders of their passage over the *Alpes*.

This same year King *Philip* of *Macedon*, who was consumed partly for Age, and partly for grief about the death of his Son [*Demetrius*] died. He Winter'd at *Demetrias*, tormented for want of his Son, as well as with remorse for his own Cruelty. His other Son also stung his mind, who was, no doubt on't, to be King both in his own, and other Peoples Opinion. He saw how all men fix'd their Eyes upon his Son, but forsook him, as being old; some expecting his death, and others not so much even as that. That troubled him so much the more; and with him *Antigonus*, Son of *Echerates*, who bore the name of his Uncle *Antigonus*, that had been *Philip's* Tutor [or Guardian;] and a man of a Kingly presence, renowned for a famous Battle against *Cleomenes* of *Lacedæmon*. The Greeks call'd him *Guardian*, to distinguish him by his surname from all the other Kings of *Macedonia*. His Brothers Son, *Antigonus* was the only man that continu'd firm to *Philip's* Interest, and without corruption, among all the honourable Friends or Favourites that he had: which fidelity of his made *Perseus*, who indeed never was his Friend, then the greatest Enemy to him that could be. He therefore foreseeing, what danger he was in, if the Inheritance of the Kingdom came to *Perseus*, when he first perceiv'd the King to be troubled in mind, and that he sigh'd now and then for the loss of his Son, he one while gave attention, and another time provok'd the mentioning of that rash act; and was himself oftentimes a Companion to him in his sorrow. And (as truth uses to afford many tokens of it self whereby it may be traced out) he usually promoted the business with all the industry he could, that all things might the sooner be brought to light. The persons most suspected, to be the Instruments in that villanous action, were *Apelles* and *Philocles*, who had been sent Embassadors to *Rome*, and had brought those Letters, under the name of *Flaminius*, that had been so fatal to *Demetrius*. For they generally talk'd about the Court, that those Letters were counterfeit, forged by the Kings Secretary, and sealed with a false Signet.

But this thing being rather suspected, than evident, it happen'd that *Antigonus* met with *Xychus* [the Secretary, probably, that forged the Letter] and laying hold upon him brought him into the Court: where having left him in custody, he went directly on to *Philip*, and said: I have heard your Majesty often talk, as if you would give a good deal to know the truth concerning your two Sons, and be satisfied, which of them it was that sought to take away the others life. Now the only person that can untie that knot, and free you from that doubt is now in your power, namely *Xychus*: whom he advis'd the King, since he was by chance already brought into the Court, to summon into his presence. When he was brought, at first, he deny'd it, but with such inconstancy, that it appear'd, if he were put into some little fright, he would readily discover the whole matter: for at the very sight of the Executioner and the Rods he was dismay'd, and declared all the contrivance of that wicked act, both as to the Embassadors and his own performance in it. Thereupon there were certain persons immediately sent to lay hold on the Embassadors: of whom they took *Philocles*, who was hard by, upon surprize; but *Apelles* (who had been sent to pursue one *Chereas*) being inform'd that *Xychus* had discover'd all the business, went over into *Italy*. Concerning *Philocles* there is no certain account given. Some say; That at first he boldly deny'd it, but afterward when *Xychus* was brought before him face to face, he persifted in it no longer: others say; That he deny'd it even upon the rack. By this means *Philip's* sorrow was renew'd and doubled; who thought his unhappiness, in respect to his Children, so much the greater, in that one of them was lost [in such a manner.]

*Perseus*, though sure that all was detected, yet lookt upon himself as too great a person to think it necessary for him to fly; and therefore only took care to keep out of the way; intending to secure himself, as long as *Philip* lived, from the fire, as it were, of his wrath. *Philip*, seeing that he could not take his body to punish it, consider'd upon the only way which was left him, how to prevent *Perseus* from having, besides impunity, a reward for his wicked deeds. He therefore call'd *Antigonus* to him, to whom he was already oblig'd for discovering that barbarous murder; nor did he think that he would prove a King of whom the *Macedonians* would have any cause to repent or be ashamed, by reason that his Uncle *Antigonus* had been of late so renowned a person: and thus he open'd his mind to him: *Antigonus*! said he, since I am fallen into that condition, that to be Childless (which other people detest and abhor) ought to be my greatest wish, I do design to deliver up into thy hands this Kingdom, which I received from thy valiant Uncle, after he had been my faithful Guardian, yes and augmented it [during the time of my nonage.] You are the only person, that I can think deserves the Crown: but if there were no body at all, I had rather the Kingdom should perish, and be utterly extinct, than that *Perseus* should have it as the reward of his wicked treachery. I shall fancy that *Demetrius* is rais'd from the dead, and here again, if I leave you in his room, who was the only man that mourn'd for the death of that innocent [youth] and my unhappy error. After this Speech [to *Antigonus*] *Philip* never fail'd to shew him all the publick respect imaginable. For, since *Perseus* was in *Thrace*, *Philip* went about to all the Cities of *Macedonia*, recommending *Antigonus* to all the Princes of the Country: and, no question, but, if

his life had been somewhat longer, he would have left him in full possession of the Kingdom. Going from *Demetrias*, he spent a great deal of time at *Theſſalonica*. From whence coming to *Amphipolis* he fell sick of a grievous distemper. But yet it was evident that he was more disorder'd in his mind than his body: and that he was destroy'd by care and watching, whilst the Image and Ghost as it were, of his murder'd (though innocent) Son tormented him with direful thoughts, inſomuch that he died cursing the other. Nevertheless *Antigonus* might have been put into the Throne, had not the Kings Death been on a sudden divulged. But *Calligenes*, the Phyſician, who took care of him in his sickness, without ſtaying till the King was quite dead, upon the first symptoms of despair, sent Meſſengers, that were laid ready before hand (as they two had agreed) to *Perſeus*, and concealed the Kings Death from all People that were out of the Palace, till his coming.

LVII. By this means *Perſeus* surpriz'd them all, before they were aware of his coming, or knew that the King was dead, and so invaded that Kingdom, which by his wickedness he had gain'd. *Philip's* Death was very opportune, to gain time for raising new Forces in order to a War. For some few days after the Nation of the *Bastarnians* having been a long time ſollicitated thereunto, had forsaken their own Country, and with a great force of Horse and Foot came over the River *Iſter*. Now there came from thence before-hand, two Meſſengers to inform the King, *Antigonus* and *Cotto*; the latter whereof was a noble *Bastarnian*; and *Antigonus* was sent much against his will Embaſſadour with *Cotto* to instigate the *Bastarnians*. Not far from *Amphipolis* they met with news, though uncertain, that the King was dead: which spoilt all their whole design. For thus it was agreed, that *Philip* should secure the *Bastarnians* a free passage through *Thrace*, and provide them all necessaries; in order whereunto, he had engaged the Princes of those parts with presents; and promised them, that the *Bastarnians* should go peaceably through their Territories. Now his design was to extinguish the Nation of the *Dardans*, and to settle the *Bastarnians* in their Country. By which he proposed to himself a twofold advantage, the one, that the *Dardans* (who were a Nation always great Enemies to *Macedonia*, and ready upon all occasions to take the opportunity of maligning the Kings, when they were in any adverse circumstances) should be destroy'd; and the other, that the *Bastarnians*, leaving their Wives and Children in *Dardania* might be sent to ravage *Italy*. They were to go to the *Adriatick* Sea, and so to *Italy* through the *Scordiscians* Territories (for there was no other way to lead an Army) who would easily grant the *Bastarnians* a passage: for they differ'd not from each other, either in language or manners; yea, they were like enough to join with them, when they saw that they were going to plunder so opulent a Nation. These designs were accommodated to all kinds of events: so that, whether the *Bastarnians* were kill'd by the Romans, yet this was a comfort still, that the *Dardans* were rooted out, that he should have the spoil of what the *Bastarnians* had left behind them, and that *Dardania* would be his free possession: or whether they met with success, that, whilst the Romans were employ'd in a War with the *Bastarnians*, he should recover what he had lost in *Greece*. And these were *Philip's* designs.

LVIII. They enter'd peaceably and march'd along according to the promise made by *Antigonus* and *Cotto*. But shortly after, when they heard of *Philip's* death, neither were the *Thracians* so easy in point of Commerce, nor could the *Bastarnians* be content with what they bought, or be kept in their ranks from going out of the way. Upon this ground they did injuries to one another on both sides, by the daily increase whereof there broke out a War. At last the *Thracians*, who were not able to endure the force and multitude of these Enemies left their Villages in the Plains, and went up into a Mountain of a vast height, called *Donuca*. Whither when the *Bastarnians* also would have gone, they were surprized (though they came almost to the tops of the Hills) with such a storm, as that whereby, 'tis said, the *Gauls* were destroy'd when they plunder'd *Delphi*. For they were not only first wash'd with violent showres of rain, that poured upon them, and after that pelted with thick storms of hail, which was accompanied with great cracks of thunder, and lightening, that flash in their Eyes, but the thunderbolts shone so round about them, that their bodies seemed to be aimed and shot at: inſomuch that not only the common Souldiers, but the great Officers also were smitten and fell to the ground. By which means, being put into a great consternation, as they fell and tumbled down the high Rocks head foremost, the *Thracians* pressed hard upon them in that astonish'd condition: but they themselves said, the Gods were the occasion of their flight, and that the Sky fell down upon them. After they had been scatter'd by the storm, when most of them were come back, as out of a Shipwrack, half-arm'd, into the Camp from whence they set out, they began to consult, what to do. Whereupon there arose a Debate; some saying, that they ought to return, and others, that they ought to force their way into *Dardania*. About thirty thousand men (under the Conduct of *Clondicus*) went quite through: and the rest return'd the same way they came into the parts beyond *Danubius*. *Perſeus* having got possession of the Kingdom, commanded *Antigonus* to be kill'd: and, whilst he was settling affairs, sent Embaſſadours to *Rome*, to renew his Fathers Alliance [with the Romans] and to desire, that he might have, from the Senate, the Style of King. And these were the Transactions in *Macedonia* that year.

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The other Consul, *Q. Fulvius*, triumphed over the *Ligurians*, more through favour, than upon the score of any great Achievements. He brought in a great quantity of the Enemies Armour, but very little Money. Yet he divided among his Soldiers thirty Asses a Man, giving to each Centurion double, and to each Horseman treble. There was nothing in this Triumph, than that, as it happened, he triumph'd upon the same Day, on which the Year before he had done after his Prætorship. After his Triumph he appointed the Grand Assembly, at which there were chosen for Consuls, *M. Junius Brutus*, and *A. Manlius Vulſo*. After which, when three of the Prætors were now chosen, a Tempest dissolved the Assembly. The next Day the other three were elected (upon the 11<sup>th</sup> of March) whose Names were *M. Titinius Curvus*, *Tib. Claudius Nero*, and *T. Fonteius Capito*. Then the Roman Games were set forth anew by the Curule Ædiles, *Cn. Servilius Capto*, and *Ap. Claudius Cento*, upon the score of certain Prodigies that then fell out. For the Earth quaked in the publick Tabernacles, where the Beds, on which they were to celebrate the Sacred Feast, lay; the heads of the Gods, that were upon those Beds, turn'd of themselves the contrary way; and the Wooll, with the Coverlets, that lay before *Jupiter*, fell down. It was interpreted also as a Prodigy, that the Mice had tasted before [any Body else] of the Olives [upon *Jupiter's* Table]. For the expiation of these ominous Events, there was nothing else done, save that those Games were celebrated over again.

## DECADE V. BOOK I.

### The E P I T O M E.

The Fire in the Temple of *Vesta* went out. 7. *Tib. Sempronius Gracchus*, the Proconsul, conquer'd the *Celiberians* accepted of their surrender; and, for a monument of his Achievements, built a Town in Spain call'd *Gracchuris*. *Postumius Albinus*, the Proconsul, subdued the *Vaccæans* and *Lusitanians*. Both of them triumphed. *Antiochus* Son to King *Antiochus*, whom his Father had given as an Hostage to the Romans, upon the Death of his Brother *Seleucus*, who succeeded his Father, lately Dead, was sent away into the Kingdom of Syria. The Consuls erected a Pole, at which there was an account taken of two Hundred seventy three Thousand two Hundred forty four Citizens. *Q. Vocomius Sarca*, Tribune of the People, proposed a Law, that no Man should make a woman his Heir; which Law *M. Cato* stood up for, and enforced in an Oration of his that is yet extant. The successful Actions of many Generals against the *Ligurians*, *Iſtrians*, *Sardians*, and *Celiberians*. The grounds of the *Macedonian* War, which *Perſeus*, Son to *Philip*, raised. For he had sent an Embaſſage to the *Carthaginians*, which had its audience in the Night. 22, &c. He ſollicitated other Cities of *Greece* in like manner. This Man, excepting his Religion (for he built many stately Temples in several places) (as at Athens, that of *Jupiter Olympius*, and at *Antiochia*, that of *Jup. Capitollinus*) was the worst of Kings.

The beginning of this Book is wanting.

\*\* TO have armed that which he had in Peace received from his Father; and for that reason, they say, he was very much beloved by the young Men, who were mighty desirous of plunder. When the Consul was deliberating concerning a War in *Iſtria*, some were of opinion, That they ought to go about it immediately, before the Enemies could muster up their Forces, though others said, They ought first to consult the Senate. But their advice took, who were not for making any delay. The Consul therefore march'd from *Aquileia*, and encamped at the Lake *Timarus*, that lies near the Sea side. Thither also came *C. Furius*, the Naval Duumvir, with ten Ships; he and another having chosen to oppose the *Illyrian* Fleet, and with twenty Ships, in the upper, to defend all the Sea Coasts, of which *Ancora* was (as it were) the hinge: *L. Cornelius* having the care of all the right hand Shore as far as *Tarentum*, and *C. Furius* of the left, as far as *Aquileia*. Those ten Ships were sent to the next Port, into the Confines of *Iſtria*, with other Vessels of burden, full of Provisions; and the Consul following after with his Legions, pitched his Camp five Miles from the Sea. In a short time there was a full throng'd Mart set up in the Port, from whence were conveyed all manner of necessaries to the Camp; which that it might be the more secure, there were Guards set on all sides quite round. Towards *Iſtria* [in particular] there was a Garrison planted, consisting of a tumultuary Regiment of *Placentines*, between the Camp and the Sea, which might be a security also to them, when they went to water at the River. *M. Aebutius*, a Tribune Military of the second Legions, was commanded to add [unto them] two Companies. *T. and C. Ælius*, both Tribunes

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Military

Military too, had led the third Legion by the way that carries you to *Aquileia*, to protect the Foragers and those that went to fetch in Wood. From that place about a Thousand Paces was the Gallick Camp; in which there was one *Carmelus*, a petty King, who had under him three Thousand Men, or somewhat more.

II. When the *Romans* came and encamped near the Lake *Timavus*, the *Istrians* fate down in a close place behind an Hill; from whence they followed the Army [as it march'd] through crooked ways, ready to take all advantageous opportunities, as having notice of all that was done either at Sea or Land. So, when a company of their Men, who were unarm'd and merchandizing between the Camp and the Sea, saw the Guards before the Camp very weak, without any defence either at Land or by Sea, they attack'd the two Guards together, namely, the Placentine Regiment, and the two Companies of the second Legion. Their enterprise at first was concealed by a Morning Mist, which beginning to disperse with the enterprize of the Sun, the light began, in some measure, though very dimly, to shine through it, but in such a manner (as it uses to do) that it represented every single thing manifold to the Eye, and then especially deceived the *Romans*, shewing them a far greater Army of Enemies than there really was. At which the Soldiers that were upon both Guards, being affrighted, fled into their Camp in great disorder, and there caused far more distraction than that which they themselves had brought along with them. For they were neither able to say why they fled, nor to give an answer to those that ask'd them; besides that a noise was heard at the Gates (where there was no Guard to receive the blow, or effort [of the Foe]) and the running together of People in the dark, who fell one over another, had made it uncertain whether the Enemy were within the Bulwark or no. The only cry, that was heard, was of those who called out, *To Sea, To Sea*; which being by chance set up by one single Person, rung presently all through the Camp. Whereupon at first (as though they had been commanded so to do) they ran to the Sea, some few of them arm'd, but the greater part without any Weapons at all. After them follow'd more still, and at last almost all, yea the Consul himself, having in vain attempted to recal them (for neither his Command, Authority, or even Intreaties at last, would prevail upon them) went after them. *M. L. Strabo*, a Tribune Military of the third Legion, was the only Man that staid behind, being left by all his Legion excepting three Companies. The *Istrians* therefore, having made an eruption into the empty Camp (since no body was there but him, to resist them) surpris'd him as he was marshalling and encouraging his Men in that part of the Camp by the Generals Tent. The sight was much sharper than could well be expected where there were so few to make resistance; nor was it ended before the Tribune, and those that were about him, were all slain. Having thrown down the Generals Tent and all that were about it (which they also rifled) they went to the Market Place before the Questor, or Treasurers Tent, and into the street call'd *Quintana* [which was between the great Officers Quarters and those of the common Soldiers] where they met with great plenty of all things ready to their hands; and, within the Questors Tent, Tables spread. Thereupon the petty King immediately fate down and fell to eating; and so, by his example, soon after did all the rest, as if they had forgot they had either Arms or Enemies, glutting themselves with Wine and Meat, like People that had never been used to eat or drink at such a liberal rate.

III. The *Romans* at that time were in a quite different condition, for they were consternated both by Land and Sea; the Sailors pull'd down their Tents, carryed the Provisions that lay upon the Shore as fast as possible into the Ships; and the Soldiers, who were all terrified, ran to the Sea side to get into the Boats in all haste. The Mariners, for fear their Vessels should be overladen, some of them flopp'd the crowd, whilst others put off with their Ships to Sea; inso much that the Soldiers and Sea-men fell together by the Ears, wounded and kill'd one another, till by the Consuls order the Fleet was removed a great way from the Land. After that, he began to separate the unarm'd from the arm'd; of all which there were scarce twelve Thousand found that had Arms, and very few Horse men that had brought their Horses thither with them; the rest being a rascally sort of People, as scullions, snafack-boys, and the like, who were like to be only a prey to the Enemy, if they once bethought themselves of the War. But then at last came a Messenger, to recal the third Legion and the Gallick Garrison; whereupon they began from all parts to attempt the recovery of their Camp, and clear themselves from that dishonour [which then lay upon them]. The Tribunes Military of the third Legion Commanded the Soldiers to throw down their forage and fowel, and charged the Centurions to mount the elder Men two and two upon the Beasts, which they had unloaded; bidding the Horse-men to take up behind them each one a lusty young Foot-Soldier; and telling them withal, what a mighty honour it would be to the third Legion to recover by their valour that Camp, which the second Legion by their fear had lost. For it was no hard task (they said) to regain it, if the Barbarians, who were employ'd in plundering of it, were but surpris'd, and taken as they took them. This exhortation of his was heard with the greatest alacrity that could be among the Soldiers. Whereupon they presently carried forth the Ensigns in all haste, but the Soldiers staid not for the Ensign-bearers, though the Consul and the Forces that were brought back from the Sea, came first to the Bulwark.

*L. Atius*

*L. Atius* the Eldest Tribune of the second Legion did not only exhort the Souldiers, but also demonstrated to them; that if the *Istrians*, who were now Victorious, had ever intended to keep the Camp with the same Arms wherewith they took it, they would first have pursu'd their Enemy (whom they had forced out of it) and then have set good guards at least before the Bulwark: but it was likely enough that they were all now drown'd in Wine and sleep.

With that he commanded *A. Baculonius*, his own Ensign Bearer, a person of known Courage, to carry forward his Ensign. To which he reply'd, that if they would follow him, he'd so order the matter, that the business should be done so much the sooner: and thereupon with all his strength, having flung the Ensign over the Bulwark, he was the first man of all that enter'd in at the [Camp] Gate. On the other side *T. and C. Aelius*, Tribunes of the third Legion, were come up with their Horse: being presently follow'd by those, whom they had put two and two upon the labouring Beasts [for Carriage] and, after them, by the Consul also with his whole Army. But some few of the *Istrians*, who were not quite drunk, had wit enough to run away by times, whilst others of them were kill'd as they lay asleep; and the *Romans* recover'd all their goods again, except only the Wine and Meat that was devoured. The *Roman* Souldiers also, who being sick were left behind in the Camp, when they perceived that their own party was come within the Bulwark, took up their Arms again and made a great slaughter. But above all the rest, one *C. Popilius*, surnamed *Sabellus*, behaved himself after a signal manner: for he, who was left in the Camp, as having a wound in his Foot, slew far the greatest of the Enemies; of whom there were eight thousand *Istrians* kill'd, but not a man taken: for that their fury and indignation had made the *Roman* Souldiers unmindful of the booty. Yet the King of the *Istrians* was taken in halt, drunk from the Table, and being by his own men set on Horseback, made his escape. On the Conquerors side there fell two hundred thirty seven Souldiers; but more in their morning flight than in recovering their Camp.

Now it so fell out, that *Cn. and L.* both surnamed *Gavillius*, new Inhabitants of *Aquileia*, as they came thither with provisions, had like to have fallen into the hands of the *Istrians*, whilst they had possession of the Camp. They therefore leaving all their Carriages behind them, and flying back to *Aquileia*, fill'd all people, not only at *Aquileia*, but at *Rome* too with fear and tumult within some few days after: there having been a report brought thither, that the Enemies had not only forced the Camp, and that the *Romans* were run away (which was true) but that they had lost all, and the whole Army was utterly destroy'd. Wherefore, as is usual in such an hurry, there were extraordinary Levies appointed to be made, not only in the City, but through all *Italy* too. There were two Legions raised of *Roman* Citizens, besides that the *Latine* Allies were injoin'd to send out ten thousand Foot, and three hundred Horse. *M. Junius* the Consul had Orders to go over into *Gaul* and muster up out of the Cities of that Province as many as each place could afford. It was likewise decreed, That *Tib. Claudius* the Prætor should give notice to the Souldiers of the fourth Legions, with five thousand Foot, and two hundred and fifty Horse of the *Latine* Allies, to rendezvous at *Pise*; and that in the Consuls absence he should defend that Province: as also, that *M. Titinius* the Prætor should appoint a day whereon the first Legion, and an equal number of Foot and Horse should meet at *Ariminum*. Then *Nero* set forth in his Warlike Garb for *Pise*, his Province; and *Titinius* having sent *C. Cassius* a Tribune military to *Ariminum* to Command the Legion there, made a Levy at *Rome*. *M. Junius* the Consul marched out of *Liguria* into *Gaul*, and having raised Auxiliaries as he went out of all the Cities and Colonies in those parts, arriv'd at *Aquileia*; where he heard that the Army was safe. Thereupon having written Letters to *Rome*, to allay their tumults, he discharged the *Gauls* for their obligation to raise such and such Auxiliaries, and went to his Colleague. There was great joy at *Rome* upon this unexpected news; the Levies were omitted, the Souldiers disbanded, that had taken the military Oath, and the Army, which at *Ariminum* was sick of the Plague, sent home again. The *Istrians*, though Encamped with great Forces, not far from the Consuls Camp, when they heard, that the other Consul was come with a new Army, betook themselves every man to his Native City; whilst the Consuls led the Legions back to take up their Winter-Quarters at *Aquileia*.

The tumults in *Istria* being thus appeas'd, there was an Order of Senate made; that the Consuls should agree between themselves, which of them should return to *Rome* to hold the Assembly. At which time, whereas *A. Licinius Nerva*, and *C. Papirius Turdas*, in their publick meeting, inveighed severely against *Manlius*, whilst he was absent, and promulgated a Law to this purpose, That he, after the Ides of March (for the Consuls were already continu'd in Commission for an year longer) should not keep his place; that, when he laid down his Office, he might presently be called to make his defence: *Q. Ailius*, one of their Collegues, oppos'd the Bill, and after much debate prevailed so far, that it was thrown out. At the same time *Tib. Sempronius Gracchus*, and *L. Postumius Albinus*, being return'd out of *Spain* to *Rome*, had Audience given them by the Prætor *M. Titinius* in the Temple of *Bellona*, to tell what they had perform'd, and to demand their just honours, to the end, that all due praise and worship might be likewise given to the immortal Gods. At the same time they were inform'd by a Letter from *T. Aebutius* the Prætor, which his Son had brought to the Senate.

IV.

V.

VI.



Senate, that there were great commotions in *Sardinia*. For the *Ilians*, united with the *Ba-lurians*, had invaded the Province, when it was now in a peaceable state. Neither was he able to cope with them, having so weak an Army, that was great part of it destroyed by the Plague. The *Sardian* Embassadors also brought the same News, humbly begging of the Senate, that they would succour their Cities at least, for their Country was now in a desperate condition. This Embassy, and all things else relating to *Sardinia*, were referr'd to the new Magistrates; and then there came as lamentable an Embassy from the *Lycians*, who complained much of the cruelty of the *Rhodians*, to whom they had been subjected by *L. Cornelius Scipio*, saying, That they were once under the command of King *Antiochus*, but that servitude under him, compared to their present circumstances, seemed to us even a glorious liberty. For they were now not only oppress'd by publick Authority in general, but every single Person was made a mere slave. They themselves were abus'd, and not only they, but their Wives and Children also. That their Bodies and their Backs felt the effects of the *Rhodian* severities; yea their good names too (which was an indignity not to be born) were bespatter'd and defam'd; nor did they stick even openly to commit outrages upon them, to gain and usurp a greater Authority over them, lest they should question, whether there were any difference between themselves and slaves bought for Money. The Senate being concerned at this complaint, sent Letters to the *Rhodians* to this effect, That they never intended the *Lycians* should be slaves to the *Rhodians*, any more than any other Men, that were free born, to any other State or Person; but they design'd that the *Lycians* should so live under the command and protection of the *Rhodians*, that both Cities might continue in alliance under the Roman Empire.

VII. Then followed two Triumphs over *Spain* one after another; in which, first, *Sempronius Gracchus* triumphed over the *Celtiberians* and their Allies; and the next Day *L. Postumius* over the *Lusitanians* and other *Spaniards* of that same Country. *Tib. Gracchus* carried, in his Triumph, through the City forty Thousand Pound weight of Silver, and *Albinus* twenty Thousand. Both of them divided among their Soldiers twenty five *Denarii* a piece, to each Centurion double, and to every Horse-man treble; given as much also to Allies as they did to the *Romans*. It happened at that time, that *M. Junius* the Consul came out of *Istria* to *Rome* upon occasion of that Assembly. Whom when the Tribunes of the People, *Papinius* and *Licinius* had in the Senate tired out with their Interrogatories concerning what had been done in *Istria*, they brought him forth before the People also. To which when People reply'd, That he was not above eleven Days in that Province; and that, as to what was transacted in his absence, he knew no more than they did, but only by common report; they went on still asking him, Why *A. Manlius* came not to *Rome* to give the Roman People an account, wherefore he went out of the Province of *Gaul* (which fell to his lot) into *Istria*? When the Senate resolv'd upon that War? or the People of *Rome* consented to it? But (you'll say, no doubt on) though the War was undertaken upon a private design, yet it was carried on with prudence and valour. To which I answer the quite contrary, That 'tis impossible to tell, whether it were undertaken more absurdly, or carry'd on more unadvisedly. For there were two Posts of Guards surpris'd by the *Istrians*, and their Camp taken with all their Horse and Foot that was in it, the rest scatter'd and disarm'd; among whom the Consul, before all the rest, ran away to the Ships that lay upon the Sea side. Of all which things he should give an account when he was a private Man again, since he would not do it whilst he was Consul.

VIII. After this the Assembly was held, wherein there were Elected for Consuls *C. Claudius Pulcher*, and *Tib. Sempronius Gracchus*. The next Day after the Prætors were chosen, *P. Aelius Tubero* (a second time) *C. Quintius Flaminius*, *C. Numisius*, *C. Mummius*, *Cn. Cornelius Scipio*, and *P. Valerius Levis*. *Tubero* happen'd to have the City Jurisdiction, and *Quintius* the Foreign; *Numisius*, *Sicily*, and *Mummius*, *Sardinia*. But that by reason of the great War in it was made a Consul Province, and so *Gracchus* had it; *Claudius* had *Istria*, and *Scipio*, together with *Levis*, had *Gaul* divided between them into two several Provinces. Upon the Ides of *March*, on which *Sempronius* and *Claudius* entered upon their Office, there was only some mention made concerning the Provinces of *Sardinia* and *Istria*, and both their Enemies, that had stirr'd up Rebellion in those parts. The next Day the *Sardian* Embassadors, who were referr'd to the new Magistrates, and *L. Minucius Thermus*, who had been Lieutenant to the Consul *Manlius* in *Istria*, came into the Senate. By them the Senate was informed, how great the War was in those Provinces. The Embassadors of the *Latine* Allies, who had teaz'd both the Censors, and the former Consuls, were at last brought into the Senate, the sum of whose complaint was, That most of their Citizens, who had been taxed at *Rome*, were settled there. Which if it were permitted, it would so come to pass within a very few surveys of the People, that their Towns and Country being deserted, would not be able to afford any Soldiers. The *Samnites* also and the *Pelignians* complained, That four Thousand Families were gone from them over to *Fregellæ*, and yet they did not for all that raise a lesser quota in the Army. Now there were two kinds of fraud introduced by this way of single Persons changing their place of abode. The Law allow'd, that all the Allies and *Latines* who left issue behind them at home, might be made *Roman* Citizens. But by making an ill use of the Law, some injur'd the Allies, and others the *Roman* People. For as those, that had Children (that they might not leave any issue in their own Country) made them

them Slaves to any *Roman* Citizens that would take them, upon condition, that they should [after a while] be made free; so those, that had none to leave, were made *Roman* Citizens themselves. Nay afterward, despising these shadows of Law, they went over promiscuously, with any Law, and without any issue at all, by removing and being taxed, and were admitted into the freedom of *Rome*. The Embassadors therefore desired a redress of these things: first, that they would order their Allies to return into their several Cities; and next, that they would make a Law, that no man should make any other person his [Slave or alienate him, so as that he might change the place of his abode; or, if any man were in that manner made a *Roman* Citizen, he should be disfranchis'd. These things were accordingly commanded by the Senate [to be observed.]

IX. After this, the Provinces, that were at War (*Sardinia* and *Istria*) were taken care of. For *Sardinia* there were two Legions order'd to be rais'd, five thousand men in each of them, with two hundred Foot, three hundred Horse, twelve thousand Foot of the Allies and *Latines*, six hundred Horse, and ten Gallies of five Banks, if he [that had the charge of that Province] would take them out of the Docks. For *Istria* also there were allow'd as many Foot and Horse, as for *Sardinia*. The Consuls were likewise commanded to send into *Spain*, to *M. Titinius*, one Legion, with three hundred Horse, five thousand Foot of the Allies, and two hundred and fifty Horse. Before the Consuls chose their Provinces, there were several Prodigies related: That a Stone fell in the *Cruustumine* Territories, from Heaven, into the Lake of *Mars*. That a Boy was born in the Dominions of *Rome* without Legs, Arms, or an Head, and that there was a Snake seen with four feet. That at *Capua*, a great many Houses in the Market-place, were burnt by Lightning; and that, at *Putcoli*, two Ships were burnt by the stroke of a Thunderbolt. Besides these things which came by report, a Wolf also that was couf'd at *Rome* in the day time, having enter'd in at the *Colline* Gate, got out again at the *Esquiline*, with a great crowd of people pursuing him. Upon the score of those Prodigies, the Consuls sacrificed the bigger sort of Victims, and there was a Supplication made one whole day in all the Temples. When these Sacrifices were duly perform'd, they chose their Provinces: of which *Claudius* happen'd to have *Istria*, and *Sempronius* *Sardinia*. Then *C. Claudius* pass'd a Law by Order of Senate, and set out a Proclamation thereupon; That whoever of the Allies and *Latines*, they or their Ancestors, were taxed (when *M. Claudius* and *Titus Quintius* were Censors, or since that time) among the *Latine* Allies, should every man of them return into their own Cities before the first of November [then ensuing.] The inquiry concerning those that did not so return, was committed to *L. Mummius* the Prætor. To which Law and Edict of the Consuls there was added this Order of Senate; That the Dictator, Consul, Intervex, Censor, or Prætor, for the time being, then upon the Bench, should not admit any man to his freedom, upon any other terms, than that the person, who came to be made free, would swear, that he did not do it with design, to change the place of his abode: and that he who would not take that Oath, should not be made free. This charge and jurisdiction was afterward committed to *C. Claudius* the Consul.

X. Whilst these things were transacted at *Rome*, *M. Junius*, and *A. Manlius*, who had been Consuls the year before, having Winter'd at *Aquileia*, in the beginning of the Spring brought their Army into *Istria*. Where since they made an extravagant ravage, grief and indignation, more than any confidence that they had strength enough to cope with two Armies, excited the *Istrians*, when they saw their Country plunder'd in that manner. Thereupon, the youth flocking together from all the quarters of their Country, they made up a tumultuary Army of a sudden, that fought at the first onset more keenly than that they could long hold out. There were four thousand of them kill'd in the Battle, and the rest, quitting the Field, fled several ways into their respective Cities. Thereupon they sent Embassadors, first into the *Roman* Camp, to desire a Peace, and afterward Hostages, as they were commanded. When these things were known at *Rome*, by means of Letters from the Pro-Consuls, *C. Claudius* the Consul fearing, lest that perchance might be the occasion of his losing the Province, and the Army, he went with all speed in the night time into his Province, without making any Vows, without his Warlike Garb, and without any Lictors, telling no body in the World but his Colleague of his departure; but behaved himself there more unadvisedly than he came. For when, in a publick Assembly, that he called, he had given out that *A. Manlius* fled from the Camp, very disagreeably to the Souldiers (for they themselves were the first that moved) and had reproach'd *M. Junius*, for having made himself his Colleagues Partner in the dishonour, at last he commanded both of them to depart the Province. Whereupon when the Souldiers said, They should obey the Consuls Order, when he, according to the custom of his Ancestors, was come from the City, after he had made his Vows in the Capitol, with Lictors, and in his Warlike Garb; he was raving mad with anger, and calling to him one, who was as Questor to *Manlius*, bid him bring thither Chains; for he'd send *Junius* and *Manlius* bound to *Rome*. But that person too condemn'd the Consuls Order; and all the Army, standing round about, and favouring the cause of their Generals as much as they hated the Consul, gave him encouragement not to obey it. At last the Consul, being tired with the reproaches of particular persons, and the taunts (for they jeered him too) of the multitude, he return'd to *Aquileia* in the same Ship, wherein he came.

came. Then he wrote to his Colleague; to give order to that part of the Souldiery, who were design'd for Istria, to meet at Aquileia; left any thing should keep him at Rome longer than he could make his Vows, and go out of the City in his Warlike Garb. This his Colleague did very carefully, and gave them a short day to make their Rendezvous in. Claudius almost overtook his Letter: and when he came, having made a publick Speech concerning Junius and Manlius, he staid not above three dayes at Rome, but, after he had got on his Armour, and made his Vows in the Capitol, went with Licitors into the Province in the same halt as before.

XI. Some few dayes before Junius and Manlius with all their force attack'd the Town of *Nesattium*, into which the *Istrian* Princes, and their petit King *Apulo* himself was fled. To which place *Claudius* having brought the two new Legions, and dismiss'd the old Army with all its Officers, himself beset the Town, and began to attempt it with Galleries; turning a River that ran by the Walls (which was not only an hinderance to the Besiegers, but afforded Water also to the *Istrians*) by many days pains and toil into a new Channel. That terrified the *Barbarians*, who were amazed to see their Water cut off: though even then they never thought of Peace; but turning their fury upon their Wives and Children (that their barbarity might appear to the Enemy also) they kill'd and tumbled them down from the Walls. Amidst the cries and cruel slaughter of the Women and Children, the Souldiers got over the Wall and enter'd the Town. Upon the taking whereof, when the King heard the hurly-burly by the frightful noise of those that endeavour'd to make their escape, he ran himself through, that he might not be taken alive: the rest were all either taken or slain. After that, there were two other Towns, *Mutula* and *Favaria*, taken by storm and utterly destroy'd. The booty, for a poor Country, was more than they hoped for, but all given to the Souldiers. There were sold for Slaves five thousand six hundred thirty two persons. The Authors of the War were lash'd with Rods, and beheaded with an Axe. So *Istria* in general was reduced into a peaceable condition by the sacking of three Towns, and the Death of their King; and all the Nations round about came with Hostages and made their surrender. About the end of the *Istrian* War there were consultations held in *Liguria* about another.

XII. *Tib. Claudius*, the Pro-Consul, who had been Prætor the year before, was Governour of *Pise*, where he had a Garison consisting of one Legion. By whose Letters the Senate being inform'd, thought fit that those very Letters should be carry'd to *C. Claudius* the other Consul, who was gone over into *Sardinia*: and added a Decree; that, since the Province of *Istria* was now settled, if he thought fit, he might bring his Army over into *Liguria*. At the same time, upon the account of the Consuls Letter, which he wrote out of *Istria*, concerning his achievements there, there was a Supplication appointed for two dayes. The other Consul also, *Tib. Sempronius Gracchus*, had good success in *Sardinia*. For he led his Army into the Territory of *Ilian Sardinians*; whither there came a great number of Auxiliaries from the *Balarians*. He therefore engaged hand to hand with both Nations; utterly routing the Enemy, and forced them from their Camp, twelve thousand of them being slain. The next day the Consul gave order, that the Arms should be all gather'd together into an heap, which he burnt as a Sacrifice to *Vulcan*. Then he led his victorious Army back into their Winter Quarters, which were the affociated Cities; and *C. Claudius*, having receiv'd *Tib. Claudius's* Letter, together with the Order of Senate, brought over his Legions out of *Istria* into *Liguria*. The Enemy by that time having marched forward were Encamped in a Plain near the River *Scultenna*: where he fought them; kill'd fifteen thousand and took above seven hundred, either in the Field, or in the Camp (for that he also made himself Master of) with fifty one military Ensigns. The *Ligurians* that escaped alive fled several wayes into the Mountains, nor did any of them appear in Arms all the while the Consul was pillaging the Champaign Country. Then *Claudius*, being Conqueror of two Nations in one year, which seldom any one had been before him, and having settled the Provinces, return'd in his Consulship to Rome.

XIII. There were certain Prodigies related that year: That at *Crustumium* a Bird, which they call an *Osprey*, cut a sacred Stone [or Statue of some God perchance] with its Beak. That in *Campania* an Oxe spoke. That a brazen Cow, at *Syracuse*, was bull'd by a Bull of that Country, that had straid from the Herd, and sprinkled with his seed. For which, at *Crustumium*, there was a Supplication one whole day in the very place. In *Campania*, the Oxe was given to be kept by the publick: and the *Syracusan* Prodigy was expiated by supplication to such Gods as the Soothsayers named. *M. Claudius Marcellus*, who had been Consul and Censor, dy'd that year: and in his place was chosen *M. Marcellus* his Son. There was also a Colony of two thousand Roman Citizens carry'd to *Luna* the same year, by three persons [chosen for that purpose] whose names were, *P. Aelius*, *L. Egilius*, and *Cn. Sicinius*. There were fifty one Acres and an half of Land given to each man; which Land was taken from the *Ligurians*, having belong'd to the *Tuscanes* before it did to the *Ligurians*. *C. Claudius* the Consul came to the City, and, (having discours'd in the Senate concerning his prosperous Achievements in *Istria* and *Liguria*) upon his request, had a triumph decreed him. So he triumph'd, in his Magistracy, over two Nations at once: and carry'd in his triumph three hundred

hundred and seven thousand Denarii, with eighty five thousand seven hundred and two Victoriati [i. e. pieces of money with the Goddess of Victories Image upon them.] He gave to every private Souldier fifteen Denarii; double to a Centurion, and treble to an Horseman: and to the Allies half as much as to Citizens: wherefore they follow'd his Chariot, and (that you might perceive they were angry) said nothing.

Whilest that Triumph over the *Ligurians* was celebrated, the *Ligurians*, perceiving that not only the Consular Army was carry'd away to Rome, but the Legion at *Pise* disbanded by *Tib. Claudius*, were delivered from their fear, and therefore, having raised an Army privately, they went through cross-wayes over the Mountains into the Plains, where having plunder'd the Territory of *Mutina*, they surpriz'd the Colony and took it. Of which when the news came to Rome, the Senate order'd *C. Claudius* the Consul to call the Assembly as soon as possible, and, when he had chosen Magistrates for the year ensuing, to return into his Province, to rescue the Colony from the Enemy. Accordingly, as the Senate would have it, the Assembly was held; at which there were Created for Consuls, *Cn. Cornelius Scipio Hispanus*, and *Q. Petillius Spurinus*. Then the Prætors were EleCted, viz. *M. Popillius Lenas*, *P. Licinius Crassus*, *M. Cornelius Scipio*, *L. Papirius Maso*, and *L. Aquilius Gallus*. *C. Claudius* was continu'd in Commission for another year (*Gaul* being his Province) and order'd, left the *Istrians* also should do the same, that the *Ligurians* had done, to send those *Latine* Allies, whom he had brought out of the Province upon the score of his triumph, into *Istria*. As *Cn. Cornelius*, and *Q. Petillius* the Consuls, that day they enter'd upon their Office, were sacrificing to *Jupiter*, each of them an Oxe (according as the custom is) in that Victim, which *Q. Petillius* offer'd, the Liver was found without an Head [or upper Lobe.] Which when the Senate heard of, they order'd him to make a new Sacrifice of another Oxe. After that, the Senate, being consulted concerning the Provinces, assign'd *Pise* and *Liguria* to the Consuls; with a charge, that he, to whose Lot *Pise* fell, when the time for electing of Magistrates came, should come home, to hold the Assembly. To which Decree there was this addition made; that they should raise two new Legions, and three hundred Horse, in-joining the Allies and *Latines*, to bring in ten thousand Foot, and six hundred Horse. *T. Claudius* was continu'd in Commission till the Consul came into the Province.

Whilest the Senate consulted about these affairs, *C. Cornelius*, who was called out [of the House] by a Messenger, having gone forth of the Temple, return'd immediately with a troubled Countenance, and told the Senate, that the Liver of an Oxe, which he had sacrificed, turn'd all to Water: which because he did not believe upon the Sacrificers bare relation, he himself caused the water to be poured out of the Pot, in which the Entrails were boiled, and saw all the rest of the Entrails whole, but the Liver strangely consumed. The Senate being affrighted at this Prodigy, the other Consul also made them yet more concern'd, by telling them, that he could not make a grateful Sacrifice, though he had offer'd three Oxen, the head of the Liver having been wanting. Thereupon the Senate gave Order, that they should Sacrifice the bigger sort of Victims, till they found a pleasing Sacrifice. Now they say all the other Gods were pleased, but that *Petillius* did not make any Sacrifice that was acceptable to [the God of] Health [or Safety.] Then the Consuls and Prætors chose their Provinces. *Cn. Cornelius* happen'd to have *Pise*, and *Petillius* *Liguria*. The Prætors, *L. Papirius Maso*, the City, and *M. Abarius* the Foreign Jurisdiction. *M. Cornelius Scipio Maluginensis* the farther Spain, and *L. Aquilius Gallus* Sicily. Two of them desired, that they might not go into their Provinces: *M. Popillius* into *Sardinia*; saying; That *Gracchus* was at that time settling that Province, and that *T. Aebutius* was assign'd him by the Senate to be his assistant. That therefore it was not at all convenient, that the tenour of affairs should be interrupted, in which the very continuation of them was most effectual toward their performance. For between the resignation of a command, and the rawness of a Successor, who was to be informed before he could do any business, the occasions of good management were often lost. *Popillius* excuse was approved of: and then *P. Licinius Crassus* said, That he was hinder'd from going into his Province by solemn Sacrifices [which he had offer'd:] (He happen'd to have the hither Spain) but he was order'd, either to go, or to swear in a publick Assembly, that he was hinder'd by solemn Sacrifice. Which being so resolv'd upon in the case of *P. Licinius*, *M. Cornelius* also desired, that they would take an Oath of him too, that he might not go into the farther Spain. Both the Prætors swore the same thing. So *M. Titinius* and *T. Fonteius*, the Pro-Consuls were order'd to stay in Spain with the same Commission as before: and that, for a Supplement to them, there should be sent thither three thousand Roman Citizens, with two hundred Horse, five thousand *Latine* Allies, and three hundred Horse.

The *Latine* Holy-Days were then kept upon the fourth of May, on which because at the making of one Sacrifice the *Lanuvian* Officer did not pray in these Words, *Populo Romano Quiritium* [i. e. for the People of Rome call'd *Quirites*] it was look'd upon as matter of Religious concernment. Which being reported in the Senate, they referr'd it to the College of Priests, who, seeing the *Latine* Holy-Days had not been duly kept, resolv'd, that the *Lanuvians*, by whose default it became necessary to celebrate them anew, should provide the Sacrifices for the instauration thereof. It increas'd their Religious dread too, in that *Cn. Cornelius* the Consul, as he came back from the Mountain of *Alba*, fell down, and being

being disabled in part of his Limbs, went to the Waters at *Cuma*, but there (his distemper growing upon him) dy'd; and being brought from thence to *Rome*, had a Noble Funeral made for him, and was buried. He had been High Priest. Then the Consul *Q. Petillius* being commanded, as soon as he could by any tokens from the Sooth-sayers, to hold an Assembly for Electing of a Collegue, and let forth an order for the keeping of the Latine Holy Days, appointed the Assembly to be on the second of *August*, and the Latine Holy Days to begin on the tenth of the same Month. But now when their minds were full of Religious thoughts, there were Prodigies also related, That at *Tusculum* there was a blaze seen in the Sky; that at *Gabii* the Temple of *Apollo* and many private Houses, and, at *Graviscæ*, the Wall and a Gate were burnt by Lightning, all which the Senate ordered to be expiated, as the Priests should think fit. In the mean time, whilst, first, Religious Matters, and next the Death of one the other (together with the renewing of the Latine Holy Days) hindered the Consuls, *C. Claudius* advanced with his Army to *Mutina*, which the *Ligurians* the Year before had taken. Before three Days were past, from the time that he began to attack it, he retriev'd it from the Enemy, and restor'd it to the former Inhabitants. There were eight Thousand *Ligurians* slain within the Walls of it, and a Letter immediately sent to *Rome*, in which he did not only tell the story, but boasted also, That, through his valour and good success, there was no Enemy of the Roman People now on this side the Alps; and that he had taken as much Land, as might be divided, share and share like, among many Thousands of Men.

XVII. *Tib. Sempronius* also at the same time in *Sardinia* subdu'd the *Sardians* in several successful Battels, in which he slew fifteen Thousand Men. All the *Sardians*, who had revolted, were reduced: the old stipendiaries had a Tax laid upon and exacted from them, and the rest contributed Corn. Having settled the Province, and received two Hundred and thirty Hostages out of the whole Island, he sent Embassadors to *Rome* to tell the News, and to desire of the Senate, That for those things which had been so prosperously carry'd on, by the conduct and good fortune of *Tib. Sempronius*, all honour might be paid to the Immortal Gods, and he might have leave, when he quitted the Province, to bring his Army home with him. The Senate, having given the Embassadors Audience in *Apollo's* Temple, appointed a Supplication for two Days, ordered the Consuls to sacrifice forty of the bigger sort of Victims, and Voted that *Tib. Sempronius* the Proconsul, with his Army, should stay that Year in his Province. Then the Assembly, for choosing of one Consul [in the place of him that was Dead] which was appointed to be on the second of *August*, was held that very Day; on which *Q. Petillius* created *M. Valerius* *Levinus* for his Collegue, to begin his Office forthwith. He having been a long time desirous to have a Province (to comply with his desire) there were Letters brought, That the *Ligurians* had renewed the War; and therefore on the fifth of *August* he put himself in Armour, and to appease that Tumult sent the third Legion into *Gaul* to *C. Claudius* the Proconsul, ordering two Naval Duumvirs [Admirals] to go with a Fleet to *Pise*, and Coast about *Liguria*, to terrifie them from the Sea also. *Q. Petillius* likewise had appointed his Army a Day to Rendezvous at the same place. And *C. Claudius* the Proconsul too, having heard of the Rebellion in *Liguria* (besides those Forces that he had with him at *Parma*) muster'd up a Body of subitary Soldiers, and march with an Army to the Confines of the *Ligurians*.

XVIII. Upon the arrival of *C. Claudius* (by whose Conduct they remember'd they had been lately conquer'd and routed near the River *Scutenna*) resolving to defend themselves against that Force of which they had had such fatal experience, more by the strength and secure situation of the places, than by their Arms, possessed themselves of two Mountains call'd *Latus* and *Baliffa*; which though they had encompassed, besides, with a Wall, yet, going somewhat too late out of the Plains, they were surpris'd and perish'd, to the number of fifteen hundred. The rest kept up in the Mountains, where, not forgetting (even amidst their fear) their native barbarity, they commit many outrages upon the Booty that they had gotten at *Mutina*. For they kill'd (and not only so, but shamelessly tore) the Captives, rather killing than duly and properly sacrificing Beasts in every Temple. When they were glutted with the slaughter of living Creatures, they hung up upon the Walls things that were inanimate (Vessels of all sorts, made more for use than ornament) for a shew. Then *Q. Petillius* the Consul (for fear the War should be ended in his absence) sent a Letter to *C. Claudius*, To come to him with his Army into *Gaul*, and that he would stay for him in the *Macrian Plains*. *Claudius*, as soon as he received the Letter, decamp'd out of *Liguria*, and deliver'd up his Army to the Consul upon the fore-mentioned Plains. Thither also, some few Days after, came the other Consul, *C. Valerius*. And then, dividing the Forces, before they parted, they both survey'd and purified their Armies; and, after that, cast lots which way they should go, because they resolv'd not to attack the Enemy both on the same side. Now it was evident that *Valerius* made a due choice, because he was in the Temple; but the *Augurs* said, that *Petillius* had done it with some defect, for that he put the lot into the balloting box without the Temple, and then brought it in. After this, they went into several parts of the Country; *Petillius* being encamped against the top of *Baliffa* and *Latus*, that joyns those Mountains together with a perpetual ridge. There, they lay, as he was publicly

publicly encouraging his men, he, not taking notice of the ambiguity of the word, said (ominously) *Se eo die Letum captivum esse* [i.e. either, that he would take the Hill *Letus*, or (which he did not intend to say) that he would, that day, catch his death; *Letum* signifying death also.] Thereupon he began to ascend the opposite Mountains in two places together: and that part [of the Forces] where he himself was, came up very nimbly after him; but the other was beaten off by the Enemy. Whom when the Consul rode up to retrieve, he recover'd his Souldiers from their flight; though he himself, whilst he stood too negligently before the Ensigns, was struck through the Body with a Javelin and fell down dead. But the Enemy did not perceive that the General was kill'd; besides that those few of his own men, who saw it, were very careful to conceal the Body, as knowing, that thereupon depended their Victory. The other multitude of Horse and Foot, having forced the Enemy down, took the Mountains without a General. In which action there were full five thousand *Ligurians* slain; though there fell not of the Roman Army above fifty two. Besides the manifest event of so sad an Omen [as was in the Consuls own words] they were informed by the *Augur* also, that there was a defect in their divination by the Birds too, and that the Consul knew. *C. Valerius* having heard

\* \* Those that were well skill'd in religious Rites, and the common Laws of the Nation, said, that, seeing the two ordinary Consuls of that year were dead; one of a Disease, and the other in the Wars, the Consul, [*Levinus*] who was chosen into the room of the former, could not old the Assembly,

carried away.

Now on this side the *Apennine* were the *Garules*, *Lapicines*, and *Hercates*, and beyond the *Apennine*, the *Brinnates*. Near the River *Audena* *P. Mucius* made War against them, who had plunder'd *Luna* and *Pise*, and, having reduced all of them, took away their Arms. Upon the score of those things which were perform'd in *Gaul* and *Liguria*, by the Conduct and good Fortune of the two Consuls, the Senate appointed supplications to be made three dayes together, and forty Victims to be sacrificed. The *Gallick* and *Ligurian* tumult also, which arose in the beginning of that year, was quickly and with ease suppress'd. And now the concern of a *Macedonian* War came on, since *Perseus* did what he could to create animosities between the *Bastarnians* and the *Dardans*: besides that, the Embassadors, who were sent into *Macedonia*, to see how things stood, were now come back to *Rome*, and brought word, that there was War already made in *Dardania*. There came likewise at the same time from King *Perseus* certain Envoys, to acquit him; [saying] that he neither sent for the *Bastarnians*, nor did they do any thing by his instigation. The Senate neither clear'd the King of their Charge, nor yet condemn'd him: only bid the Embassadors advise him, to be very careful religiously to preserve the League, which he was known to be obliged by to the Romans. The *Dardans*, seeing that the *Bastarnians* would not only not depart their Country (as they had hopes they would have done) but that they grew more intolerable also every day than other (as relying upon the assistance of the Neighbouring *Thracians*, and the *Scordians*) thought fit to make even some rash attempt, and so met all together from every part of their Country, at a Town that lay next to the *Bastarnian* Camp. It was Winter and they had chosen that time of the year, that the *Thracians* and *Scordians* might go into their own Territories. Which being done, when they heard that the *Bastarnians* were now alone, they divided their Forces into two parts; the one to go strait forward and attack them openly, the other round about through a pathless Wood, and set upon them behind. But before they could get round the Enemies Camp, the Battle was begun: and the *Dardanes* being conquer'd were forced back into their City, which was near twelve thousand paces from the *Bastarnian* Camp. The Conquerers presently beset the City, not doubting, but either the Enemy would surrender the next day for fear, or they should take it by force. In the mean time the other Party of *Dardans*, that went about, not knowing what their fellows had suffer'd, [attack'd] the *Bastarnian* Camp, which was left without defence

— Manner, sat on an Ivory Throne as Judge, and debated the smallest points in Controversie: and so fickle was his mind to every kind of Fortune (wandering through all conditions of life) that neither he nor any Body else knew, what a sort of a man he was. He would not speak to his best Friends, nor hardly smile upon those that were his most intimate acquaintance. He would Fool both himself and others with his unequal munificence: for to some, persons of quality, that thought very greatly of themselves, he would make childish Presents, as Sweet-meats and toys, and to enrich others, who expected nothing from him. Wherefore some people thought he knew not what he did: others, that he did it in a kind of an humour; and others, that he was absolutely mad. Yet in two great and honourable things he shew'd himself much a King, that is to say, in his Presents that he made to several Cities, and his worship of the Gods. He promised the *Megalopolitans* in *Arcadia*, that he would Wall their City round, and actually gave them the major part of the money [toward it.] At *Tegea* he began to build a magnificent Theatre all of marble. At

P P P P P 2

Cyzicus

XIX.

XX.



Cyzicum, he gave the golden Vellels of one Table to the *Prytaneum*, that is, the Council-House of the City, where, those that arrived to that honour, were publickly maintain'd. To the *Rhodians* he gave many gifts of all sorts, as their use required, though ne'r an one of them were very remarkable. But of his magnificence to the Gods, that one Temple of *Jupiter Olympius* at *Athens*, which is the only one in the World, design'd to sute the grandeur of that God, may be a witness: though he adorn'd *Delos* too with curious Altars and a great number of Statues. At *Antioch* also he promised to build a Temple to *Jupiter Capitolinus*, not only ciel'd with gold, but cover'd (all its Walls) with golden Plates; besides many other things to several other places, which, because his reign was so very short, he had not time to perform. He likewise outdid all former Kings in the magnificence of his publick shows of all sorts; particularly in those that were proper to his own Country Fashion, and in variety of *Grecian* Artifts. He set forth a Prize of *Gladiators*, [*i.e.* Sword-men] after the *Roman* way, which, at first, rather terrified than pleas'd the people [of *Macedonia*] who were not used to such fights: though in process of time, by often repeating of it, sometimes, till they wounded one another, and sometimes even to death, he made it a grateful sight to their Eyes, yea, and thereby enflamed many of the young sparks with the love of Arms. So that he, who, at first, was wont to send for *Gladiators* from *Rome* at a great rate, now by his own

XXI.

*L. Cornelius Scipio* had the Foreign Jurisdiction [of the City;] and *M. Atilius* the Prætor happen'd to have *Sardinia*: but was order'd to go over into *Corfica* with the new Legion, which the Consuls had rais'd, consisting of five thousand Foot and three hundred Horse. Whilst he was making War there, *Cornelius* was continu'd in Commission, and to have the Government of *Sardinia*. *Cn. Servilius* was to go into the farther *Spain*, and *P. Furius Philus* into the hither, with three thousand *Roman* Foot, a hundred and fifty Horse, five thousand *Latine* Foot, and three hundred Horse; *L. Claudius* being to have *Sicily* without any supply. The Consuls were likewise order'd to raise two new Legions, with a due number of Horse and Foot, to impose the raising of ten thousand Foot and six hundred Horse upon the Allies. The Levy of the Consuls was so much the more difficult, for that the pestilence, which was so rife the year before among the Beasts, was then turn'd to a distemper among men. They who happen'd to have it, scarce ever out-lived the seventh day; or if they did escape, were troubled with some tedious Disease, most commonly a Quartan [Ague.] The Slaves died most; for there were heaps of them unburied in every Street; nor could they bury all even of the Freemen. The dead Bodies lay untoucht by Dogs or Vulturs, till the plague consumed them, and it was well known, that, neither that nor the year before, though there were such a mortality of men and Beasts, there was ne'r a Vultur seen. The publick Priests dy'd of that Plague; viz. *Cn. Servilius Capio*, the Priest, Father to the Prætor; *Tib. Sempronius*, Son to *Caius*; *Longus Decemvir* of the sacred Rites; *P. Aelius Patius* the *Augur*; *Tib. Sempronius Gracchus*; *C. Mamilius Vitulus* the *Grand Curio* [Chief Alderman] and *M. Sempronius Tuditanus* the Priest; in whose place was chosen *C. Sulpicius Galba*; For *Augurs* there were Elected into the room of *Gracchus*, *T. Veturius Gracchus Sempronianus*: into that of *P. Aelius*, *Q. Aelius Pætus*; *C. Sempronius Longus* being made *Decemvir* of the sacred Rites, and *C. Scribonius Curio*, chief Alderman of all the Wards in the City. Then, seeing the Plague continued, the Senate decreed, that the *Decemviri* should consult the *Sibylls Books*: and by their Order, there was a Supplication for one day. Besides that, *Q. Marcins Philippus* saying the words before them, the people made a Vow in the Forum; that, if the Disease and the Pestilence were once removed out of the *Roman Territory*, they would keep *Holy-Day*, and make supplication for two dayes together. In the *Vician* Dominions there was a Boy born with two Heads, as at *Sinuessa*, with one hand; and at *Oximum*, a Girl, with Teeth. There was a Bow likewise seen bent in the Sky, by day, when the Heaven was clear, with three Suns shining at one time: besides that several blazes the same night streamed through the air in the Territory of *Lanuvium*. The *Cerites* also affirmed that there appeared, in their Town, a Snake with a Crest, adorn'd all over with golden spots: and it was well known, that in the Territory of *Campania*, an Oxe spoke.

XXII.

The Embassadors return'd out of *Africa* on the fifth of *June*, who, having first waited upon King *Massinissa*, had gone to *Carthage*: but they had been inform'd somewhat more certainly by the King of what was done at *Carthage*, than by the *Carthaginians* themselves. Yet they affirm'd, of their own knowledge, that there came Embassadors from King *Perseus*, and that they had an Audience of the Senate there, by night, in the Temple of *Aesculapius*. Moreover, as the King had said, That there were Embassadors sent from *Carthage* into *Macedonia*, so they themselves could scarce deny it. The *Roman* Senate too thought fit to send Embassadors into *Macedonia*; and accordingly three were sent, viz. *C. Laelius*, *M. Valerius Messala*, and *Sex. Digittus*. At that time *Perseus*, because some of the *Dolopes* did not obey him, but, besides that, referr'd the Debate concerning some things in question, from him, again to the *Romans*, went out with an Army, and forced the whole Nation to submit to his power and determination. From thence he went over the *Atean* Mountains, having some religious thoughts in his mind, and so up toward the Oracle at *Delphi*. But when he appeared

peared in the middle of *Greece*, he gave great disturbance, not only to the adjacent Cities, but the news of that tumult came even into *Asia* also, to King *Eumenes*. Having staid not above three dayes at *Delphi*, he return'd through *Achaia Phthoris* [in *Thessaly*] and *Thessaly*, without doing any damage or injury to the Countries through which he travelled. Nor was he satisfied with making those Cities only through which he was to go, his Friends: but he sent either Embassadors or Letters, to desire them, that they would no longer remember those animosities, that had been between them and his Father: for they were not so fatal, but that they might and ought to be compos'd and made an end of with him. That he, for his part, was entirely dispos'd to contract an Alliance with them. But he desired most of all to find out a way, how he might reconcile the *Achaens* to him.

This Nation alone, of all *Greece*, and the City of *Athens*, were arriv'd at that pitch of anger, That they forbade the *Macedonians* from coming to their Dominions. Wherefore when the slaves fled out of *Achaia*, *Macedonia* was their refuge; because when the *Achaens* had forbidden the *Macedonians* their Country, they themselves durst not enter into the Confines of that Kingdom. When *Perseus* had observ'd, he seiz'd them all, and then sent a Letter to the *Achaens*, wherein he told them, That he had freely and kindly sent back their Servants, who had fled away into his Kingdom; but they themselves ought to take care, that there were no such flight of their slaves for the future. This Letter being read by *Xenarchus*, the State-holder, who sought an opportunity of contracting a private friendship with the King; and many of them being of opinion that the Letter was written with moderation and kindness (especially those, who, beyond all expectation, were to receive their shares again, whom they had lost) *Callicrates* (who was one of them, that thought the safety of their Nation depended upon their keeping their League with the *Romans* inviolably) said, Some of you, *Achaens*! think 'tis a small, indifferent business which we are now upon; but I am of opinion, that the greatest and most weighty affair, that we have, is not only now in hand, but also, in a manner, done. For we, who had interdicted the Kings of *Macedon* and the *Macedonians* themselves, our Consines, and have resolv'd that that Decree should stand good; viz. that we would not admit of any Embassadors, or Messengers from those Kings, by whom the minds of any of us might be disturb'd, we even we, in some sense, hear the King himself making Speeches to us, though at a distance, and (in good time) approve of his Oration; and though wild Beasts most commonly are shy, and fly from meat that is laid for a bait to them, we are so blind, as to be drawn in by the specious offer of a small Courtship: and out of hopes to have a few inconsiderable Slaves again, suffer our own liberty to be struck at and subverted. For who does not see, that an Alliance with the King is aimed at, by which the *Roman* League, wherein is contain'd all we have, is certainly violated? Unless there be any body, that question, whether the *Romans* must have a War with *Perseus*, or that what was expected when *Philip* was alive, but interrupted by his death, will come to pass now since he is gone. *Philip*, you know, had two Sons, *Demetrius* and *Perseus*: of whom *Demetrius* was far beyond [the other] as to his extract by the Mothers side, for Courage, Wit, and in the favour of the *Macedonians*. But, because he had made his Kingdom the reward of hatred to the *Romans*, he murder'd *Demetrius* for no other crime, than because he was a Friend to the *Romans*; and made *Perseus*, who, the *Roman* People resolv'd, should inherit punishment, before the Kingdom, King. Upon which score, what hath this *Perseus* done ever since his Fathers death but prepare for a War? He first sent the *Bastarnians* (to the terror of all people) into *Dardania*: who if they had kept that seat, would have been more troublesome Neighbours to *Greece*, than ever the *Gauls* were to *Asia*. But, though he were disappointed of that hope, yet he did not totally lay aside the thoughts of a War: but rather, if we would tell the truth, hath already begun a War. For he hath by his Arms subdu'd *Dolopia*, nor would he bear them when they call'd him back to take the judgment of the *Roman* People concerning the Provinces in debate. From thence going over *Æta*, that he might be seen of a sudden in the very Centre of *Greece*, he went up to *Delphi*. What do you think this usurpation of an unusual rode means? Then he travelled through *Thessaly*: which because he did without doing any of them the least injury, I fear his design so much the more. From thence he sent a Letter to us with a specious show of a present: and bids us take care, that we do not want such a kindness another time; that is to say, that we rescind the Decree, whereby the *Macedonians* are prohibited to come into *Peloponnesus*: and that we [so order the business as that we] may see the Kings Embassadors again, Friendships contracted with our great men, and soon after the *Macedonian* Army, yea the King himself from *Delphi* (for how small a freight runs between us?) coming over into *Peloponnesus*: that we may be mixt with the *Macedonians* who are arming themselves against the *Romans*. I, for my part, am of opinion, that we ought not to make any new Decree, but keep all things entire as they are, till we come to a certain resolution, whether this fear of mine be true, or false: If the Peace shall continue inviolate between the *Romans* and the *Macedonians*, let us also contract a Friendship and Commerce with them; but at this time I think it dangerous and unreasonable to think of any such matter.

Alter him *Archo*, Brother to *Xenarchus* the Stateholder, discours'd to this effect: *Callicrates* hath made it an hard matter, either for me any body else of us, that dissent from him, to speak upon this occasion; for he, by pleading the cause of the *Roman* Alliance, and saying, that it is attempted and attack'd, when no body either attempts or attacks it, so order'd the business, that whoever should dissent from him, might seem to speak against the *Romans*. And first of all, as though:

XXIV.

though he had not been here with us, but either come from the Roman Senate, or had been of the Kings Cabinet Council, he knows and tells us all manner of things, though done never so privately: yea he divines too, what would have come to pass, if Philip had lived. Why Perseus was made Heir to the Crown; why the Macedonians obey him, and what the Romans think. But it behoves us, who neither know for what cause, nor how Demetrius died; nor what Philip, if he had lived, would have done, to accommodate our Counsels to things, that are publicly transacted. We know indeed, that Perseus, when he had received the Kingdom, sent Embassadors to Rome, and that he was stiled King by the Romans: and we hear also, that there came Embassadors from Rome to him, whom he very kindly received. Now all these things I take to be signs of Peace, and not of War: nor that the Romans can be offended, if, as we follow'd them, when they waged War, so now also we agree with them, as the Authors of Peace. For truly I don't see, Why we, above all mankind, should undertake an inexpiable War against the Kingdom of Macedonia. We obnoxious to Macedonia by our being too near that Kingdom; or the weakest people in the World; even like the Dolopes, whom he so lately subdu'd? No, quite contrary; we are secure in our own strength, through the blessing of the Gods, or by the distance of place: But granting that were equally subject unto him, as the Thessalians and Aetolians are; admit, that we who were always their Friends and Allies, had no greater credit and authority with the Romans, than the Aetolians, who were but t'other day their professed Enemies, why should not we have the same privilege and correspondence with the Macedonians, as the Aetolians, Thessalians, Epirotes, and all Greece hath? Why should we alone so execrably desert, as it were, the very Laws of humane Society? Suppose that Philip did do somewhat, to give us occasion of making this Decree against him, arm'd as he then was, and making War upon us; yet what hath Perseus done, the new King, who is innocent of any injury to us, yea by his own kindness blots out the memory of his Fathers animosities? Why are we, above all others, his Enemies? Though I could tell you too, that the merits of the former Macedonian Kings toward our Nation were so great, that we ought to forget the particular injuries of Philip, if he did us any, especially after his death. When the Roman Fleet stood at Cenchreae, and the Consul was with an Army at Velatiae, we were three dayes in debate, whether we should side with the Romans, or with Philip. The present fear of the Romans somewhat inclin'd our minds: yet certainly there was something, that caus'd so long a deliberation; and that was really the ancient Alliance between us and the Macedonians, together with the former and great deserts of their Kings toward us. Let those therefore at this time too prevail with us, that we may be, though not their greatest Friends, yet at least, not their greatest Enemies. Let us not pretend, Callicrates, to that, which is no part of our present business: no man desires a new Alliance, or a new League whereby we should engage and oblige our selves: but only that we may have a free Commerce, to do and require what is right and just; left by forbidding them our Country we should keep our selves out of that Kingdom, and so prepare a place for our Slaves to fly to. What's this to the Roman League? Why do we make a small, and an evident thing so great and so suspected? Why do we stir up vain tumults? Why do we make other people suspected and hated, that we our selves may have an opportunity of flattering the Romans? If there be a War, Perseus, to be sure, does not question, but we'll join with the Romans. However, whilst there is Peace, let our animosities (though they are not ended) be at least intermitted. Now though the same persons who had assented to the Kings Letter, agreed to this Speech also, yet through the indignation of some of the Nobility, who were mightily concern'd that Perseus should think to obtain that by a few lines, which he did not think worth so much as an Embassy, the Decree was deferr'd. After that there were Embassadors sent from the King, when the Council sat at Megalopolis: where they, who were afraid of offending the Romans, endeavour'd to hinder their being admitted.

XXV. About this time the fury of the Aetolians, being turn'd upon themselves, seem'd likely by their much bloodshed to be the utter ruine of their Nation. But then both Parties, being tired out, sent Embassadors to Rome, and among themselves also treated concerning a reconciliation: though that was impeded by a new unhappy accident, which reinforced all their former animosities. For though the banish'd Hypataeans, who were of Proxenus's Faction, were promised to return into their Country, and that Eupolemus, the Governour of their City had given them his word upon it, yet eighty brave men, whom, at their arrival, among the rest of the multitude, Eupolemus went out to meet (after they had been received with all kindness and shook hands one with another) as they were going into the Gate, were murder'd, though they conjured him by his promise, of which they call'd the Gods to witness. Upon that the War broke out more vehement than before. Wherefore C. Valerius Levinus, Appianus Claudius Pulcher, C. Memmius, M. Popilius, and L. Caninius, being sent by the Senate were come thither. Before whom, when the Embassadors of both parties pleaded very earnestly at Delphi, Proxenus seem'd to outdo them all, both in his cause and his Eloquence: who some few dayes after was poyson'd by his Wife Orthobula; for which she was Condemn'd, and Banish'd. The same rage also tore the Cretans in pieces: though soon after, upon the arrival of Q. Minucius, the Lieutenant, who was sent with ten Ships to appease their differences, they had some hopes of Peace: but they made only a Truce of six Months; after which the War grew much more violent than before. The Lycians too, at the same time, were teaz'd by the Rhodians. But 'tis not my business to prosecute

prosecute the story of Wars that Foreigners made, one with another, or to shew how they were carried on, who have work enough upon my hands, to write the actions of the Romans.

The Celtiberians in Spain, who, being subdu'd in War, had surrender'd themselves to Tib. Gracchus, remained quiet, whilst M. Titinius the Praetor govern'd that Province; but rebell'd a little before the coming of Ap. Claudius, beginning their War with a sudden attempt upon the Roman Camp. It was about break of day, when the Sentinels upon the Rampier, and those that were upon the guards at the several Gates, seeing the Enemy come at a distance, gave the Alarm. Thereupon Ap. Claudius having set up the signal for Battle, and made a short Speech to encourage his men, drew them forth at three Gates together. The Celtiberians made such resistance at their coming out, that at first the fight was equal on both sides: because all the Romans could not engage in those strait places, by reason that they had not room enough. But soon after, thrusting one another forward, they got without the Rampier; so that they then could spread their Army, and make themselves equal to the Enemies Wings, by whom they were Encompass'd: and they broke forth so suddenly, that the Celtiberians could not endure the shock of them. Before seven a Clock in the Morning they were beaten, and fifteen thousand of them either slain, or taken, with thirty two military Ensigns. Their Camp was also that day seiz'd; and the War made an end of. For they that surviv'd the Battle, made their escape into their several Towns, where they afterward lay quiet, and were obedient to Government.

The Censors created for that year were Q. Fulvius Flaccus, and A. Postumius Albinus, who survey'd the Senate, chosing M. Aemilius Lepidus, the High-Priest, President thereof. They turn'd nine out of the House; of whom the most remarkable persons were M. Cornelius Maluginensis, who two years before had been Praetor in Spain; L. Cornelius Scipio the Praetor, who had then the jurisdiction among Citizens and Foreigners; and Cn. Fulvius, who was the Censors own Brother, and, as Valerius Antias tells us, a sharer with him in the same Patrimony. The Consuls also, having made their Vows in the Capitol, went into their Provinces. Of whom the Senate imploy'd M. Aemilius, to suppress the insurrection of the Patavians in Venetia, who, according to the report even of their own Embassadors, were, through the opposition of different Factions, engaged very hotly in a Civil War. The Embassadors that went into Aetolia to suppress the like Tumults, sent word back, that the fury of that Nation could not be restrain'd. But the Patavians were advantaged by the arrival of the Consul: who, having nothing else to do in that Province, return'd to Rome. The Censors agreed for paving of the streets in the City with Flint-stones, and with gravel without the City, being the first Censors that ever made Borders of stone to that kind of pavement. They also took order to have Bridges made in many places, and a stage for the Aediles and Praetors [to set forth Playes upon] with Barriers in the Circus [where the Horses ran] and Ovals to tell the several heats with.

They also caus'd the descent from the Capitol to be paved with Flint; and the Portico also that reaches from the Temple of Saturn into the Capitol, as far as the Senaculum, and Court above it. They likewise paved the Exchange, or Wharf, without the Gate Tergemina with Stone, and propt it up with pieces of Timber; taking care also to repair the Portico of Aemilius, and made ascent by stairs from the Tiber to the Exchange, or Key aforc'd. Without the same Gate also they paved the Portico going toward the Aventine with Flint, and that at the publick charge from the Temple of Venus. Those same persons took Order also for building of Walls at Culatia and Oximum: where having fold certain publick places, they laid out the money, which they had for them, in building of Shops round the Market-places of each City. One of them also, that is to say, Fulvius Flaccus (for Postumius said, he would order nothing to be done with their money but what the Senate and People of Rome commanded) built the Temple of Jupiter at Pisaurum, and at Fundae, and at Pollentia too caus'd the Water to be brought by Conduits, and at Pisaurum order'd the street to be paved with Flint. At these places he likewise caus'd a common shore to be made, and the Market-places to be all Encompass'd with Porticoes and Shops, as also three Januses to be made. All these works were taken care for by one Censor, who upon that score was mightily beloved of the Inhabitants. This Censorship was also diligent and severe in regulating peoples manners; and many [of the Knights] had their Horses taken from them.

When their year was almost out, there was a Supplication for one whole day, upon the score of the success, which they had in Spain, under the conduct and good fortune of Ap. Claudius the Pro-Consul: at which they sacrificed twenty of the bigger sort of Victims. There was likewise Supplication made another day at the Temple of Ceres, Liber & Libera, for that they had news out of the Sabine Territories, that there had been an Earthquake in those parts which had thrown down many Houses. When Ap. Claudius was come out of Spain to Rome, the Senate decreed, that he should enter the City Ouant. By this time the Consular Assembly came on, which being held with great stickling, by reason of

of the great number of Candidates, *L. Postumius Albinus*, and *M. Popilius Lenas* were created Consuls. Then the Prætors were made, viz. *Numerius Fabius Butco*, *M. Matienus*, *C. Cicerius*, *M. Furius Crassipes* (a second time) *A. Atilius Serranus* (a second time) and *C. Cluvius Saxula*, a second time. When the Assembly was over *Ap. Claudius Cento*, coming out of *Celtiberia* into the City *Ovant*, brought into the Treasury ten thousand pound of silver, and five thousand pound of gold. *Cn. Cornelius* was inaugurated as *Flamen Dialis* [Jupiter's High Priest:] and the same year there was a Table set up in the Temple of the Goddess *Matuta* with this Inscription:

By the Conduct and good Fortune of *Tib. Sempronius Gracchus*, the Consul, the Legion and Army of the Roman People subdu'd *Sardinia*. In which Province there were slain or taken, of the Enemies, above eighty thousand. He, having managed the publick affairs with great success; retrieved and cleared the Revenues \* \* \* brought home the Army safe and sound, and loaded with booty: so that he return'd a second time in triumph to *Rome*; upon which score he set up this Table, as an offering to *Jupiter*.

There was also the Map of *Sardinia*, and upon it several painted representations of Battles. There were some other small Sword-prizes that year exhibited, but there was one very signal above the rest, set forth by *T. Flamininus*, which he gave upon the account of his Fathers Death, with a dole of Flesh, a Feast and Stage-Playes. But of that great show the chief part was, that seventy four men fought in three dayes.

## DECADE V. BOOK II.

### The EPILOGUE.

3. *Q. Fulvius Flaccus*, the Censor, robb'd the Temple of *Juno Lacinia*, of its marble Tiles, to cover a Temple, that he had dedicated. But the Tiles were brought back again by order of Senate. 11, 12, &c. *Eumenes*, King of Asia complain'd, in the Senate of *Perseus*, King of Macedonia; whose injuries to the Roman People are related. 32, &c. For which, they having declar'd war against him, *P. Licinius Crassus* the Consul, who had Macedonia decreed him, went thither, and in slight Expeditions, fought against *Perseus* several Horse Battles in Thessaly, though with no very good success. 23, &c. There was a day given by the Senate, to debate the matter between *Maffinilla* and the Carthaginians, concerning that [tract of] ground [which each of them pretended to.] There were also Embassadors sent to the associated Cities, and to ask the Kings, whether they would continue faithful, because the Rhodians doubted of it. 10. There was a Survey of the people appointed by the Censors: at which there were poled two hundred fifty seven thousand two hundred thirty one. 7, &c. The fortunate success of the Romans against the Corsians and Ligurians.

I. **L** *Postumius Albinus*, and *M. Popilius Lenas*, having first propos'd to the Senate the settling of the Provinces and the Armies, they had *Liguria* decreed to them both: That each of them should raise new Legions (two apiece) whereby to preserve that Province; and of the *Latine* Allies ten thousand Foot, and six hundred Horse; with a supply for *Spain* of three thousand Roman Foot, and two hundred Horse. Besides these, they were order'd to muster up fifteen hundred Roman Foot, and a hundred Horse, with whom the Prætor, to whose Lot *Sardinia* fell, should go over and make War in *Corsica*: and *M. Atilius* the old Prætor was appointed in the mean time to take care of the Province. After that the Prætors chose their Provinces: *A. Atilius Serranus* had the City jurisdiction; *C. Cluvius Saxula* that between Citizens and Strangers; *Num. Fabius Butco* the hither *Spain*, *M. Matienus* the farther; *M. Furius Crassipes* *Sicily*; and *C. Cicerius* *Sardinia*. Before the Magistrates went to these commands, the Senate thought fit, That *L. Postumius* the Consul should go into *Campania* to bound and separate the publick from private Lands: because it was well known, that private persons had by degrees gotten possession of a great deal thereof, in that they stretch'd their bounds still farther and farther. He, being angry with the *Prænestines* (for that, when he once came thither, as a private person, to Sacrifice in the Temple of *Fortuna*, they did nothing either publickly or privately that shew'd any great respect to

to him) before he went from *Rome*, sent a Letter to *Præneste*, to tell them, that their Magistrates must come out to meet him; that they must provide him a Lodging at the publick charge, and all Beasts necessary for his Journey, when he went thence. Before him, no Consul ever put the Allies to any cost or trouble. Wherefore the Magistrates were furnished with Mules, Tents; and all other military instruments, lest they should command any such thing from the Allies: had private Lodgings [upon the rode] at their Friends Houses, whom they at another time as kindly entertained: and their Houses at *Rome* were open for such guests, as they had formerly been entertained by. So that Embassadors, who were, on a sudden, sent to any place, exacted of the Towns through which they went, but one Sumpter Horse a piece; nor were the Allies put to any farther charge upon account of the Romans. But this anger of the Consuls (which though just, was not to be shown in his Magistracy) and the silence of the *Prænestines* (which was the effect of too much modesty, or too much fear) gave the Magistrates ever after a right every day to impose heavier burdens of that kind, as if the Example had been approv'd of.

In the beginning of this year, the Embassadors, that were sent into *Ætolia* and *Macedonia*, brought word, That they could not have admission to King *Perseus*, some of his Courtiers (though falsely) pretending, that he was not there, and others, that he was sick. But for all that they were well enough satisfied, that he was preparing for a War, and that he would no longer defer putting himself in Arms. So also, that in *Ætolia* the sedition grew daily higher and higher, nor could the heads of the Factions be by their authority taken off. When the *Macedonian* War was in expectation, before it was undertaken, the Senate thought fit that the Prodigies should be expiated, and the favour of those Gods, who were appointed by the fatal [Sybilles] Books, by Prayers begg'd. At *Lavinium* 'twas reported, that they saw the form of a great Fleet in the Sky: at *Privernum*, that black Wooll grew out of the Earth, and that in the *Veian* Territories, at *Remens*, it rained Stones: that all *Pomptinum* was cover'd with Clouds (as it were) of Locusts; and that in the *Gallick* Dominions, as they Plowed there arose up Fishes out of the Furrows. Upon the score of these Prodigies the fatal Books were lookt into, and the *Decemviri* declar'd, to what Gods, and with what Victims they should Sacrifice, as also, that there should be a Supplication made, to expiate those Prodigies; besides that other and the holy dayes, which had been vowed the year before upon account of the Roman Peoples health. So they sacrificed, as the *Decemviri* gave directions.

The same year the Temple of *Juno Lacinia* was uncover'd. For *Q. Fulvius Flaccus* the Censor built the Temple to *Fortuna Equestris*, which he had vow'd in the *Celtiberian* War, when he was Prætor, in *Spain*, with great ambition, that ne'r a Temple at *Rome* should be either larger or more magnificent. He therefore thinking, that he should add a great Ornament to the Temple if the Tiles were of Marble, he went into the *Bruttian* Territories and uncover'd half the Temple of *Juno Lacinia*, supposing that would be enough to Tile that which he was then a building. He had Ships ready, to receive and bring the Tiles away; the Allies being deterr'd from withstanding that Sacrilege by his Authority, as Censor. When the Censor return'd, the Tiles being landed were brought to the Temple. Now though they did not tell, whence those Tiles came, yet it could not be concealed. Whereupon there was a murmur arose in the Senate-House; and they desired of all sides, that the Consuls might make report of that matter to the Senate. But as soon as the Censor, being sent for, came into the Court, they (every particular person of them, as well as all in general) more bitterly inveigh'd against him there present: That he should thin' it a small matter to violate the most august Temple of that Region, which neither *Pyrrhus*, nor *Annibal* had violated, unless he sacrilegiously uncover'd it too, and almost pull'd it down. That he had taken the Tiles off, and left the roof quite bare, to be rotted by the showers. That he, who was created Censor, to regulate mens manners; and whose care it ought to have been (according to ancient custom) to see that the publick Temples were in repair, and to keep them so, went about through the associated Cities, demolishing Temples and uncovering the roofs of holy places. Yea that, which, if he should do even in the private Houses of our Allies, would seem an indignity, he does, in demolishing the Temples of the Immortal Gods: and layes the Roman people under religious obligations, by building one Temple out of the ruins of another: as though there were not the same immortal Gods in all places, but that some of them were to be worshipped and adorn'd with the spoils of others. Now whereas, before the report was made, it appeared what the Senate intended to do, the report being made, they all were of opinion, that those Tiles ought to be carry'd back to the same Temple again, and that there should be atoning Sacrifices made to *Juno*. What concern'd Religion was accordingly done with all diligence: but the Persons that undertook, at such a rate, to carry them back, brought word, that they had left the Tiles in the Court before the Temple, because there was never a Workman, that could tell how to place them as they were before.

Of those Prætors, that were gone into their Provinces, *Num. Fabius* died at *Massilia*, as he was going into the hither *Spain*. Wherefore when that was told by the *Massilian* Embassadors, the Senate decreed, that *P. Furius* and *Cn. Servilius*, whom he was to succeed, should cast Lots between them, which should continue in Commission, and have the Govern-



ment of the hither Spain. The Lot fell very luckily, for *P. Furius*, the same person, whose Province that had been, should stay there. The same year, since part of the *Ligurian* and *Gallick* Territories, that was taken in the War, was now vacant, there was an Order of Senate made, that that Land should be divided among so many men. *A. Atilius* the City Prætor created *Decemviri* [i. e. ten Officers] for that purpose, by Order of Senate, whose names were *M. Emilius Lepidus*, *C. Cassius*, *T. Aebutius Carnus*, *C. Tremelius*, *P. Cornelius Cethegus*, *Q. and L. Apuleius*, *M. Cæcilius*, *C. Salinius*, and *E. Mumatius*. They divided ten Acres to each Roman, but to the *Latine* Allies only three apiece. At the same time that these things were transacted, there came Embassadors out of *Ætolia* to Rome concerning their discords and seditions, and the *Thessalian* Embassadors too, to tell what was done in *Macedonia*.

V. *Perseus* revolving in his thoughts the War which, whilst his Father was alive, he design'd, he reconciled to himself, not only all the Nations of *Greece*, but the Cities also, by sending Embassies to them, and promising more than he performed. But indeed the minds of the people were generally inclined to favour him, and that something more than they did *Eumenes*; though all the Cities of *Greece*, and most of the Nobility were obliged to *Eumenes* for his many kindnesses and favours that he had confer'd upon them, and though he so behaved himself in his own Kingdom, that those Cities, which were under his Government would not change conditions with any free City. But, on the other hand, it was reported, that *Perseus*, after his Fathers Death, kill'd his Wife with his own hand; and that he privately murder'd *Apelles*, who was formerly the instrument of his treachery in taking off of his Brother (for which, when *Philip* fought him out, to punish him, he went into exile) though he sent for him after his Fathers Death, with great promises of rewarding him for doing so great an action. Yet him, who was infamous for many other domestic as well as Foreign Murders, and no way at all commendable upon the score of merit, the Cities commonly prefer'd, before a King; who was so kind to his Neighbours, so just to his Subjects and Countrymen, and so munificent toward all men: whether out of a prejudice, taken up through the Fame and Grandeur of the *Macedonian* Kings, which moved them to despise the origine of a new Kingdom; or through desire of innovation; or because they had a mind he should be exposed to the Romans. Now, not only the *Ætolians* were in an uproar upon the score of their vast Debts, but the *Thessalians* also: by which contagion, that evil, like a Plague, had got into *Perræbia* too. When the news came, that the *Thessalians* were up in Arms, the Senate sent *Ap. Claudius* the Lieutenant to inspect and compose those matters. Who, having checked the Heads of both Factions, and eased the Debtors of a great part of their use money which they were to pay, even with the good liking of some that had occasion'd that burden upon them, he order'd all that was justly and truly due to be paid at such and such dayes, or terms, for several years to come. By the same *Appius*, in the same manner, were the affairs in *Perræbia* compos'd. As for the causes of the *Ætolians*, *Marcellus* heard them then at *Delphi*, where they were pleas'd with hostile vehemency, as fierce as a civil War. Wherefore when he saw, that both sides contended as rashly as boldly, he would not, by his own Decree, or ease or load either party; but desired of them both together, that they would desist from War, and, by forgetting what was past, make an end of all differences between them. The promise of this reconciliation was back'd with Hostages that were given to and fro: for performance whereof they met at *Corinth*, where the Hostages were to be deposited.

VI. From *Delphi* and the *Ætolian* Council *Marcellus* went over into *Peloponnesus*, where he had appointed a Convention of the *Acheans*. And there, having commended that Nation, in that they had constantly adhered to that old Decree, for keeping the *Macedonian* Kings out of their Dominions, he made the hatred of the Romans against *Perseus* very evident: which that it might the sooner break forth, King *Eumenes*, bringing a Book with him, which he had made, after a full inquiry into all things, concerning the preparations for the War, came to Rome. At the same time there were five Embassadors sent to the King, to view the state of Affairs in *Macedonia*: who were also order'd to go to *Ptolomy* at *Alexandria*, to renew their Alliance with him. The Embassadors were these, *C. Valerius*, *Cn. Lutatius Cerco*, *Q. Babius Sulca*, *M. Cornelius Mammula*, and *M. Cæcilius Denter*. There came Embassadors also from *Antiochus* about the same time: of whom *Apollonius*, who was the chief, being introduced into the Senate, for many and just causes, excus'd the King, and said; that they had brought all that stipend, which the King was a little behind hand in the payment of, as to the day; that the King might not be beholding to them for any thing more than time. That they likewise had brought golden Vessels of five hundred pound weight. That the King desired, that what Friendship and Alliance they had contracted with his Father, they would renew the same with him: and that the Roman People would injoin him to do, what was fit for a good and a faithful Ally, that was a King, to do: that he would not be backward in any duty. That the Senate deserv'd so well of him, when he was at Rome, and the young Gentlemen were so civil, that he was treated by all degrees of people like a King, not like an Hostage. The Embassadors received a very kind Answer, *A. Atilius*, the City Prætor, was order'd to renew that Alliance with *Antiochus*, which they formerly had with his Father. The City Questors received

ceived the money, and the Censors the golden Vessels: who were imploy'd to lay them up in what Temples they thought fit. To the Embassadors they sent a hundred thousand *Asses* for a present, and gave him an House by himself to live in Rent-free, bearing his charges all the while he was in *Italy*. The Embassadors, that had been in *Syria*, brought word back; that he was in greatest favour with the King; and a very great Friend to the Romans.

In the Provinces that year there were these transactions. *C. Cicereius*, in *Corfica*, fought a pitch'd Battle: in which there were seven thousand of the *Corfians* slain, and above seven hundred taken. The Prætor, at that Battle, had vow'd [to build] a Temple to *Juno Moneta*. After that the *Corfians*, upon their Petition, had a Peace granted them, and two hundred thousand pound of Wax exacted of them. From *Corfica*, when he had subdu'd it, *Cicereius* went over into *Sardinia*. He also fought a Battle in *Liguria*, in the *Statiellian* Territory, near a Town called *Carystum*: where a great Army of *Ligurians* had Rendezvous'd. At first, upon the arrival of *M. Popilius*, the Consul, they kept within their Walls: but soon after, when they saw, that the Roman was about to attack their Town; they went forth, and before the Gates set their Army in Battalia; nor did the Consul (who, by threatening to attack them, had aimed at that very thing) make any delay of the fight. So they fought three hours and more, before they could tell which would win the day. But when the Consul saw, that the *Ligurian* Ensigns did not stir in any part, he commanded his Horsemen to mount, and on three sides together run in upon the Enemy with all the force they could. Accordingly great part of the Horse broke through the midst of the Army, and got as far as the Reer of the Battle. Thereupon the *Ligurians* were dismay'd, and ran several wayes on all sides; but very few of them back to the Town, because the Horse came most from that way upon them: so that not only the resolute fight had destroy'd a great number of the *Ligurians*, but they were kill'd all along as they fled too, to the number, they say, of ten thousand. There were above seven hundred men taken about the Country, and eighty two military Ensigns carry'd off. But it was not a bloodless Victory, on the conquering side, for they lost above three thousand Souldiers; by reason, that neither of them yielding, the Front of each Army fell.

After this Fight the *Ligurians* being muster'd up again, after their stragling flight into one Body, when they saw that far more of their fellow Citizens were lost, than were alive (for they were not above ten thousand men) they surrender'd themselves, without making any conditions at all: because they hoped that the Consul would not be more severe upon them, than former Generals had been. But he took all their Arms from them, demolish'd their Town, and sold both them and their goods, and sent Letters to the Senate concerning his own achievements. Which when *A. Atilius* the Prætor had read in the Senate (for the other Consul was gone into *Campania* to settle the Lands there) they thought it a cruel thing: that the *Statiellians*, who were the only Nation of all *Liguria*, that had not born Arms against the Romans, who were then attack'd, and did not make War of their own head, but surrender'd themselves into the hands of the Roman People, should be torn and destroy'd by such extreme Cruelty. That so many thousand people who put themselves under the protection of the Roman People, would [in that case] be so sad an Example [of ruine and destruction] that it would deter all others from ever daring hereafter to surrender themselves: and that being carried to several distant parts of the Country, they were Slaves to those who had been formerly avowed Enemies to the Roman People, though, now, they were reconciled. For which reasons, the Senate made an Order; That *M. Popilius* the Consul, should give the Buyers of such men their money, and restore the persons to their liberty: and that he should take care, that all their goods, that could be recover'd, should be render'd back unto them; and Arms made as soon as possible in that Country. That the Consul should depart out of the Province, after he had resettled the surrender'd *Ligurians* in their Town again: [and said.] That a Victory became famous by conquering those that oppos'd us, not by tyrannizing over the afflicted.

The Consul maintain'd the same briskness of mind in opposition to the Senate, as he had shewn before in *Liguria*; and therefore when he had sent his Legions into their Winter Quarters at *Pise*, being angry at the Senate, and vexed at the Prætor, return'd to Rome. Where the Senate being immediately called in the Temple of *Bellona*, he inveighed mightily against the Prætor; who, when he ought to have propos'd to the Senate, that, upon the score of his good success in the War, all honour might be paid the immortal Gods, had made an Order of Senate against him, for the Enemy: whereby the Prætor transfer'd his Pillory to the *Ligurians*, and commanded almost the Consul himself to be deliver'd up to them. Wherefore he laid a Fine upon him: and desired of the Senate, that they would cause the Order of Senate made against him, to be annul'd; and decree that supplication (first, in honour to the Gods, and then out of some respect to him also) now he was there, which they ought to have appointed when he was at a distance from them, upon receipt of his Letter concerning his good and prosperous management of the Commonwealth. But being blamed by some of the Senators, as much as when he was absent, and having obtain'd neither thing, that he desir'd, he return'd into his Province. The other Consul *Postumius*, having spent the Summer in settling the Lands, having never so much as seen his own Province, return'd to Rome, to hold the Assembly. He

U. C. created for Consuls, C. Popilius Lanus, and P. Aelius Ligur. Then the Prætors were made, viz. C. Licinius Crassus, M. Junius Pennus, Sp. Lucretius, Sp. Cluvius, Cn. Sicinius, and C. Memmius, a second time.

X. That year there was a Survey of the people set up: at which the Censors were Q. Fulvius Flaccus, and A. Postumius Albinus. Postumius took the Pole; and there were enroll'd, of Roman Citizens, two hundred sixty nine thousand and fifteen Souls: somewhat fewer than would have been, because the Consul L. Postumius had publickly proclaimed, that all those Latine Allies, who ought, by virtue of the Edict of C. Claudius the Consul, to return into their respective Cities, should not any one of them be poled at Rome, but every man in his own City. This Censorship was managed with Concord, and for the good of the Common wealth. All that they turn'd out of the Senate, or degraded from their Knighthood, they disfranchiz'd so as to make them pay all duties, like strangers, and put them out of their Tribe: nor did one of them set a mark of disgrace upon any men whom the other approved of. Fulvius dedicated a Temple to *Fortuna Equestris*, which he had vow'd in Spain at a Battle against the Celtiberians, six years after he had vow'd it: and set forth Stage Plays four dayes together, keeping one day in the Circus. L. Cornelius Lentulus the Decemvir of the holy Rites dyed that year, in whose place they put A. Postumius Albinus. There were such Clouds (as it were) of Locusts brought on a sudden from the Sea into Apulia, that with their swarms they covered all the Fields. For the removal of which pest from the Fruits, C. Sicinius who was design'd for Prætor, being sent with command into Apulia, got a great body of people about him, to gather them up, in which he spent some time. In the beginning of the following year, in which C. Popilius and P. Aelius were Consuls, there arose the remaining part of the animosities that had been the year before. For the Senate would needs have a report made touching Liguria, and the Order of Senate renew'd; of which the Consul Aelius accordingly made report to the House. Popilius desired both his Collegues and the Senates pardon for his Brother; and by pretending, that, if they decreed any thing, he would interpose against it, deterr'd his Collegue. The Senate being so much the more incens'd at both the Consuls, persisted in their design. Wherefore when they began to Discourse of the Provinces, and Macedonia, now that the War with Perseus was at hand, was aimed, Liguria was assigned to both the Consuls. But they said they would not make any determination at all concerning Macedonia, unless there were a report made concerning M. Popilius. Afterwards, when they moved for the raising of new Forces, or at least that the old might be recruited, both were deny'd. The Prætors also, requiring a supply with them into Spain, were refused; M. Junius into the hither Province, and P. Lucretius into the farther. As for C. Licinius Crassus, it was allotted him to have the jurisdiction over the Citizens, and Cn. Sicinius over the Foreigners; C. Memmius was sent to Sicily, Sp. Cluvius to Sardinia. The Consuls for these reasons highly offended with the Senate, caus'd the Latine Holy-Days to be immediately celebrated, purposing to retire soon after to their Commands, and not to engage themselves in the publick affairs any farther than what related to their own Governments.

XI. Valerius Antias writeth, That Attalus Brother of King Eumenes, the year that these were Consuls, came Embassadour to Rome, to accuse Perseus for making preparations of War; But the Annales of many other Writers (of greater Authority) report that King Eumenes, came himself in Person, where, after an honourable reception, such as the people of Rome thought due to his merits, and suitable to those great favours they had already conferr'd upon him, he was brought before the Senate. He told them, The occasion of his coming thither was, a desire he had to see those Gods and Men, by whose bounty he did possess so large a Fortune, than which he durst not wish a greater, as also to incite the Senate to obviate the designs of Perseus; Then continuing his Speech with the purposes of Philip, he recounted the death of his Son Demetrius, for opposing the War with the Romans; and that he had compell'd the Bactrians to quit their own Country to assist him in his passage into Italy; That, during these agitations, death having seiz'd upon him, he determin'd to leave his Kingdom to him whom he knew the most inveterate Enemy to the Romans: Perseus therefore inheriting this War, together with his Fathers Crown, had, since the first step to the Throne apply'd his greatest efforts to nourish and foment it; besides, his Kingdom flourish'd with strong and hardy youth for War, encreas'd by a long Peace; his Treasuries repleat, himself in the vigour of his Age, and to a strenuous body a mind no less expert in the Discipline and Arts of War; brought up from his infancy in his Fathers Tent, frequently employ'd in Expeditions, and always acquainted with the Wars, not only of other Nations, but those also against the Romans. That he had himself since he first possess'd the Kingdom, which marvellous felicity accomplished many things, which Philip in spite of all his force and subtilty could ne'r perform; and to encrease his greatness, had already purchas'd repute and authority in the World, the reward of age and meritorious actions.

XII. Thus Greece and all the Asian Cities paid homage to his Scepter; But whether they honour'd him for any personal merits of his own, or munificence towards them, he could not tell; or whether it proceeded from the peculiar felicity of his Fortune, or (what he fear'd himself to speak) from the hatred themselves had conceiv'd against the Romans, he could not determine. Kings themselves esteem'd and honour'd him; The Daughter of Seleucus he had lately married, without any suit of his

his own, but by the voluntary request of her Father, and after great importunity had given his Sister in Marriage to Prusias. Both these Weddings were solemniz'd with great pomp and infinite Embassies of the noblest Nations. That the Boeotians having been much solicited by Philip could never be brought into any Friendship or Confederacy; but now there was to be seen a League engraven in no less than three Cities, one at Thebes, a second at Sidenum, within the famous Temple, and the other at Delphis. In the Achaian Council, had not the designs been quash'd by some few that espous'd the Roman interest, the result would have been no less than the invasion of Achaia. But on the contrary, those honours I deserve from that people, both for private and publick obligations, are through base neglect, or envy, forgotten and withdrawn. As for the Ætolians, none were so ignorant, but well knew in their civil Wars they sought not aid from the Romans but from Perseus; Being thus supported with these Confederacies, he had made such domestick provisions of his own for War, that he needed no Foreign assistance. His Army consisted of thirty thousand Foot, and five thousand Horse, stored with Corn for ten years, whereby he might the better forbear his own Country, nor trouble himself to seek for Forage in that of his Enemies. That he had so large a Treasure, that besides the Forces of his own Territories he kept in pay ten thousand mercenary Souldiers, and had besides his annual revenue sufficient for the expences of ten years more. His Armories were full of Arms, and all accoutrements of War, enough for three such Armies. And for a continual supply of Souldiers, if Macedonia should prove deficient, all Thrace being subject under him, he could not fail of constant recruits, which he might draw from thence as from an unexhaustible Fountain.

The remainder of his Speech was by way of perswasion. My Lords! I relate not these things, said he, from the mouth of uncertain Fame, or a greedy desire to believe or wish, that the truth of ill things should be prov'd upon my Enemy, but on my own knowledge and experience, in the same manner as if I had been sent a spy to report to you the things I saw: nor would I have left my own Kingdom, and the share of glory, which by your benignity I possess, to pass so vast a Sea to bring you trifling Tales, to forfeit your esteem. I have survey'd the noblest Cities of Asia as well as Greece, discovering daily their intentions, in which, if they should be suffer'd to proceed, they would not have it in their power to retrieve their safety by repentance. I have observed, how Perseus not contented within the limits of Macedonia, sometimes by force of Arms, sometimes by favour and benevolence obtains those Countries he ne'r could get by Conquest. I have weigh'd the unequal conditions, whilst he prepareth War on you, and you perform the terms of Peace with him, although it appears no less to me than his being already in actual Hostility. Adrupolis your Friend, he hath driven from his Kingdom. Artetarus the Illyrian, another of your Allies, he slew; because he found he had written Letters unto you. Everfa and Callicrates, Thebans and Princes of that City, because in the Boeotian Council they spoke something too freely against him, declaring they would relate to you those proceedings, he commanded they should be put to death. He sent Auxiliaries to the Bizantines, contrary to agreement. He made War on Dolopia, invaded Thessaly and Doris, and subdu'd them both, that in civil War, by the help of the stronger side he might afflict and trouble the other. He made a mixture and confusion of all things in Thessaly and Perræbia, hoping thereby to cancel Book-Debts and other accounts, by which, releasing Debtors from their Engagements, he oblig'd them to assist him in oppressing their Creditors and principal Officers. While this is doing you quietly look on, your suffering him to act these things in Greece without controul, makes him presume, that not a man will dare to arm himself to oppose his passage into Italy; how this consisteth with your honour and safety is not for me to judge; it was my duty as your Friend and Ally, to prevent your being surpris'd in Italy by Perseus. And now, having perform'd this necessary Office, and in some measure acquitted my self as became my fidelity, what more remains? but that I pray the Gods and Goddeses, you may protect your own Republick, and defend your Allies that depend upon you.

This Oration extreamly mov'd the Fathers; but for the present, none knew more than that the King had been before the Senate, so silent were they all; but the War being finish'd, both the Kings Speech and the Senates Answer were divulg'd. Some few dayes after the Senate gave Audience to Perseus's Embassadours; but being prepossess'd by King Eumenes, their defence and supplications were reject'd; the fierce deportment of Harpalus the chief Embassadour, did not a little exasperate the Senate, who endeavour'd to perswade them to credit the Apology of his Master, that he never acted any thing tending to Hostility, but if he perceiv'd they came upon him in this manner, seeking occasions of War, he resolv'd to defend himself with courage; for the hazard of the Field was common, and the event of War uncertain. All the Cities of Greece and Asia were extreamly solicitous to know the proceedings of Perseus's Embassadours, and King Eumenes, with the Senate; for upon his coming most of the States (supposing he might occasion some commotion) had sent their Embassadours to Rome, speciously pretending other affairs. Among others there was an Embassy from the Rhodians, the chief of which was Satyrus, who doubted not but that Eumenes had join'd the crimes of his City with those of Perseus, and therefore by interest of his Patrons and Friends, he had obtain'd leave to debate their business with the King before the Senate; wherein he inveiy'd against Eumenes with too much heat, upbraiding him for his fomenting Wars between the Lycians and the Rhodians, and that he had been a greater Enemy to Asia than Antiochus; This Oration was well receiv'd by those of Asia, who began already to incline to Perseus, but it prov'd

XIII.

XIV.

not

not so with the Senate, nor was it in the least advantageous to their City; but on the contrary, these Conspiracies against *Eumenes* rais'd his estimation with the *Romans*, still increasing their honours and gifts upon him, presenting him a Chariot of State, with a Staff and Scepter of Ivory.

XV. These Embassies being dispatch'd, *Harpalus* returns with all speed into *Macedonia*, and tells the King, That he had left the *Romans* making no preparations as yet for War, but so offended, it easily appeared they would not long defer it; nor was *Perseus* displeased with this relation relying on the valour of his Souldiers; But of all others he hated *Eumenes* most, with whose blood he laid the foundation of the War; for harboring one *Evander* a Candiote and Captain of some Auxiliaries, and with him three *Macedonians* (accustom'd to such actions) to kill the King; He gave them Letters to one *Praxo* an Hostess of great esteem and wealth among the *Delphians*, being well assured *Eumenes* would be at *Delphis* to Sacrifice to *Apollo*. These Traytors with *Evander* watched all opportunities to execute their design; in the passage where men ascend from *Cirrho* to the Temple, before they come to the place frequented with the usual concourse of the people, there stood on the left of the path a Mud-Wall or Bank, arising a little above the foundation, by which one at once could only pass, for on the right hand the Earth was fallen down, and a breach made of a great depth; behind this Bank the Traytors hid themselves, and rais'd some steps like stairs, that from above, as from the top of a Wall they might discharge their Treason on the King. Before him, coming from the Sea, there march'd his Friends and Guards disorderly mixt; when the way grew streight and narrow, his train by degrees waxt thinner; but when they came to the place where they could not go but one by one; *Pantoleon* an *Aetolian* Prince, with whom the King was then engaged in some Discourse, enter'd first that narrow passage; immediately the Traytors roll'd two mighty stones upon the King; one fell upon his head, the other on his shoulder; the people seeing *Eumenes* fall, confusedly deserted him, *Pantoleon* only had the Courage to stay and relieve the King.

XVI. The Traytors by a short compass about the Wall might soon have reach'd the place where the King lay, and finish'd what they had begun; but supposing the deed was done, they fled to the top of *Parnassus* with that hast, that they kill'd one of their Companions, being unable to keep pace with them through that steep and craggy Mountain, lest being taken he should have discover'd their Treason. The Kings Friends and Guards coming at last about him, and raising his body from the ground, found him astonish'd with the stroke; by the motion of his Pulse, and some warmth they perceiv'd he was not dead, although but little hope of life. Some of his Guards pursu'd the Villains with great difficulty by their footsteps as far as the top of the Mountain, but finding it ineffectual, gave over the pursuit. The *Macedonians*, as they had begun their attempt inconsiderately, so they fearfully left it unfinish'd with as little discretion. By this time the King return'd to himself, and the morrow after was convey'd to his Ship; from thence to *Corinth*, and from *Corinth* sailing along the Straights of *Isthmus*, they arrived at *Agina*; where his care was performed with such secrecy that a report of his death ran over all *Asia*. His Brother *Attalus* gave a willing credit to the rumour than became a Brother, expressing such things to his Brothers Wife, and the Commander of the Castle, as if he had been the undoubted Heir of the Crown; All which was afterwards deliver'd to *Eumenes*; at first he purpos'd to dissemble and bury those matters in silence; nevertheless he could not refrain at their first interview, to tell his Brother he was too hasty so suddenly to make a love-address to his Wife. The Fame of *Eumenes* death was also carried to *Rome*.

XVII. About that time *C. Valerius* was return'd from *Greece*, sent thither Embassadour to observe the state of that Country, and to watch the Counsels of King *Perseus*; all his intelligence was agreeable to the report of *Eumenes*, and withall he brought with him from *Delphis* the Hostess *Praxo*, whose House had been the receptacle of those Traytors, and with her, one *L. Raminus* a *Brundusian*, who gave the following information. This *Raminus* was one of the principal Citizens of *Brundisium*, and us'd in his House to entertain not only the *Roman* Captains, but all Embassadours of the greatest quality, especially such as were sent from Kings; by this means he came to be known to *Perseus*; being invited by the Kings Letters, the hope and promises of his favour and friendship brought him to the Court of *Macedon*; and shortly after he was carress'd with the greatest familiarity, and received farther than he himself approv'd of into the closest secrets; the King endeavouring to oblige him by promises of large rewards; That, seeing the *Roman* Captains and Embassadours were constantly entertain'd at his House, he would take care that such persons whom he mentioned by his Letters, should be dispatch'd by poyson; and because he knew it both difficult and dangerous to effect this design, but with all the caution and secrecy imaginable, the event being also uncertain, either through deficiency of the drug, or the secret working of it, or discovery, if known to many; he would himself deliver him such a poyson which neither in giving nor being receiv'd should ever be discover'd by any mark whatever. *Aminius* fearing if he refused he might be the first should make experiment of the poyson, promised the performance and then departed; but he would not return to *Brundisium* before he waited on *C. Valerius* the Embassadour, who resided somewhere about *Chalcis*; to whom he first revealed this Plot, and went with him

him by his Command to *Rome*, where he discover'd the whole matter before the Senate.

This discovery being added to those of *Eumenes*, gave occasion, that *Perseus* was the sooner XVIII. declared an Enemy; whom they saw beginning an unjust War, not with Princely magnanimity, but with secret poysonings and other base perfidious acts and treasons. The management of this War was refer'd to the new Consuls; however for the present it was decreed, That *Cn. Sicinius* the Prætor, whose jurisdiction was between the Citizens and Strangers should levy Souldiers, who being conducted to *Brundisium*, should with all expedition put to Sea for *Apollonia* in *Epirus*, to fortify the Maritime Cities, where the Consul to whom the *Macedonian* Provinces should be committed might have safe harbour for his Fleet, and conveniency of landing his Forces. *Eumenes* after a long retention at *Agina*, as soon as he might with safety, went to *Pergamus*, and being incited by his ancient hatred as well as the late practices of *Perseus*, prepar'd for War with all his power. Embassadours were sent from *Rome* to congratulate with him for his escape from so eminent a danger. When the *Macedonian* War was deferr'd for a year, and the other Prætors retired into their Provinces, *M. Junius* and *Sp. Lucretius* (who had the Government of the *Spanish* Province) with great importunities, at last obtained from the Senate to recruit the Army, with additional Forces consisting of three thousand Foot, and a hundred and fifty Horse, for the *Roman* Legions, five thousand Foot and three hundred Horse for the Army of the Allies; These new Levies were transported into *Spain* with the new Prætors.

The same year, after that a great part of the *Campane* Territory, which private persons every where possess'd without regard of title, was (upon a diligent survey of *Posthumus* the Consul) recover'd for the Republick; *M. Lucretius* a Tribune of the Commons, proclaim'd a Law, That the Censors should let out to Farm the *Campane* Lands for an annual Rent; which had not been done since the taking of *Capua*, that private men should covetously incroach upon the wast and common. The *Macedonian* War being now determined though not proclaimed, and the Senate in expectation what Princes would join with them, and what with *Perseus*; there came Embassadours from *Ariates*, bringing with them the Kings Son a Child; who told the Senate, That their Master had sent his Son to *Rome* to be educated in the *Roman* manners, and to be accustomed to the dispositions of the *Roman* People; that he desired they would receive him into their protection, not only as a private person, but also afford him their publick Patronage as their Pupil. The Embassy of this King was very grateful to the Senate; whereupon they decreed that *Cn. Sicinius* the Prætor should prepare an apartment for the Prince and his Attendants: The *Thracian* Embassadours likewise presented themselves to debate their affairs, and Petition for the Friendship of the Senate; their Suit was granted, and were dismiss'd with a Present to each of two thousand *Asses*. The affection of these people much rejoiced the Senate, in regard that *Thrace* joins to the back of *Macedonia*: But to the end they might have perfect intelligence of the affairs of *Asia*, they sent Embassadours thither. *T. Claudius Nero* and *M. Decimius*; commanding them also to visit *Creet* and *Rhodes*, as well to renew their annuities as observe whether the minds of those Allies had been solicited by King *Perseus*.

While the City was in suspense and expectation of this new War, there arose in the night a tempest of thunder and lightning, which rent asunder the *Rostrate* Pillar, erected in the Capitol by *M. Amilius* the Consul during the first punick War: this was esteem'd a Prodigy, and related to the Senate. The Fathers command that the Southsayers should be consulted, and that the *Decemviri* should bring their Books [of Sibil]. The *Decemviri* declared, the City to be purg'd by Sacrifice, and that great Victims should be sacrificed, as well in the Capitol at *Rome*, as on the Plains near the Promontories of *Minerva*; That Games should be forth-with prepar'd in honour of *Jupiter*; all which was religiously observed. The Southsayers declared that the Prodigy portended the good and enlargement of their own Territories, because those Beaks of Ships thrown down by the Tempest, were the spoils of their Enemies. There happened many other things which added no less Religion to their minds; It was reported, that at *Saturnia* it rained blood three dayes together; at *Galatia* an Ass foled a Colt with three Feet, and a Bull with five Cows were struck dead by Thunder, and that at *Oximum* it rained Earth: These Prodigies proceeding from divine causes, produced likewise new Devotions.

The Consuls were not as yet departed to their Provinces, because they would not obey the Senate in the debate concerning *Popilius*, the Fathers were also resolv'd, that no Decree should pass before that were determin'd. Their hatred towards *Popilius* was increas'd by his Letters, wherein he told them, That being Pro-Consul he had fought the *Ligurians*, and slain ten thousand of their Souldiers, provok'd by the injuries and extremities of this War, others of the *Ligurian* People had taken Arms. At which news the absent *Popilius* was not only blamed for inciting to Rebellion by an unjust War those people who were before at Peace; but the Consuls were also reprov'd in open Senate for not retiring to their commands. *M. Martius Sermo*, and *Quintius Marcius Scylla*, two Tribunes of the Commons, being animated by this proceeding of the Fathers, threatened to Fine the Consuls unless they hasten'd to their Provinces; And also recited a Law which they had provided concerning



concerning the submitting of the *Ligurians*, and intended speedily to promulge; which was to this effect. It was decreed, that if any person of *Statellæ* submitted himself, and was not restored to his liberty before the *Calends* of *August* following, the Senate would order a Commissioner to inquire by whom he was detain'd in servitude, and punish him accordingly. Which was published by Authority. Before the Consuls took their leave, a Senate was held in the Temple of *Bellona*, in favour of *Caius Cicerius*, Prætor of the former year; He told them what he had done in *Corfica*, and demanded triumph, which being deny'd him in the *Alban* Mountain (which was now a custom grown without authority) he rode in triumph. The *Marcian* Law was now by a general Sanction ratified and enacted. *C. Licinius*, moving the Senate to nominate the person for the execution of that Edict, the Fathers placed it on himself.

XXII. At length the Consuls departed to their Provinces, and receiv'd the charge of the Army from *Popilius*. However *Marcus Popilius* durst not as yet return to *Rome*, greatly dreading to answer the Prætors accusation before the incensed Senate and enraged multitude: But the Tribunes had found another Law to punish this delay of his; That if he came not to *Rome* before the *Ides* of *November* following, it should be lawful for *C. Licinius* to pronounce Sentence against him in his absence. Being drawn by this Cord, he return'd to *Rome* and presented himself before the Senate, fill'd with the sharpest Envy; where after he had been torn with infinite reproaches it was decreed, That as many *Ligurians* as had not been Enemies since the Consulships of *Q. Fulvius* and *L. Manlius*, should be re-established by the Prætors *C. Licinius* and *Cn. Sicinius*, in their former liberties; And that the Consul *C. Popilius* should give them Lands beyond the *Pô*. Many thousands were by this Decree restor'd to liberty, and a Country accordingly bestow'd upon them. *M. Popilius* upon the *Marcian* Law, twice made his defence before the Prætor *C. Licinius*; The third time, the Prætor being overcome with the respect he bore the absent Consuls, and the supplications of the *Popillian* Family, adjourn'd the Defendants appearance to the *Ides* of *March*; on which day the new Magistrates enter'd on their Offices, and himself then resigning his Authority should become a private person; and thus the *Ligurian* Act was by this fallacious Art evaded.

XXIII. There was at this time at *Rome*, Embassadors from *Carthage*, and *Gulussa* the Son of *Masinissa*; between whom a great contention arose before the Senate: The *Carthaginians* complaining, That *Masinissa* within two years, had (besides that Country about which Commissioners had been sent from *Rome* to consider the affair) by force of Arms possess'd himself of more than seventy Towns and Castles within the *Carthaginian* Dominions; this, to him who regarded nothing, was very easy to be effected, since the *Carthaginians* were obliged by capitulation quietly to suffer all; as being prohibited bearing Arms beyond the limits of their own Country; And although they were assured the War would be within themselves if they repell'd the *Numidians*; yet were they doubtful lest they should stretch too far that part of their Articles which strictly forbade them to make War on the *Roman* Allies. Nevertheless the *Carthaginians* no longer able to endure his Pride, Cruelty and Avarice, sent them therefore to implore the Senate would grant them one of these three Propositions; That since they were both Allies, their differences might be debated before them; or to permit the *Carthaginians* to defend themselves by a just War against unlawful force; or at the worst, if partiality was more prevalent with them than truth, they would then determine what part of their Country should be given to *Masinissa*; that by their prescription they might be satisfied in what they gave; well-knowing that to his insatiate desires there were no limits; But if neither of these could be obtain'd, or if they had committed any crime since the Peace granted them by *Scipio*, that they themselves would punish them; chusing rather to live in safety under the *Roman* servitude, than be exposed to these injuries; it being better at once to perish, than suffer such Butcheries under the rugged yoke of bloody *Masinissa*. These expressions accompanied with tears and prostration, procured no less compassion to themselves than Envy to the King.

XXIV. *Gulussa* was then demanded what he had to offer against those complaints, or if he had rather to declare the occasion of his coming to *Rome*. To which he reply'd, it was a difficult thing for him to answer those matters, having no authority from his Father; nor was it easy for his Father to give it him, since the *Carthaginians* neither declared their negotiation at *Rome*, nor any intention of their going thither; it was only heard, that in *Esculapius's* Temple for some Nights they held a secret Council, from whence the *Carthaginian* Governours had dispatch'd an Embassy to *Rome*, with Credentials of privacy. This was the reason his Father had sent him thither, to implore the Senate would not credit such false accusations as should be prefer'd by those who were no less theirs than his Enemies, for no other cause but that he always prefer'd a constant fidelity to the *Romans*. The Senate having heard both their Allegations, Commanded this Answer to be return'd to the demands of the *Carthaginians*; That *Gulussa* should immediately return to *Numidia*, that his Father might soon after send Embassadors to answer those complaints of the *Carthaginians*, and that the *Carthaginians* should also have notice given them to come and debate the business: If any thing should be in their power to express their honour for *Masinissa*, they would be as ready to perform it for the future as they heretofore had always been; That affection did not sway their Justice; desirous that every one should possess their own, they were unwilling to prescribe new limits, but rather exhort to observance of the old; that since the Conquest of the *Carthaginians*, they had given them Cities and Possessions, not that those things should be torn away

away in Peace by private injuries, which never could be taken from them by a lawful War. Thus the young Prince with the *Carthaginians*, after they had receiv'd their Presents, and the usual Ceremonies were dismiss'd.

About the same time *Cn. Servilius Cæpio*, *Ap. Claudius Cento*, *T. Amnius Læscus*, Embassadors sent into *Macedonia*, to demand restitution, and to renounce the Friendship of that King, return'd to *Rome*; The relation they gave of what they had there seen and heard, added fuel to that Fire which had already inflam'd the Senate against King *Perseus*. "They observ'd through all the Cities of *Macedonia* open preparation for War; after they had attended many dayes without admission, at length despairing of their access to the King, prepar'd for their departure; but were recall'd from their Journey which was already begun to receive their Audience; the intent of their Oration was to remind him of the League contracted with *Philip*, and confirm'd by himself since his Fathers Death, wherein he was prohibited to make War on any of the *Roman* Confederates; then they recounted the whole particulars of that Declaration themselves had heard from King *Eumenes*, who openly asserted the truth of those things he reported on his own knowledge; moreover, that the King had held a secret Consultation with Embassadors from the *Asiatick* Cities; In regard of which injuries, the Senate thought it just he should restore to them and their Confederates those things he had unjustly taken from them, and contrary to the Covenants of their League. The hearing of these matters greatly incens'd the King; his passion transported him into revilings, often reproaching the *Romans* for their Avarice and Insolency; and esteem'd their Embassadors which came so fast upon him, no otherwise than Spies to watch his words and actions, they thinking it necessary that all his measures should be receiv'd from them: After he had finish'd this fierce Speech, he commanded them to repair to him again the next day, and they should receive his Answer in writing; then he deliver'd them a Paper, wherein he affirm'd, That the League his Father had sign'd had no force at all on him; if he suffer'd it to be renew'd, it proceeded not from his approbation, but because he was newly possess'd of his Kingdom, he was compell'd to endure all things; But if they were desirous of a new Confederacy, it was requisite a capitulation were made concerning the conditions; should they be induc'd to accept of reasonable Proposals, yet he thought it necessary first considerately to weigh his own advantages, as he doubted not but they would well consult those of their Republick; and thus he abruptly left them, they immediately withdrawing themselves from the Palace. Whereupon according to our Commission we abandon'd his Friendship and Alliance; which made him return upon us in great fury, and with a loud Voice commanded us within three dayes to leave his Kingdom; In fine, they accordingly forthwith departed, having found but an inhospitable Entertainment during the whole time of their aboad. When they had finish'd this Relation the *Etolian* Embassadors receiv'd their Audience. The Senate, that they might forthwith understand what Commanders were to be employ'd by the Common-wealth; dispatch'd their Letters to the Consuls, that one of them should hasten to *Rome*, to the Election of new Magistrates.

No action worthy commemorating was done that year by the Consuls. The Republick esteem'd it more expedient to suppress and appease the exasperated *Ligurians*. The *Iffean* Embassadors, considering the expectation of the *Macedonian* War, gave no small occasion to suspect *Gentius* King of the *Illyrians*, "complaining he had twice over-run their Country; that the *Macedonians* and *Illyrians* unanimously prepared to make War upon the *Romans*; and that the *Illyrian* were then at *Rome* disguis'd under a specious Embassy, but sent thither by *Perseus's* instigation to observe their motions. The *Illyrians* being sent for before the Senate, declared their business there was to obviate such accusations which their Master suspected might be brought against him by the *Iffæans*; It was urged, why they did not present themselves to the Magistrate, in order to receive the usual Ceremonies of the City, and the appointment of their Apartments, that their coming and their business might both be publick; but hesitating in their reply, it was commanded them to leave the Court, not deserving an Answer as became Embassadors who had not offer'd themselves as such before the Senate; determining rather to dispatch Embassadors to the King, to advise him which of his Associates had complain'd against for committing outrages on their Territories, and to animadvert the injustice of those injuries offer'd their Confederates. *A. Terentius Varro*, *C. Pletorius*, and *C. Cicerius*, were employed in this Embassy. Those Embassadors sent to visit the Confederate Princes, returning from *Asia*, reported, they saw *Eumenes* there, *Antiochus* in *Syria*, and in *Alexandria* they confer'd with *Ptolemy*; All which had been solicited by sundry Embassies from *Perseus*, but still continued firm in their fidelity to the *Romans*, and assur'd them to perform whatever should be commanded them. They had also visited the associate Cities, finding them all, except the *Rhodiensians*, who began to stagger (having too deeply imbibed the poisonous persuasions of *Perseus*) thoroughly stedfast to their interest. The *Rhodian* Embassadors were now at *Rome* to obviate those crimes they knew were publickly alledg'd against their City; but the Senate would not allow them Audience before the new Consuls were initiated into their Consulships.

XXVII. The War was now determin'd. *C. Licinius* the Prætor was order'd to draw from the Docks as many Gallies as should be necessary for that Expedition; and also to fit out a Fleet of fifty Ships of War, but if he could not equip so many, to send to *C. Memmius* his Collegue to rig out those Ships as were in *Sicily*, and immediately transport them to *Brundisium*: He was also commanded to muster as many of the *Roman* Citizens, and Enfranchis'd Bondmen as might serve in five and twenty Ships; *C. Licinius* was also Commissioned to raise a proportionable number out of the *Latine* Allies for the like Service, and likewise to charge them with eight thousand Foot, and three hundred Horse. *A. Attulus* who had been Prætor the preceding year, was chosen to receive those Forces at *Brundisium*, and to conduct them into *Macedonia*; *Cn. Sicinius* the Prætor was appointed to put the Army in readiness to be transported; *C. Licinius* the Prætor was directed to send to *C. Popilius* the Consul, a Commission to command the second Legion, which had been longest employ'd in *Liguria*, and consisted of the most experienc'd Souldiers; together with four thousand Foot, and two hundred Horse out of the *Latine* Allies, and to be in readiness at *Brundisium* on the Ides of *February*. With this Fleet and Army, *Cn. Sicinius* was commanded to keep the *Macedonian* Province until another was appointed to succeed him; and to this purpose his command was continued for a year longer. All which directions of the Senate were managed with great vigour and celerity: thirty eight Gallies were drawn from the Docks, which were conducted by *L. Porcius Licinius* to *Brundisium*; twelve were sent from *Sicily*. *Sex. Digitius*, *T. Juventius*, and *M. Cæcilius*, were sent Embassadors into *Apulia* and *Calabria*, to buy Provisions for the Fleet and Army; Thus all things being fully adjusted, *Cn. Sicinius* departing from the City in his Warlike Accoutrements arrived at *Brundisium*.

XXVIII. About the end of that year *C. Popilius* the Consul came to *Rome*, something later than the Senate had ordain'd, who considering the approach of so great a War drew near, commanded him to hasten to the Election of new Magistrates; Therefore when the Consul in the Temple of *Bellona* rehears'd his Exploits in *Liguria*, the Fathers instead of applauding the Relation, reprov'd him for not restoring to their former Liberties those *Ligurians* that had been oppress'd by the Tyranny of his Brother? The twelfth day before the Calends of *March* was held according to the Edicts the Election of the Consuls, wherein *P. Licinius Crassus*, and *C. Cassius Longinus* were created. The following day, *Caius Sulpitius Galba*, *L. Furius Philus*, *L. Camilius Dives*, *C. Lucretius Gallus*, *C. Caninius Rubinius*, and *L. Villius Annalis* were Elected Prætors; to these Prætors the Provinces were thus assign'd; two of them were to administer the Laws in *Rome*; three to have the Government of the *Spanish*, *Sicilian* and *Sardinian* Provinces; the other was reserv'd for such affairs as the Senate should have occasion to employ him in. The elected Consuls were commanded to celebrate the day of their inauguration with Sacrifices and Prayers, that the gods would be auspicious to the War the *Roman* People were now preparing. The same day the Senate decreed, That *C. Popilius* should offer Vows, that (if the Republick continued for ten years in the same state) ten dayes sports should be dedicated to *Jupiter*, and gifts devoted to all the Shrines; the Consul accordingly exhibited those Vows in the Capitol, and that the donations should be perform'd to what value the Senate should propose; this was pronounc'd in the presence of an hundred and fifty people, and *Lepidus* the chief Priest recorded the Vow. This year dyed these Priests of quality, *L. Æmilius Pappus* one of the *Decemviri* or Priests of the holy Rites, and *Q. Fulvius Flaccus* the chief Priest, who had been Censor the year before; This man had but an ill end; news having been brought him of his two Sons, who had serv'd in the *Illyrick* Wars, that one was lately dead, and the other labouring under a dangerous distemper, this report so oppress'd his mind with grief and fear, that his Servants entering his Bedchamber in the Morning found him hang'd. It was the common opinion he had not been Compos sui since his Censorship, that *Juno Lacinia*, angry at the spoil he committed on her Temple, had depriv'd him of his right mind. *M. Valerius Messala* succeeded the *Decemvir* *Æmilius*, *Cneus Domitius Anobarbus*, the chief Priest *Fulvius*, too young a man for such a Function.

XXIX. That year *P. Licinius* and *C. Cassius* were Consuls, not only the City of *Rome*, with the whole Country of *Italy*, but all the *European* and *Asiatick* Princes and Cities, had converted their minds on the prospect of the War between the *Romans* and *Macedonians*. *Eumenes* was urged by a double stimulation, as well the core of his old hatred, as the late treachery at *Delphis*, wherein he had almost fallen a Victim to *Perseus's* rage; *Prusias* King of *Bithynia*, resolv'd to stand neuter and attend the issue, esteeming it unjust to bear Arms for the *Romans* against the Brother of his Wife, by whose intercession he doubted not if *Perseus* prov'd Victorious to obtain his pardon. *Ariates* King of the *Cappadocians*, besides the promise he had made to aid the *Romans* on his own account, since the time his Alliantie with *Eumenes* shar'd with him in all his Counsels both of Peace and War. *Antiochus* bent his purposes on the Kingdom of *Egypt*, despising the Kings Childhood and insufficiency of his Guardians, resolv'd to renew his pretensions to *Cælosyria*; supposing to manage this War without impediment, while the *Romans* were busied about that of *Macedonia*, contrary to the large promises he had made the Senate. *Ptolomy* [the young King of *Egypt*] in regard of his youth, was wholly at the disposal of others: His Protectors not only made preparations to oppose *Antiochus* in

in *Cælosyria*, but likewise assur'd the *Romans* to assist them against the *Macedonians*. *Mastinissa* [King of the *Numidians*] purpos'd to furnish the *Romans* with Corn, and that his Son *Misagenes* should attend them in that service with an Auxiliary of Elephants; however he took those measures to provide for himself against both Fortunes; if Victory declar'd for *Rome*, his affairs would not be at all advanc'd, or in a better posture than before; nor would they ever suffer him to exercise his Arms against the *Carthaginians*; But if the *Roman* greatness fell, who then could protect the *Carthaginians*, or hinder the subduing all *Africa* under his subjection? *Gentius* [King of *Illyria*] had given the *Romans* occasion of suspicion rather than a demonstration which part he would join with, and that if he declared for either, it would proceed more from the impetuosity of his temper than a mature result. *Cotys* the *Thracian*, King of the *Odrysiens*, openly appear'd for *Macedonia*.

These were the inclinations of the Kings concerning the War; the generality of the common people almost thorough all the liberal Nations (leaning as they usually do to the baser side) inclin'd their affections towards the *Macedonians*; but one might easily perceive the Nobility to be differently affected: some therefore with great eagerness joined with the *Romans*, by which immoderate favour they impair'd their authority at home; few being induc'd by the justice of the *Roman* Government, but rather with an opinion that the more vigorous they appear'd for them, the more should they encrease their power in their own Cities. On the Kings side were three sorts, the first whereof were of profuse Court-Flatterers, who being too deeply involv'd in credits of others, and desperate in their own Fortunes, without some turns of State, endeavour'd to precipitate all things into confusion; another, that ill resent'd the favour *Perseus* seem'd to shew the popularity; a third consisted of persons of the greatest ability and integrity, who (had it been in their power to give the prebeminency) would rather have been subject to the *Romans* than the King; but if they had been absolute Arbiters of Fortune, neither part should get advancement by the depression of the other, but rather their Forces being preserv'd intire, Peace should have been embrac'd by both; from whence the Cities would have remained in a flourishing condition, while that the weaker was preserv'd from the oppression of the stronger; however they kept these opinions to themselves, and with a discreet silence beheld the deportment of those that adher'd to either side. The Consuls that day they took possession of their Government, when they had done the Sacrifice in all the Temples, where the sacred Beds for most part of the year were prepared, and prefaging their Prayers were accepted by the Gods, made a report hereof to the Senate. The *Amuspices* likewise prefaged a happy event to all new Enterprizes they should undertake, promising Victory, triumph and enlargement of their Dominions. The Fathers commanded the Consuls on the first day the Centuries made their general Parade to publish to the People, That whereas *Perseus* Son of *Philip* King of the *Macedonians* had (contrary to the League made by his Father, and since his death by him renew'd) invaded the Territories of the *Roman* Allies, harass'd their Countries, and possess'd their Cities, had enter'd into Counsels of War against the *Romans*, had rais'd Armies and fitted out a Fleet; that unless he made satisfaction for these wrongs, War should be made upon him. The Gods preserve the happiness of the *Roman* People.

This Proclamation was published to the People. Afterwards the Senate decreed, the Consuls should either agree the matter between themselves, concerning the Provinces of *Italy* and *Macedonia*, or else to be determined by Lot; and that he to whom the Province of *Macedonia* fell, should vigorously prosecute the War against that King, and his Adherents, unless they made satisfaction to the *Romans*. It was also concluded, that four Legions should be rais'd and divided between the Consuls. The *Macedonian* Province was chiefly consider'd, that seeing, according to the old institution, there went in the Legions of the other Consul but five thousand Foot, and two hundred Horse to each, it was commanded they should now be advanc'd to six thousand Foot, and three hundred Horse a-piece. The number of the other Consul in the associate Army was likewise augmented, that (besides those six hundred Horse *Cn. Sicinius* had already conducted) out of those Allies he should transport sixteen thousand Foot and eight hundred Horse into *Macedonia*, twelve thousand Foot of the Confederates, and six hundred Horse were thought sufficient for *Italy*. This further care was taken concerning *Macedonia*, that the Consul might at his own discretion make Captains and private Souldiers out of the Elder sort, that exceeded not the Age of fifty. The old method of chusing Colonels in respect of the *Macedonian* War was this Year changed; That the Consuls by the Senates Authority should move the people that those Colonels might not that year be Elected by their Suffrages, but according to the judgment and discretion of the Consuls and Prætors. The commands among the Prætors were thus divided. The Prætor, whose Office it was to be the Senates Itinerant, was dispatch'd to the Fleet at *Brundisium*, to muster the Squadron of the Associates, dismissing such as were unfit for service, and supply their vacancy out of the Libertines; and to take care that two parts consisted of *Roman* Citizens, the third of the Alliances. That Provisions of the Fleet and Army should be supplied from *Sicily* and *Sardinia*; the Prætors of those Provinces were commanded to levy a Tax of two Tenths on the people, and transport the Corn to the Army in *Macedonia*. The *Sicilian* Province fell to *C. Caninius Rubinus*, the *Sardinian*, to *L. Furius Philus*, and that of *Spain* to *L. Canuleius*. *C. Sulpitius Galba* possess'd the

the jurisdiction over the City, and *L. Villius Annalis* over the Strangers. *C. Lucretius Gal-*  
*lus* was the Senate's Itinerant.

XXXII. Between the Consuls the debate of the Province was rather a cavil than a great contention. *Cassius* affirm'd it was his right, without obtaining it by Lot, to fight in *Macedonia*, nor could his Collegue put it to the hazard with him without perjury; for being Prætor he had sworn in a great Assembly (to defer the return to his Province) that in a particular place, on certain dayes, he purpos'd to do some Sacrifices which could not rightly be perform'd in his absence; which now in his Consulship could be no better effected in his absence than when he was Prætor; But if the Senate should not have respect rather to the Oath in his Prætorship, than his ambition in his Consulship, himself would notwithstanding preserve his obedience to the Senate. The Fathers were consulted, who judg'd it insolence to deny him a Province on whom the people of *Rome* had plac'd the dignity of a Consul, and therefore commanded that Lots should be cast; *Macedonia* fell to *P. Licinius*, *Italy* to *C. Cassius*. Afterwards the Legions were also divided by Lot, the first and third were to be transported into *Macedonia*, the second and fourth to remain in *Italy*. The Consuls in their musters were stricter in their view of the Souldiers than they had been at other times. *Licinius* drew out of the elder sort both Captains and Souldiers; many also voluntarily list'd themselves, observing the riches that others had procured in the former *Macedonian* War, and that against *Antiochus* in *Asia*. When the Colonels called over the names of the private Captains (the principal first) they were found twenty three in number, who had formerly been plac'd in the first ranks of the *Pilieri*; when they had been call'd over they appeal'd for redress to the Tribunes of the people; but *M. Fulvius Nobilior*, and *M. Claudius Marcellus*, two of those Tribunes refer'd them to the Consuls; Alledging that it only belong'd to those who had been chosen Generals of the War to determine in those matters; The rest assum'd the authority to themselves, and if any injury were offer'd their Fellow Citizens, they should not want their assistance.

XXXIII. This was done in the Tribunes Court; *M. Popilius*, a Consular person was called thither, and with him the Consul attended by the Centurion Captains; He mov'd the matter might be decided in a publick Convocation of the people, who were accordingly assembled; where *M. Popilius*, who had been Consul two years before, spoke these words in behalf of the Centurion Captains: *These military men (said he) have serv'd the state during the time the Law prescribes, and carry now about them Bodies harass'd with labour, in the publick service, and are ready still to serve their Country; they only beg they may not be dispos'd in more inferiour posts than those they have posses'd in former Wars.* Then *P. Licinius* the Consul commanded the Senate's Decree to be openly read, wherein it was ordain'd, That War should be levy'd on *Perseus*, to raise as many as they could of the old Centurion Captains for that service, and that none should be exempted that exceeded not the Age of fifty; after this he humbly exhorted them; *That in a War so nearly concerning Italy, and against so formidable an Enemy; they would not hinder the Colonels in raising Souldiers, nor the Consul appointing to every one such Posts, as should be thought most advantageous to the Common-wealth; and if any thing arose that should be dubious they would submit it to the Senate.*

XXXIV. After the Consul had finish'd his Discourse, *Sp. Ligustinus*, one of those who had appeal'd to the popular Tribunes, beg'd leave of the Consul to speak a few words to the people, and having obtain'd it, he thus spoke. *I Spurius Ligustinus of the Crustumian Bands, am descended, Fellow Souldiers! from the Sabines; My Father left me an Acre of Land, and a small Cottage, wherein I was born and nourished, and at this day inhabit; when I came to full Age I married my Fathers Neece by the Brother, who brought with her no other portion than a free birth and chastity, and with these a fecundity would have besitt'd a plentiful Fortune; we have had six Sons and two Daughters both now marriageable; four of our Sons are arriv'd to manhood, two are under Age; I first became a Souldier in the Consulships of *P. Sulpicius* and *C. Aurelius*, and serv'd a private Souldier in that Army transported into *Macedonia* against King *Philip*; the third year *T. Quintius Flaminius*, to encourage my forwardness, assign'd me the command of the tenth division of the Spear-men; our Army being disbanded after the Victory over the *Macedonians*, I immediately went a Volunteer under *M. Porcius* the Consul into *Spain*, than whom there is not a Commander now living could better judge of a Souldiers Courage and Vertue, which those who by long service in the Wars under him, and other Leaders have well experienc'd; This great man (I say) thought me worthy the command he bestow'd upon me; a third time I went a Volunteer in the Expedition against the *Ætolians* and *Antiochus*, where from *Manius Acilius* I receiv'd the command of the first Centurion division; *Antiochus* being repuls'd, and the *Ætolians* vanquish'd, we return'd into *Italy*, and two years together I received pay with the pentionary Legions; twice after this I bore Arms in *Spain*, once under *Q. Fulvius Flaccus*, a second time under *Tib. Sempronius Gracchus* the Prætor; By *Flaccus* I was brought home from that Province, among those who had purchas'd his favour by their courage and merits, to attend his triumph; At the entreaty of *Tib. Gracchus* I went with him into that Province, where in few years I was advanc'd to the command of the first division of the *Pilieri*; thirty four times I have receiv'd from my Generals hand the rewards of Valour and Vertue; six civick Coronets I have obtain'd; twenty two years have followed the Wars, and am now above fifty years o'd; Thus, since I have serv'd the State during the age of prescription,*

prescription, and may plead the immunity of my years, it is but just methinks, *Licinius*! I should now retire, considering too I leave four Souldiers to supply my room; But this I speak no otherwise than what might be modestly said in my own behalf; for as long as I am able to bear Arms, I will never excuse my self, or oppose the authority of such deputed Officers as shall think me fit for service, and shall readily obey their commands in any Post they shall esteem me worthy of; nor shall the Army Comrades) hath ever been my constant industry; And you also, my Fellow Souldiers! that exercise the privilege of appealing to the Tribunes, it is necessary ye now preserve that reverence and obedience to the authority of the Senate, and their Officers, which ye kept inviolate in your younger age; and esteem all places honourable wherein ye are posted for the defence of the Republick.

When he had finish'd his Speech, the Consul highly applauded him, and brought him XXXV. from the people into the Senate, where he was graciously received, and the military Tribunes commanded to assign him the Post of the right hand *Pilier*, in the first Legion; and to the rest of the Centurion Captains letting fall their appeal obediently submitted. That the Generals might hasten the sooner to their Provinces, the *Latine* Anniversary was celebrated on the Calends of *March*; which annual solemnity being ended, *C. Lucretius* the Prætor, after he had provided all things necessary for the Fleet, departed for *Brundisium*. Besides those Forces levy'd by the Consuls, a Commission was directed to *C. Sulpicius Gal* the Prætor, to raise four Legions of *Roman* Citizens, with a just proportion of Cavalry and Infantry, and to chuse out of the Senate four military Tribunes to command them; to levy likewise out of the *Latine* Alliances fifteen thousand Foot, and twelve hundred Horse, and to prepare them in readiness to obey such Orders as should be sent them from the Senate. *P. Licinius* the Consul desiring an addition might be made to the civil and associate Armies, obtained an Auxiliary of two thousand *Ligurians*, and as many Archers as the *Cretensians* thought fit to send; and also a certain number of *Numidian* Horse and Elephants; to which purpose *L. Posthumus Albinus*, *Q. Terentius Culleo*, and *C. Aburnius*, were sent Embassadors to *Maf-*  
*sinissa* and the *Carthaginians*; It was likewise thought expedient to send *A. Posthumus Albi-*  
*nus*, *C. Decimius*, and *A. Lucius Nerva* Embassadors into *Greet*.

At the same time arriv'd Embassadors from King *Perseus*; but it was not thought fit XXXVI. they should be admitted into the City, seeing it was decreed by the Senate, and the peoples Suffrages, to make War on their King, and the *Macedonians*; they had Audience in the Temple of *Bellona* where they deliver'd this Message. That the King their Master much wonder'd that an Army should be landed in his Dominions; if he could obtain of the Senate to recal them home, he was ready to repair the injuries he had offer'd their Alliances, and therein to obey their directions; there was at that time in the Senate-House *Sp. Carvilius*, sent back from *Greece* by *Cn. Sicinius*, on purpose to present the state of that affair; he remonstrated that *Perrhœbia* was over run by Arms, and certain Cities of *Thessaly* vanquish'd; with other designs that King had either effected, or was ready to att. These Allegations the Embassadors were commanded to answer; who after some hesitations declared, their Commission did not extend to those particulars; they were therefore bid tell their Master, That *P. Licinius* the Consul would shortly be with the Army in *Macedonia*, to whom he might send his Embassadors if he intended (as he said) to make satisfaction, for that his Ministers should have no further passport thorough *Italy*. Being thus dismiss'd, *P. Licinius* the Consul was commanded to bid them depart from *Italy* within eleven dayes; and that *Sp. Carvilius* should guard them till they went aboard. These Occurrences happen'd in *Rome* before the Consuls went to their Provinces. Now *Cn. Sicinius*, before he quitted his jurisdiction, was sent before to the Fleet and Army at *Brundisium*; having landed in *Epirus* five thousand Foot, and three hundred Horse, Encamped before *Nymphæum* in the *Poloniate* Campane; from hence he sent a Detachment of two thousand men to possess the Forts of the *Dassaretians* and *Illyrians*, themselves having desired their Garisons might be fortified, to defend them from the incursions of the *Macedonians*.

A few dayes after *Q. Marcius*, *A. Atilius*, *P.* and *Ser. Cornelius Lentulus*, with *L. Deci-* XXXVII. *mius*, who were sent Embassadors into *Greece*, brought with them to *Corcyra* a thousand Foot, where they divided between themselves their Souldiers and the places they were to go to. *Decimius* was sent to *Gentius* King of the *Illyrians*, with advice, to sound him whether they could find him any way inclinable to the Friendship of the *Romans*, and if possibly, to draw him into the League of War. The two *Lentuli* were sent into *Cephalania*, from thence to cross over to *Peloponnesus*, and before Winter to scour the Western Seas. *Martius* and *Atilius* were assigned to visit *Epirus*, *Ætolia*, and *Thessaly*; from thence they were bid to touch at *Bœotia* and *Eubœa*, and so to sail over to *Peloponnesus*, there to meet the *Lentuli*; But before they departed from *Corcyra* Letters were brought from *Perseus*; wherein he demanded for what reason the *Romans* had landed Forces in *Greece*, and seized Cities? they thought not good to return an answer in writing, but only bid the Envoy tell his Master, That the *Romans* did it for the defence and safety of those Towns. The *Lentuli*, as they made their progress thorough *Peloponnesus*, exhorting both Nobility and people indifferently, to assist the *Romans* against *Perseus*, with the same courage and fidelity they maintain'd in the Wars against



against Philip and Antiochus; they observed a murmuring through the crowd; The Achæans ill-repented that they (who from the beginning of the Macedonian Wars had shew'd themselves in all things no less Friends to the Romans than Enemies to King Philip) should be plac'd in the same rank with the Mæcenians and Eleans, who had born Arms against the Romans for Antiochus their Enemy; and being lately added to the Achæan community, complain'd they were deliver'd to the Victorious Achæans as a reward of their Conquest.

XXXVIII. *Marcus* and *Attilius*, when they arrived at *Gitana*, a Town of *Epirus* ten Miles from the Sea, in an Assembly of the *Epirots*, receiv'd their Audience with a welcome reception, four hundred young men were sent to the *Orestians* to ly in *Garison* to defend those *Macedonians* that were by them set at liberty; From thence they arriv'd in *Etolia*, where after tarrying some dayes (while a new *Prætor* was Elested in the room of the deceased, and *Lyciscus* appointed Governour, a man the Romans knew firm to their interest) they pass'd over into *Theffaly*. Thither came Embassadours from the *Acarnanians* and the banish'd *Bæotians*; the *Acarnanians* were bid declare what they had committed against the people of Rome, deceived by the promises of Philip and Antiochus, during those two Wars, since occasion of atonement was now offer'd them, for if they had experienc'd the Roman Clemency when they ill-deserv'd, they had reason to hope their benignity when they well-deserv'd. The *Bæotians* were reprov'd for entering into an Alliance with *Persens*; But when they began to lay the fault on *Ismerias* a Captain of the other Faction, and on certain Cities that had been drawn away by different opinions; *Marcus* told them, that the truth of that should soon be manifest by the severall Examination of each City. The Diet of *Theffalia* was now held at *Larissa*; where the *Theffalonians* took occasion of rendering their acknowledgments to the Romans by whose munificence they enjoy'd their Liberties, the Roman Deputies on the other side, as readily own'd the obligations receiv'd by the Romans from the *Theffalians*, who first in the War with Philip, and afterwards that against Antiochus, had assist'd them with so much vigour and constancy. This mutual commemoration of benefits inflam'd the mind of the multitude with a zeal to follow the Romans in all their undertakings. After the Council broke up there came Embassadours from *Persens* to *Marcus*, in confidence of that private Friendship that had pass'd between Philip and *Marcus* [the elder;] The Embassadours began with commemorating that familiarity, desiring he would permit the King might have some Conference with him; *Marcus* reply'd, that he had heard his Father speak of that mutual affection betwixt him and Philip; and himself being a religious observer of Friendship, had on purpose undertaken that Embassy; as to the Parley he would not in the least have deserv'd it, if it could have been commodiously done; but assur'd them he would very suddenly send a Courier to advertise the King, to meet him at the River *Peneus*, where a passage lyeth from *Omolium* over to *Dium*.

XXXIX. And truly at that time *Persens* retired from *Dium* to the interior parts of his Kingdom, entertaining some light hopes, in that *Marcus* had confess'd it was for his sake he had undertaken that Legation. After some few dayes they repair'd to the appointed place; The King came attended with a great train of Guards and other Officers of State; The Roman Legates were accompanied with no lesser a Troop of Followers; as well those that came with them from *Larissa*, as the Deputies of those States which were assembled at *Larissa*; who were desirous to report at home the things they had seen there; every one was fill'd with ambition to behold the approaches of that great King, and the Representatives of the mightiest people of the Universe; when they came to an interview they stood still on both sides of the River which separated them, and spent some time in disputing by their Messengers which should first pass the River; They insist'd on the respect due to the majesty of a King, and these thought no less was due to the Roman greatness, especially since *Persens* was the first aggressor to the Parly; *Marcus* being mov'd at these delays; let the younger (said he pleasantly) because his own surname was Philip) come to the older, the Son to the Father, to which the King was easily perswaded; but now another doubt arose, with what number he should pass over; the King thought it requisite to come with his whole Train; but the Romans that he should pass either with but three attendance, or if he came with all his Followers, that he should deliver them hostages that no violence should be committed during the Parly; *Persens* therefore sent as Pledges *Hippias* and *Pentarchus* his greatest Favourites, whom he had before employ'd in the Embassy; nor were these Hostages required so much for their security as to let their Allies see that the King parlied with them upon unequal terms of grandeur; their salutation was not like that of Enemies, but benign and affable, sitting down by each other on Chairs already prepar'd.

XL. After some little silence; 'Tis expected I suppose (said *Marcus*) we should answer those Letters you sent to *Corcyra*, wherein you demanded why we came thus with Forces and plac'd *Garisons* in every City; to which, should I not answer at all, I fear you might interpret it pride in me, and to answer truly it may seem ingrateful to your self; but since he who breaks the League must be chastis'd by word or Sword (although to make War on you, I had much rather were anothers charge than mine.) I shall accost you (however it be receiv'd) with a friendly roughness, following the Physicians method who uses bitter remedies for the sake of curing. Since the coming to your Kingdom, the Senate

"Senate thinks you have done but one thing you ought, your sending Embassadours to Rome to renew the League, nevertheless they judge you had better not to have renew'd it than being once done to break it: you have driven *Adrupolis* out of his Kingdom, their Friend and Ally; you receiv'd the murderers of *Artetarius* that it might appear (to say no more) you were not displeased with them who had kill'd a Prince of all the *Illyrians* the most faithful to the Roman interest; thorough *Theffaly* and *Malia* you have march'd an Army (contrary to the League) as far as *Delphos*, and have also sent relief to the *Bæotians* against the same agreement; you have confirm'd by Oath a secret Confederacy with our Allies the *Bæotians*, which you ought not have done; concerning the death of the *Theban* Embassadours, *Eversæ* and *Callicritus* (coming from us) I had rather enquire than accuse; and to whom should I impute the civil Wars and slaughter of the Nobility in *Atolia* but the *Macedonians*? nor do the *Delopians* owe their ruine to any other arm than yours; It troubles me to tell, whom King *Eumenes* accuses for contriving his destruction at *Delphi*; where on his return from Rome to his own Kingdom in that sacred place before the Altars he had well nigh like a Victim been sacrificed: The wicked practices related by your *Brundusian* Host, I am well assur'd you have receiv'd by Letters from Rome as well as the report of your own Embassadours; if you would not have had me related these things, you might have avoided it by forbearing these demands, why our Army was transported into *Macedonia*, and the Cities of our Confederates fortified; which to have obviated with silence would have been a greater argument of our pride than with ingenuous truths; and do withal assure you the memory of our Fathers Friendship makes me grant you this request, and also wish you'd shew me how my interest may serve you with the Senate.

"I shall now defend a cause (reply'd the King) before those who are at once both Judges and Accusers; but were the debate before impartial Judges, I should not doubt its goodness. As to the matters objected against me, they are partly such as I know not whether I may not glory in them, or such I cannot blush to own, and partly such as are merely verbal, for which a plain denial may serve; For, were I this day accus'd by your own Laws, what could that *Brundusian* discoverer, or *Eumenes* object against me, that would not seem rather a reproach than a fair accusation? Is it likely *Eumenes* (considering his many both private and publick wrongs) should have no other Enemy than my self, or that I could find no fitter a minister of mischief than *Rammius*? one whom I ne'r had seen before, nor was ever likely to see hereafter; must an account of the *Theban's* death (who, 'tis manifest, have perished by Shipwrack) be rendered by me, and of the murder of *Artetarius*; wherein there is nothing farther objected, than that his murderers were banish'd into my Kingdom? and yet I will not refuse this hard imposition, if you will also agree to own your selves to be the Authors of all those crimes committed by such banish'd Malefactors as have transported themselves into Italy or Rome; but if you as well as other Nations shall excuse your selves from this, I shall not among others exempt my self; and, by *Hercules*, the banishment of one place will signify but little to him that may not be suffer'd to live in another; and yet as soon as I was inform'd by you that they were in *Macedonia*, I immediately commanded them to depart my Kingdom, and forbad them ever after to appear in my Dominions; and thus far I have answer'd these objections like one accused at the Bar; those things which regard me as a King, and your Confederate, must be disputed; for if it be mentioned in the Treaty, that if any one should levy War upon me it shall not be lawful for me to defend my self and Kingdom, then indeed it must be confessed that in defending my self by Arms against *Adrupolis* (a Confederate of Rome) the Treaty was violated; but if this might be done by virtue of the League, and that by the Law of Nations Arms may be repuls'd by Arms, what measures pray should I then have taken when *Adrupolis* had invaded the Frontiers of my Kingdom as far as *Amphipolis*, seiz'd many free-born Subjects with a great multitude of Peasants, and drove away many thousands of Cattle? should I have sat still and suffer'd him till he came to *Pella*, even arm'd into my Palace? No! I pursu'd him with a just War, though to vanquish him I would not, nor ought he to suffer those calamities that attend the conquer'd; if I, who was provok'd to arms underwent the chance of War, how can he complain to have tasted the same fate, who was the first aggressor? I shall not, Romans! in the same manner defend my Arms for the suppression of the *Dolopeans*; having done therein what was agreeable to my own right, if not to their merits, seeing they were of my own Kingdom and Jurisdiction, made subject to my Father by your own Decree; neither, if the thing were now to be disputed (not before you, nor my Confederates, but) those who approve not of unjust authority, even our Slaves, can I be thought to have been more rigorous towards them than Equity and Justice will allow; having murder'd *Euphranor* the Governour, I set over them, so barbarously, that death was the lightest of his sufferings.

"From thence as I made my progress to visit *Larissa*, *Antrona* and *Peleon*, I ascended up to *Delphi* to do sacrifice, and pay those Vows I had long before promised; and here 'tis thrown upon me to augment my crime; that I was there with my Army, to seize on Cities,

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"Cities, and fortifie their Garisons, the thing for which I now complain of you: Assemble all the Cities of Greece through which I pass'd, and let any Souldier complain I injur'd him, I will not then deny, but that under a pretence of Sacrifice I might seem to seek another thing; we sent assistance, I confess, to the *Aetolians* and *Byzantines*, and made a League with the *Boeotians*: These things of what sort soever they were, by my Embassadours were not only declared, but often excused before your Senate; where I had some Arbiters, not so equal to my cause as you *Quintius Martins* my Fathers Friend and Guest; For, *Eumenes* my Accuser was not as yet come to Rome, who by wrestling and calumniating, had rendered all things odious and suspected; endeavouring to persuade you, that Greece could not possess it's liberty, and enjoy your benignity, as long as the Kingdom of Macedonia flourished: But, you'll see a new face of things; and there will be ere long some that may shew, it was to little purpose *Antiochus* was removed beyond the head of *Taurus*; and that *Eumenes* is become a much greater troubler of Asia than *Antiochus* ever was; nor your Confederates be able to live in Peace as long as his Palace is at *Pergamus*, that Cittadel o'retopping the heads of all the adjacent Cities. I know, O *Q. Marcins*, and you *A. Atilius*, the things which are by you objected and me excused, will be such as are the Ears and Opinions of the Auditory; nor will it be reflected, with what intention I have done them, as being done, how you may censure them: I am conscious to my self of nothing wherein I e'r offended willingly; and if I have done any thing thorough inadvertency or imprudence, it may by this reprehension be corrected and amended; I have committed nothing that you may judge incurable, or worthy to be pursued with War and force of Arms, or surely it is in vain the fame of your clemency and gravity hath spread it self thorough all Nations, if for such trifling matters (scarcely worth complaint or disputation) ye take up Arms and levy War against your Confederate Princes.

XLIII. *Marcins* then assenting to these things, moved him to address Embassadours to Rome, seeing all things ought to be pursued to the last, nor should he in the least despair. The remainder of the consultation was, how his Embassadours might pass in safety; to this purpose, though a Truce of Arms might seem but a reasonable request, and *Marcins* himself willing to it, (nor had he any other intention by this Treaty) yet he conceded with some difficulty, as if it had proceeded meerly from his respect and favour of the Petitioner. For the Romans were not at all as yet sufficiently prepared for the War, neither in their Army nor Leaders; whereas *Perseus* (had he not been blinded with a vain hope of Peace) had all things in full order and preparation, and might have begun the War, in a time most advantageous to himself, and unseasonable to his Enemies. From this Conference (a cessation of Arms being on both sides concluded) the Roman Deputies determin'd to advance towards *Boetia*; there being now begun some commotions, occasioned by the dissenting of certain people from the Society of the common Council of the *Boeotians*, ever since it was reported back, the Roman Legates to have answered, that it should appear particularly what people disliked to be joined in Alliance with the King. First, Embassadours from *Cheronea*, then others from *Thebes* met them on their way, assuring them they were not in that counsel wherein that Alliance was decreed; at this time no Answer was returned, they were only commanded to attend them to *Chalcis*. At *Thebes* also there was begun a tumult, arising from another contention: In the Assembly for the electing of the *Boeotian* Prætors, that part which received the repulse (resenting the injury) gathering the multitude together, made a Vote; That the *Boeotarches* should not be received within their Cities; who like banished men retired all to *Theffia*; From whence (for they were received there without delay) being upon second thoughts recall'd, they made a Decree; That if the number of twelve private persons had Congregated themselves into an Assembly and Council, they should be condemned to banishment: After this *Ismenias* the new Prætor, a Nobleman, and of great power, by Decree in their absence, condemn'd them to lose their lives; They had fled to *Chalcis*, and from thence they went to the Romans at *Larissa*; laying the occasion of their Alliance with *Perseus* wholly on *Ismenias*; From these contentions they grew to a fierce Conflict, nevertheless Embassadours from both sides came to the Romans, as well the banished and accusers of *Ismenias* as *Ismenias* himself.

XLIV. When they arrived at *Chalcis*, the Nobility of other Cities (a thing most grateful to the Romans) every one by his own particular suffrage renouncing Society with *Perseus*, united themselves to the Romans. *Ismenias* thought it just the *Boeotian* people should be committed to the trust of the Romans, whereupon arose so fierce a contention, that unless he had fled into the tribunal of the Legates, he had with no small difficulty preserved his life from the enraged exiles and their party. *Thebes* it self, which is the Metropolis of *Boetia*, was likewise in great commotion; these endeavouring to draw the City to the King, and those inclined it to the Romans; besides, a great multitude of *Coroneans* and *Heliartians* had reformed together to assert the Decree of Alliance with the King; but the constancy of the Nobility remonstrating by the Calamities of *Philip* and *Antiochus*, the power and fortune of the Roman Empire, so over-ruled the multitude, that they not only decreed the regal Alliance should be dissolv'd; but also sent those who had been the promoters of that contracted Friendship,

Friendship, to render satisfaction to the Legates at *Chalcis*; and commanded them to submit their City under their protection. *Marcins* and *Atilius* heard the *Thebans* and the promoters very gladly, and advised them separately to send Embassadours to Rome, to renew their amity; but before all things they commanded the restoring of the Exiles; and the Authors of the regal Society they condemn'd by their own Decree. Having thus dissolved the *Boeotick* Council (a thing they earnestly coveted) they went to *Poloponnesus* with *Serv. Cornelius*, whom they had sent for to *Chalcis*; a Council was assembled for them at *Argos*; where they requested nothing of the *Achaians*, but that they would supply them with a thousand Souldiers; this recruit was sent to fortifie *Chalcis* till the Roman Army was transported into Greece: Thus *Marcins* and *Atilius* having finished what affairs were to be done in Greece, about the beginning of Winter return'd to Rome.

About this time an Embassy was sent round the *Asiatick* Isles wherein were three Embassadours, *Ti. Claudius*, *P. Posthumius* and *M. Junius*: These, as they travelled round, incited their Allies to join with the Romans in this War against *Perseus*; and the more opulent each City was, the more forcible were their persuasions; because the lesser, they concluded, would follow the authority of the greater. The *Rhodians* of all others were esteemed of the greatest moment; because they could not only favour, but with their Forces aid the War; and by the advice of *Hegesilochus* had fitted out a Fleet of forty Sail; Who, seeing he was their chief Magistrate (which they call *Prytanis*) had overcome the *Rhodians* by many reasons, That abandoning all hope of regal Patronage (which they had too often proved but vain) they should adhere to the Alliance of the Romans, the only support as well for fidelity as power that was then to be found in the whole Universe: That since the War was drawing near with *Perseus*, the Romans would suddenly desire the same Fleet, which they had lately seen in the War against *Antiochus*, and formerly in that against *Philip*; and, unless they had already begun to refit the Ships and furnish them with Mariners and Souldiers, they would be then in a hurry and confusion when the Fleet was to be prepared and fitted out; And this ought to be done with greater solicitude, that by the proof of these proceedings, those related by *Eumenes* might be refuted. Incited by these motives, upon the arrival of the Roman Legates, they shew'd them a Fleet of forty Ships repleat and fitted out, that it might appear, persuasion was not by them expected: And this Embassy was of great moment in procuring the affections of the *Asiatick* Cities. *Decimus* alone without any effect (and not without the disgrace of being suspected for taking bribes of the Kings of the *Illyrians*) return'd to Rome.

*Perseus*, when he had retired himself from the Parly with the Romans into Macedonia, XLVI. sent Embassadours to Rome concerning the conditions of Peace, already begun with *Marcins*; He also dispatch'd his Credentials by his Embassadours to *Byzantium* and *Rhodes*; the purport whereof was to the same effect in all; That he had had some Conference with the Roman Deputies; But he had express'd as well the things he had heard as those he spoke, in such a manner, that he might seem to have gain'd the advantage in the dispute: The Embassadours likewise added, They were confident that Peace would be concluded, being sent themselves Embassadours to Rome by the instigation of *Marcins* and *Atilius*; But if the Romans contrary to the Treaty should proceed to War, that then the *Rhodians* with all their power and interest should endeavour to reunite the Peace: if all their attempts should prove in vain, it would require their care, lest the right and power of all things should wholly devolve on this one people; and if this consideration was of such import to others, then chiefly to the *Rhodians*, who among other Cities so much excell'd in dignity and wealth; all which would be obnoxious and enslav'd, should there be no regard to any other than the Romans. The Kings Letters and Discourse of the Embassadours, found rather a civil entertainment than an effectual persuasiveness in changing their minds, which, the authority of the better part had already begun to sway. This Answer was voted to be return'd; That Peace was wished by the *Rhodians*; But if War should happen, their King should neither seek nor hope any thing from the *Rhodians*, that might dissolve their antient Friendship with the Romans, purchaced by many and great obligations both in Peace and War. Returning from *Rhodes*, they visited those Cities of *Boetia*, *Thebes*, *Coronea* and *Haliartus*: From whom it did seem a thing forced from them against their wills, that quitting the royal Alliance, they were joined with the Romans: The *Thebans* continued stedfast, although they were something discontented with the Romans, in condemning their Nobility, and restoring the Exiles: The *Coroneans* and *Haliartians*, possessed with a certain affection towards Kings, sent Embassadours into Macedonia, intreating a Garison, whereby they might be protected against the excessive insolence of the *Thebans*; To which Embassy the King thus answered; That a Garison was not in his power to send them, because of the Truce with the Romans, but only to persuade that they should in such a manner defend themselves from the injuries of the *Thebans*, as thereby they offer'd no occasion to the Romans to exercise severity against them.

When *Marcins* and *Atilius* had arriv'd at Rome, they thus related their Legation in the Capitol; That they gloried in nothing more, than the Kings being deceived by a Cessation from Arms and the hope of Peace; for so well appointed as he was in all things requisite for War, and they so ill, all places of advantages might have been prepossess'd by him, before their Army could be transported into Greece: That the King would not return any thing advantaged by the interval.

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of that Truce; though the Romans might thereby be more repleat in all things to begin the War: They had also by a stratagem divided the Council of the Boeotians, that they could not any more hereafter be joined in any Confederacy with the Macedonians. These things were approved by the greatest part of the Senate, as perform'd with the greatest discretion; But the old Senators, who remembered the customs of elder times, did refuse to allow the policies of that Negotiation, That their Predecessors used to make War, not by Ambushes, and nocturnal Skirmishes, or by a dissembled flight to make sudden rallies on their unwary Enemy; nor were they wont to glory more in their subtilty than true Valour and Vertue; They w'd to declare, nay proclaim War before they made it; and sometimes to appoint the place where they would fight the Battle: With the same confidence they discovered the Physician to King Pyrrhus that designed his death, and delivered to the Faliscians the betrayer of the Children of their King. These were the Roman Arts of War; not those of the crafty Carthaginians, or the subtle Greeks, with whom it was more glorious, to beguile their Enemies than conquer them by Courage; That sometimes, indeed, cunning might more avail than valour, although the mind of an Enemy was then only said to be overcome, when he was forced to confess, the conquest was not deriv'd from policy or chance; but hand to hand by grappling force with force in just and pious War. Thus spake the Fathers, who were not much taken with this new policy; nevertheless that part of the Senate overcame, whose care extended more to that which was profitable than honourable; and so far that *Marcus* was not only commended for his former Embally, but was employed a second time into Greece, with certain five-oar'd Gallies, and commanded to act all other things as should appear to himself most advantageous for the Republick. *A. Atilius* they likewise sent to possess himself of *Larissa* in *Thessaly*; fearing lest when the Truce had been expired, *Perseus*, sending thither a Garrison, should have seiz'd into his power the Metropolis of *Thessaly*, to effect which, *Atilius* was commanded to take two thousand Foot from *Cn. Sicinius*; And to *P. Lentulus* who had returned from *Achaia*, was given three hundred Soldiers of the Italian Nation; that at *Thebes* he should endeavour to bring *Boeotia* under their subjection.

XLVIII. Things being in this readiness, although War was absolutely determined, yet the Senate thought good to give Audience to the Embassadors of *Perseus*; where almost, the same things uttered by the King in the Conference, were deliver'd by the Embassadors; they earnestly endeavoured to wipe off that imputation of treachery towards *Eumenes*, but with little probability, the thing appearing too manifest; other things were matter of supplication, but they were heard with such minds which would not be inclined or inform'd; and were commanded to depart immediately from the Walls of the City of Rome, and within thirty dayes from Italy. It was afterwards ordered, That *Licinius* the Consul (who had the Government of the Spanish Province) should appoint the Army the first day he could a general Rendezvous. *C. Lucretius* the Praetor, Admiral of the Fleet, left the City with forty five-oar'd Gallies, (for the Ships that had been refitted were kept at home for other uses about the City) sending his Brother *Lucretius* before with one *Quinqueme*, to receive those Ships from the Allies which were promised by Treaty, and with them to meet the Fleet at *Cephalenia*; From the *Rhegines* one *Trireme* Galliot, from the *Locrians* two, and from the *Oristes* four; with which compassing the extreame promontory of *Calabria* in the *Ionian* Sea, along the Italian shore, he sailed to *Dyrrhachium*; there he found ten Barks of the *Dyrrhachians*, twelve of the *Issians*, and fifty four belonging to King *Centius*; taking all these along with him (pretending that he supposed they were all provided for the use of the Romans) the third day he clear'd *Corcyra*, from whence he soon after arrived at *Cephalenia*. *C. Lucretius* the Praetor having put to Sea from *Naples*, and crossing the *Streight*, the fifth day arrived also at *Cephalenia*; where the Fleet came to Anchor, expecting the Land-Forces should be transported thither, and that those Vessels of burthen which had been scattered thorough the Sea from the Fleet should there also overtake them.

XLIX. It happened about this time, that *P. Licinius* the Consul, having offered up his Vows in the Capitol, in his accoutrements of War, took leave of the City; which Ceremony was always certainly performed with the greatest state and dignity; but then their Eyes and Minds were both especially employ'd, when they beheld their Consul marching against so noble an Enemy, great no less in Fortune than in Courage; nor was respect and duty the only inducive hither, but also to behold the shew, and see their Captain, by whose Conduct they had consented the whole Commonwealth should be preserved: From hence the mind proceeds to some reflections, on the chance of War, the unconstancy of Fortune, the event of Battle, common unto both; The bad and good success, and those things which too often by the inadvertancy and temerity of Leaders, have been the occasion of fatal overthrow; as well as those which on the contrary, have been produced by prudence and fortitude: what mortal could divine whether of these Conducts or Fortunes should attend the Consul they employ'd in War; whether they were likely to behold him not long after, triumphantly ascend the Capitol with his Victorious Army, to revisit those Gods which he was then about to leave, or whether they should give the like opportunity of rejoicing to their Enemies. *Perseus*, the King against whom he was now a going, had purchas'd Fame by being Prince of the Warlike *Macedonians*, as well as from his Father *Philip*, who among many fortunate achievements, was renowned for his War against the

the Romans, nor was the name of *Perseus* (since the time he first possess'd the Kingdom) ever given over to be celebrated in expectation of this War. With these cogitations, men of all Orders followed the Consul at his departure; *C. Claudius* and *Q. Mucius*, two military Tribunes that had been Consuls, were sent along with him, and *P. Lentulus*, and the two *Manlii Acidini*, three young Gentlemen of quality, one the Son of *M. Manlius*, the other of *L. Manlius*: with these the Consul went to the Army at *Brundisium*, and from thence carrying his whole Forces over to *Nymphæum*, he incamped in the Territory of *Apollonia*.

*Perseus*, some few dayes before (upon return of his Embassadors, relinquishing all hope of Peace) call'd a Council; which was a good while divided with different Opinions; some advised, That if the Tribute should be injoined to be paid, or if they should condemn them to yield some part of their Country; nay it seem'd to them that no conditions were to be refused, but to submit to all things for the sake of Peace; nor that the King should throw himself and Kingdom on the chance of so great an uncertainty; for if the real possession of his Kingdom remained in his own power; opportunity might offer many advantages, which being improved, he might be able hereafter not only to recover his past losses, but also become terrible to those whom now he fear'd. But a much greater number was of a fiercer Opinion; Affirming, that whatsoever *Perseus* had yielded, he must, not long after, have given his Kingdom with it; for 'twas not Money or Land the Romans wanted; But this they were assured that all humane things were subject to changes, nor were the greatest Kingdoms and Empires exempt from revolutions; That they had themselves subdued the Carthaginian Power, imposing on their necks a mighty King their Neighbour; *Antiochus* too with all his race remov'd beyond Mount *Taurus*: That *Macedonia* was the only Kingdom, both near in Region, and which (if at any time the Roman People should decline in Fortune) seem'd able to restore their Kings their ancient magnanimity; Therefore while things stood intire, *Perseus* ought to resolve; whether he had rather (conceding to particulars) and being at last divested of his Kingdom, and his wealth extorted) be forc'd to intreat the Romans, either for *Samotheacian*, or some such petty Isle; where like a private man, surviving his Royal State, he might grow old in base contempt and poverty; or whether arming himself in defence of his dignity and fortune as became a gallant man, he would suffer the utmost chance of War, or victoriously release the World from the Roman sway: nor would it be a greater wonder to chase the Romans out of Greece, than that *Annibal* was driven out of Italy; nor could they see how it did consist, that he who had resisted with the highest courage his ambitious Brothers injurious attempt upon his lawful Kingdom, to yield it up to strangers. Lastly, Peace and War was so disputed, that in the end they all consented, That nothing was more shameful than to abandon a Kingdom without a Battle, nor any thing more honourable than for a Throne and Majesty to attempt all Fortunes.

This Council was held at *Pella*, in the ancient Royal Palace of the *Macedonians*. Let us then make War, said he, since you are so resolv'd, and may the Gods be propitious to us. Then sending Letters to all his chief Officers, he drew up all his Forces near *Citium* (a Town in *Macedonia*; After he had offer'd the Princely Sacrifice of an Hecatomb to *Minerva*, whom they call *Aleides*, with a great Train of Guards and Courtiers he went to *Citium*; where already were gathered his whole Forces, both of *Macedonians* and Auxiliary Strangers; He incamp'd before the City, and drew up his Army in the Plain, which consisted in the whole of forty thousand men; almost the half part of which were composed of the *Phalangite*, commanded by *Hippias* a *Berean*; There were also two Companies selected for their youth and agility out of the whole number of the *Targetiers*, which they called the Legion, commanded by *Leonatus* and *Thrasippus Eulyestans*; The rest of the *Targetiers*, almost three thousand were led by *Antiphibus* of *Edessa*; The *Paeonians*, and those of *Parorea* and *Pastrymonia* (places subject to *Thrace*) and the *Agrians*, with some Inhabitants of *Thrace* mixt amongst them, amounted almost to the number of three thousand, and *Didas* the *Paeonian* (who murder'd the young *Demetrius*) was he who had armed and mulctured them; There were also two thousand *Gauls* under the command of *Asclepiodotus*; From *Heracles* among the *Sintians* three thousand Free-born *Thracians*, having a Commander of their own; almost the like number followed their Leaders *Susus* the *Phaliscian*, and *Syllus* the *Gnosian*; *Leonides* also the *Lacedemonian* brought five hundred out of Greece, being a mixt number of all Nations; This person was reported to be of the blood Royal, condemn'd to banishment in a publick Assembly of the *Acheans*, certain Letters being intercepted that were sent to *Perseus*; The *Aetolians* and *Boeotians*, in all not above five hundred, were commanded by *Lycus* the *Achean*; From these mixt Auxiliaries of so many people and Nations, he made almost the Complement of twelve thousand; and he himself had drawn out of all *Macedonia* three thousand Horse, and *Corys* Son of *Scutha*, King of the *Odrysians*, had brought thither a thousand well appointed Horse, and well nigh as many Foot; The whole Army amounted to thirty nine thousand Foot, and four thousand Horse; which manifestly appeared to have been the greatest Army (except it were that second Army which *Alexander* the Great carried into *Asia*) that any King of the *Macedonians* ever had.

The twenty sixth year was now expired since Peace was granted to the Suit of *Philip*; during which peaceable interval, *Macedonia* had brought forth a new Progeny, great part whereof were ripe for Martial Discipline, and by the light Skirmishes with the *Thracians*



their Neighbours (which rather exercised than fatigued them) were always kept in Warlike Discipline; And now, that Roman War (which had been long ago design'd by Philip, and afterwards by Perseus) was in all things fitted and prepared. The Army moved gently, not in a full march, but only, that they might not seem to have stood still in their Arms; And thus armed as they were, he call'd them to a Council of War; The King sat on a Throne, having about him his two Sons, the Elder of which was Philip, his natural Brother, but his Son by adoption, the younger whom they called Alexander, his Son Legitimate; He encourag'd the Souldiers to the War, telling them the injuries done by the Romans, both to his Father and himself: That his Father (being compell'd by all sorts of indignities to renew the War) in the midst of his preparation was seized by the hand of fate; That at one time Embassadors were sent to himself and Souldiers to possess the Cities of Greece; afterwards, by a fallacious party under pretence of a Peace to be reconciled, a whole Winter was wasted, that they might gain time to prepare themselves; That then the Consul was advancing with two Roman Legions, each having three hundred Horse, and about the like number of Horse and Foot from their Confederates; and if the Auxiliaries of the Kings Eumenes and Mallinilla should happen to come along with him, they would not exceed the number of seven thousand Foot, and two of Horse; having heard these things of the Enemies Forces, they should reflect upon their own Army, how much they excell'd them in number, how much in the disposition of their Souldiers, mere novices hurried to the War in haste, while they, from their Childhood had learn'd the martial Arts, harden'd and exercis'd by frequent Wars; That those who aided the Romans were none but Lydians, Phrygians and Numidians; but they had Thracians and the Gauls the fiercest of all Nations; Their Arms were no better than every poor Souldier could provide for himself, but the Macedonians were furnished with those that were ready fixt out of the Royal stores, so many years provided by the care and great expence of his Father: That provision was a great distance from the Romans, and liable to the Casualties of the Sea; while that they had (besides the revenue from the ruins) both Money and Corn reserved for ten years; and that the Macedonians enjoyed all things which the gods indulg'd, and which the Royal care had made accumulate; That they ought to have the courage of their Ancestors, who, all Europe being subdued, and passing over into Asia, have by their Arms discovered a World unknown to Fame; nor did they give o'r their Conquests till debarr'd by the red Sea, having then no more to conquer; But now Fortune had rais'd a dispute, not for the farthest shores of India, but concerning the possession of Macedonia itself: The Romans in the War with his Father, pretended to have made it for the liberty of Greece; but their ambition was now to bring the Macedonian People into servitude, lest any King should be Neighbour to the Roman Empire, or that a gallant people should have Arms for War; All these things with their King and Kingdom, they would be compell'd to resign to those proud Lords, if they refrain'd the War, and did what they would have them.

LIII. Hitherto thorough the whole Oration he had been sufficiently applauded by the general assent; but then there arose so great an exclamation, partly of indignation and menacings, and partly of bidding the King be of good Courage; that he was forced to make an end of speaking, only bidding them to make ready for their march, for that the Romans were already reported to remove their Camp from Nymphaeum. The Assembly being dismiss'd he prepared himself to give Audience to the Embassadors of the Macedonian Cities, who were come to promise money and grain to maintain the War, every one according to his ability; Thanks were returned to all (remitting those charges) with this Answer, that the Kings provisions were sufficient for that purpose; Carriages were only commanded to be provided, for the Ordnance, and a large number of hurling Darts, with other Warlike instruments. Then he march'd with his whole Army towards Eordea, and near the Lake which they call Begorrites he Encamped, from whence he came to Elimia on the River Ha-liaemona; then passing over those they call the Cambanian Mountains thorough a narrow passage, he descended among the Inhabitants of Azorus, Pythius and Doliche, which place they call Tripolis; these three Towns held out a little while, because they had given Hostages to the Larissians; but being overcome with the present fear, yielded themselves into his power; these he saluted courteously; not doubting but that the Perrhabians would also do the same, nor did the inhabitants make the least resistance, but at his first approach they surrender'd the City; Cyretia endeavouring to make resistance, the first day in a sharp Skirmish he was repulsed from the Gates, but the day following attacking it with all his force, they all before night yielded him submission.

LIV. Myla was the next Town, and so strong, that the hope of it's being impregnable, had render'd the Inhabitants a great deal fiercer; thinking it not sufficient to shut the Gates against the King, but they also cast out many scurrilous reproaches on him and the Macedonians; which proceeding, seeing it had more enraged the Enemy to the assault, and themselves likewise despairing of pardon, inflam'd them the more fiercely to defend themselves; so that for the space of three dayes they were attack'd and defended with much gallantry on both sides; The number was so great of the Macedonians, that relieving one another by turns, they easily maintain'd the assault; but the Townsmen that defended the Walls night and day, not only their wounds but continual watching and labour had quite worn them out: The fourth day when the Scaling-Ladders were every where rais'd on the Walls,

Walls, and the Gates assailed with greater force, the Townsmen being driven from the Walls ran to defend the Gate, and made a sudden sally on the Enemy; which was rather an effect of blind rage than a true confidence of their strength, but (being few in number and quite tired out) they were beaten back by those that were fresh and vigorous, and in the pursuit their Enemies were received with them thorough the open Gate: Thus the City was taken and sacked, and the free people that survived the slaughter were expos'd to sale; The greatest part of the Town being burnt and ruined, the Camp moved to Phalanna, and the day after came to Gyrtone; but hearing that T. Minucius Rufus and Hyppias the Thessalian Prætors had fortified that place, he pass'd by without making any attempt, however he surprized Elatia and Gonnus, being smitten with terror at his unexpected approach; which two Towns are situate in the Straights which lead to Tempe, Gonnus especially, and therefore he left it fortified with a very strong Garison both of Horse and Foot, and a triple Ditch and Rampier; He determined to go himself to Sycurium, there to expect the Enemy, and commanded his Army to Forage all the Country of the Enemy that lay under him; For Sycurium is seated at the Foot of the Mountain Ossa, having on the South-side lying under it the Thessalian Plains, and behind Macedonia and Magnesia; To these commodities may be added the extraordinary healthfulness of the clime, and the multitude of Fountains continually running round about it.

The Roman Consul by this time marching with his Army towards Thessaly, at first began his expedition with some celerity thorough Epirus, but when he had pass'd over into Athamania, with great difficulty and slow marches thorough a rough and almost unpassable Country, he arriv'd at Gomphi: If the King at that time and place, with his Forces in order, had met him at the head of a young disciplin'd Army, compos'd of tired men and Horses, the Romans themselves cannot deny, but that they must have received a very great overthrow; but when they arriv'd at Gomphi, without any opposition, besides their joy for overcoming those difficulties, they began also to despise their Enemies for their ignorance of their own advantages. The Consul having duly sacrificed and distributed Corn to the Souldiers, remained there some few dayes for the refreshing of his men and Horses; When he heard that the Macedonians overran all Thessaly, and destroyed the Countries of their Allies, being now sufficiently recruited, he led his Army to Larissa; afterwards when he was about three miles distant from Tripolis (which they call Scea) he incamped by the River Peneus. About this time Eumenes came by Sea to Chalcis, with his Brothers Attalus and Athenus; leaving his Brother Philoterus at Pergamus Protector of his Kingdom; departing hence with his Brother Attalus, and four thousand Foot, and a thousand Horse, he came to the Consul; leaving at Chalcis two thousand Foot under the Command of his Brother Athenus: Thither also came other Auxiliaries to the Romans from all the parts of Greece, many of which particulars (being so inconsiderable) are lost in oblivion. The Appolloniats sent three hundred Horse and a hundred Foot; From the Etolians came one Company only the greatest number of Horse the whole Nation could raise: nor did all the Thessalonians which were separated and quartered asunder in the Roman Camp exceed three hundred Horse; and the Achæans sent a thousand of their youth armed for the most part like the Cretesians.

About this time also came C. Lucretius the Prætor, who went before with the Ships to Cephalonia; after he had appointed his to sail above Malea with his Fleet to Chalcis, himself went aboard a Trireme Galliot, passing the Gulf of Corinth to pre-pose the affairs in Bœotia; his Voyage was the slower because of the infirmity of his Body; M. Lucretius coming to Chalcis, and hearing that the City of Haliartus was besieged by P. Lentulus, sent a Messenger to command him in the name of the Prætor to depart thence; The Lieutenant having entered on that affair with the Bœotian youth, who had taken part with the Romans left the Walls; The raising of this Siege made room for another; For M. Lucretius with a Naval Army of ten thousand Souldiers, with two thousand of the Kings which were under Athenus, immediately besieged Haliartus, and being just ready to make an attack, the Prætor from Crensa joined with them; And about the same time Ships from the Allies arriv'd at Chalcis; Two Punicean Quinquereme Galliot, two Trireme Galliot from Heracles in Pontus, four from Chalcedon, as many from Samos, and five four-oar'd Gallies from Rhodes; the Prætor because there was no where any Sea-War, remitted all these again to the Allies; Q. Marcius also, after he had taken Halops and assaulted Larissa which is called Cremaste, came by Sea to Chalcis. This was the State of affairs in Bœotia, when Perseus (as was said before) lay incamped at Sycurium; having drawn together all the Forage of that Country round about, sent Souldiers to destroy the Territory of the Phereans; supposing that the Romans, being drawn far from their Camp to the relief of their Confederates might be surprized; But when he found them nothing moved by tumult, he gave the Booty (except the men) which was large in Cattle of all sorts to be merrily devoured among his Souldiers.

Afterwards, about the same time, the King and Consul both consulted where they should begin the War. The King's Courage was much increased by the devastation of the Phereans permitted by the Enemy; and therefore resolved (nor to give any space of further prolonging)

prolonging) to march immediately towards their Camp. The Romans also were of opinion, that delay would have rendered them infamous among their Confederates, resolving it as a thing extremely dishonourable, that the Phœnians were not succoured; as they were consulting what they were to do (*Eumenes* and *Attalus* being both in Council) a Scout in haſt reported, that the Enemy were at hand with a mighty Army; The Council being riſen, a ſign was immediately given to arm; in the mean time an hundred Horſe was ordered to march forth, drawn out of the Royal Auxiliaries, with an equal number of Foot Darts. *Perſeus* about the fourth hour of the day, being about a thouſand paces from the Roman Camp, bid the Enſigns of the Foot to halt, himſelf advancing with the *gens d' arms*, and light-armed Souldiers, with King *Corys* and the Captains of the other Auxiliaries marched before; when they came about fifty paces from the Camp, the Enemies Horſemen were in view: They were two Cornets moſt part *Gauls* commanded by *Caffignatus*; beſides about an hundred and fifty light-armed *Myſians* and *Cretenſians*; here the King halted, the Enemies number being uncertain; Then he ſent out of the Regiment two Companies of *Thracians*, and two of *Macedonians*, with two Cohorts of *Cretenſians*, and as many *Thracians*. The Skirmiſh (being both ſides were equal, nor any recruits ſent from either ſide) was finiſhed with uncertain Victory; about thirty of *Eumenes* Souldiers were ſlain, among whom fell *Caffignatus* Captain of the *Gauls*; for that time *Perſeus* retired with his Forces back to *Syeurium*: The next day about the ſame hour, and to the ſame place, the King advanced his Army, certain Carriages with Water following after; for all the way for a dozen miles was without Water and very duſty, and if they had been forc'd to fight when they were firſt in view, and almoſt choak'd with thirſt, they had encounter'd with great diſadvantage: But ſeeing the Romans ly ſtill, drawing their Centinels within the Curtain, the King alſo returned to his Camp: This they did for ſome days, hoping ſtill the Roman Horſe would charge their Reer in the Retreat; that being once begun, and the Romans inticed far from their Camp, they (who were beſt able in Horſe and light-armed Souldiers) could every where face about.

LVIII. The King perceiving that this deſign did not ſucceed, moved his Camp nearer the Enemy, and fortified it for five miles: Then by break of day in the uſual place he drew up his Battalion of Foot, and led all the light-armed Horſe near the Enemies Camp; the fight of greater duſt and numbers, and nearer than uſually, occaſion'd a great conſternation in the Roman Camp; at firſt the Scout was hardly credited, for during the former dayes the Enemy never appeared before the fourth hour, then 'twas but Sun-riſing; afterwards (by the clamour and running from the Gates, all doubt being removed) there aroſe a mighty tumult; The Tribunes and chief Officers, with the Centurions, ran to the Patrons Tent, the Souldiers every one to his own. *Perſeus* had marſhall'd his men about five hundred paces from the Rampier; near an Hill, which they call *Galleimus*. King *Corys* commanded the left Wing, with all thoſe of his Nation: and the light-armour was placed between the ſeveral ranks of Horſe. In the right Wing were the *Macedonian* Horſe; among whoſe Troops the *Cretans* were mixt. This Regiment one *Milo* a *Berean* led, but *Meno* of *Antigonis* commanded the Horſe, and the chief part of it. The Kings Horſe ſtood next the Wings, and a mixt ſort of people, which were choiſe Auxiliaries of ſeveral Nations. Thoſe that commanded theſe men were *Patrocles* of *Antigonis*, and *Didas*, Prefect of *Pæonia*. The King was in the middle of them all; about whom ſtood the *Agema* (as they call it) [*i. e.* a Battalion of Horſe] and the ſacred Wings of Horſe. Before himſelf he placed the Slingers and Darters; both of which made up the number of four hundred; being commanded by *Ion* of *Theſſalonica*, and *Timanor* of the *Dolepian*. Thus ſtood the Kings men. The Conſul alſo, having marſhall'd his Foot within the Rampier, ſent out all his Horſe, who were ſet in Array before the Rampier. The right Wing was commanded by *C. Licinius Craſſus* the Conſuls Brother, with all the Italian Horſe, the light Horſemen being mixt among them: and the left Wing by *M. Valerius Lavinius*, who likewiſe had the Horſe of the *Grecian* Allies, and the light armour of the ſame Nation. But *Q. Minucius* led the main body with the extraordinary choiſe Horſe. Before the Enſigns of theſe there were two hundred *Gallick* Horſe ranged of *Eumenes's* Auxiliaries, who were *Cyrtians*, in number three hundred. There were alſo four hundred *Theſſalian* Horſe planted at a little diſtance above the left Wing; whilſt King *Eumenes* and *Attalus* ſtood with all their Forces behind, between the Reer of the Army and the Rampier.

LIX. The two Armies being ranged much after this manner, and conſiſting of almoſt an equal number of Horſe and light armour, fell to it, the Battle being begun by the Slingers and Darters, who were the ſolorn hope. Firſt of all the *Thracians*, like ſavage Beaſts, that have been long ſhut up in a Den, ran in, with a mighty ſhout, upon the right Wing conſiſting of the Italian Horſe, to put that Nation, which by their experience in War, as well as their natural diſpoſition, were not to be daunted [if poſſible] into diſorder. The Foot with their Swords ſtruck at the [Enemies] Spears; cutting ſometimes the Horſes Legs, and another while running them into the Bellies. *Perſeus* charging up upon the main body, made the *Grecians* give ground at the firſt effort: upon whom ſince the Enemy preſt harder behind, the *Theſſalian* Horſe, who ſtood at a ſmall diſtance from the left Wing, and was

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in the place of the reſerves, at firſt, being yet diſengaged, were only Spectators of the fight, though ſoon after, when their party began to decline, they were of greateſt uſe. For giving ground by degrees with their entire ranks, after they join'd *Eumenes's* Auxiliaries, not only gave their Allies who were diſſipated and fled, a ſafe reception among their Ranks; but alſo, ſeeing the Enemy came not very thick upon them, were ſo bold as to advance forward, and meet many of thoſe that fled. Nor durſt the Kings [*i. e.* *Eumenes's*] men, who were now themſelves ſcatter'd here and there by purſuing [the Enemy], join Battle with an orderly body of men that march'd in ſo regular a manner. Now when the King, who had won the day in the Horſe Engagement, if he had pull'd on but a little farther, might have made an end of the War, the *Phalanx* [a Body of Foot peculiar to the *Macedonians*] came very opportunely up, as he was encouraging his men, led in all haſt by *Hippias* and *Leonatus*, on their own accord (when they heard that the Horſe had fought ſo ſucceſſfully) leſt they ſhould be behind hand in that daring attempt. The King thereupon wavering in his mind between hope and fear of undertaking ſo great an Enterprize, *Evander* of *Creet*, whom he had uſed as an inſtrument at *Delphi* in his deſign upon King *Eumenes*, when he ſaw that body of Foot, coming under their Enſigns, ran to the King, and carneſtly adviſed him, that he ſhould not be ſo proud of his ſucceſs, as raſhly to venture all upon one unneceſſary hazard. If he lay ſtill that day, content with what he had ſo proſperouſly done, he would either have terms of an honourable Peace, or a great many Allies in the War, if he choſe rather to fight. The Kings mind was moſt inclined to take this adviſe: wherefore, having commended *Evander*, he order'd the Enſigns to be carry'd back, and the body of Foot to retreat into the Camp, together with the Horſe.

There fell that day, on the Roman ſide, two hundred Horſe, and full two thouſand Foot; there being about two hundred Horſe taken. And of the Kings men there were twenty Horſe, and forty Foot ſlain; When the Conquerors return'd into their Camp, they were all of them very jocund, but the unuſual joy of the *Thracians* was moſt ſignal: for they went back ſinging and carrying the heads of the Enemies upon their Spears points. Among the Romans there was not only a ſadneſs for their defeat, but a fear alſo, leſt the Enemy ſhould immediately ſet upon their Camp. *Eumenes* therefore perſwaded [the Conſul] to carry his men over the River *Peneus*; that he might have the River for his ſecurity, till the diſhearten'd Souldiers had rallied up their ſpirits. The Conſul thought it a great crime for him to ſhew any tokens of fear: but yet, being convinced by reaſon, he, in the dead time of the night, put over his Forces, and Encamped upon the farther Bank [of the River.] The King coming forth the next day to provoke the Enemy to an Engagement, when he ſaw that they had pitch'd their Camp in a ſafe place, beyond the River, confeſſed indeed, that he was to blame, he had not follow'd his blow the day before: but ſaid, it was ſomewhat a greater fault in him, that he had lain ſtill all that night. For, though he had not ſtirred any one man beſides, had he but ſent the light armour in upon them, the Forces of the Enemy, who were in ſuch a conſternation, might have been, great part of them, cut off as they paſſ'd over the River. The Romans indeed had now no preſent fear upon them; but though their Camp was ſecure, yet they were particularly concern'd (among other things) for the loſs of their honour. And in Council before the Conſul every one of them laid the blame chiefly upon the *Ætolians*; [ſaying] that from them aroſe the firſt ground of their flight and fear; they following the apprehenſions of the *Ætolians*, and the other *Greek* Nations. For five *Ætolian* Princes were ſaid to be the firſt, that were ſeen to turn their backs.

The *Theſſalians* being publickly commended, and their Officers alſo rewarded for their Courage, the ſpoils of the ſlain Enemies were brought to the King: out of which he gave ſome preſents of ſignal Arms, to others Horſes, and to ſome Captives. There were above a thouſand and fifty ſhields; with Coats of Mail and Breſt-Plates more than a thouſand, beſides a greater number of Helmets, Swords and Weapons to throw at a diſtance, of all ſorts. Now though theſe things were in themſelves very great, yet moſt of them were multiplied and augmented by the Kings Speech, which he made publickly before his Army: [which was this.] You ſee already (ſaid he) what is like to be the iſſue of the War; in that you have routed the better part of the Enemy, viz. the Roman Horſe, in which they were uſed to boaſt themſelves invincible. For their Horſemen are the flower of their youth, and the ſeminary of the Senate. Thence the Conſuls take choiſe men into the number of the Senate, and out of them make Generals. But the ſpoils of theſe men we have juſt now divided among you. Nor have you gain'd a leſſer Victory over the Legions of Foot, who, making their eſcape in the night time, fill'd the River like a Company of frighted wretches that are Shipwreck'd, and ſwim here and there in the Sea. But it will be eaſier for us, who follow a conquer'd Army, to get over *Peneus*, than it was for them, who were in ſuch a fright; and when we are over we will preſently attack their Camp, which we this day ſhould have taken, had they not fled. Or if they'll fight us fairly in the Field, you may expect the ſame event of a Foot Battle, as the Horſe in their Engagement met with. Thereupon not only they who had conquer'd were glad to hear him (having the ſpoils of their ſlain Enemies upon their ſhoulders and before their faces, and receiving encouragement toward a future attempt from what had already fallen out) but the Foot alſo, being inflamed with others glory (eſpecially thoſe who were in the *Macedonian* *Phalanx*) wiſh'd, they

LXI.

they also might have an opportunity to serve the King, and gain the like honour from the Enemy. The Assembly being dismiss'd, the next day he went and Encamped at *Mopsius*; which is a little Hill between *Tempe* and *Larissa*.

LXII. The Romans stirr'd not from the Bank of *Peneus*, but only removed their Camp into a more secure place. Thither came *Misagenes*, a Numidian, with a thousand Horse, and an equal number of Foot, besides twenty two Elephants. At that time as the King sat in Council concerning the grand affair, after his pride, upon the score of his good Fortune, was now abated, some of his Friends were so bold as to advise him, that he would make use of his happy success toward the gaining of conditions for an honourable Peace, rather than being puff'd up with a vain hope, cast himself upon an irrevocable hazard. That he would set bounds to his prosperity, and not give too much credit to the serenity of his present fortune: for that was the part of a prudent man, and one that was deservedly happy. That he would send such men to the Consul, as might renew the League upon the same terms on which his Father Philip had accepted of a Peace when *T. Quintius* was Conquerer. For the War could not be ended with greater glory, than with such a memorable fight; nor could he have any surer hopes of a perpetual Peace than now, when the Romans were so defeated, and would of consequence, be more easily induced to enter into an Alliance. But if the Romans should even at that time, through their native Stubbornness, refuse what was just; both the Gods and men would be witnesses of *Perseus's* moderation, and of their obstinate pride. The Kings mind was never much averse to such Counsel, wherefore by the assent of the major part that opinion was approved. Thereupon Embassadors were sent to the Consul, and had their audience in a full Council. In which they desired a Peace, and promised that *Perseus* should give the Romans as much Tribute, as his Father Philip had promised: as also, that *Perseus* would remove from those Cities, Territories and places, from whence Philip had removed. This said the Embassadors: who being desired to withdraw, upon the debate in Council, the Roman constancy at last prevailed. For such was the custom in those days, to put on the face of prosperity even in adversity, and to restrain their minds in happy circumstances. Wherefore they thought fit to make this Answer; That they would grant them a Peace, upon condition, that the King would leave the whole matter freely to the Senate, to determine concerning him and all Macedonia, as they pleased. Which when the Embassadors had related to the King, he and those about him, being ignorant of the custom [of those times] looked upon the Roman obstinacy as a miracle: and many of them advised, not to make any farther mention of Peace; for they would in a short time sue for what they now disdain'd. But *Perseus* feared this very pride, supposing it to proceed from a confidence they had in their own strength; and therefore increasing the sum of money, to see if at least he could purchase peace with gold, he never ceased to tempt the Consuls mind. But seeing that he would not alter any thing of his first resolution, *Perseus*, despairing of Peace, return'd to *Sycurium*, from whence he came, with a design again to try the fortune of War.

LXIII. The fame of his Horse Engagement being spread all over Greece, discover'd the peoples inclination. For not only they that were of the Macedonians side, but many also that were highly obliged to the Romans, and some too, that had felt their force and pride, were glad when they heard it; in the same manner, as, in mock Fights, ye commonly use to favour the worse and weaker side. At the same time *Lucretius* the Prætor had attack'd *Haliartus* in *Beotia* with all his force; and though the besieged had no foreign aids, except some young men of *Corone* (who had come into their Walls in the first Siege) yet they made resistance with their Courage more than their strength. For they not only made frequent sallies out upon the works; but also, when the battering Ram was apply'd to their Walls, forced it down to the ground with a weight of Lead: and, if they that guided the blow by any means avoided them, in the place of that part of their Wall which was demolish'd they presently built a new one, with stones gather'd of the very ruins. But seeing the attack by works was too slow, the Prætor order'd scaling Ladders to be distributed among the several Companies, resolving to beset the Walls quite round: for he thought that his number was sufficient for that purpose, because on that side where the City is encompass'd by a Fenn, it neither was to any purpose, or possible to attack it. He himself therefore, on that side, where two Turrets, and all the Wall between them were thrown down, planted two thousand choice men; to the end, that at the same time, when he endeavour'd to get over the ruins, and the Towns came all flocking together against him, the Walls, being destitute of any body to defend them might be taken in some place or other. The Townsmen were very active to repel his force: for standing in the breach of the Wall, upon dry Faggots of twigs, which they had laid there, with burning Torches in their hands, they often threaten'd to set them on fire, that so, being intercepted from the Enemy by the flames, they might have time to build a new Wall for their defence; but their desire by chance was spoiled. For there poured down on a sudden such an impetuous shower, that it not only hinder'd them from lighting the Wood, but also put it out, when lighted. By which means the Romans gain'd a passage through the divided smoking twigs; and, (seeing all the Townsmen were employ'd in the defence of one place only) took the Walls too with their Ladders in many places at once. In the first tumult upon the taking of the City, the old men and young Boyes, all that came in the way, were kill'd; but the Souldiers fled into

into the Castle: though the next day, having no hope left, they surrender'd themselves, and were all sold publickly for Slaves, being about fifteen hundred in number. The Ornaments of the City, as Statues, Paintings, and all other pretious Booty, was carried down to the Ships, and the City razed from the very foundations. From thence he led the Army to *Thebes*; which being retaken without any opposition, he gave the City to the banish'd party; and those that were of the Roman side: but sold the whole Families of the adverse Faction, who were favourers of the King and Macedonians, for Slaves. Having done these things in *Beotia* he return'd to his Fleet at Sea.

Whilst these things pass'd in *Beotia*, *Perseus* lay Encamped for some dayes at *Sycurium*. LXIV. Where having heard, that the Romans by stealth reaped and carried away the Corn out of the Country round about them; and that, by cutting off the Ears every one before his Tent, that they might have the Corn the freer and purer to grind, had made great heaps of straw all over the Camp; thought that a good opportunity for him to set fire on them; and therefore, ordering Flambeaus, Torches, and bundles of Hemp dawbed all over with pitch to be made ready, he march'd forth in the night time, that he might surprize them as soon as it was break of day. But all to no purpose, for as soon as the first Guards were disturb'd, they by their tumult and terrour, raised all the the rest; and immediately the Alarm was given, the Souldiers being at the same time set in Battalia within the Bullwark, at the Gates, and intent upon the defence of their Camp. *Perseus* therefore commanded his Army strait to face about, bidding the Carriages go first, and after them the Foot, whilst he with the Horse staid to bring up the Reer; supposing (what did really happen) that the Enemy would pursue him; to seize upon the Reer behind. There was a short Skirmish between the light-armour chiefly and the light Horsemen, that used to run before the Army: but the Horse and Foot return'd without any trouble into their Camp; and having reaped down all the Corn thereabout, the Romans removed their Camp to the *Crannonian* Territories, which was a place as yet untouch'd. Where whilst they lay secure, not only by reason of the great distance between them and the Enemy, but because the rode, being without Water, was difficult to pass, between *Sycurium* and *Crannonia*, all on a sudden, by break of day, the Kings Horse appearing, with the light armour upon the Hills just above them; caused a great disorder. They came from *Sycurium* the day before at noon: and had left the Body of Foot, a little before it was light, in the adjacent Plain. They stood for some time upon the Hills, thinking that the Romans might be drawn forth to an Horse Fight: who not stirring, the King sent a Trooper to bid the Foot march back to *Sycurium*, whither he himself soon after follow'd them. The Roman Horse following them at a small distance, to see if they could have an opportunity at any place to set upon them when they were scatter'd and dispers'd, when they saw them march off in a close body, observing their Ensigns and their Ranks, themselves also return'd into their Camp.

Thereupon the King being offended with the length of the Journey, removed his Camp to *Mopsius*, and the Romans, having reaped down all the Corn at *Crannonia*, went over into the Territory of *Phalanna*. Where, when the King understood by a Fugitive, that the Romans stragled all about the Country, without any guard at all, he went with a thousand Horse, and two thousand Thracians and Cretans, who marching with all the speed they possibly could, surprized the Romans. By which means their Waggon (with the Beasts yoked into them) and those most of them loaded, were taken, to the number of almost a thousand, besides about six hundred men. He committed the care of keeping and bringing the booty into the Camp to three hundred Cretans: whilst he himself, having recalled the Horse from their extravagant slaughter [of the Foe] and the remaining part of the Foot, drew off to the next Guards [of the Romans;] supposing it would be no difficulty to defeat them. *L. Pompeius* the Tribune military commanded [that Post] who led away the Souldiers, being amazed at the sudden arrival of the Enemy, to an adjacent Hill, with a resolution to defend himself by the secure situation of the place, since he was too weak for them both in number and strength. Where when he put his men into a round figure, that by joining of their shields together they might defend themselves from the stroke of Arrows and Darts; *Perseus*, having encompassed the Hill with his Souldiers, order'd some of them to attempt the ascent of it on all sides, and to join Battle hand to hand, whilst others threw Weapons at a distance. The Romans were environ'd with doubtful terrour: for they could not fight in close order, for those that endeavour'd to ascend the Hill: besides that, having broken their ranks by the sallies that they made, they lay open to Darts and Arrows. But they were wounded most by the *Cestrophendone* [i.e. Slings that Slung Darts] which was a new sort of instrument, invented in the time of that War. It had a Dart of two Spans length fix'd to an handle of half a Cubit long, about which there were set three Feathers to poize it, as there are upon Arrows. The middle of the Sling had two Cords of unequal length, so that when the Slinger whirl'd about the Weapon in the larger cavity of the Sling, it flew out like a Bullet. Now seeing that by this and all other sorts of Weapons, part of the Souldiers were wounded, so that they could not now (being tired) well bear their Arms, the King prest them to a Surrender, gave them his word [for their security] and sometimes promised them rewards: though none of their minds for all that were incli-



ned to a surrender, till at last, by meer chance, when they were resolv'd to die, they had some hopes given them. For when some of the Foragers, who fled back into the Camp, had told the Consul, that the guard was beset; he, moved by the danger that so many Citizens were in (for there were nigh eight hundred of them, and all Romans) with the Horse and Light-armour (to which there was an addition made of new Auxiliaries, viz. the Numidian Foot and Horse, besides Elephants) went out of the Camp, and commanded the Tribunes military to follow the Ensigns of the Legions: whilst he himself went before to the Hill, to strengthen the light-arm'd Auxiliaries; and along with the Consul went Eumenes, Attalus and Misagenes, the petit King of the Numidians.

LXVI. When the besieged saw the foremost Ensigns of their party, the Roman spirits were recover'd from their extream despair: and Persens, whose chief design was, to be content with what success he had happen'd to have, and, having taken and kill'd some Foragers, not to lose time in besieging a small Garison; and his next, when he had however made some attempt upon it, since he knew he had not strength enough about him, to march off, whilst he with safety might; not only staid himself (being proud of his success) till the Enemy came, but sent with all speed, to fetch the Phalanx. Which being brought not only too late to do the business, but in an hurry too, were likely to come all in disorder (by reason of their hast) against a regular and prepar'd body of men. But the Consul, who came before, join'd Battle forthwith. In which the Macedonians at first oppos'd him; though in a little while, being no way equal they endeavour'd to march off, having lost three hundred Foot, twenty four of their best Horsemen out of that Wing which they call the Sacred [Wing]; among whom Antimachus also the Captain of that Wing fell: But their flight was full as tumultuous as the Battle it self. The Phalanx being sent for by a timorous Messenger, and led in hast, met first, in narrow passages with the body of Captives, and the Waggon that were laden with Corn: who being slain, there was a great distraction on both sides, since no body staid till the Army was ranged; but the Souldiers threw the Carriages down the Precipice (for otherwise they could not have made way) and the Beasts when they were prick'd or goaded, flounced in the crowd. Nor had they well clear'd themselves from the ill disciplin'd Body of Captives, when they met the Kings Army, and the discouraged Horsemen. Whereupon the very shout of them, who had them turn back again, put them into a consternation much like that which happens in a general ruine; so that if the Enemy had dar'd to follow them any farther into the streights, they might have received a great overthrow. The Consul having drawn his Garison off the Hill, and being content with moderate success, led his Forces back into his Camp. There are, who say, there was a great Battle fought that day, and eight thousand of the Enemy slain (among whom there were Sopater and Antipater, the Kings Generals) and that there were taken alive two thousand eight hundred, with twenty seven military Ensigns. But that it was not a bloodless Victory [to the Romans]; of whom there fell above four thousand three hundred out of the Consuls Army; besides that there were lost five Ensigns out of the left Wing.

LXVII. This day, as it recruited the Romans hearts, so it damp'd Persens: insomuch that having staid but a few dayes at Mopsus (more to bury his dead men than any thing else) and left a good strong Garison at Gonnus, he retreated with his Forces into Macedonia. He left one Timotheus, a Captain of his, with a small party at Phila, having order'd him to tempt the Magnesians and the adjacent Nations. When he came to Pella, having sent his Army away into their Winter-Quarters, he himself went with Cotys to Thessalonica. Where there was news brought, that Atlesbis, petit King of the Thracians, and Corragus, Eumenes's Prefect, had made an incursion into Cotys's Dominions: and had taken that part of the Country, which they call Marene. Wherefore supposing it to be the best way to send Cotys to defend his own Dominions, he presented him with great gifts at his departure: viz. two hundred Talents, and six months pay for his Horsemen, though at first he had resolv'd to give them an years. The Consul when he heard that Persens was gone, removed his Camp to Gonnus, to try, if he could gain the Town: which being situate in the very streights before Tempe, is a secure bar to Macedonia, and an opportune inlet for the Macedonians into Thessaly. Since therefore it was a place impregnable both for its situation, and the guard that was in it, he desisted from his attempt: and turning his course into Perrabia, he took and rised Mallaa upon the first effort; and, having taken Tripolis, with the rest of Perrabia, return'd to Larissa. From thence, having sent Eumenes and Attalus back home, he distributed Misagenes and the Numidians into Winter-Quarters in the adjacent Cities of Thessaly, and divided part of the Army in such a manner through all Thessaly, that they not only had, all of them, convenient Quarters, but were also a guard to the several Cities. He sent Q. Mucius the Lieutenant, with two thousand men to keep Ambracia; and dismiss'd all the Allies of Greece, except the Achaeans. Then going with part of his Army into Achaia Phiotis, he razed Pteleum (whence the Townsmen were all fled) from the very foundations; and took possession of Antron by the voluntary surrender of the Inhabitants. Thence he removed his Army to Larissa; where the City was deserted, and all the people fled into the Castle, which he began to attack. The Macedonians first of all, who were a Garison of the Kings,

Kings, were gone out for fear; by whom since the Townsmen saw themselves forsaken, they came immediately and surrender'd themselves. After that, he was at a stand, whether he should first attack Demetrias, or get what he could before that in Boeotia. For the Thebans, who were molested by the Coroneans, desired him to come into Boeotia: so, at their request, because it was a Country more convenient for Winter-Quarters, than Magnesia, he march'd into Boeotia.

## DECADE V. BOOK III.

### The EPI TOME.

2. Some of the Praetors, for that they had behaved themselves very covetously and cruelly in the management of their Provinces were condemn'd, P. Licinius Crassus, the Pro-Consul, took a great many Cities in Greece, and plunder'd them very cruelly. For which the Captives, who, under him, were sold for Slaves, were afterward restored. There were also many tyrannical actions done by the Captains of the Roman Fleet, against their Allies. 18, &c. The successful actions of King Persens in Thrace: after he had conquer'd the Dardans and Illyricum, the King whereof was named Gentius. The insurrection, that was made in Spain under Olonicus; was appeas'd by his being slain. M. Aemilius Lepidus was chosen President of the Senate by the Censors.

THE same Summer, that the Roman got the Victory by an Horse Engagement in Thessaly, a Lieutenant sent by the Consul into Illyricum, forced two rich Towns by force of Arms to submit; but gave them all their goods, that by their good opinion of his Clemency, he might have drawn in the Inhabitants of Carnus, a strong City. But when he saw he could not either bring them to a surrender, nor take them by a Siege, lest his Souldiers should be tired to no purpose with two attacks together, he rised a City, which he before had left untouch'd. The other Consul, C. Cassius, did nothing memorable in Gaul, which happen'd to be his Province; besides, that he in vain attempted to lead his Legions through Illyricum into Macedonia. For the Senate knew, the Consul was gone that way, from the Aquileian Embassadors; who complaining, That their Colony was new and weak; nor as yet well secured against those hostile Nations of the Istrians and Illyrians, amidst whom they lived; and therefore desiring, that the Senate would take some care to secure that Colony; were ask'd, whether they were willing to have that affair committed to C. Cassius the Consul? To which they answer'd, That Cassius having appointed his Army to meet at Aquileia, was gone through Illyricum into Macedonia. That news at first seem'd incredible; and every one thought that he might have made War upon the Carnians perchance or the Istrians. Whereupon the Aquileians reply'd, That they neither knew, nor durst affirm any thing farther, than that he had given his men thirty dayes Corn, and that there were guides hired and taken away, who knew the roads out of Italy into Macedonia. At which the Senate was very angry, that the Consul should dare to leave his own Province and go into another, leading the Army a new and dangerous way among so many Foreign Nations, whereby he open'd a passage for such a number of people into Italy. So they decreed in a full Assembly, that C. Sulpicius the Praetor should nominate three Embassadors out of the Senate, who should go that day from the City; and, with all the speed they could, should find out the Consul Cassius, wherever he was, and warn him, not to make War with any Nation; before he had orders for it from the Senate. Accordingly these Embassadors went, who were M. Cornelius Cethegus, M. Fulvius, and P. Marcius Rex. Their fear for the Consul and the Army deferr'd their care of fortifying Aquileia at that time.

Then several Embassadors from divers Nations in both the Spains were introduced into the Senate: who complain'd of the avarice and tyranny of the Roman Magistrates, and upon their Knees desired of the Senate, that they would not suffer them to be more barbarously pillaged and tormented, now they were Allies, than when they were Enemies. Now therefore seeing they complain'd of many other indignities, and that it was evident, that money had been taken [from them] L. Canuleius, the Praetor, who was the Governour in Spain, was employ'd; to assign five Delegates of the rank of Senators, for every single person, from whom the Spaniards demand'd any money, and to give them leave to chose, whom they pleas'd, for their Advocates, so the Embassadors being called into the House, the order of Senate was read to them, and they were bid to name their Advocates. Upon which they named four, viz. M. Porcius Cato, P. Cornelius Scipio, Son of Cneius, L. Aemilius Paulus, Son of Lucius, and C. Sulpicius Gallus. First then the Delegates began with M. Titinius, who had been Praetor in the hither Spain, when A. Manlius and M. Junius were Consuls: who, having been twice

put off to a farther hearing, was at last acquitted. Then there arose a dissention between the Lieutenants of two Provinces: the people of the hither Spain having taken *M. Cato* and *Scipio* for their Advocates, and those of the farther *L. Paulus* and *Sulpicius Gallus*. By the hither people there was conven'd before the Delegates, *P. Furius Philus*, and by the farther *M. Matienus*: the former of whom had been Prætor three years before, when *Sp. Postumius* and *Q. Mucius* were Consuls, and the latter two years before, when *L. Postumius* and *M. Popilius* were Consuls. They were both accused of horrid crimes, but their Tryal was deferred till a longer day; whereon when they should have come to plead a fresh, they were excused upon the score of their voluntary banishing of themselves: for *Furius* went to *Præneste*, and *Matienus* to *Tibur*. There was a report, That they were forbid, by the Advocates, to accuse any noble or potent man: and *Canuleius* the Prætor encreased that suspicion, in that, omitting that affair, he began to make a Levy. Whereupon he went of a sudden into his Province, lest any more men should be brought into trouble by the Spaniards. Thus having buried all past things in silence, the Senate consulted the safety of the Spaniards for the future, who prevailed so far as to procure an Order, That the Roman Magistrates should not have the rating of their Corn; nor force the Spaniards to sell the twentieth part of it at what price they pleased; and that no Officers should be placed in their Towns to raise money [against their wills.]

III. There came also another Embassy from a new sort of people out of Spain: who saying, that they were born of Roman Souldiers, and Spanish Women (with whom the Romans were not allow'd to marry) to the number of above four thousand, desired, that they might have a Town allotted them, wherein to live. Whereupon the Senate decreed; That they should tell their names to *L. Canuleius*: and that those of them, whom he had made free, should be carried to *Carteia*, near the Ocean. And likewise, that all those of *Carteia* who had a mind to stay there, should be lookt upon as part of that Colony, and have Land assign'd them: that having been a Latin Colony, called by the name of the Libertines [Colony.] At the same time came out of *Africa*, *Gulussa*, Son to *Massinissa*, as Embassadors from his Father, together with the *Carthaginians*. *Gulussa* was first introduced into the Senate, and there declared, what his Father had sent to the Macedonian War; besides which he promised, that, if they would command any thing else from him, he would do it for the sake of the Roman people: but advised the Senate, to take care of the *Carthaginians* fraud. For they were about to set forth a great Fleet, in shew, for the Romans, and against the Macedonians: but when it was ready and fit for service, it would be in their power to make whom they pleased their Friend or Enemy.

IV. When they came into the Camp, they caused such a consternation, by shewing the heads, that, if the Army had been presently brought thither, the Camp might have been taken. Then also was there a great flight; and there were some, who thought it fit, that Embassadors should be sent with a Petition to desire Peace: and many Cities, when they heard that news, came and made their surrender. Who clearing themselves, and laying the fault upon the madness of two men, who freely offer'd themselves to punishment, though the Prætor had pardon'd them: he went immediately to the other Cities, and, seeing all of them obey'd his commands, march'd with his Army quietly through the Country, which was now appeas'd, though just before it had been all enflamed with a mighty tumult. This mildness of the Prætor, whereby he had subdu'd so Warlike a Nation without any bloodshed, was so much the more grateful to the people and the Senate, by how much the Consul *Licinius* and the Prætor *Lucretius* had carry'd on the War in Greece with greater Cruelty and Avarice. For the Tribunes of the people continually inveigh'd against *Lucretius*, when he was absent, in their publick Assemblies; though he were said (by way of excuse) to be absent about the business of the Common-wealth. But at that time, what was done even in the Neighbourhood, was so little inquired into, that he was then at his Country House at *Antium*, and bringing the Water (with the money that the spoils of the War were sold for) thither, out of the River of *Loracina*: He is said to have bargain'd for the doing of that work at the rate of a hundred and thirty thousand pounds of brass: besides which he likewise adorn'd the Temple of *Asculapius* with several paintings [purchased] out of the booty. The *Abderite* Embassadors turn'd the Envy and Infamy off from *Lucretius* upon his Successor *Hortensius*, weeping before the Senate-House, and complaining, that their Town was taken and rifled by *Hortensius*. That the reason, why their City was so sack'd, was, because, when he required of them a hundred thousand Deniers, and fifty thousand Bushels of Wheat, they desired time, to send Embassadors concerning that affair, both to the Consul *Hortilius*, and to Rome. That they were scarce yet come to the Consul before they heard, that the Town was taken, the Nobility and Gentry in it boheaded with an Axe, and the rest sold for Slaves. This seemed to the Senate a great indignity; and therefore they decreed the same thing concerning the *Abderites*, as they had done concerning the *Coroneans* the year before: commanding *Q. Menius* the Prætor, to declare it publicly before the people. There were also two Embassadors (*C. Sempronius Blasus*, and *Sext. Julius Cesar*) sent to restore the *Abderites* their liberty: being also charg'd to tell the Consul *Hortilius*, and *Hortensius* the Prætor, that the Senate

Senate thought, the War made against the *Abderites*, was unjust, and were of opinion, that all those, who were in slavery should be inquir'd after, and restored to their liberty.

V. At the same time there were complaints brought to the Senate against *C. Cassius* (who the year before had been Consul, but was then a Tribune military with *A. Hostilius* in Macedonia; and Embassadors came from a King of the Gauls, called *Cincibilis*. His Brother made a Speech in the Senate, wherein he complain'd, that *C. Cassius* had pillaged the Countries belonging to the Alpine people, their Allies: and had taken many thousand of the Inhabitants thence into slavery. About that time came the Embassadors of the *Cirrnians*, *Istrians* and *Japides*: [Complaining] that *C. Cassius* was the first that ever required of them to find guides, to shew him the way, when he led his Army into Macedonia: that he went quietly from them, as though it had been to wage another War; but came back, when he was half way, and in an hostile manner over-ran their Country: that he committed all kind of rapine in every place, and burnt their Towns; nor did they know to that day, for what reason the Consul lookt upon them as Enemies. To which several Nations (and to the petit King of the Gauls too) the Senate made Answer; that they neither knew that he would do those things, which they complain'd of, nor, if they were done, did they approve of them. But it was unjust to condemn a consular person, before he had said what he could for himself and in his absence; especially since he was absent upon the publick account. When *C. Cassius* return'd out of Macedonia, then, if they would accuse him face to face, when they heard the case, the Senate would endeavour to see satisfaction made. Nor did they think fit only to give this Answer to those Nations, but to send Embassadors also; two to the petit King beyond the Alps, and three about to those several States, to let them see, what the Senates intentions were. They likewise voted, that there should be Presents sent to the Embassadors of two thousand pounds of brass: but to the two Brothers, the petit Kings, these things in particular; viz. two Chains made of five pounds of gold, and five silver Vessels of twenty pounds, with two Horses, that had all their trappings on, Grooms to look after them, Horse Arms, and Souldiers Cloaks: besides Garments for their retinue, both Freeman and Slaves. Those things were sent them, and this granted them, upon their request, viz. that they might buy ten Horses, and carry them out of Italy. The Embassadors sent with the Gauls beyond the Alps were *C. Lolius* and *M. Aemilius Lepidus*; but to the other Nations, *C. Scinius*, *P. Cornelius Blasio*, and *T. Memmius*.

VI. About that time there met at Rome Embassadors from many Cities of Greece and Asia together. Of which the *Athenians* being first introduced, said; They had sent *P. Licinius* the Consul, and *C. Lucretius* the Prætor all the Shipping and Souldiers, that they had, though they had not made use of them. That they required of their City a hundred thousand Bushels of Corn; which (though their soil were barren, insomuch that they were fain to feed their Country People with Foreign Corn, yet) that they might not be behind hand in their duty, they had provided: being ready still to do what was imposed upon them. The *Milesians*, who said they had as yet done nothing at all, promised, that they would be ready to obey what ever the Senate should please to command them in order to the War. The *Alabandians* put them in mind, that they built the Temple of the City of Rome, and set forth anniversary Games in honour of that Godde's: as also, that they had brought a golden Crown of fifty pounds which they laid up in the Capitol, as an offering to the thrice good and great *Jupiter*: and would deliver three hundred Horsemen's Shields to any one that they should order. Wherefore they desired, that they might leave their present in the Capitol, and sacrifice. This the *Lampsacenes* also, who brought a golden Crown of eighty pound, desired; saying, That they deserted *Perseus*, when the Roman Army was come into Macedonia, though they had been under the command of *Perseus*, as before of *Philip*. For which, and that they had obey'd the Roman Generals in all things whatsoever, they only begg'd, that they might be received into an Alliance with the Romans, and, if a Peace were concluded with *Perseus*, excepted, for fear of coming again under that Kings lash. The other Embassadors received a kind Answer: but *Q. Menius* the Prætor was order'd to admit the *Lampsacenes* into the number of Allies. They had each of them presents made to them of two thousand pound of brass a man; the *Alabandians* being bid to carry their Shields back to the Consul *A. Hostilius* in Macedonia. The Embassadors of the *Carthaginians* also came at the same time out of *Africa*, and told the Senate, that they had ten hundred thousand Bushels of Wheat, and five hundred of Barley, ready at the Sea-side, to carry, whither the Senate pleased. That they knew that present and service of theirs was less than either the Roman People deserv'd, or they could wish it were: but that they had several other times, when both Nations were in prosperity, done the part of grateful and faithful Allies. The Embassadors of *Massinissa* too promised the same quantity of Wheat, with twelve hundred Horses, twelve Elephants, and said, that whatever else the Senate should think fit to command, he would perform as willingly, as that which he himself of his own accord had promised. The Senate gave both the *Carthaginians* and the King thanks; desiring them, that they would carry, what they promised to the Consul *Hortilius* in Macedonia. The Embassadors had each of them two thousand pounds of brass sent them.

VII. Then the *Cretan* Embassadors put them in mind that they had sent into Macedonia all the Archers which they had been by *P. Licinius* the Consul commanded to raise; but since, when they were ask'd, they could not deny, but that a greater number of their Archers fought under

under Perseus then under the Romans, Answer was made to them; if the Cretans truly, and in good earnest, design'd to prefer the Friendship of the Roman People before that of King Perseus, the Roman Senate also would give them such an answer as they would to trusty Allies. But that in the mean time, they should tell their Principals, that the Senate thought fit, the Cretans should endeavour as soon as possible to recal home those Souldiers, that they had among the Forces of King Perseus. The Cretans being dismissed with this Answer, the Chalcidenses were called; whose Embassy at the very entrance of it (for that *Miltion*, the chief of them, being lame, was brought in a Litter) seemed at first sight a business of extream necessity: in which a person so infirm as he, either thought he ought not to excuse himself upon the score of his weakness, or if he had, would not have been admitted to make that Plea. He therefore having told them before, that he had nothing left alive, besides his tongue, to deplore the calamities of their Country, recounted first the kindnesses done by his City, not only of old, but also in the time of the War against Perseus, to the Roman Officers and their Armies: and next, what C. Lucretius principally (the Roman Prætor) had formerly done with so much pride and avarice against his Country-men; and then what L. Hortensius was at that very time a doing. How they thought it their duty to endure all things, even worse things than what they already suffer'd, rather than yield to Perseus. As for Lucretius and Hortensius; they knew, it had been safer for them to have shut their Gates, than received them into their City. That those who had kept them out, namely Emaxia, Amphipolis, Maronea, and Oenus, were safe; but that, with them, their Temples were robbed of all their Ornaments, and plunder'd by sacrilegious hands: and that C. Lucretius had carried them away to Antium. That their Freemen were forced into slavery; and that the estates of the Allies of the Roman People were not only before, but even at that time also daily ravaged. For by the Example of C. Lucretius, Hortensius too kept his Seamen both Winter and Summer in Houses, and that their Houses were fill'd with Tarpaulins, who convers'd with them, their Wives and Children, though they cared not either what they said or did.

VIII. Thereupon the Senate thought good to send for Lucretius, to argue the matter and clear himself face to face. But when he came he heard much more, than was said against him in his absence: and there came more grievous and powerful accusers, viz. two Tribunes of the People, M. Juvencius Thalna, and Cn. Aufidius. They inveigh'd against him not only in the Senate, but bringing him into the publick Assembly of the people also, they laid many shameful crimes to his charge, and appointed him a day [for his Tryal.] Then Q. Menius the Prætor, by the Senates order, gave the Chalcidenses this Answer; That as to what they said, they had deseru'd of the Roman People, both before, and in that present War, the Senate knew they spoke truth, and it was, as it ought to be, very grateful to them. But as to what they complain'd, that C. Lucretius had done, and L. Hortensius (both Roman Prætors) was then a doing, every body would believe, they never did any of those things by the consent or order of the Senate; who knows, that the Roman People made War against Perseus, and before against Philip, his Father for the liberty of all Greece, and not that they should suffer those kind of indignities from Magistrates that were their Allies, and Friends. That they would give them a Letter to the Prætor L. Hortensius, [showing] that what the Chalcidenses complain'd of did not please the Senate. That if any Freemen were made slaves of, that he would take care as soon as possible to find them out, and restore them to their liberty; and that they thought fit, that no Seaman, except the Masters [of Ships] should be admitted into private Lodgings. These things were written to Hortensius by order of Senate. There were Presents made to the Embassadors of two thousand pounds of Brads and Chariots publickly hired for *Miltion*, to carry him conveniently to Brundisium. C. Lucretius, when the day appointed came, was accused before the people by the Tribunes, and had a mulct set upon him of a million of brads: and when the Assembly was called, all the twenty five Tribes unanimously condemn'd him.

IX. In Liguria that year there was no memorable action done: for neither did the Enemy stir, nor did the Consul lead his Legions into their Country; but, having sufficiently secur'd himself of Peace for that year, within sixty days from his coming into his Province, dismiss'd the Souldiers of two Roman Legions: and having put the Latin Army betimes into their Winter Quarters at Pisa and Luna, he himself, with the Horse, went to several Towns in the Province of Gaul. There was no War any where else but in Macedonia: though they suspected Gentius also, King of the Illyrians. Wherefore the Senate thought fit to send eight Ships from Brundisium to C. Furius the Lieutenant at Issa, who with a guard of two Iffian Ships was Governour of the Island. There were two thousand Souldiers put on board those Ships, which Q. Menius the Prætor rais'd by order of Senate, in that part of Italy, which is opposite to Illyricum. The Consul Hostilius also sent Ap. Claudius into Illyricum with four thousand Foot, to defend those that border'd upon Illyricum. Who not content with those Forces that he had brought along with him, by mustering up all the Auxiliaries he could get of the Allies, armed full eight thousand of several sorts: and when he had march'd through all that Country safe down at *Lychnidum* in the *Dassaretium* Dominions.

X. Not far from thence was the Town of *Uscana*, for the most part within the Confines of Perseus; which had in it ten thousand Inhabitants, and a small Guard (to secure it) of Cretans. From that Town came there secret Messengers to Claudius [to inform him.] That if

if he would advance with his Army somewhat nearer, there would be those ready that would betray the City. And, that it was worth his while: for he might load not only himself and his Friends, but all his Souldiers to with the spoil. This hope being added to his desire so blinded his mind, that he neither kept ever an one of those that came, nor desired Hostages, as a pledge for the performance of that piece of treachery; nor sent to see, how things stood, nor took so much as their honour for it: but only going from *Lychnidum* upon a set day he pitch'd his Camp twelve thousand paces from the City whither he was bound. From thence again he removed at the fourth watch, having left about a thousand to guard the Camp. They march'd very disorderly, in a mighty long body, and came in small Companies (as being scatter'd from each other through their mistakes of the way in the night time) to the City. Their negligence too increas'd when they saw no body in Arms on the Walls. But when they came within Darts cast, the Enemy sallied forth at two Gates together; and upon the shout of them that sallied forth, there was a mighty noise arose from the Walls of howling Women, with the ringing of brads Vessels on all sides; whilst the rude rabble, with the Slaves mix'd among them, set up a different tone. This so various a terrour, that presented it self on all hands made the Romans unable to endure the first storm of their eruption. By which means there were more of them kill'd running away, than fighting: for there were scarce two thousand men that escaped with the Lieutenant himself into the Camp. The farther it was into the Camp, so much more time had the Enemy to follow the tired men. Appius staid not at all in the Camp, that he might muster up his men who were scatter'd in the flight (which would have saved those that straggled about the Country) but immediately led the remaining part of his Army back to *Lychnidum*.

These and other stories of unfortunate actions in Macedonia, were related by Sex. Diginius, a Tribune military, who came to sacrifice at Rome. Upon which account the Senate fearing, lest they should fall into any greater disgrace, sent M. Fulvius Flaccus, and M. Caninius Rebilus Embassadors into Macedonia, to bring them word, upon their own knowledge, how matters really stood there: and to tell A. Hostilius, the Consul, that he should so appoint the Assembly for chusing of new Consuls, that it might be held in the month of January, and that he should come back into the City as soon as possibly he could. In the mean time they gave order to M. Recius the Prætor, to recall all the Senators out of all Italy (except those who were absent upon publick business) by his Edit to Rome: and command'd, that none of those that were at Rome should go above a mile out of Town: All which was done as the Senate would have it. The Consular Assembly was held upon the 27<sup>th</sup> of August: at which there were created for Consuls, Q. Marcus Philippus (a second time) and Cn. Servilius Capius. Three dayes after the Prætors were made, viz. C. Decimius, M. Claudius Marcellus, C. Sulpicius Galbus, C. Marcus Figulus, Ser. Cornelius Lentulus, and P. Fonteius Capito. To the Elected Prætors, besides the two City Provinces, there were assign'd four more; Spain, Sardinia, Sicily and the Fleet: The Embassadors return'd out of Macedonia when the month of February was almost out; who brought word, what good success King Perseus had met with that Summer; and what a fright had seiz'd the Allies of the Roman People, seeing so many Cities were reduced into subjection to the King. That the Consuls Army was very thin, because they had Furlows commonly given them out of ambition [in the Officers:] the blame whereof the Consul laid upon the Tribunes military, and they again upon the Consuls. The Senate heard, that they made light of the dishonour received by the temerity of Claudius, who brought word that there were but a very few Italians, and those too, great part of them, rais'd on a sudden, lost in that action. The Consuls being Elected, when they were just enter'd upon their Office, they were order'd to make a report to the Senate concerning Macedonia; and the Provinces allotted them were Italy and Macedonia. This was leap Year, in which the odd day happen'd to be the third after the Feast called *Terminalia* [in honour of the God *Terminus*.] The Priests that died that year were L. Flaminius, the Augur, with two other Pontifices [or Priests] called L. Furius Philus, and C. Livius Salinator. Into the place of Furius the Priests chose T. Manlius Torquatus, and into the place of Livius, M. Servilius.

In the beginning of the ensuing year, when the new Consuls, Q. Marcus and Cn. Servilius had made report concerning the Provinces, the Senate gave order, that, as soon as might be, they should either agree between themselves, or cast Lots for Italy and Macedonia. But before Fortune had determin'd that, and whilst it was yet uncertain, left favour should be of any moment in the case, they thought fit, that what supplies were wanting should be allotted for both the Provinces. For Macedonia six thousand Roman Foot, of the Latin Allies six thousand, with two hundred and fifty Roman Horse, and three hundred of the Allies. That the old Souldiers should be dismiss'd; so that, in every Roman Legion, there should not be above six thousand Foot, and three hundred Horse. To the other Consul there was not allow'd any certain and definite number of Roman Citizens, for him to take, by way of supplement: only he was bound to raise two Legions, which should consist of twelve hundred Foot, and three hundred Horse: but he had a greater number of Latin Foot allow'd him, than his Colleague had, viz. ten thousand Foot, and six hundred Horse. There were also four Legions more to be rais'd, that might be sent any whither, where there was occasion: over whom the Consuls were not permitted to make Tribunes, but the people chose



chose them. From the *Latine* Allies were required sixteen thousand Foot, and a thousand Horse. This Army they order'd to be only in a readiness, to go forth, if their affairs at any time required it. *Macedonia* gave them the greatest trouble. For the Navy they order'd, that a thousand Seamen, who were Citizens of *Rome*, of the *Libertine* rank, should be rais'd in *Italy*; and as many in *Sicily*: besides that, it was injoin'd him who happen'd to have that Province, that he should take care to transport them into *Macedonia*, wherever the Navy then were. For *Spain* there were allotted, as a supply, three thousand Roman Foot, and three hundred Horse: and the number of the Legions there too was determin'd, to be five thousand Foot, and three hundred and thirty Horse: besides whom the Prætor who happen'd to have that Province, was to demand four thousand Foot, and three hundred Horse of the Allies.

XIII. I am not ignorant, that through the same negligence, that makes men now a-days commonly believe, that the gods portend to us nothing at all, there were but few prodigies at this time related, or put into the Annals. Yet not only I, who write Antiquities, have (I cannot tell by what means) a mind addicted to old things, but a kind of religious regard also upon me, that makes me esteem those things, which those so very prudent persons thought fit publicly to take care of, worth the putting into my Annals. From *Anagnina* there were two Prodigies that year related; viz. That an extraordinary light, like a Torch, was seen in the Sky, and that an Heifer, that spoke, was kept at the publick charge. At *Minturnæ* also about the same time, the Sky lookt as if it had been all of a flame. At *Reate* it rained stones. At *Cuma*, in the Castle, *Apollo* cry'd three dayes and three nights. In the City of *Rome* two Sextons brought word; the one, that in the Temple of *Fortune* there was a Snake seen with a Crest, by many people; and the other; that, in the Temple of *Fortuna Primigenia*, which stands upon an Hill, there were two several Prodigies seen; viz. that a Palm-Tree sprung up in the Court Yard, and that it rained blood in the day time. But there were two Prodigies not at all regarded, the one, for that it happen'd in a private place; as when *T. Marcii Figulus* brought word, that a Palm-Tree sprung up in his Yard: and the other, because it was in a Foreign place: when it was reported, that at *Fregellæ*, in the House of one *L. Atreus*, a Spear, which he had bought for his Son, who was a Souldier, was on a flame in the day time for two hours together, and yet the fire never burnt it. Upon the score of these publick Prodigies the *Decemviri* consulted their Books, and declar'd that the Consuls must offer forty of the bigger sort of Victims, and to what Gods: adding, that there should be a supplication made, and that all the Magistrates should Sacrifice with the bigger sort of Victims in every Temple, and the people be Crowned: So all things were done according to the *Decemviri's* directions.

XIV. Then the Assembly was appointed for chusing of Censors. The chief men of the City stood for the Censorship; namely, *C. Valerius Lavinius*, *L. Postumius Albinus*, *P. Mucius Scævola*, *M. Junius Brutus*, *C. Claudius Pulcher*, and *Tib. Sempronius Gracchus*: which two last the Roman People chose for Censors. Now, seeing they were at this time more concern'd than at another, for making their Levies, upon the score of the *Macedonian* War, the Consuls accused the Commons before the Senate, for that even the younger men did not answer [to their names.] Against whom *C. Sulpicius*, and *M. Claudius*, Tribunes of the people, maintain'd the cause; and said, The levy was hard, not for Consuls, but for such ambitious Consuls: for they (forsooth) would make no man a Souldier against his will. And that the Senate might know, it was so; the Prætors, who had less power and authority, if the Senate pleas'd, would perfect the Levy. Accordingly that affair was committed to the Prætors by universal consent of the House, not without some lashes at the Consuls: and the Censors to help forward the business, made this publick Declaration. That they would make a Law concerning the surveying and poling of the people, that besides the common Oath of all Cities, they should take this also: Thou art under forty six years of age, and therefore according to the Edict of *C. Claudius* and *Tib. Sempronius* the Censors, do thou come forth at the Levy, and as often as there shall be a Levy made, who ever are Censors, if thou art not already a Souldier, thou shalt appear at the Levy. So also, because there was a report, that many, in the *Macedonian* Legions, were absent from the Army, by reason that they had uncertain Furlows given them through the ambition of their Commanders; they made an Edict concerning the Souldiers that were rais'd, when *P. Ælius*, and *C. Popilius* were Consuls, or since their time, for *Macedonia*; that all of them, who were in *Italy*, should return (having been first poled in their own Towns) within thirty dayes into that Province. That those who were under the Tutelage of their Fathers or Grandfathers, should give in their names to them. That they would also inquire into the reasons, why such and such men had been discharg'd from serving in the Wars; and order all those, that they thought had been, through favour, discharg'd before their time, to become Souldiers again. This Edict, together with a Letter from the Censors, having been sent through all the Corporations and Burroughs, there flock'd such a multitude of young people to *Rome*, that the City was burden'd with the unusual throng of them.

XV. Besides the Levy of those that they were to send for a Supplement, there were four Legions rais'd by *C. Sulpicius* the Prætor, and within eleven dayes the Levy was made an end of. After that, the Consuls chose their Provinces: for the Prætors, by reason of their jurisdiction

tion [i. e. their necessity to hear causes] had chosen sooner. Among whom there fell to *C. Sulpicius* the City, and to *C. Decimius* the Foreign Jurisdiction; *Spain* to *M. Claudius Marcellus*, *Sicily* to *Ser. Cornelius Lentulus*, *Sardinia* to *P. Fonteius Capito*, and the Fleet to *C. Marcus Tigulus*. Of the Consuls, *Cn. Servilius* had *Italy*, and *Q. Marcus Macedonia*: whither, after the *Latine* Holy Dayes were over, he immediately went. Then, *Capito* making a reference to the Senate, which two of the new Legions he should carry with him into *Gaul*? the Senate decreed, that *C. Sulpicius*, and *M. Claudius* the Prætors should give the Consul what number they thought good, out of the Legions, which they had rais'd. Whereupon he, taking it very ill, that a Consul should be made subject to the pleasure of Prætors, when the Senate was dismiss'd, he stood before the Tribunal of the Prætors, and required, that, according to the order of Senate, they would assign him two Legions: and the Prætors gave the Consul his own choice. After that the Censors review'd the Senate: whereof *M. Æmilius Lepidus* was now chosen President, as he had been by two pair of Censors before. They turn'd seven out of the Senate. In taking the pole of the people, they commanded the Souldiers belonging to the *Macedonian* Army (of whom, how many were absent from their Colours the pole made known) to go into that Province; inquir'd into the reasons, why several people were discharg'd from serving in the Wars; and to every man, who they thought was not duly discharg'd, they gave this Oath: Thou shalt well and truly swear, without any mental reservation, to return into the Province of *Macedonia*, as far as it lies in thy power.

In the survey of the Knights their Censorship was very severe and rough: for from many they took their Horses; in which when they had offended the order of Knights, they added thereunto the flame of Envy by Edict which they put forth; that none of those who, when *Q. Fulvius*, and *A. Postumius* were Censors, had farm'd the publick Revenues, or voluntary loans, should come to their publick sale, or be any ways concern'd in that farm. The old Publicans [Farmers of publick Revenues] seeing they could not get the Senate, to set any bounds to the Censors power; at last, engaged *P. Rutilius*, Tribune of the People, who was angry with the Censors upon a private account to be the Patron [or Advocate] of their cause. They had a Client [of *Rutilius's*] who was a *Libertine* [Son of one that had been a Slave] to pull down a certain Wall that stood in the *Via sacra* [a street so called] over against the publick Buildings, for that it was built upon the publick [ground.] The private person [to whom it belong'd] appealed to the Tribunes, of whom, seeing no one interpos'd, besides *Rutilius*, the Censors sent certain persons to take pledges, and in the publick Assembly set a fine upon the private person. Hereupon a quarrel arose, and, the Publicans having made their application to the Tribune, there was a Bill immediately promulg'd in the name of one Tribune only; That as to all publick Revenues, and Loans, which *C. Claudius*, and *Tib. Sempronius* had farm'd out, their contract should be void; that they should be farm'd anew, and that all people might have the liberty to purchase, or farm them promiscuously, one as well as another. Then the Tribunes appointed a day for the passing of that Bill in Council; which when it came, as soon as the Censors slept forth to dissuade [the confirming of it] *Gracchus* spoke, and there was silence; but *Claudius* interrupting him, he had the Cryer make an O yes. Which being done, the Tribune complain'd, that the Assembly was called away from him, and he himself rebuk'd, out of the Capitol where the Council was. The next day they caus'd mighty tumults. He first consecrated *Tib. Gracchus's* goods, because, by not submitting to his intercession, in the case of the fine and pledges of him who had appealed to the Tribune, he had affronted him: appointed *C. Claudius* a day for trial; for calling the Assembly away from him: and declared, that he judg'd both the Censors to be common Enemies; desiring *C. Sulpicius* the City Prætor to appoint a day for the Assembly. The Censors being willing, that the people should sit in judgment upon them as soon as possible; the dayes appointed for the Tryal of the Censors upon the Indictment of Treason, were the 22<sup>th</sup> and 23<sup>th</sup> of September. The Censors presently went up into the Court before the Temple of Liberty, and there sealing up the publick Books, locking up the Office Door, and sending away the publick Servants, they said, They would not do any publick business before the people had pass'd judgment upon them. *Claudius* first made his defence: and when of the eighteen Centuries of Knights, eight had condemn'd the Censor, besides many others of the first Ward; immediately the heads of the City, in the sight of the people, having laid aside their gold Rings, changed their habit, that they might appear and sollicite the common people the more like suppliants. But *Tib. Gracchus* is said most to have changed their minds, who, when the people on every side, cry'd out, That *Gracchus* was in no danger, swore in plain terms; that if his Colleague were condemn'd, and they would not stay to judge him too, he would accompany him in his banishment; and yet he was in great danger of being condemn'd, there being eight Centuries against him. When *Claudius* was acquitted, the Tribune of the people said, he had nothing to say to *Gracchus*.

That year the *Aquileian* Embassadors desiring the Senate, that they would augment the number of their inhabitants, there were fifteen hundred Families, by order of Senate rais'd, and the three who were sent, to carry them thither, were *T. Annius Luscius*, *P. Decius Subulo*, and *M. Cornelius Cethegus*. The same year *C. Popilius* and *Cn. Octavius*, the Embassadors, who were sent into *Greece*, having read the order of Senate, first, at *Thebes*, carry'd it about

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to

to all the Cities of Peloponnesus; That no person whatsoever should give the Roman Magistrates any thing toward the War, but what the Senate first thought fit. This gave them a confidence for the future also, that they should be eased of the burdens and expences, whereby (several Magistrates commanding several things one after the other) they were exhausted and drain'd. The Achaean Council being held at Argos, they spoke, and were heard very kindly; and then, having left that most trusty Nation under great hopes of their future state, went over into Aetolia. Where though there was not any insurrection as yet made, all places were full of suspicion and accusations among themselves. For which reason, having demanded Hostages, but put no end to the business, the Embassadors went thence into Acarnania: where the Acarnanians gave them Audience at Thyrium. In that Country too there was a difference between two opposite Factions; some of the chief men desiring, that there might be guards brought into their Cities, in opposition to the madness of those men, who endeavour'd to make the Nation side with the Macedonians: which others refused; lest they who were peaceable and allied Cities should receive that disgrace which usually befalls those, that are taken in War, and common Enemies. This seem'd to be a just disswave: and so the Embassadors return'd to the Pro Consul Hostilius (for from him they were sent) at Larissa. He kept Octavius with him, but sent Popilius with about a thousand men into Winter-Quarters at Ambracia.

XVIII. Perseus not daring to go out of the Confines of Macedonia in the beginning of Winter, lest the Romans should break in any way upon his Kingdom when it was empty, a little before the hard weather, when the depth of the Snow makes the Mountains from Thessaly unpassable, thinking he had a good opportunity of breaking and damping all the hopes and courage of the Neighbour Nations, that there might be no danger, whilst he himself was employ'd in the Roman War (now that Cotys from Thrace, and Cephalus out of Epirus (by his sudden defection from the Romans) offer'd him Peace, and he had subdu'd the Dardani) because he saw that that side of Macedonia only, which lay toward Illyricum, was molested; (nor were the Illyrians themselves quiet, but, besides that, gave the Romans leave to come into their Country) and, if he once had tamed the Nations next to Illyricum, that King Gentius, who had been a long time wavering in his mind, might be drawn into an Alliance, march'd out with ten thousand Foot, whereof part were Phalangites [a particular sort of Foot-Souldiers in Macedonia] and two thousand light arm'd men, together with five hundred Horse, and came to Stubera. Where having taken up Corn for a good many dayes, and order'd the preparations for attacking of Towns to follow after, he Encamped the third day at Uscana, which is the biggest City in all the Peneftian Territories: having sent (before he offer'd any violence to them) certain persons to try which way the Garison and the Townsmen were inclined. (Now there were in that City a Roman Garison, and the Illyrian Youth.) But having answer brought him, that there was no hopes of Peace, he began to attack them, and attempted to take the City by besieging it quite round. Yet notwithstanding, that they, one after another, both day and night, without intermission, some of them rear'd Ladders against the Walls, and others threw fire against the Gates, the besieged made a good defence against that storm: because they well hoped, that the Macedonians could neither any longer endure the sharpness of the Winter in the open air; nor that the King would have so much respite from the Roman War, as to be able to stay. But when they saw the Galleries come near and Towers set up, their resolution was defeated. For besides that they were not equal in point of strength, there was not a sufficient quantity of Corn, or any other Provisions within, they having been surpriz'd by that Siege. Wherefore when there was no hope of making resistance, C. Carvilius Spoletinus, and C. Afranius were sent from the Roman Garison, to demand of Perseus, first, that he would let the Souldiers depart with Bag and Baggage: and secondly (if they could not obtain that) that they would accept of a solemn promise of life only, and their liberty. This was more freely promised by Perseus, than 'twas perform'd. For when he had order'd them to depart with Bag and Baggage, he first took from them their Arms. But when these men were departed the City, the Regiment of Illyrians (in number five hundred) and the Uscanians surrender'd themselves and the City.

XIX. Perseus having put a Garison into Uscana, led the whole Body of those that were surrender'd (which was almost, in number, equal to his Army) to Stubera: where, after the Romans (who were in all four thousand men, besides the chief Officers) were distributed to secure the several Cities; having sold the Uscanians and Illyrians, he led his Army back to reduce the Town of Oeneum, which, as it is otherwise commodiously situated, is also an Avenue into the Labeatian Dominions, whereof Gentius was then King. But as he pass'd by a Castle, called Daudracum, certain persons that well knew that part of the Country, told him, that he need not to take Oeneum, unless he made Daudracum also his own: for that was seated more advantageously for all purposes. Whereupon when he approached with his Army to that place, they all immediately surrender'd themselves. By which surrender (that was made much sooner, than he could hope for) he was so animated, that when he observ'd how great the terror of his Army was, he reduced eleven other Castles by help of the same consternation. For the taking of some (very few) he was constrain'd to use force,

force, but the rest were voluntarily surrender'd: and in them were retaken fifteen hundred Roman Souldiers, who were distributed through the several Garisons. Carvilius Spoletinus was of great use in his Parleys with them, by saying, that there was no severity used against them. After this, he came to Oeneum, which could not be taken without a formal Siege: that being a Town not only guarded by a somewhat greater number of younger men than the rest, but also well-fortified with Walls; besides that on one hand the River Artatus, and on the other an exceeding high, inaccessible Mountain compass'd it round. These things gave the Townsmen courage to make resistance. Perseus therefore, when he made a Line quite round the Town, began to make a Work or Mound on the upper side, by the height whereof he might get over the Walls. Which whilst it was a making, great numbers of the Townsmen, in the mean time, were taken off by several accidents in frequent Skirmishes, in which they, falling out, strove to defend their own Walls, and hinder the progress of the Enemies Works; and even those that remained were render'd useless through their continual toil both day and night, together with their loss of blood. As soon as the Mound was made up close to the Wall, the Kings Regiment, whom they call Nicatores [i. e. Conquerours] got upon it, and with Ladders made a forceable entry into the City in many places at once: killing all that were at mans estate, and committing the Women and Children to Custody, but the rest of the booty fell to the Souldiers shares. From thence returning Conquerour to Stubera, he sent Pleuratus an Illyrian who was in banishment under his protection, and Aputeus a Macedonian from Berea, Embassadors to Gentius: charging them; to declare what he had done that Summer and Winter against the Romans, and the Dardani: together with his late Achievements in Illyricum, even in a Winters Expedition: and also to advise Gentius, that he would enter into an Alliance with him and the Macedonians.

When these persons were got over the top of the Mountain Scordus, they came at last with much ado (through the deserts of Illyricum, which by ravaging the Country, the Macedonians had made on purpose, that the Dardani might not have an easy access into Illyricum, or Macedonia) to Scodra. King Gentius was at Lissus; and so the Embassadors being summon'd thither, when they came to tell their message, had a very favourable Audience, but receiv'd an Answer to no effect; viz. That he wanted not an inclination to make War against the Romans; but, to put what he desired in execution, he wanted money, more than any thing else. This Answer they carry'd back to the King at Stubera, whilst he was selling the Illyrian Captives. Thereupon the same Embassadors, together with Glaucias, one of his Lifeguard, were sent back again, without any mention of money, by which alone the poor Barbarian could be induced to join in the War. In the mean time Perseus having pillaged Ancyra, led his Army back again into Penefta; and when he had secur'd the Garison of Uscana, with those about it in all the several Castles which he had taken, and went back into Macedonia.

XXI. L. Calpurnius, a Roman Lieutenant was Governour of Illyricum, who not daring to stir, when the King was in those parts, endeavour'd, after his departure, in Penefta to retake Uscana, but being repuls'd by a Garison of Macedonians, that were in it, after he had received many Wounds, led his Forces back to Lychnidum. From whence, after some few dayes, he sent M. Trebellius of Fregelle with a very considerable body of men into Penefta, to take Hostages of such Cities, as had continu'd in Alliance with, and faithful [to the Romans]. He likewise order'd them to proceed as far as the Parthimians (for they too had agreed to give Hostages) and to make their demands from both Nations without tumult. The Hostages of Penefta were sent to Apollonia, and those of the Parthimi to Dyrrachium, which the Greeks at that time more frequently called Epidamnus. In the mean time Ap. Claudius being desirous to take off the ignominy, which he had contracted in Illyricum, began to attack the Castle of Phomotes in Epirus, against which he brought with him the Athaman and Thesprotian Auxiliaries, besides the Roman Army, to the number of six hundred men: but it was not worth his while; for Clevas, whom Perseus had left there with a strong Garison to defend it. At that time Perseus going into Elimeia, after he had muster'd up an Army about those parts, march'd, by the desire of the Epirotes, to Startus, which was then the strongest City of Aetolia, and is seated above the Ambracian Bay, near the River Achelous. He went thither with ten thousand Foot, and three hundred Horse: of which he took along with him the less number by reason of the streightness and roughness of the wayes. The third day, when he was come to the Mountain Citius, he could scarce get over it for the depth of the Snow, nor hardly find a place to Encamp in. Wherefore departing thence, because he could not stay there rather than because either the way, or the season was tolerable, with great toil (especially to his beasts) the second day, he Encamp'd at the Temple of Jupiter, whom they call Nicens. From thence, after a tedious Journey, he came and was stopp'd at the River Arachthus, by the depth of it. During which stay of his there, having made a Bridge, he led his Forces over it, and, when he had gone forward one dayes Journey, met Archdamus Prince of the Aetolians, who deliver'd Stratus up into his hands.

That day he pitch'd his Camp upon the Confines of Aetolia; and march'd from thence the day after to Stratus: where, having incamped near the River Achelous, when he was in expectation

expectation that the *Ætolians* would come in throngs out at every Gate to put themselves under his protection, he found the Gates all shut, and the very night that he came, the *Roman* Garison retaken, with *C. Popilius* the Lieutenant. The Noblemen, who, being compelled thereunto by the authority of *Archidamus*, (then present) had invited the King thither, going out somewhat slower than *Archidamus*, to meet him, had given opportunity to the adverse Faction, to send for *Popilius* with a thousand Foot from *Ambracia*. *Dinarchus* also Colonel of the *Ætolian* Horse, came very seasonably with six hundred Foot, and a hundred Horse. It was well known, that he came to *Stratus* with a design to serve *Perseus*; but that afterward (his mind being alter'd with the event) he sided with the *Romans*, against whom he at first set out. Nor was *Popilius* more secure, than he ought to be, among such fickle dispositions: wherefore he got the Keyes of the Gates, and the keeping of the Walls immediately into his own hands, removing *Dinarchus*, the *Ætolians* and the *Stratian* Youth into the Castle, under pretence of making them a guard to it. *Perseus* having attempted to gain several Parleys from the Hills that he above the upper side of the City, when he saw they were obstinate, and endeavour'd with Darts at a distance to beat him off, Encamped five miles from the City beyond the River *Petitarus*. Where when he had call'd a Council, *Archidamus* and the Renegadoes of *Epirus* dissuaded him, and the *Macedonian* Nobility were of opinion, that he ought not to fight against the unreasonable time of the year, having no Provisions before hand; for that the Besiegers were like to feel the want of every thing, sooner than the Besieged, especially since the Enemies Winter-Quarters were not far from thence, whereby he was so discouraged that he removed his Camp into *Aperantia*. The *Aperantians* unanimously received him, for the sake of *Archidamus*, who was very much beloved, and had great authority in that Nation; and therefore he was made Governour of that people with a guard of eight hundred Souldiers.

XXIII. The King return'd into *Macedonia* with the same toil both to his Beasts and Men, as he before came thence. But yet he removed *Appius* from the Siege of *Phanotes*, by the rumour of his own marching toward *Stratus*. *Cleuas* follow'd him with a body of active young men, and at the almost unpassable Feet of the Mountains kill'd a thousand men out of his Army which there were stop'd, besides that he took to the number of two hundred. *Appius* having got through the Streights, lay Encamped for some few dayes in a Plain called *Eleos*; whilst, in the mean time, *Cleuas*, taking along with him *Philostratus*, Governour of the *Epirotes*, went over into the *Antigonian* Territories. There the *Macedonians* went a plundering; but *Philostratus* with his Regiment lay perdieu in an obscure place. So when the people of *Antigonis* came out arm'd against the stragling Ravagers, they pursu'd them as they fled, and forced them headlong into a Valley which was taken up by the Enemy. Where having kill'd a thousand, taken about a hundred, and had good success upon all occasions, they moved their Camp near to the place where *Appius* lay, lest the *Roman* Army should do their Allies any injury. *Appius* having spent his time to no purpose in these parts, sent away the Guards of *Chaonia*, with all other *Epirotes* (if any there were) and marching back with the *Italian* Souldiers into *Illyricum*, sent them into the allied Cities of the *Parthe-nians* for Winter-Quarters, whilst he himself return'd to *Rome* to Sacrifice. King *Perseus* having recall'd a thousand Foot and two hundred Horse out of the *Penestian* Territories, sent them to *Cassandria* to be a guard there. In the mean time the Embassadors return'd from *Gentius* with the same news. But for all that *Perseus* did not cease to importune him, by sending several Embassies one after another, when it appear'd what strength he could afford, and yet he could not perswade himself to lay out any money upon a thing of the greatest moment to him to all intents and purposes.

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## DECADE

## DECADE V. BOOK IV.

### The EPILOGUE.

1, 2, &c. *Quintus Marcius Philip* pass'd through pathless woods into *Macedonia*, and possess'd himself of many Cities. 14. The *Rhodians* sent Embassadors to *Rome*, threatening, that they would assist *Perseus*, unless the *Roman* People enter'd into a League and Alliance with him: which was very ill taken. 18, &c. When that war was committed to the management of *L. Æmilius Paulus*, who was a second time Consul for the ensuing year, he in a publick Assembly of the People pray'd, that all the mischief that hung over the *Roman* People might fall upon his Family: and so going into *Macedonia* he conquer'd *Perseus*, and reduced all *Macedonia*. 37. Before he began the Battle, *C. Sulpicius Gallus* forewarn'd the Army, that they should not wonder, if the Moon the next night were Eclips'd. 31, 32. *Gentius* also, King of the *Illyrians*, having rebell'd, was conquer'd by *Anicius* the Prætor, and submitted himself, being sent to *Rome*, with his Wife, Children and Relations. 19. Embassadors came from *Alexandria* on the behalf of *Cleopatra* and *Ptolemy*: Sovereigns of that place, complaining of *Antiochus*, King of *Syria*, that he made war against them. 23, &c. *Perseus*, after he had solicited *Eumenes* King of *Pergamus* and *Gentius*, King of *Illyricum*, because he did not give them the money, that he had promised, was deserted by them.

I. In the beginning of the Spring, which ensued that Winter, in which these things were transacted, *Q. Marcius Philippus*, the Consul, setting out from *Rome*, with five thousand men (which he was to take over along with him, as a Supplement to the Legions) came to *Brundisium*. *M. Popilius* a Consular man, and other young men of equal Nobility, who were Tribunes of the Souldiers, follow'd the Consul into the Legions that were in *Macedonia*. At that time also *C. Marcius Figulus* the Prætor, who happen'd to have the Navy for his Province, came to *Brundisium*: and then likewise those that came out of *Italy*, arriv'd the second day at *Coryra*, and the third at *Ægium*, a Port of *Acarnania*. From thence the Consul, going a shore at *Ambracia*, went by Land toward *Thessaly*. The Prætor, having pass'd *Leucates* [a Promontory] sail'd into the *Corinthian* Bay, and having left his Ships at *Crensa*, went himself likewise by Land through the middle of *Boeotia*, and with great speed, in one day, came to the Navy at *Chalcis*. At that time *A. Hostilius* lay Encamp'd near *Palepharalus* in *Thessaly*; where as he had done no memorable Warlike exploit, so he reform'd the Souldiers from their exorbitant Libertinism into all kind of military Discipline, taking care of his Allies with all fidelity, and defending them from all manner of injury. When he heard that his Successor was a coming, having diligently view'd the Arms, Men, and Horses, he put his Army in Array, and went forth to meet the Consul on the rode. Their first interview was not only agreeable to their own dignity, and that of the *Roman* name, but of great advantage also to *Philip* the Consul in order to the future manage of affairs. For the Pro-Consul, turning to the Army, encourag'd them to behave themselves like men of valour, and then, having deliver'd them up to the Consul, return'd to *Rome*. Some few dayes after, the Consul made a Speech to the Souldiers; beginning with the Paricide [unnatural murder] which *Perseus* committed upon his Brother, and intended upon his Father: to which he added, that he gain'd the Kingdom by wicked means, his Poisonings, Murders, how he attempted basely to rob *Eumenes*, his injuries to the *Roman* People, his ravaging of their allied Cities against the League: all which how much even the Gods resented, he would find by the event of his affairs. For the Gods favour'd Piety and Justice, by which the *Roman* People came to such a pitch [of grandeur]. After which he compar'd the strength of the *Roman* People, who were now Masters of the whole World, with that of *Macedonia*, and the Armies of the one with those of the other: adding, that the vast Armies of *Philip* and *Antiochus* were vanquish'd by no more than such a number of Forces.

The minds of the Souldiers being inflamed by this kind of Discourse, he began to consult concerning the grand affair and manage of the War. *C. Marcius* the Prætor also, having received the Navy from *Chalcis*, came thither. Thereupon the Consul thought fit, no longer to spend time by staying in *Thessaly*, but immediately to Decamp and march on into *Macedonia*; and that the Prætor should endeavour to come with the Navy at the same time, upon the Enemies Coasts. Having dismiss'd the Prætor, the Consul, giving order, that each Souldier should carry a Months Provisions along with him, began the tenth day after he receiv'd the Army to remove his Camp; and having gone forward one dayes march, he call'd the rode-guides together; whom when he had commanded to declare before the Council, which way each of them would carry the Army, he made them withdraw, and referr'd it to the Council, to advise him, which way he had best to take. Some were for going through *Pythium*; others through the *Cambunian* Mountains, the way, that Consul *Hostilius* had march'd the year before, and others by the Fen of *Ascuris*. But there was some space of the common way still remaining; and therefore they defer'd the debate of that matter till such time, as they should Encamp near the parting of the several rodes. From thence he march'd into *Perræbia*,

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bia, and Encamp'd between *Azorus* and *Doliche*, to consult again, which way he had best to take. At the same time *Perseus*, knowing that the Enemy was nigh at hand, but being ignorant which rode to pitch upon, resolv'd to beset all the passes with guards. With that he sent ten thousand young men in light armour to the top of the *Cambunian* Mountains (which they call *Volufana*) under the Command of *Asclepiodorus*; whilst *Hippias* was order'd to keep the Avenues near the Castle which stands upon the Fen *Ascuris* (at a place called *Lapathus*) with a guard of twelve thousand *Macedonians*. He himself, with the rest of the Forces, lay Encamp'd, first about *Dium*; but afterward posting with his nimblest Horse along the shore, one while to *Heraclea*, and another to *Phila*, he came back the same way thence to *Dium*.

III. In the mean while the Consul resolv'd to march through that Lawn, where I told you formerly King *Philip's* Camp was, near *Oëolophus*: but thought it necessary to send four thousand Souldiers before, to take possession of advantageous places, under the conduct of *M. Claudius*, and *Q. Marcius* the Consul's Son; whom the whole Army presently follow'd. But the way was so steep, rough, and craggy, that the light arm'd Souldiers, who were sent before, having with much ado gone five miles in two dayes, pitch'd their Camp, in a place which they call *Turris Enaierus* [from the pleasant and transparent Waters thereabout.] From thence next day having gone forward seven Miles, they sat down upon an Hill not far from the Enemies Camp, and sent back a Messenger to the Consul, to tell him, that they were come to the *Foe*, and had posted themselves in a safe place which was commodious upon all accounts; that he might come up to them as fast as he could. So whilst the Consul was concern'd, not only for the roughness of the rode that he had taken, but likewise for their sakes whom he had sent before in so small a number amidst the Enemies Garisons, the Messenger met him at the Fen *Assuris*. Thereupon he himself also took Courage, and having joined the Forces together, form'd his Camp upon the side of that Hill which the *Romans* were possess'd of, as advantageously as the nature of the place would permit him to do. From whence they could see not only the Enemies Camp, (which was but a little more than a mile distant from them) but all the Country to *Dium* and *Phila*, together with the Sea-Coast, the prospect from so high an Hill was so vast and wide. This so enflamed the Souldiers minds, when they saw the main stress of the War, all the Kings Forces, and the Enemies Country at so near a view, that they all very earnestly desir'd the Consul, that he would march forthwith to the Enemies Camp. But he gave them one day of rest to relieve themselves from the toil of their Journey, and the third day, leaving part of his Forces to guard the Camp, march'd to the Enemy.

IV. *Hippias* had been lately sent by the King to defend the pass; who ever since he saw the *Roman* Camp upon the Hill, having prepared the spirits of his Souldiers for a fight, met the Consul's Army as it was a coming: whilst the *Roman* light-armour, and the Enemies too, who were the readiest and nimblest sort of Fellows to provoke a Battle, were already gone forth to the fight. They therefore coming up with one another, threw their Darts, receiving and giving many wounds on both sides by their rash onset, besides, that some few on both sides were slain. By this means their spirits being irritated against the next day, they would then have fallen on with greater numbers, and more vehemency, had there been room enough to display and marshal their whole body: but the top of the Mountain going up wedgewise into a narrow ridge, there were scarce space enough for three to stand a breast. Wherefore whilst a few of them fought, the rest stood looking on, especially those in heavy armour: but the light armour ran forward even through the windings of the Hill, and engaged on the sides thereof with the [Enemies] light-armour, making in to the fight through rough or smooth ways, all alike. And after there had been more wounded than kill'd that day, the night put an end to the fight. The third day the *Roman* General wanted advice; for he could neither stay on the barren Hills top, nor return without dishonour and even danger also. For the Enemy could pursue and press upon him, as he retired from the higher ground, nor had he any other way left, than to correct what he had so resolutely begun with a pertinacious boldness, which sometimes in the end grows prudent. Well, it was come to that pass, that if the Consul had had an Enemy like to the ancient *Macedonian* Kings, he might have receiv'd a great overthrow; but that the King wander'd up and down with his Horse along the shores at *Dium*, and only heard the clamour and noise of the fight almost twelve miles off; nor augmented his Forces by putting fresh men in the room of them that were tired; nor was himself (which was a matter of greatest moment) present at the Battle: whilst the *Roman* General, though above sixty years of Age, and a corpulent Man, performed all the Offices of War with great activity; continu'd bravely to the last to carry on what he had so boldly begun: and leaving *Popilius* to keep the top of the Hill, went over through pathless places; but sent certain persons before to clear the way, commanding *Attalus* and *Misagenes*, each with the Auxiliaries of their own Nation, to be a guard to them that open'd the pass, whilst he himself, having his Horse and Carriages before him, with the Legions, brought up the Reer.

V. 'Twas an unspeakable toil and pains for them to get down, since the Beasts and their loads tumbled down as they went; and yet when they were scarce gone forward four miles, they desired

desired nothing more, than to have been able if possible, to return to the place from whence they came. For the Elephants made almost as great a disturbance among them as an Enemy would have done: who when they came to the pathless places, threw off their Riders, and with an horrid noise put the Horses especially into a mighty confusion; till such time, as they consider'd of means to get them through. As they went down the Hill, they fix'd two long and strong pieces of Timber into the ground below, not much more distant from each other than the breadth of the Beast, upon which there were Rasters laid across, thirty Feet long, in form of a Bridge; with Earth thrown over them. And then at a little distance below, there was another Bridge of the like nature; and so a third, with several others in the same order, where the Rocks were craggy and abrupt. Thus the Elephant went firm upon the Bridge; but before he came to the end of it, the Posts were cut down, and the Bridge falling down made him slide down gently to the edge of another Bridge: some of the Elephants standing on their Feet, and others resting on their Buttocks. When the second Plain of the Bridge had received them, they were let down again by the like fall of that Bridge too, till they came into a plain Vale. The *Romans* march'd not much above seven miles in a day: of which they went the least part of the way on their Feet. For they rouled forward themselves, with their Arms and other things which they had to carry to their great vexation in all respects; insomuch that the very Guide, and he that advis'd them to go that way could not deny, but that the whole Army might have been destroy'd by a very small body of Enemies. By night they came into a little Plain, where they had not room to look about and see whether the place were beset, it being every way enclosed and hedg'd in [with Woods and Rocks.] Now therefore when they at last, with much ado, and beyond all expectation, had gotten firm ground to stand upon, it was necessary for them the day after also, in that hollow Vale, to stay for *Popilius* and the Forces left with him: to whom likewise, though the Enemy had not at all affrighted them, the roughness of the places [through which they pass'd] gave the same vexation as an Enemy. The third day they join'd their Forces together, and march'd through a Lawn, which the Inhabitants call *Callipeuce*. But the fourth day again they came to places as pathless as before, but pass'd them with greater ease, and more Courage, by reason that they had been already us'd to the like, no Enemy appeared, and they were near the Sea. So turning down into the Plains they pitch'd the Camp of their Foot (greatest part whereof were on the Hills) between *Heraclea* and *Libethrum*: so they lay round the Vale, and part of the Plain, where the Horse were posted.

'Tis said, news came to the King as he was washing himself, That the Enemy was at hand: Upon which he leap'd immediately in great consternation from his Throne, and crying out, That he was conquer'd without fighting, flung away. Nor could he come to any resolution, being so distracted in all his Counsels and Commands, but of two particular Favourites and Friends that he had, call'd back one, which was *Asclepiodorus*, from his Garisons [upon the Frontiers] to *Pella*, where all his money lay, and open'd all passages to a War. He himself, having got all the gilded Statues in hast from *Dium* into the Fleet, lest they should be a prey to the Enemy caus'd them to be carry'd with all speed to *Pydna*: so that what might have seem'd rashness in the Consul (*viz.* that he should go so far, as that he could not come back without the Enemies consent) proved no disadvantageous boldness. For the *Romans* had two passes, whereby to get out of that place; the one through *Tempe* into *Thessaly*, and the other into *Macedonia* by *Dium*, both of which were secur'd by the Kings Guards. Wherefore if the chief Officer there had been so courageous as to have born the first appearance of that approaching terror for ten days, the *Romans* could neither have pass'd through *Tempe* into *Thessaly*, nor had there been room enough that way to have carried their Baggage. For *Tempe* is a streight, which though it be not infested by War, is yet very difficult to pass. For besides the narrowness of it for five miles, in which the way is too little for a Beast that's loaded to go along, the Rocks on both sides are so abrupt and craggy, that a man can scarce look down without a kind of swimming and disturbance, both in his Eyes and Mind too. Besides, the noise and the depth of the River *Peneus*, which runs through the midst of the Vale, is very terrible. Now this place, which in its own nature is so rugged and unpassable, was secur'd in four several places by the Kings Guards. Of whom one Party lay in the very entrance at *Gomus*; another at *Condylus* in an impregnable Castle; a third about *Lapathus*, which they call *Charax*, and the fourth posted in the very way, in the middle and the narrowest part of the Vale; which even ten Souldiers may easily defend. So then, seeing the way through *Tempe* was block'd up against their carriages, and their way back too unpassable; they must of necessity make to the Mountains from whence they before came down. But this as they could not compass privately, so neither could they openly, by reason that the Enemy were on the tops of the Hills; besides, that the difficulty which they so lately met with, balk'd all their hopes. Wherefore in such a case as this, where they had put themselves upon so rash an enterprize, there was no other way for them, but to make their way to *Dium* in *Macedonia*, through the very midst of their Enemies; which (unless the Gods had infatuated the King) was a matter of very great difficulty. For since the bottom of the Mountain *Olympus*, leaves little more than the

VI.

space

space of a mile between that and the Sea, half of which the wide mouth of the River *Baphyrus* takes up; whilst either the Temple of *Jupiter*, or a Town [*Heraclea*] stands on another part of the Plain, the rest being but very narrow might have been secur'd and block'd up with a small Ditch and a Rampire: besides, that there were so much Stone and Wood nigh at hand, that they might even have built a Wall, and Towers upon it. But the Kings mind being blinded with sudden fear, he consider'd none of these advantages; and therefore having expos'd and laid open all his Garisons to the Enemy, he retired to *Pydna*.

VII.

The Consul seeing that there was great safety and hopes in the folly and sloth of the Enemy, sent a Messenger back to *Sp. Lucretius* at *Larissa*, [to advise him] that he would possess himself of all the Castles that were forsaken by the Enemy about *Tempe*; having sent *Popilius* before to view the places about *Dium*. When he found that all the Coast was every way clear, he arriv'd in two dayes march at *Dium*; and order'd his Camp to be pitch'd under the very Temple, lest any thing in that sacred place should be violated. Then he himself going into the City (which though it be not large, is curiously adorn'd with public Buildings, and a multitude of Statues, besides, that it is very well fortified) could scarce believe, but that, seeing all those splendid and magnificent Works and Ornaments were left without any reason, there must be some design at the bottom of it. Wherefore he staid one day to search all places round about it, and then decamp'd: and being confident that there would be Corn enough ready for him, he march'd forward that day to a River called *Mrys*. The next day he went on, and took the City of *Agassia* by voluntary surrender. Whereupon, that he might engage the affections of the other *Macedonians* unto him, he was content with Hostages only, and promised them to leave their City without any guard in it, and that they should live freely under their own Laws. From thence he march'd a dayes Journey, and Encamp'd by the River *Ascordus*: but seeing, that the farther he went from *Thessaly*, the greater scarcity there was of all sorts of Provisions, he went back to *Dium*; by which means every body came to understand, what inconveniences he must have undergone by being foreclosed from *Thessaly*, who could not with any safety move any considerable distance from that Country. In the mean time *Perseus*, having muster'd all his Forces and Officers before him in one Body, began to blame the Governours of Garisons, but especially *Asclepiodotus* and *Hippias*, saying, that by them the inlets or barriers of *Macedonia* were betray'd to the Romans: though no body had been more justly guilty of that fault than he himself. When the Consul saw a Navy out at Sea, and from thence conceiv'd some hopes, that the Roman Ships were coming with Provisions (for there was great scarcity of all necessaries, and almost extream want) he was told by some that came into the Port, that the Ships of burden were left at *Magnesia*. Whereupon he being uncertain what he had best to do (for he had now work enough, to grapple with the difficulty of his present circumstances, without the help of an Enemy to aggravate his ill fortune) there was a Letter very opportunely brought from *Sp. Lucretius*, That he was master of all the Castles that were upon *Tempe*, and about *Phila*, and that he had found in them great plenty of Corn and other things, fit for present use.

VIII.

The Consul was very glad of this news, and thereupon march'd from *Dium* to *Phila*, not only to strengthen that Garison, but likewise to distribute Corn, which was too long a coming by Sea, among his Souldiers. But that Journey of his had no good report: for some said, he retreated for fear, because if he, the General, had staid, he must of necessity have engaged in a Battle: others, that he knew not the daily vicissitudes of War; since when a fair opportunity was offer'd to him, he omitted that which he could not easily retrieve. For as soon as he quitted the possession of *Dium*, he excited the Enemy; so that he [*Perseus*] then grew sensible that those things might be recover'd, which he had by his own remissions, or cowardise formerly lost. For when he heard that the Consul was gone, returning to *Dium*, he repaired all such things as the Romans had either demolish'd or defaced; setting up the Battlements of the Walls, that were knock'd down, and making them tight again on every side: and when he had so done he Encamp'd on this side the River *Enipeus* five miles from the City, that he might have the very River, which was very difficult to pass, for his security. This River runs out of the Vale under the Mountain *Olympus*, being but small in Summer time, though in the Winter when 'tis raised by the rains, it not only runs over the Cliffs a great depth, but likewise by carrying the Earth along with it into the Sea makes very deep gulphs, and by hollowing the main Channel, turns the Banks on each side into Precipices. *Perseus* supposing that by this River the passage of his Enemy might be obstructed, design'd there to spend the remaining part of that Summer. But at this juncture the Consul sent *Popilius* from *Phila* with two thousand arm'd men to *Heraclea*; which is distant from *Phila* about five miles, in the midway between *Dium* and *Tempe*, and situate upon a Rock that hangs over a River.

IX.

*Popilius*, before he drew his men up to the Walls, sent certain persons to perswade the Magistrates and Nobility, that they would rather try the honour and clemency of the Romans, than the force of their Arms. But that advice did no good, because there appeared Fires near *Enipeus*, out of the Kings Camp. With that *Popilius* began to attack them both by Land and Sea (for the Navy being arriv'd lay ready near the shore) with Arms, Works, and Engines

Engines all at once. There were also certain young men of *Rome*, who converting the Games of the *Circus* to a Warlike use, took the lowest part of the Wall. For the custom was in those days, before this excess was introduced, to fill the *Circus* with Beasts out of all Nations, and to contrive several sorts of shews, nor did they make above one match of Chariot-driving, and another of Vaulting from one Horse to another, both which took not up above one hours time. Among other things, there were about sixty young men, and sometimes more, brought in arm'd, by the Marshals of the Games. The bringing in of these persons was partly an imitation of an Army exercising, and partly of a more gentle exercise than that of Souldiers, somewhat nearer to the Gladiators or Fencers use of Arms. And when they had made other motions in point of exercise; they put themselves into a square Body, with their shields close over their Heads, the first standing, the other bending somewhat lower, the third lower than they, the fourth lower than the third, and the last kneeling, till they made a *Teltudo* [a covering for their heads and bodies like a Tortoise-shell] sloping up, like the roof of an House. Then at the distance of about fifty Feet, two of them ran forth arm'd, and daring one the other, when they had got up from the bottom to the top of the Tortoise, over the closed Shields, they one while skipt about the exterior part of it, as though they had been to make a defence, and anon engaged each other in the midst of it, as though they had been on firm ground. Now they having made a Tortoise, or Target Fence very like to this [used in the Games of the *Circus*] and apply'd it to such a part of the Wall, when the Souldiers that were upon it came near, they were as high as those that defended the Town: and having beaten them off the Walls, the Souldiers belonging to two Ensigns got over into the City. In this one thing only they differ'd, that in the Front and Flanks they held not their Shields above their Heads (lest they might expose their Bodies) but before them, as men do when they fight. By which means the Darts slung from the Wall did not hurt them, whilst they made their approach, but being thrown upon their united Shields, slid down to the bottom as rain does off the side of an House. The Consul, when *Heraclea* was now taken, removed his Camp so much forward, as though he intended to go to *Dium*, and, when he had routed the King from thence, into *Pieria* also. But being now preparing for his Winter-Quarters, he order'd rodes to be made, for carrying of Corn out of *Thessaly*; convenient places to be chosen for Bains, and Houses to be built, where they that brought the provisions might lodge or Inn [by the way.]

*Perseus* at last having recover'd himself from that fright wherewith he had been stunned, would rather his commands had not been obey'd, when in a consternation he order'd his treasure at *Pella* to be thrown into the Sea, and the Ships at *Thessalonica* to be burnt. [Correspondent to which desire of his] *Andronicus*, who was sent to *Thessalonica*, had delay'd the time, and, as it happen'd, left him room for repentance: but *Nicias* being more unwary at *Pella* threw all the money away that he could get; but his error was capable of being corrected, in that it was almost all retrieved by men that dived to fetch it out again. Now the King was so much affraid of that fright, that he order'd the Divers to be privately murder'd: and after them, *Andronicus* and *Nicias*; that there might be no body remaining that should be privy to so mad a command. At this juncture *C. Marcus*, going with the Fleet from *Heraclea* to *Thessalonica*, not only ravaged the Country in many places very much, by landing his men upon that Coast, but likewise, when they sallied forth from the City, forc'd them back, upon some prosperous Skirmishes, that he had with them, with consternation into their very Walls. And now he was terrible to the very City, till the Inhabitants, having planted Engines of all sorts, smote not only those that straggled, in their rash approaches, about the Walls, but those also that were in the Ships, with stones slung from the Town. Wherefore recalling the Souldiers into the Ships, and omitting the Siege of *Thessalonica*, they went from thence to *Enia*: which is a City fifteen miles from that place, opposite to *Pydna*, in a fertile soil. And when they wasted the Confines thereof they came coasting all along to *Antigonea*. Where, after they were landed, they first wasted the Country all thereabout, and brought some booty to the Ships; and then the *Macedonians* (Horse and Foot mixt together) pursuing them as they fled in all haste to the Sea, kill'd near five hundred of them, and took as many. Nor did any thing but extream necessity, seeing they were hinder'd from returning safely to their Ships, provoke the minds of the Romans, not only with despair of any other way to save themselves, but indignation too. Whereupon the fight was renew'd upon the shore, and they also assist'd who were in the Ships. By which means there were near two hundred *Macedonians* slain, and a like number taken. When the Fleet went from *Antigonea* they landed near *Pallene* to plunder the Country. That part of the Country belong'd to the *Cassandrian* Confines, being far the most fertile of all the Coast which they had sail'd by. There King *Eumenes* with twenty men of War, coming from *Elea*, met them, and there were five men of War besides sent from King *Prusias*.

By this accession of fresh strength the Prætor was encouraged to attack *Cassandrea*; which was built by King *Cassander* in the very Streights, that join the *Pallenean* Territories to the rest of *Macedonia*, being enclosed on the one side with the *Toronaick*, and on the other

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XI.

with

with the *Macedonian* Sea. For the Land on which it stands runs into the Sea like a Tongue; nor runs it out any less in length than the Mountain *Athos* in height, being opposite to the Region of *Magnesia*, with its two unequal Promontories; the bigger of which is called *Pofideum*, and the lesser *Canastrum*. They began to attack in several parts, and in several parties. The *Roman* at a place called *Clyre*, drew a Line of Fortification (with Pallisadoes also before it to hinder the Enemies approach) from the *Torona* to the *Macedonian* Sea. On the other side there is the *Euripus*; and there *Eumenes* made his attack. The *Roman* had a great deal of trouble to fill the Ditch that *Perseus* had lately made. Concerning which, when the *Prætor* ask'd (because the heaps did not appear) where the Earth was thrown that came out of that Ditch, they shew'd him the Arches of the Wall which were not made of the same thickness with the old Wall, but built with one single row of Bricks. He therefore advis'd with his Officers how to break through the Wall, and force his way into the City: and consider'd that by this means he might deceive them, viz. if he pretended to scale the Walls at another place, and thereby, putting them into a tumult, should bring all the besieged to the defence of that place. There were in the Garison of *Cassandrea*, besides a considerable Company of young men of the Town, eight hundred *Agrians*, and two thousand *Illyrians* from *Peneſte*, sent thither by *Pluratus*, being both of them a Warlike sort of people. These men being upon the defensive part, whilst the *Romans* strove with all their might to get upon the Walls, in a moment of time the Arches being broken through, laid the City wide open. Now had they who broke through the Wall been arm'd, they might immediately have taken the Town. When the Souldiers heard that this work was finish'd, they presently set up a joyful shout, resolving to get into the City some at one place, and some at another.

XII. The Enemy at first stood in admiration, what the meaning should be of that sudden shout. But when the Governours of the Garison, *Pytho* and *Philip*, heard that the City was laid open, they, being of opinion, that that would turn to their advantage, that made the first attack upon their Enemies, fall'd out with a stout body of *Agrians* and *Illyrians*; and put the *Romans* to flight, who ran together from several parts (being call'd to advance their Ensigns into the City) all discompos'd and out of order: and push'd them to the Trench, into which they forced them to tumble in heaps one over another. There were nigh six hundred at that time slain, and almost all, that were taken between the Wall and the Trench, wounded. Thus the *Prætor* himself, being extremely dilheartned, even by his own attempt, became more slack in other new designs; nor had even *Eumenes*, who attackt the Enemy at once by Sea and Land too, any very good success. Wherefore they both thought fit, after they had secur'd their Watches, so that no relief might be let into the Town out of *Macedonia* (since open force had not prevailed) to attempt the Walls with Works. Which whilst they were about to prepare, ten of the Kings Barks were sent from *Thessalonica* with choice Auxiliaries, that were *Gauls*; who, seeing the Enemies Ships standing off in the Sea, themselves in the night, when 'twas very dark, failed one by one, as near the shore as they could, and enter'd the City. The report of this new relief forced the *Romans* and the King too [*Eumenes*] to quit the Siege; and so they, doubling the Cape, arriv'd with the Fleet at *Torone*. But as soon as they began to attack that place also, finding that it was defended by a strong body of men, they thought 'twas in vain to make any farther attempt, and went to *Demetrias*. Where when upon their approach, they saw the Walls all cover'd over with Souldiers, they failed by with their Fleet to *Iolcus*; resolving, when they had wasted the Country thereabout, to return and besiege *Demetrias*.

XIII. At this time too the Consul, lest he should be guilty of sitting down idle in an Enemies Country, sent *M. Popilius* with five thousand men to attack the City of *Melibœa*, which is situate at the foot of the Mountain *Ossa*, on that side, which lies toward *Thessaly*, and stands very opportunely above *Demetrias*. The first arrival of the Enemy put the Inhabitants of the place into some consternation: but when they had recover'd themselves from the fright, they ran several wayes to the Gates and the Walls, where they suspected the Foe would make their approaches: whereby they presently cut off all the Enemies hopes, that they might be taken upon the first effort. Thereupon preparation was made for a Siege, and all works in order to it taken in hand. When *Perseus* heard, that not only *Melibœa* was attempted by the Consuls Army, but that the Navy also stood at *Iolcus*, with design from thence to attack *Demetrias*, he sent *Euphranor*, one of his Captains with two thousand choice men to *Melibœa*; commanding him, that if he rais'd the Siege of the *Romans* from before *Melibœa*, he should get privately into *Demetrias*, before they decamp'd from *Iolcus* to that City. When those that besieged *Melibœa* saw him on a sudden upon the Hills, they left their works in great confusion, but first set them on fire; and so they retreated from *Melibœa*. *Euphranor*, having rais'd the Siege from before one City, march'd straight to *Demetrias*. Nor did the Inhabitants of that place then believe, that they could defend their Walls only, but their Country also from devallation; for they made sallies out upon the stragling Pillagers, and wounded many of the Enemies. Notwithstanding the *Prætor* and the King rode about the Walls, to view the situation of the City, and see if they might attempt

tempt it either by works or force on any side. There was a report, that conditions of Peace were treated of between *Eumenes* and *Perseus*, by *Cydus*, a *Cretan*, and *Antimachus*, who at that time was Governour of *Demetrias*: but this is unquestionable, that they retreated from *Demetrias*. *Eumenes* failed to the Consul; and having congratulated his prosperous entrance into *Macedonia*, went away to *Pergamus* in his own Kingdom. *Marcus Figulus* the *Prætor*, having sent part of the Fleet to *Winter* at *Sciathus*, went with the rest of the Ships to *Oreum* in *Eubœa*; supposing that City to be the most commodious for sending of Provisions to the Armies, that were in *Macedonia* and *Thessaly*. There are very different accounts concerning King *Eumenes*. If you believe *Valerius Antias*, he says, that he neither assist'd the *Prætor*, though he often sent for him by Letters; nor went with the Consuls good liking into Asia: but took it ill, that he had not the liberty to lodge in the same Camp; and that he could not be induced to leave behind him even those *Gallick* Troops, which he had brought thither with him. That his Brother *Attalus* not only staid with the Consul, but also, that he was very faithful to him all along, and did mighty service in the War.

XIV. Whilst the War continu'd in *Macedonia*, there came Embassadors from a petit King of the *Gauls* beyond the *Alpes* (his name, 'tis said, was *Balanos*, but of what Nation he was is not mention'd) to *Rome*; who promised aid toward the carrying on of the *Macedonian* War. For which the Senate return'd [him] their thanks, and sent him several Presents: viz. a gold Chain of two pound weight, and several golden Goblets of four pound weight, with a trapped Horse and Arms for an Horseman. After the *Gauls*, the *Pamphylian* Embassadors brought into the Senate House a golden Crown made out of twenty thousand *Philippeans* [pieces of Gold, like *Jacobus's*]; and desiring, that they might have leave to lay that Present up in the Temple of *Jupiter Optimus Maximus*, and likewise to sacrifice in the Capitol, they were permitted; besides that they received a very kind Answer to their Petition for renewing the Alliance [between them and *Rome*], and had each of them a Present sent them of two thousand pounds of brass. Then the Embassadors from King *Prusias*, and, soon after from the *Romans*, who discourse very differently concerning the same thing, had their Audience: both of which Embassies treated about concluding of a Peace with King *Perseus*. *Prusias* came with a Petition, rather than a demand, professing, that he had to that day been for the *Romans*, and, as long as the War continu'd, would be. But since Embassadors came from *Perseus* to him about making an end of the War with the *Romans*, and that he had promised them, to intercede with the Senate on their behalf, he begg'd of them, that if they could be perswaded to lay aside their animosity, they would let him have the honour of being thought a Peace-maker. Thus said the Kings Embassadors. The *Rhodians*, having proudly reckon'd up what kindnesses they had done the *Roman* People, and arrogated the greater share of the Victory over King *Antiochus* to themselves, added; That when there was Peace between the *Macedonians* and the *Romans*, their Alliance began with King *Perseus*; but that they broke off with him against their wills, and for no other reason that he gave them, but only because the *Romans* would needs have them bear a part with them in the War. Of which War they had now felt the many inconveniences for three years together; for the Sea being so block'd up with Ships, that all commerce was obstructed, their Island was reduced to extrem want, and they had lost not only their customs but their trading too. Wherefore, since they could no longer endure it, they had sent other Embassadors into *Macedonia* to *Perseus*, to declare unto him, that the *Rhodians* thought fit, he should conclude a Peace with the *Romans*, and that they were sent to *Rome* with the same message. That the *Rhodians* would consider what to do against those, who should be the cause, why the War was not made an end of. I am sure that these words cannot even at this day be read or heard without indignation; and thence we may imagine how much those Senators were concern'd, that were by when they were spoken.

XV. *Claudius* says, They received no answer: but that there was only an act of Senate read over, whereby the *Roman* People ordain'd, that the *Carians* and *Lycians* should be free States; and that there were Letters dispatch'd to both those Nations, to let them know what the Senate had declared. That when he heard this, the principal Embassador, whose swelling Speech the Senate House just before could hardly contain, fell down in a swoon. Others say their Answer was, That the *Roman* People were well assured from good authority, that the *Rhodians* held private correspondence with King *Perseus* against their Commonwealth, not only in the beginning of this War; but, if it had been a doubt before, the words of their Embassadors just then had made it evident: and that for the most part fraud, though at first it be somewhat more cautious, detects it self. That the *Rhodians* by their Messengers, which they send all over the World, would make themselves Arbitrators of War and Peace. That the *Romans* would take up and lay down their Arms according to the will and pleasure of the Gods. But now they were not like to have the Gods, but the *Rhodians* for witnesses of their Leagues. Must they, forsooth, be so far obey'd, and the *Roman* Armies drawn out of *Macedonia*? That they would see what was best for them to do; and that they knew, what the *Rhodians* were like to see. For no doubt but the *Roman* People, when they had conquer'd *Perseus*, which they hoped would be in a very short time, would see, that every City should be rewarded according to their several deserts in the War. But yet there was a present of two thousand pounds of brass sent to each Embassador, which they did not receive.

XVI. Then the Letter from *Q. Marcus* the Consul was read, shewing, How he had pass'd the Straights into *Macedonia*: as also, how that there as well as from other places the *Prætor* had made provision

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provision for the Winter; and likewise that he had received from the Epirotes twenty thousand Bushels of Wheat, and ten of Barley: to the end that, for that Corn their Embassadors might have the value in money at Rome. That the Soldiers ought to have Cloths sent them from Rome: that they had need of almost two hundred Horses, especially Numidians, and that they had no plenty of any thing in those parts. Upon which there was an Order of Senate made that all those things should be done according as the Consuls Letter had directed. C. Sulpicius the Prætor bargain'd for the making of six thousand Gowns, and thirty thousand Tunicks, with Horses, to be carry'd into Macedonia, and distributed according to the Consuls pleasure, and paid the Epirotes their money for the Corn. He also introduced Onesimus, Son of Pytho, a noble Macedonian into the Senate. He had always advised the King to Peace, and admonish'd him, that, as his Father Philip had always used, to the last day of his life, to read over the League which he had made with the Romans twice every day, he would take the same course, and do so, if not every day, at least very often. But seeing he could not deter him from War, he began first of all to withdraw himself for several reasons; that he might not have any hand in those things, which he did not approve of; till at last, when he saw himself suspected, and sometimes accus'd even of Treason too, he fled away to the Roman Army; in which he was of great use to the Consul. Now when he, being brought into the Senate, had given them an account of these things, the Senate order'd him to be enrolled among their Allies: that he should have a place at publick Shows, and an Entertainment provided for him: two hundred Acres of the Tarentine Lands, which belong'd to the publick, allotted him, and an House bought for him at Tarentum; the care of all which was committed to C. Decimius the Prætor. The Censors survey'd the people upon the Ides of December more severely than before; at which time many Knights had their Horses taken from them: among whom P. Rutilius was one, who when he was Tribune of the People had brought very violent accusations against them: yea he was turn'd out of his Tribe, and utterly disfranchis'd. And whereas by order of Senate the Questors gave them half the Revenues of that year to erect publick works; Tib. Sempronius, out of that money that was allotted to him, bought the House of P. Africanus, behind the old one, near the Statue of [the God] Fortumnus, with the Butchery, and the contiguous Shops, for the publick use, where he caus'd a stately House to be built, which was afterward called *Basilica Sempronia*, [Sempronius's Palace.]

XVII.

The year was now going out, and therefore by reason chiefly of their concern for the Macedonian War, people were deliberating, whom they should chose Consuls for that year, at last to put an end to that War. Whereupon there was an Order of Senate made, that Cn. Servilius should come as soon as possibly he could to hold the Assembly. Sulpicius the Prætor sent this Order of Senate to the Consul; from whom he receiv'd a Letter, which after a few dayes he read in the Senate; signifying that he would come before the day appointed. Accordingly the Consul made hast, and the Assembly was holden on the day that was appointed. There were created for Consuls L. Æmilius Paulus (a second time) in the seventeenth year after he had been first Consul, and C. Licinius Crassus. The next day the Prætors were chosen, viz. Cn. Babius Tamphilus, L. Anicius Gallus, Cn. Octavius, P. Fonteius Balbus, M. Æbutius Helva, and C. Papirius Carbo. Now the care they had of the Macedonian War spur'd them on to do all things with the greater expedition. Wherefore when they were chosen they were order'd immediately to cast Lots for their Provinces; that it might be known which Consul should have Macedonia, and which Prætor the Fleet: so that thereby they might be able to consider of, and prepare what was necessary for the War; and likewise to consult the Senate, if any need there were of consultation. That they should celebrate the Latine Holy days as soon as they enter'd into their office, provided that no other religious rites were first to be perform'd: and that the Consul, who was to go into Macedonia, should not be detained. After these Decrees were passed, the Consuls had Italy and Macedonia assign'd to them, and the Prætors (besides the two jurisdictions in the City) the Fleet, Spain, Sicily and Sardinia for their Provinces. Consul Æmilius happen'd to have Macedonia, and Licinius, Italy. Of the Prætors, Cn. Babius had the City, L. Anicius the Foreign jurisdiction (and whether else the Senate should think fit to send him) Cn. Octavius the Fleet, P. Fonteius Spain, M. Æbutius Sicily, and C. Papirius Sardinia.

XVIII.

Now all people presently saw, that L. Æmilius would manage that War slothfully; not only because he was another sort of a man, but also, because his mind was day and night intent upon those things only, that concern'd that War. Now therefore the first thing that he desired of the Senate, was, That they would send Embassadors into Macedonia to view the Armies and the Fleet, and bring certain word back, what was lacking either in the Land, or the Sea Forces. And furthermore, That they should inquire into the Kings Forces as much as they could, as also what part of Macedonia was in our hands, and what part under Perseus. Whether the Romans were incamped within the Streights, or whether they had already pass'd all those narrow places, and were come into the Plains. Who were our faithful Allies; who doubtful or sickle in their Friendship, according to the several turns of Fortune, and who our certain Enemies. What quantity of provisions they had, and whence they were brought by Land, and whence by Shipping. What had been done that Summer both by Sea and Land; for when he was well certified

certified of these things, he thought he might take true measures for the time to come. The Senate gave Orders to Cn. Servilius the Consul, that he should send into Macedonia what men L. Æmilius thought fit. The Embassadors went two dayes after, whose names were Cn. Domitius Anobarbus, A. Licinius Nervus, and L. Babius. 'Twas reported, that it rained stones twice at the end of that Year, in the Roman, and, at the same time, in the Veian Territories: for which there was ordained a Sacrifice of nine dayes continuance. Of the Priests there dyed that year P. Quintilius Varus, Mars's Flamen [Chief Priest] and M. Claudius Marcellus, the Decemvir, in whose place they chose Cn. Octavius. And now, when their magnificence increas'd, 'twas observ'd, that, at the Games in the Circus, set forth by P. Cornelius Scipio Nasica, and P. Lentulus the Curule Ædiles, there were sixty three Panthers, with forty Bears and Elephants publicly shewn.

XIX.

L. Æmilius Paulus, and C. Licinius being made Consuls, and entering upon their office on the fifteenth of March, in the beginning of the ensuing year, when the Senate was in expectation, especially what the Consul would report to them concerning Macedonia, which was his Province, Paulus said, He had nothing to make report of, since the Embassadors were not yet return'd. But that the Embassadors were now at Brundisium, and had been twice in their Voyage driven into Dyrrhachium. That when he knew, what was necessary first to be known, he would inform them of it; and that would be within a few dayes. And that nothing might stop his Journey, he (he said) had appointed the Latine Holy Days to be celebrated from the last of March. That when the Sacrifices were rightly perform'd, he and Cn. Octavius would set out, as soon as the Senate thought good. That C. Licinius, his Colleague would take care, in his absence, that if there were any necessity for providing or sending any thing material for the carrying on of that War, it should be provided or sent. That in the mean time the Embassies of Foreign Nations might have their Audience. When the Sacrifice was rightly perform'd, the Alexandrian Embassadors from Ptolemy and Cleopatra were first call'd in; who coming into the Senate-House in fordid Cloths, with their beards and hair very long, and branches of Olive in their hands, fell down upon the ground; and their Speech was more abject and pitiful than their appearance. [For they said,] Antiochus, King of Syria, who had been an Hostage at Rome under a specious pretence of restoring the elder Ptolemy to his Kingdom, waging War with his younger Brother, who at that time was in possession of Alexandria, had not only been victorious in a Sea-fight at Pelusium, but likewise having got over the Nile by help of a Bridge, that he rais'd all on a sudden, with his Army, put Alexandria it self into a consternation by a Siege, nor did he seem to be far from being Master of that most opulent Kingdom. The Embassadors complaining of these things desired the Senate, that they would assist that Kingdom and the Sovereigns of it, who were Friends to the Empire: That such were the deserts of the Roman People from Antiochus, and such their authority with all Kings and Nations, that, if they sent Embassadors, to tell him, the Senate was not well pleased, that he should make War against Princes that were their Allies, he would immediately retreat from the Walls of Alexandria, and carry his Army away into Syria. Which if they deferred to do, that Ptolemy and Cleopatra, being forced out of their Country, would in a short time come to Rome, to the shame of the Roman People, in that they had not at all assisted them in their utmost extremity. The Senate being concern'd at the Petition of the Alexandrians, sent C. Popillius Lenas, C. Decimius, and C. Hostilius, Embassadors, to make an end of the War between the two Kings; and order'd them to go first to Antiochus, and then to Ptolemy, and tell them, that, unless they desisted from making War, whoever was the occasion of its continuance, him they would not look upon as a Friend, nor an Ally.

XX.

These Embassadors went within three dayes along with the Alexandrian Embassadors, and then the Embassadors came who were so much expected out of Macedonia all the last five dayes after the Ides of March [called *Quinquatria*, which was a Festival to Minerva,] that had it not been late before they came into Town, the Consuls had immediately called a Senate. The next day there was a Senate, and the Embassadors had their Audience: who brought word; that the Army was led into Macedonia through pathless Woods, with greater hazard than advantage. That the King was in possession of Pieria, whither he was gone: that their Camps were so nigh, one to the other, that they were divided by nothing but the River Enipeus which was between them: and that the King neither gave the Romans any opportunity to fight, nor had our men force enough to constrain him. That the rough Winter also interrupted their affairs. That the Soldiers were kept idle, and had not any more Corn than would serve them six dayes. That 'twas reported the Macedonians were thirty thousand strong. That, if Ap. Claudius had a good Army about Lynchidum, he might give the King some diversion by a doubtful War: but that now both Appius and all the Forces he had with him were in extrem danger: unless either a compleat Army were sent thither, or they brought thence. That they went from the Camp to the Fleet; where they heard, that part of their Naval Allies were taken off by Diseases; and part of them (especially those that came from Sicily) gone home; so that the Ships wanted men: and that those, who were still there, had neither receiv'd any pay, nor had any Cloths. That Eumenes and his Fleet, like Ships driven thither by the Wind, both came and went away without any cause: nor did they think that King to be a constant, or a true Friend. But as they spoke all things doubtfully of Eumenes, so they said, that Attalus was extraordinary constant and faithful.

When

XXI. When then the Embassadors had had their Audience, then *L. Æmilius* said, he would make report concerning the War. And thereupon the Senate decreed, that for the eight Legions the Consuls and the people should create an equal number of Tribunes: but order'd, that no man should be created that year, save those, who had born some honourable office. And then, that, of all the Tribunes, *L. Æmilius* should chuse whom he pleased, to command the Legions that were to go for Macedonia; and that, when the solemnity of the Latine Holy Dayes was over, *L. Æmilius* the Consul, and *Cn. Octavius*, who happen'd to have the Fleet, should go into that Province. There was added to these a third person, which was *L. Anicius*, the Prætor, whose jurisdiction was among Foreigners. Him they thought fit to succeed *Ap. Claudius* in the Province of *Illyricum*, about *Lychnidum*. The care of the Levy was impos'd upon *C. Licinius* the Consul: who was order'd to raise seven thousand Roman Citizens, and two hundred Horse; and to draw off from the Latine Allies seven thousand Foot, and four hundred Horse: as also, to send word to *Cn. Servilius*, who was Governour of the Province of *Gaul*, that he should raise six hundred Horse. This Army he was commanded to send into *Macedonia*, to his Collegue, as soon as he could: but that there should not be above two Legions in that Province; which should be fill'd up, so as that there should be six thousand Foot, and three hundred Horse in each of them. That the rest of the Foot and Horse should be dispos'd of into the several Garisons. That such as were not fit for service, should be disbanded. There were likewise ten thousand Foot required of the Allies, and eight hundred Horse; which Forces were also given to *Anicius*, besides the two Legions, that he was order'd to carry into *Macedonia*, consisting of five thousand two hundred Foot, and three hundred Horse; and for the Navy there were raised five thousand Seamen. *Licinius* the Consul being order'd to govern the Province with two Legions, added thereunto of the Allies ten thousand Foot, and six hundred Horse.

XXII. When the acts of Senate were pass'd, the Consul, *L. Æmilius*, went out of the Senate-House into the Assembly of the people, and made a Speech to this effect: Romans, I observe, that you have done me a greater honour, since Macedonia is fallen to my share, than either when I was saluted Consul, or when I enter'd upon my Office; and that for no other reason, than that you have thought it no degradation to the majesty of the Roman People, that I should put an end to the War in Macedonia, which hath been so long protracted. The Gods too, I hope, have favour'd this design, and will assist me in the management of it. But these things I must partly suppose, and partly hope for: though this I dare boldly affirm, that I will do my utmost endeavour, not to frustrate your hopes concerning me: All necessaries for this War the Senate hath already decreed, and (seeing they are pleas'd, that I should go immediately, who am as willing and ready to obey their commands as they to impose them) my Collegue, *C. Licinius*, a person of great worth, will as industriously provide them, as though he himself were to manage this War. What I shall write to the Senate or to you, pray believe: and do not, by your credulity, entertain rumours, for which you have no good authority. For even at this time I have observ'd; it hath been a common infirmity among you, especially since the beginning of this War, that no man slight a vulgar report so much as not to be discouraged at it. There are in all Companies, and at all Feasts (forsooth) those, that lead Armies into Macedonia; know, where the Camp should be pitch'd; what places should be made Garisons of; when, and at what pass we ought to enter Macedonia; where our Store-Houses ought to be built; what way, either by Land or Sea, our provisions should be brought; when we ought to engage the Enemy, and when to lie still. Nor do they only tell us, how we may do better than ordinary, but also, whatsoever is done otherwise than they directed, they make as it were an actual accusation against the Consul. Now these things [Romans] are a great obstruction to men that are to manage such great affairs. For all men cannot be of so firm and constant resolution against false rumours, as *Fabius* was: who chose rather to have his own Conduct disparaged by the false rumours of the people, than to preserve his reputation, and neglect the publick business. I am not one that think Commanders ought not to be admonish'd; yea, I look upon him who does all things upon his own head, to be rather a proud than a wise man. What then remains? Why first of all Commanders ought to be admonish'd by wise men, and more especially, those that have skill and experience in military affairs: and next, by such as are concern'd upon the spot; who see the Enemy, the occasion of action, and that are partakers, as it were, of the danger in the same Ship. Wherefore if there be any man that believes, he can certainly advise me to anything which may conduce to the better management of that War, which I am now to wage; let him not deny his assistance to the Commonwealth, but come along with me into Macedonia, he shall be furnish'd by me with a Ship, Horse, Tent, and provisions too for the Voyage. But if any man be loth so to do, and prefers the ease of a City life before the toils of a Campaign, let him not steer at land. The City it self affords matter enough for Discourse; let him keep his tattle within his teeth; and know, that we'll be content with our Campaign Counsels. From this Assembly, when the Latine Holy-Dayes, that began on the last of March, and the Sacrifices were duly celebrated, the Consul and the Prætor, *Cn. Octavius*, went forthwith into Macedonia. 'Tis said, that the Consul was attended with a greater retinue than ordinary; and that the people did, almost certainly, forebode, that there would be an end of the Macedonian War, and that the Consuls return would be speedy, crown'd with a signal triumph.

XXIII. Whilst these things were transacted in Italy, *Perseus* could not perswade himself to go on

on with what he had begun, in order to make *Gentius*, King of the *Illyrians*, his Friend, because he was to lay out money; but, when he heard that the Romans had enter'd the *Streights*, and saw that he was expos'd to the last extremity of War, he thought not fit any longer to delay the time, and therefore, having agreed by the mediation of his Embassador *Hippius*, for three hundred Talents of Silver, so as that Hostages should be given on both sides, he sent *Pantauchus*, one of his most faithful Friends and Favourites to make an end of that affair. At *Medeon* in the *Labeatian* Territories *Pantauchus* met the King of *Illyricum*: where he took of him both an Oath and Hostages. There was also an Embassador sent from *Gentius*, called *Olympius*, who required an Oath and Hostages from *Perseus*. With the same person were sent two others, to receive the money, viz. *Parmeno* and *Morcus*, who by *Pantauchus*'s perswasions, who were also pitch'd upon, to go Embassadors to *Rhodes* along with the *Macedonians*. But they were charged not to go to *Rhodes* till they had required and taken the Oath, the Hostages, and the money; and then they might. For the *Rhodians* would surely be incited to War when two Kings apply'd themselves to them at the same time. And on the other hand, such a City as theirs, in which alone was united all the glory of Naval action, would leave the Romans no hopes either by Sea or Land. When the *Illyrians* were a coming, *Perseus* march'd out of his Camp, near the River *Enipeus*, with all his Horse, to meet them at *Dium*. Where all those things were perform'd that had been agreed upon, in the presence of a Body of Horse that stood all round, and whom the King had a mind to have by at the making of that League of Alliance between him and *Gentius*; supposing, that would put somewhat more of spirit into them. The Hostages too were given and taken before their Faces; and at the same time, the King, having sent them to *Pella*, where his treasure lay, that were to receive the money, he order'd those, that were to go to *Rhodes* with the *Illyrian* Embassadors, to take Shipping at *Thessalonica*. There at that time lay *Metrodorus*, who came very lately from *Rhodes*; and from the information of *Dion* and *Polyarchus*, two Noblemen of that City, affirm'd, that the *Rhodians* were ready for the War. He therefore was made chief of the Embassy, that was join'd with the *Illyrians*.

At the the same time there was a common message (such as the state of affairs would then admit of) sent to *Eumenes* and *Antiochus*: That a free City and a King were naturally opposite one to the other. That each of them attacked the Roman People, and, which was more unworthy, that Kings [or Sovereign Princes] were by Kings oppos'd. That *Attalus* was an assistant in the ruine of his Father. That by the help of *Eumenes*, and, in some measure, of his Father *Philip* too, *Antiochus* was oppos'd; and that now both *Eumenes* and *Prusias* were armed against him. That if the Kingdom of Macedonia were destroy'd, that of Asia would be the next: (which they, under pretence of setting the Cities at liberty, had now made partly their own) and then Syria. That *Prusias* was already prefer'd in honour before *Eumenes*, and that the Victorious *Antiochus* was already routed out of Egypt, which was like to have been the booty of his War. Which whilst he thought upon, he had him consider and take care, either to force the Romans to conclude a Peace with him, or to look upon, if they persisted in an unjust War, as the common Enemies of all Kings in general. The message to *Antiochus* was plain and open: but to *Eumenes* there was an Embassador sent, under pretence of redeeming the Captives; by whom there were certain things more privately transacted, which at the present made *Eumenes* very hateful, and much suspected by the Romans, who charg'd him with grievous though false crimes. For he was counted a Traytor, and almost an Enemy, whilst the two Kings strove by fraud and avarice to outdo one another. There was one *Cydus* a Cretan, one of the most intimate Friends, that *Eumenes* had; who had had a Conference, first at *Amphipolis*, with one *Chimarus*, his Country-man, that was a Souldier under *Perseus*; and next, at *Demetrias* once, with one *Meneceutes*; besides a third time, with *Antimachus* (all three of them were the Kings Officers) under the very Walls of the City. *Eropon* also, who was then sent, had been concern'd in two Embassies to the same *Eumenes* before that time. Which Conferences were private and the Embassy dishonourable: but what was transacted, or what the Kings agreed upon, was not known. But thus it was.

*Eumenes* neither favour'd *Perseus*'s Victory, nor intended to make War against him: not so much, for that their Fathers animosities continu'd between them also, as that they had a grudge against one another themselves. The emulation between those two Kings was not so small, as that *Eumenes* could endure to see *Perseus* get so much riches and glory, as, when he had conquer'd the Romans, he was like to obtain. He likewise saw that *Perseus*, from the very beginning of the War, made all attempts imaginable to gain a Peace, and that the nearer terror approach'd, he was never intent, or solicitous about any thing else. That the Romans too, because the War was protracted beyond their hopes; not only their Officers, but the Senate also were very willing to make an end of so inconvenient and difficult a War. He therefore, having found the inclinations of both parties to be the same, was the more desirous to bestow his labour toward a reconciliation in that affair, which, through the toil of the stronger side, and the fear of the weaker, he believed might be of it self compos'd and made an end of. For one while he indent'd, not to assist the Romans by Sea or Land, and another while, to make a Peace with them; and ask'd a thousand and fifty Talents, not to be concern'd in the War: in both which cases he shew'd, that

that he was ready not only to give them his word, but Hostages too for their security. *Perseus* was very ready to go about that business, as being induced by his fear, and therefore without any delay treated touching the Hostages, agreeing, that when they were received they should be sent to *Creet*. When they came to mention the money, there he made a stop and said, *that among Kings of such renown that was a reward very dishonourable and sordid, not only to the giver, but also, much more, to the receiver.* He [if he must needs do so] would rather pay the money, in hopes of a Peace with *Rome*, than not pay, but then he would produce it when the business was done: and in the mean time lay it up in the Temple at *Samothracia*. But since that Island was in his Dominions, *Eumenes* saw no difference between its being there, and at *Pella*: wherefore he did what he could, to make him pay down some part of it presently. Thus they being caught and choused one by the other, created to themselves nothing but infamy.

XXVI. Nor was this matter only omitted by *Perseus* through his own avarice, when he might have had his money secur'd, and either a Peace by the mediation of *Eumenes*, that must have been purchased even with a part of his Kingdom, or, if he had been cheated, might have discover'd his Enemy, whilst he had been loaded with the money, and thereby have made the *Romans* very justly his Enemies; but the Alliance of King *Gentius* also, which was then ready for his acceptance, together with a vast body of *Gauls*, who were scatter'd all over *Illyricum*, and then offer'd themselves, were upon the same score dismiss'd. There came ten thousand Horse, with an equal number of Foot, and they too as swift as Horses; who when the Horsemen, by turns, dismounted, took their empty Horses, and fought upon them. These men demanded, in hand; an Horseman ten pieces of gold, a Foot Souldier five, and their General a thousand. When these men were a coming, *Perseus* setting forth out of his Camp near *Empius*, to meet them with the half of his Forces, began to make Proclamation through all the Villages and Cities, which are nigh the roads, *that they should get ready their provisions of Corn, Wine, and Cattle, that he might have a competent supply:* whilst he himself took with him for the Nobility Horses with trappings, and Campaign Coats, carrying along with him likewise some small quantity of gold, to divide among them who were but a few; for he supposed the multitude might be allured by hopes. He arrived at the City *Almana*, and Encamped upon the Bank of the River *Axius*; when the Army of the *Gauls* were fate down about *Desudaba* in *Madica*, waiting for the money which they had agreed for. Thither therefore he sent *Antigonus*, one of his great Courtiers, to command the multitude of the *Gauls* to remove their Camp to *Bylazor* (which is a place in *Paonia*) and bid the Nobility come all to him. They were seventy five miles distant from the River *Axius*, and the Kings Camp. Now when *Antigonus* had carry'd this Message to them, and had also told them, what a vast plenty of all things the King had taken care to provide upon the rode for the multitude, and with what presents, of Cloths, money, and Horses, the King would meet the Nobility at their coming to him; they made Answer, *that, as to those things, they should find what he would do when they came to the King; and ask'd him, concerning what they had agreed to have in hand, whether he had brought with him the gold, that was to be divided among the Foot and Horse.* To which seeing there was no answer made, *Claudius*, their pet King, said, *Go then, tell your King, that, till they receive the gold and Hostages, the Gauls will not stir a Foot from this place.* Which message being brought to the King, he called a Council, in which, when it was evident, what all that were there would perswade him to; he himself, who was a better Keeper of his money, than his Kingdom, began to discourse about the perfidiousness, and barbarity of the *Gauls*; *That he had found by the destruction of many a man heretofore, how dangerous it was to admit so great a multitude into Macedonia, for fear they should prove more grievous, though Allies than the Romans, who were Enemies.* *That five thousand Horse was enough; whom as they might use in the War, so also they need not fear upon the score of their number.*

XXVII. It was manifest in all things, that he was loth to part with his money to the multitude, and fear'd nothing else: but seeing no body durst perswade him, though he ask'd their opinions about it, he sent *Antigonus* back, to tell them, that the King should not have occasion for above five thousand of their Horse; and that he slighted the rest of their multitude. Which when the *Barbarians* heard, the rest indeed murmur'd, being vex'd that they had been brought out of their Country to no purpose; and *Clondius* ask'd him again, *Whether he would pay what he had agreed for, even to those five thousand?* To which when he saw *Antigonus* made but a shuffling kind of Answer, he did the fallacious Messenger indeed no harm (a thing which he himself could hardly hope for) but march'd back to *Ister*, he and his men; (having pillaged all *Thrace*, that lay near the rode) which were a body of men, that, had they been brought over the Mountains of *Perrabia* into *Thessaly*, whilst the King late quiet by *Enipeus*, over against the *Romans*, might have not only spoiled and ravaged all the Country, so as to have robb'd the *Romans* of all their expectations of provisions from thence, but have sack'd the very Cities too, whilst *Perseus* had detain'd the Consul at *Enipeus*, and kept him from assisting his Allies. Yea the *Romans* themselves must have been concern'd at it upon their own accounts; since they, when they had lost *Thessaly*, from whence they had all the Forage and Provisions to maintain their Army, could neither have

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staid there, nor gone forward, because the *Macedonian* Camp was on the other side of the River. By this means therefore *Perseus* encouraged the *Romans*, and dishearten'd the *Macedonians*, who had long hoped he would at last answer their expectations and desires. By the same avarice he made *Gentius* also his Enemy. For when he had paid three hundred Talents at *Pella* to certain persons sent thither from *Gentius*, and suffer'd them to seal it up, he sent ten Talents of it to *Pantauchus*, and bid him give that, at present, to the King; commanding his Servants, who carry'd the rest of the money, which was sealed, with the *Illyrians* Seal, to go but little dayes Journeys; and, when they came to the Confines of *Macedonia*, to stay there, and expect Messengers from him. *Gentius* having received but a small part of the money, when *Pantauchus* was importuning him every day to commit some hostility upon the *Romans*, he put *M. Perperna*, and *L. Petilius*, two Embassadors, that then had happen'd to come to him, into Prison. Which *Perseus* hearing, thought *Gentius* had enter'd into an Alliance with the *Romans*, and therefore sent to recal them, that carry'd the money: as though his whole design had been to make himself as rich a prey as possible (when he should be vanquish'd) to the *Romans*. *Eropon* also return'd from *Eumenes*, but no body knew what was privately transacted between them. They themselves indeed gave out, that they treated about the Captives; of which *Eumenes* also, to avoid suspicion, sent the Consul word.

*Perseus* being disappointed in his hopes, after the return of *Eropon* from *Eumenes*, sent XXVIII. *Antenor* and *Callippus*, the Admirals of his Fleet with forty Barks (to which number he added five longer Gallies) to *Tenedus*, as a Convoy to the Ships that were scatter'd here and there among the *Cyclade* Islands [in the *Archipelago*] and coming with Corn into *Macedonia*. The Ships put in at *Cassandrea*, and having first touch'd at the Ports, that lie under the Mountain *Athos*, sail'd thence with a fair Gale to *Tenedus*: where though several open-deck'd Gallies of *Rhodes* rode in that Harbour, with *Endamus*, their Admiral, they hail'd them very kindly, and let them pass unhurt. After which, when they found that on the other side, there were fifty Merchant-men of their own, shut in by several men of War belonging to *Eumenes*, and standing in the mouth of the Harbour, they, having with all speed tack'd about, and removed their Ships from the terrour of the Enemy, sent the Merchant-men, under the Convoy of ten Barks, into *Macedonia*; but with orders, that when they had convey'd them out of all danger, they should return to *Tenedus*. The ninth day after they return'd to the Fleet, which now lay at *Sigeum*. From thence they cross'd over to *Subota*, which is an Island that lies between *Elea* and *Athos*. It happen'd, that, the day after the Fleet arrived at *Subota*, thirty five Ships, which they call *Hippagogi* [Ships for carrying of Horses] coming from *Elea*, with *Gallick* Horsemen and Horses, made toward the Cape of *Phana* in *Chios*, from thence to go over into *Macedonia*: being sent to *Attalus* by *Eumenes*. Now when *Antenor* had notice from a Watch-tower, that these Ships were sailing through the main Sea, he set out from *Subota*, and, between the Cape of *Erythrae* and *Chios*, which is a very narrow streight, met them. *Eumenes's* Officers believ'd nothing less, than that the *Macedonian* Fleet was cruising in that Sea: and therefore supposed, one while, that they were *Romans*, and anon, that it was *Attalus*, or some sent from *Attalus*, out of the *Roman* Camp, who were bound for *Pergamus*. But when they came so near, as that they could plainly distinguish the form and make of their Barks, and knew by their manner of rowing, and their making up directly to them, that they were Enemies; then they were in a consternation, since they had no hopes of making any resistance, their Ships being unfit for fighting, besides that the *Gauls* were ready to mutiny, having been so long quiet at Sea. Thereupon part of them, that were near the Continent, swam out into *Erythrae*: and part of them, setting Sail got to *Chios*, where leaving their Horses they ran, as fast as they could, to the City. But the Barks arriving nearer to the City, and having landed their Souldiers more commodiously, the *Macedonians* overtook the *Gauls* by the way, and kill'd part of them as they fled, and part of them before the Gate of the Town, from whence they were excluded: for the *Chians* had shut their Gate, as being ignorant, who ran away, or who pursu'd. There were nigh eight hundred of the *Gauls* slain, and two hundred taken alive: the Horses were partly drown'd with the Ships: and, part of them, had their Nerves cut on the shore by the *Macedonians*. But *Antenor* order'd the same ten Barks, which he had sent before, to carry twenty very fine Horses, together with the Captives, to *Thessalonica*, and thence to return, as soon as possible, to the Fleet: saying, that he would stay for them at *Phana*. The Fleet continu'd at the City about three dayes: and thence they went on to *Phana*, where seeing the ten Barks return'd much sooner than they expected, they sail'd through the *Aegean* Sea to *Delus*.

XXIX. Whilst these things were transacted, the *Roman* Embassadors, *C. Popilius*, *C. Decimius*, and *C. Hostilius*, setting forth from *Chalcis*, when they came with three five-bank'd Gallies to *Delus*, found there forty Barks belonging to the *Macedonians*, and five five-bank'd Gallies, belonging to King *Eumenes*. But the Sanctity of the Temple and the Island secur'd them all: so that the *Romans*, *Macedonians*, and *Eumenes's* Seamen convers'd in the Temple all together, the sacred respect which they bore to the place affording them a kind of Truce. *Antenor*, *Perseus's* Admiral, when he had notice from a Watch tower, there were certain

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Merchant-men



Merchant men before him out at Sea, himself pursu'd them with part of his Barks, and having disposed of the rest about the *Cyclade* Islands, either sunk all the Ships (except such as were bound for *Macedonia*) or rilled them at least. *Popilius* and *Eumenes's* Ships did what they could to relieve them: but the *Macedonians* going in the night with only two or most commonly three Barks at a time passed by unseen. About that time the *Macedonian* and *Illyrian* Embassadors came together to *Rhodes*, whose authority was encreased, not only by the arrival of the Barks, which cruised all over the *Cyclade* Islands, and the *Aegean* Sea, but also by the very union of the two Kings, *Perseus* and *Gentius*, and the report, that the *Gauls* were coming with a vast number of Foot and Horse. And now, since *Dion* and *Polyaratus*, who were on *Perseus's* side, had receiv'd encouragement, the Kings had not only a very kind Answer, but they two publickly declar'd, that they would put an end to the War by their authority; wherefore they would have the Kings to themselves dispose their minds toward accepting of a Peace.

XXX. It was now the beginning of the Spring, and new Officers were come into the Province. The Consul *Annius* into *Macedonia*, *Octavius* to the Fleet at *Oreum*, *Anicius* into *Illyricum*, being to make War against *Gentius*. His Father was *Plauratus*, King of the *Illyrians*, and his Mother *Eurydica*; and he had two Brothers, *Plator* by Father and Mothers side both, and *Caravantius* by the Mothers side only. He therefore left suspecting this last, by reason that his Father was ignoble, kill'd *Plator*; and his two Friends also, *Etritus* and *Epicadus*, very active men, that he might reign with greater security. There was a report, that he envied his Brother, who was betrothed to *Etuta*, the Daughter of *Honunus*, King of the *Dardans*; as designing by this marriage to engage the whole Nation of the *Dardans* to his interest. And this became the more likely to be true, by his marrying of the Virgin, after he had kill'd *Plator*. When he had remov'd all fear of his Brother, he began to be very vexatious to his Subjects; and inflamed the natural fierceness of his temper by the immoderate use of Wine. But, as I told you before, being incited to engage in the Roman War, he drew all his Forces to *Lissus*, which consisted of fifty thousand men. From whence, having sent his Brother with a thousand Foot, and fifty Horse, into the Country of the *Cavians*, either by force or fear, to subdue it; whilst he himself march'd to the City *Bassania*, five miles from *Lissus*. They were Allies of the Romans: wherefore being first try'd by Messengers that were sent to them before-hand, they chose rather to endure a Siege than surrender themselves. The Town of *Durnium* in the *Cavian* Territories very kindly received *Caravantius* at his coming thither; but *Caravantius*, another City, shut him out: and as he was plundering the Country round about, some stragling Souldiers were by a concurrence of the Country people slain. Now also *Ap. Claudius*, having taken in to that Army which he already had, the *Buline*, *Apollonian* and *Dyrrhachian* Auxiliaries, march'd out of his Winter-Quarters, and lay Encamp'd near the River *Genusus*: where being mightily concern'd at the League which he heard was concluded between *Perseus* and *Gentius*, and at the injury and violence offer'd to the Embassadors, resolv'd to wage a War against him. At that time *Anicius* the Prætor, who was at *Apollonia*, having heard what was done in *Illyricum*, and having sent a Letter before-hand to *Appius*, that he should stay for him at *Genusus*, came in three dayes himself into the Camp: where having added, to those Auxiliaries which he had, two thousand Foot, and two hundred Horse (made up of young *Parthians*) he made *Epicadus* Commander of the Foot, and *Agalsus* of the Horse; designing to march more especially into *Illyricum*, to raise the Siege from before *Bassania*: but he was diverted by a report concerning certain Ships, that were pillaging the Sea Coast. For there were eighty Barks, sent by *Gentius* (through the persuasions of *Pantauchus*) to pillage the *Dyrrhachian* and *Apollonian* Territories. Then the Fleet

XXXI. \* \* They surrender'd themselves: and so afterward did all the Cities of that Country, being the more induced thereunto by the Clemency and Justice of the Roman Prætor toward all sorts of people. From thence they came to *Scodra*, which had been the chief seat and cause of the War; not only, because *Gentius* had taken it to himself, as the Capital Garrison of his whole Kingdom, but also, because it is by far the best fortified of any place in the *Labeatian* Territories and very inaccessible. There are about it two Rivers, *Clausala* which runs by it on the East-side, and *Barbana* on the West, which rises out of the *Labeatian* Fenn. These two Rivers running into one another, discharge themselves into the River *Oriundes*; which, rising out of the Mountain *Scodrus*, and being augmented by many other Waters, disembogues it self into the *Adriatick* Sea. The Mountain *Scodrus*, which is by far the highest in all that Country, hath on the Eastside of it *Dardania*, to the South *Macedonia*, and to the West *Illyricum*. But though the Town were fortified, even by its own natural situation, and that the whole Nation of the *Illyrians*, besides the King himself, defended it; yet the Roman Prætor, seeing his first attempts had succeeded so well, and supposing that the fortune of the whole affair would be proportionable to the beginning; and that a sudden terrour might prevail upon them, set his Army in Battalia, and drew them up to the Walls. Now, if the besieged had shut their Gates, and defended their Walls and the Towers upon their Gates with armed men that might have been planted there, they had

had certainly forced the Romans from the Walls before they could have done them any hurt. But they on the contrary going out of their Gates join'd Battle upon a Plain with greater courage, than they maintain'd it. For being routed and thronging together in their flight, above two hundred of them met together at the very entrance of the Gate; which caused so great a consternation in the City, that *Gentius* sent Deputies immediately to the Prætor, viz. *Tenticus* and *Bellus*, two Noblemen of that Country, to desire a Truce, that he might have time to deliberate concerning the state of affairs. Having three dayes given him for that purpose (the Roman Camp was about five hundred paces from the City) he took Ship, and sailed down the River *Barbana*, into the *Labeatian* Lake, as though he had sought a secret place to consult in: but, as it appear'd, was moved thereunto by a false hope, that his Brother *Caravantius* was coming thither with many thousands of armed men, whom he had raised out of that Country, into which he was sent. Which report proving vain, he the third day after went in the same Ship down the River to *Scodra*: and having sent Messengers before-hand, to get leave for him to come and speak with the Prætor, that request being granted him, he came into the Camp. Where he began his Speech with an accusation against himself for his own folly, but ran out at last into Prayers and Tears; and then falling down at the Prætors Feet, surrender'd himself up into his disposal. The Prætor, first, bad him be of good cheer, and invited him to Supper; so that he return'd into the City to his Relations, and feasted that day with the Prætor very magnificently: but after that he was committed to the keeping of *C. Cassius*, a Tribune of the Souldiers; nor had he scarce received of *Perseus* so much as the hire of a Gladiator, that is to say, not above ten Talents, to throw himself into these circumstances.

*Anicius* having retaken *Scodra*, gave order first of all, that *Petillius* and *Perperna* XXXII. the Embassadors should be sought out and brought to him: to whom when he had restored their former splendour, he sent *Perperna* forthwith to apprehend the Kings Friends and Relations: Who going to *Medeo*, a City in the *Labeatian* Territories, brought *Eteleva* his Wife, with his two Sons, *Scerdiletus* and *Pleuratus*, and *Caravantius* his Brother into the Camp at *Scodra*. *Anicius* having made an end of the *Illyrian* War within thirty days, sent *Perperna* to Rome with the news of his Victory: and, after some few days, King *Gentius* too himself, with his Mother, Wife, Children, Brother, and others of the *Illyrian* Nobility. The news came to Rome that this War was ended, before they heard that it was begun. At the same time that these things were transacted, *Perseus* also was in a great fright, not only upon the score of *Amilius*, the new Consul coming (who, he heard, came with great menaces against him) but of *Octavius* the Prætor also. Nor was he possess'd with less dread of the Roman Fleet, and the danger of the Sea Coast. At *Thessalonica* *Eumenes* and *Athenagoras* were the chief Commanders with a small Garrison of two thousand Shieldmen, called *Cetrati*. Thither he also sent *Androcles*, one of his Prefects or Captains, commanding him to Encamp under the very Docks. To *Ania* he sent a thousand Horse under the Command of *Antigonus*, to defend the Sea-Coast, to the end, that on what shore soever they heard the Enemies Ships were arrived, they might presently give the Country People their assistance. There were five thousand *Macedonians* sent to secure *Pythium* and *Petra*, under the Conduct of *Histiens*, *Theogenes* and *Asilo*: who being gone, he began to fortifie the Bank of the River *Enipeus*, which was then dry'd up and fordable. For which design that all the multitude might have leisure, the Women, who were forced to come out of the adjacent Cities, brought them Victuals into the Camp. The Souldiers were order'd

Last of all he commanded the Tankard-Bearers to follow him to the Sea, which was not XXXIII. three hundred paces off, and some of them to dig in one place, and some in another, at little distances, upon the shore. The Mountains being of a vast height gave them hopes, so much the more, because they disclosed no open Rivers, that they contain'd in them certain concealed streams, which ran into and mixt with the Sea-Waters. They had scarce taken off the very surface of the Sand, when there came forth, first, muddy and small streams, which in a little time were clear and yielded a great deal of Water, as if the Gods themselves had sent it. That also gave the General somewhat more credit and authority among his Souldiers. After this, the Souldiers being order'd to make ready their Armies, he himself went with the Tribunes, and first ranks to view the passes; where arm'd men might easily go down, and where the ascent up to the farther Bank was no wayes difficult. Having taken a due prospect of these places, he took farther care also, that all things might be done in the Army regularly, and without tumult, according to the pleasure and command of the General. In order whereunto he declared since, when the word of command was given, and all did not hear it, they, having receiv'd uncertain Orders, used to do, some of them more, and some less, than they should do (which occasion'd dissonant clamours in all places; infomuch that the Enemy knew what they were going to do before they themselves) he thought fit, that the Tribune [or Colonel] should give the word privately to the eldest Captain of the Legion; and that he, and so the rest in order, should tell the next

Centurion what was convenient to be done: whether the Orders came from the Van to the Rear of the Army, or from the Rear to the Van. He likewise (which was a thing never practised before) forbade the Sentinels to carry their Shields with them when they went upon the Watch; for a Sentinel or Watchman did not go in to a Fight, so as to have occasion to use his Arms, but to Watch; that when he perceiv'd the Enemy was a coming, he might retreat and Alarm others. He likewise prohibited those that had Helmets on to stand with their Shields erect before them; and then when they were weary, leaning upon their Pile [Javelin] to stand and sleep with their head laid upon the brim of their Shield; so as that the Enemy might see them by their shining Arms at a great distance, though they saw nothing before them. He likewise alter'd the manner of their Stations. They all stood all day in their Arms, and the Horsemen with their Horses bridled. Which seeing they had done in the heat of Summer, so long, till the scorching Sun made them ready to faint, and the Enemy came many times fresh upon, when they and their Horses were quite tired, in so much that a few were able to worth a great many; he therefore order'd that so many should keep guard from Morning till Noon, and that others in the Afternoon should relieve them: by which means the Enemy could never come fresh upon them, when they were all tired.

XXXIV. Having declar'd in a publick Assembly, that thus he would have things carry'd, he afterward made an Oration, suitable to that modest Assembly. *That the General only ought to take care and consult what ought to be done in the Army; sometimes by himself, and sometimes with those that he call'd to Council with him: but that those who were not called, ought not either publicly or privately to give their judgments. That a Soldier ought to take care of these three things, his body to have it in as good health, and as nimble as may be; to have his arms fit for his use, and his mind ready upon all sudden orders: and to know that the immortal Gods and his General take care for all things else. That in an Army where the Soldiers, the Consul, and the General are toss'd about by vulgar reports, there can be no safety. That he (according to the duty of a General) would take care to give them an opportunity of doing their business with success; but then they ought not to inquire into any thing that was to come: only when the signal was given, then to shew themselves Soldiers.* Having given them these Precepts he dismiss'd the Assembly: the old Soldiers making an open confession, that they (as though they had been fresh, raw Fellows) never knew till that day, what was to be done in point of military Discipline. Nor did they shew by these words only, with what assent they had heard the Consuls Speech, but their actions shew'd the same. For you could see no one in the whole Camp, that, after a little while, was unemploy'd: some sharpening their Swords, others scouping their Helmets, Murrians, Shields, and Coats of Mail; whilst others were a fitting their Arms to their Bodies, and try'd the agility of their limbs when under them. Others again were brandishing their Piles, others flourishing their Swords, and looking upon the points of them: so that a man might easily perceive, that as soon as ever they had an opportunity of joining Battle with the Enemy, they would enter upon the War, so as to gain either a very famous Victory, or die a memorable death. *Perseus* also when he saw, that, upon the Consuls coming (it being in the beginning of the Spring too) all things were in an hurry and disturbance with the Enemy, as though a new War had been levied, removed his Camp from *Phila*, and pitch'd it upon the opposite Bank: whilst the General went about to view his works, and foresaw questionless where he might pass over

XXXV. Which thing encouraged the *Romans*, but very much terrified the *Macedonians* and their King. Wherefore at first he endeavour'd to suppress and stifle the report of that matter, by sending certain persons to forbid *Pantauchus*, who was coming from thence to come near the Camp: but now there were not only certain Boyes seen by their Friends, as they were led among the *Illyrian* Hostages, but likewise the more care was taken of every thing, the sooner it was divulged by the Kings Servants, they being very much given to tattle. About the same time the *Rhodian* Embassadors came into the Camp, with the same terms of Peace, that put the Senate into such a passion at *Rome*. But they were heard at the Council of War there in the Camp with much more regret and detestation. Whereupon, when others said, they ought to be turn'd headlong out of the Camp without any Answer at all, *Emilius* declar'd, that after fifteen dayes he would give them an Answer: In the mean time, that all people might see, how far the authority of the *Rhodians*, who came to impose conditions of Peace, prevailed with him, he began to consult about the method, how to mannage and carry on the War. Some, and especially the Seniors, thought it best, for him to make his attack by the Bank of *Enipeus*, and those Fortifications: saying, that the *Macedonians* could not resist such a thick body of men, who made an attack all together; they having been beaten the year before out of so many Castles, somewhat higher and stronger, [than their present Fortifications] wherein they had planted good Guards. Others thought it convenient, For *Octavius* to go to *Theffalonica*, and by pillaging the Sea Coast to divert the Kings Forces; so that when they saw another War break out upon their Rear, the King, wheeling about to defend the inner part of his Kingdom, might be forced in some measure to desert the passes over *Enipeus*. But to himself the Bank seemed unpassable, not only by nature, but by reason of the

the works: and besides, that there were Warlike Engines planted upon it, he likewise heard, that the Enemy threw Darts with greater skill and certainty than ordinary. But the Generals mind was wholly bent another way: and therefore, having dismiss'd the Council, he sent privately for two *Perræbian* Merchants, called *Schanus* and *Menophilus*, men whose fidelity and prudence too he now was well acquainted with, and ask'd them, what sort of passes there were into *Perræbia*. To which they answering, that the wayes were good enough, but that they were beset by the Kings Guards, he began to hope, that if he surpriz'd them in the night time with a strong party, the Garrison might be destroy'd. For Darts and Arrows, and other Weapons that are to be thrown from one, were of no use in the dark, when a man could not see what he wished to hit. That Soldiers used to fight hand to hand with Swords in a throng; in which the *Romans* outdid all other Nations. So resolving to take these men for his Guides, he sent for *Octavius* the Prætor, and having told him his design, order'd him to go with the Fleet, and a thousand men to *Heraclea*, taking along with him ten dayes provisions: whilst he himself sent *P. Scipio Nasica*, and *Q. Fabius Maximus* his Son, with five thousand choice men to *Heraclea*, as though they had been to go on board the Fleet [but in reality] to pillage the Sea Coast of the inner *Macedonia*; which was a thing debated in the Council. They had private notice, that the provisions for the Navy were ready, lest any thing might detain them; and then the guides were order'd so to divide the journey, as that at the fourth Watch, the third day, they might attack *Pythium*. The next day he himself, that he might keep the King from looking after other affairs, engaged, as soon as it was day, in the midst of the River, with the Enemies Guards: and they fought on both sides in light-armour; for they could not use any heavier Arms in so uneven a place, as that Channel was. The descent of the Bank on both sides into the main Channel, was almost three hundred paces in length: and the middle space of the torrent, which was hollow'd very differently in several places, was somewhat more than a thousand paces over: in the middle of that they fought, whilst the King on the one side, and the Consul on the other, stood with their Legions upon the mounds of their Camps, looking on. The Kings men fought best with Darts and other Weapons to sling at a distance, but the *Roman* was more steady and secure in the mannage of a Shield, whether of the *Thracian* or *Ligurian* make. About Noon the Consul order'd his men to found a Retreat: and so the Battle was ended for that day, many men being slain on both sides. The next day at Sun rising, they, being irritated by the late fight, fell on more fiercely than before; but the *Romans* were wounded, not only by those with whom they were engaged, but much more by that multitude, which was posted in the several Towers, with all sorts of darting Weapons, and great stones. When they came nearer to the Bank where the Enemy stood, those things that were shot out of Engines wrought even to the hindmost of them. Having lost many more that day, the Consul drew his men off a little later than ordinary. The third day he abstain'd from fighting, and went down to the lower end of the Camp, resolving to attempt to make his way over by a mound like an Arm, that went down shelving to the Sea-side.

It was now past the Solstice of the year, and almost Noon: so that they travelled XXXVI. through a great deal of dust, and the Sun grew very hot. They were very weary and thirly, and so were like to be still more and more, now that the Noon tide was so near at hand. He therefore resolv'd not to expose them in that condition to a fresh and vigorous Enemy. But they were so desirous on both sides to fight, that the Consul was forced to use as much art to elude his own men, as to divert the Enemy. Before they were all set in Array, he prest the Tribunes of the Soldiers to make halt, and put them into Battalia; going himself about all the Ranks, and encouraging the Soldiers to the Battle. Thereupon they first with cheerfulness desired the Signal; but soon after, as the heat increased, their looks were less florid, and their Voices nothing so brisk, but some of them lean'd upon their Bucklers, and others upon their Piles. Now therefore he commanded the first Ranks to pitch their Tents, post themselves in the Front of the Camp, and put their Baggage all together. Which when the Soldiers perceived, some of them rejoiced openly, that he had not forced them to fight whilst they were tired with the toil of their Journey, and in such scorching hot weather: The Foreign Lieutenants and Captains were all about the General, among whom *Attalus* was one; who all approved of it, when they thought the Consul resolv'd to fight: for he had not discover'd his design of delay even to them. Wherefore upon the sudden alteration of his purpose, whereas others were silent, *Nasica* only among them all had the Courage to advise the Consul, Not to let an Enemy escape, by declining the fight, who had eluded former Generals. For he said, he was afraid, lest he might go away in the night; and then they must follow him with great toil and danger into the innermost parts of *Macedonia*; and he, like former Generals, must lead his Army stragling about through the by-ways and rough passes over the *Macedonian* Mountains. Wherefore he desired him by all means, whilst he had his Enemy in an open plain, to attack him, and not let slip that occasion of Victory which was then offer'd him. The Consul, who was not at all offended with the free admonition of so generous an youth, told him; *Nasica!* as I once had the same ardour of mind which thou now hast, so thou wilt one day have the same disposition and thoughts that I now have.

have. I have learnt by many accidents and adventures in War, when to fight, and when to refrain from it. I cannot have while now in the Field to tell thee, why 'tis better at present to sit down and be quiet: ask me my reasons for it another time; you shall content your self for this time with the authority of an old General. After which the young man held his tongue, not questioning but the Consul saw some obstacle to hinder his fighting, which did not appear to him.

XXXVII. Paulus seeing that the Camp was pitch'd, and the Baggage laid up, drew off the first Ranks of the *Triarii* out of the Reer, and then the *Principes*, whilst the *Spearmen* stood in the Van, to attend the Enemies Motion: and last of all the *Spearmen* too; taking away by degrees from the right Wing, first of all the *Souldiers* that belong'd to all the several Ensigns. By this means the Foot (whilst the Horse with the light-armour were placed before the Army, opposite to the Foe) were led away without any noise: nor were the Horse recall'd from their Post, before the Front of the Bullwark, and the Trench were finish'd. The King too, though he had been ready to fight without any delay that very day, was yet well enough content, that his men knew it was long of the Enemy, that the fight was put off, and therefore himself also led his Forces back into their Camp. When they had thoroughly fortified their Camp, C. Sulpicius Gallus, a Tribune of the *Souldiers*, belonging to the second Legion, who had been *Prætor* the year before, calling the *Souldiers*, by the Consuls permission to a publick Assembly, declared; That the next night, lest any of them might think it a portentous or ominous appearance, from the second to the fourth hour of the night, the Moon would be Eclipsed. Which, because it fell out in course of nature at set times, might be known and told before hand. Wherefore as the rising and setting of the Sun and Moon being certain, they ought not to wonder, that the Moon should be sometimes in the Full, and sometimes in the Wane: so neither ought they to take it for a Prodigy, that it should be obscured, when it was hid under the body of the earth. Accordingly the night before the Nones of September, seeing the Moon was Eclipsed at the hour foretold, the Roman *Souldiers* thought Gallus's understanding to be almost divine; but it startled the *Macedonians*, who lookt upon it as a sad Prodigy, portending the downfall and destruction of their Kingdom and Nation; nor were the *Soothsayers* less terrified at it: insomuch that there was a noise and an howling heard in the *Macedonian*, till the Moon shone out again. The next day the Armies on both sides were so eager to engage, that some of their men blamed both the King and the Consul, for having gone away without fighting. The King had his excuse ready: not only, that the Enemy had first so evidently declined the fight, and led his Forces back into his Camp: but likewise, that he had planted his Ensigns in a place to which a *Phalanx* [a particular body of Foot] (with a very small unevenness of the ground made all together usefess) could not approach. The Consul, besides that the day before he seem'd to have omitted the occasion of fighting, and to have given the Enemy an opportunity, if they had had a mind to go off in the night, seem'd then too to wait time under pretence of sacrificing, though the signal of Battle had been set out as soon as it was day in order to their marching forth into the Field. At last, about the third hour, when he had rightly perform'd his Sacrifice, he called a Council; and there, in discourse and unseasonable consultation, some thought he mispent that time which it was more proper to do his business in: but notwithstanding, after all their discourse, the Consul made this following Speech.

XXXVIII. P. Nalica, a generous youth, was the only person, among all that yesterday had a mind to fight, who discover'd his thoughts to me: but he was afterward so silent, that he might seem to have come over to my opinion. Some others thought it better, to blame their General behind his back, than to advise him to his face. Now therefore, P. Nalica! I'll freely give you (and those that were of the same opinion with you, though they did not declare so much) a reason why I deserr'd the fight. For I am so far from repenting of Yesterday's rest, that I believe, I preserv'd the Army by that means. For which opinion of mine lest any of you should think I have no ground, let him but consider a-while with me, if he please, how many things made for the Enemy and against us. First of all, how far they exceed us in number, there was none of you all but knew before; besides, that Yesterday you observ'd it, I am confident, more particularly, when you saw their Army set in Array. And then of our small number a fourth part of our *Souldiers* were left for a guard to our Baggage; which to preserve and secure we do not leave, you know, the most unactive men we have. But suppose we were all together: do we suppose this, trow ye, to be a small matter, that we are like to march out of this Camp in which we have lain this night, into the Field, to day, or at least, to Morrow, with the help of the Gods, if we think good? Is there no difference, whether you command a *Souldier*, that to day is neither tired with travelling, nor working, but quiet and fresh, to take up his Arms in his Tent, and lead him into the Field in his full strength, vigorous both in body and mind too; or whether you expose him to an Enemy that's entire and quiet, and comes not to the Battle after his strength hath been consumed by any other means, whilst their men are fatigued with a long march, wearied with heavy burdens, all of a muck sweat, having their Jaws parch'd up with thirst, their Mouths and Eyes fill'd with dust, and their bodies almost roasted with the Noontide Sun? Who, for Heavens sake, that's in so good a condition, as such an Enemy, though but a sluggish, and cowardly Fellow, might not conquer the stoutest man alive? When the Enemy had set their Army in Battalia at their leisure, recover'd their spirits, and stood compos'd every

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one in their ranks, had it not been wise work for us to have marshall'd our men all in a hurry, and engaged them in a confusion?

We, indeed, should have had our Army (you'll grant) all discompos'd, and out of order; but XXXIX: our Camp would have been fortified, we should have had a watering place provided, with a way to it well guarded, and all places round about secur'd; yes, I warrant you, or rather, what should we have had, besides a bare Plain to fight in? Your Ancestors lookt upon a fortified Camp, to be a Port as it were against all casualties that might befall an Army: from whence they might march to Battle, and into which, when they had been toss'd by the tempest of the fight, they might again retire. Wherefore when they had encompassed their Camp with Fortifications, they put a strong guard likewise into it: because he that was forced from his Camp, though he got the better out in the Field, was lookt upon as a person conquer'd. A Camp is a receptacle for a Conqueror, and a refuge for him that's conquer'd. How many Armies, though they have not been successful in the Battle, have notwithstanding, when they have been beaten within their Bullwark, when they saw their opportunity, sometimes in a moment after, made a sally forth, and beaten the Victorious Enemy off? This military Seat is another sort of Country to us, the Bullwark stands for the Walls of our Town, and every *Souldiers* Tent is his House and home. Had we sought like Vagabonds without any fixed Seat or place to harbour us, whether should we have retired, if we had won the day? But to these difficulties and hinderances of the fight, some oppose that question: What if the Enemy had march'd off that night; how much pains must we have taken to have follow'd him into the innermost parts of Macedonia? But I am sure that he would never have staid, nor have drawn his Forces out into the Field, if he had resolv'd to depart hence. For how much easier had it been for him to have gone away, when we were a great distance from him, than now, when we are just at his heels? Nor could he escape without our knowledge, either by day or by night either. But what can be more desirable to us, than to sit upon their reer in the open Fields, as they run away, whose Camp, which was secur'd by the lofty Bank of a River, and encompassed not only with a Bullwark but many Towers also, we began to attack? These were the reasons why I Yesterday deserr'd the Fight till to day. For I my self also am now inclin'd to fight; and therefore, because the way to the Foe through the River Enipeus, is stopp'd up, I have open'd another new passage, by defeating the Enemies Guards; nor will I desist, before I have put an end to this War.

After this Speech there was silence; some part of the Company being brought over to his opinion, and some of them afraid to give offence to no purpose, in that, which howsoever it were omitted, could not be recalled. But even that day they did not fight with either the Consuls, or the Kings good will. Not with the Kings, because he would not set upon the Enemy, whilst they were tired with their march the day before, and in an hurry to set their men in Battalia, who were yet in great disorder. Nor with the Consuls, because they had not yet got Wood and Forage into the new Camp, which a great part of the *Souldiers* were gone out to fetch from the adjacent Fields. But though neither of the Generals were willing, Fortune, which is of more force than any humane Counsels, set them together. There was a small River near the Enemies Camp, to which both the *Macedonians* and the *Romans* too went for Water, setting Guards upon both Banks, that they might do so with safety. There were two Regiments on the Roman side called the *Marrucine* and the *Pelignian* Regiments; two Troops of *Samnite* Horse, under the Command of M. Sergius Silius, the Lieutenant; besides another standing Guard before the Camp under Lieutenant C. Cluvius; with three Regiments more, viz. the *Firmane*, *Vestine*, and *Cremonian* Regiments; and two Troops of Horse, the *Placentine* and the *Asemine*. Now they lying quiet by the River, since neither side provoked the other, about the fourth hour a Beast, getting out of the hands of those that lookt after it, ran over to the farther Bank. Which Beast three Roman *Souldiers* follow'd through the Water, almost knee deep, whilst two *Thracians* strove to get it out of the midst of the River to their Bank. The *Romans* therefore kill'd one of them, and having got their Beast again retreated to their own Station. There was a Body of eight hundred *Thracians* on the Enemies side of the River: of whom some few at first, taking it very ill, that their Country-man should be slain in their sight, cross'd the River to pursue the Murderers: but soon after there went more of them, and at last, all

The majesty of the Empire, the renown of the Person, and, above all, his Age, who, though he were more than sixty years of Age, perform'd the Offices of youngmen in the chief part of the toil and danger. A Legion fill'd up that space, which was between the Shieldmen called *Cetrati*, and the *Phalanx*, so as to interrupt and disjoint the body of the Enemies. It lay to the Reer of the *Cetrati*, and fronted the *Clypeati* [another sort of Shieldmen] being called the *Aglaspides* [men with shining, or bright Shields.] L. Albinus was order'd to lead the second Legion, a Consuls Fellow, against the *Phalanx* called *Leucaspis* [in which the *Souldiers* had white Shields] which was the main body of the Enemies. Into the right Wing, in which the fight near the River was first begun, where the Elephants brought, and a Wing of the Allies: and from hence the *Macedonians* began first to fly. For as the force of many new inventions among men consists more in words than in the things themselves; but when you come to the experiment of them, where you are not only to Discourse, how they are to be perform'd, but to put them in Execution, they are often



often found of no effect or moment at all; so the Elephants at that time were in their Army a mere name, without any use. The body of Elephants were pursu'd by the *Latine Allies*, who beat off the left Wing. In the middle the second Legion charging in upon them routed the Phalanx: nor was there any more manifest cause of that Victory, than that there were many Engagements in several parts of it at the same time, which first put the Phalanx into great disorder, and then quite overthrew it: though the strength thereof be close join'd, and, by reason that their Spears are held direct, very dreadful and intolerable. If you attack them here and there so as to force them to bring about their Spears, which, by reason of their length and weight, are unweildy, they are all immediately in a confusion; but if there happen any disturbance in their Flank, or Reer, they are utterly ruined. As at that time, they were forced to meet the *Romans* who came upon them in several Parties, by disuniting their main body in many places; and the *Romans*, wherever they found any void spaces, got in with their Ranks. Who, if they had charged with their whole Army upon the Front of the Phalanx, as it stood first in Battalia (as the *Pelignian Regiment* at the beginning of the fight, through inadvertency, happen'd to do when they engaged the *Cetrati*) they had stuck themselves upon their Spears, nor could have born the shock of such a close strong Body.

XLII. But as the Foot were most of them slain, except those that threw down their Arms and ran away; so the Horse went off almost entire. The first that fled was the King himself; who now, from *Pydna*, march'd with his sacred Wings of Horse toward *Pella*. Him *Cotys* presently follow'd, with the *Odyssian* Horse; and the other Wings of the *Macedonians* went away with entire Ranks: for the body of Foot, that lay between, in killing of whom the Conquerours were so long employ'd, made them unmindful of pursuing the Horse. The Phalanx was for a great while cut off in the Front, their Flanks and their Reer; till at last those that escaped out of the Enemies hands, flying unarm'd to the Sea, went, some of them, even into the Water, and holding up their hands to those that were in the Fleet, humbly begg'd of them to save their lives: and when they saw Boats coming from every Ship, supposing that they came to take them in, to the end that they might make Captives of them rather than kill them, they, some of them, went on swimming still farther into the Water. But seeing they were barbarously murder'd out of the Boats, all those, that could, got back by swimming to the Land, though there they fell into other more dangerous circumstances: for the Elephants, being driven by their Riders to the shore, tore and destroy'd all those that came forth. Upon this the *Romans* were all agreed, that there were never so many *Macedonians* slain in one Battle. For there were kill'd full twenty thousand men; six thousand taken Prisoners, who had fled out of the Field to *Pydna*, besides five thousand more, that stragled in their flight. Of the Conquerours there fell not above an hundred, and of them the far greater part *Pelignians*: though there were some few more wounded. Now had they begun to fight sooner, so as that the Victors might have had day-light enough to have pursu'd their Victory, their whole Forces had been destroy'd: but at this time the night coming on, not only secur'd them as they fled, but also made the *Romans* loth to follow them through places that they did not know.

XLIII. *Perseus* fled to the *Pierian* Wood, along the Souldiers rode, with a considerable body of Horse, and his Kingly Retinue. As soon as he came into the Wood, where there were several crofs wayes, night coming on, he, with some very few, that were most faithful to him, turn'd out of the rode. The Horse being left without a Commander, went, most of them, several wayes to their own Native Cities; though some very few march'd thence to *Pella* sooner than *Perseus* himself, because they went the ready rode. The King was vex'd almost till midnight, with terrour and the various difficulties, which he met with in his way. There were with *Perseus* in his Palace at *Pella*, *Enellus*, the Governour of that place, and his own Children: but on the other hand, several of his Friends, who being preserv'd, some by one means, and some by another, were got out of the Battle to *Pella*, though they were often sent for, would none of them come to him. He had only three Companions in his flight, viz. *Evander*, a *Cretan*, *Neon*, a *Bvotian*, and *Archidamus*, an *Aetolian*. With them, now fearing, lest they who refused to come to him, should ere long attempt some greater matter, he at the fourth Watch made his escape. There were nigh five hundred *Cretans* that follow'd him; who made toward *Amphipolis*: but he went out of *Pella* in the night, as making all the hast he could to get over the River *Axius* before day; for he supposed the *Romans* would pursue him no farther than that place, by reason that the passage was so difficult.

XLIV. The Consul, after he was return'd with Victory into his Camp, could not yet enjoy any true content for the care he had upon him concerning his younger Son. His name was *P. Scipio*, who afterward, when *Carthage* was destroyed, was also surnamed *Africanus*; being the natural issue of the Consul *Paulus*, but by adoption the Grandson of *Africanus*. He being at that time in the seventeenth year of his Age (which made his concern the greater) whilst he too eagerly pursu'd the Foe, was carry'd away in the crowd to another part of the Country: from whence when he return'd, though late, the Consul then at last, having received

received his Son again safe and sound, began to relish the pleasure of so great a Victory. When the fame of this fight was come to *Amphipolis*, and the Women thereupon ran together into the Temple of *Diana*, called *Tauropolis*, to desire her assistance, *Diodorus*, the Governour of the City, fearing, lest the *Thracians*, of whom there were two thousand then in Garison, should in that tumult rife the City, he received, from one that he had got, to personate a Letter Carrier, a Letter in the middle of the Market-place. In which it was said, That the Roman Fleet was arriv'd at *Emathia*: and that the Country all about was harass'd: wherefore the *Præfects* of *Emathia* desired, that he would send them some assistance against those Robbers. Having read these lines, he exhorted the *Thracians*, that they would go to defend the Coast of *Emathia*: [saying] that they might make a great slaughter and prey of the *Romans* who were stragled all about the Country. And at the same time he lessen'd the report of the defeat; which if it had been true, there would more men have come one after another fresh out of the field, from which they fled. Having sent away the *Thracians* upon this pretence, as soon as he saw them over the River *Strymon*, he shut the Gates.

*Perseus* came the third day after the fight to *Amphipolis*: from whence he sent Deputies with an Herald's Mace to *Paulus*. In the mean time *Hippias*, *Milo*, and *Pantauchus*, the Kings chief Favourites, went themselves to the Consul, and surrender'd *Bereæ*, whither they had escaped out of the Battle, to the *Romans*: which other Cities also, for fear, were ready to do. The Consul, having sent *Q. Fabius* his Son, *L. Lentulus*, and *Q. Metellus*, with the news of his Victory and Letters to *Rome*, gave the Foot the plunder of the Enemies defeated Army: and to the Horse, the booty of the Country round about, so that they were not out of the Camp above two nights. He himself removed his Camp nearer to the Sea toward *Pydna*: where first *Bereæ*, and then *Thessalonica*, with *Pella*, and almost all *Macedonia* within two dayes was surrender'd. But the *Pydneans*, who were the nearest, had not yet sent their Embassadors: for the disorderly multitude and throng of several Nations together, who were forced out of the fight to run thither into one Body, obstructed the intentions and the agreement of the City; nor were their Gates only shut, but even brick'd up also. For which reason *Milo* and *Pantauchus* were sent under the Walls to talk with *Solan*, who was Governour of the Garison: and by him the whole multitude of the Souldiers were sent forth. The Town being surrender'd was given to the Souldiers to rife. Then *Perseus* having try'd his only hopes of assistance from the *Bisaltæ* [a people of *Thrace*] to whom he had in vain dispatch'd Embassadors, went forth into the publick Assembly, having his Son *Philip* with him; not only to encourage the *Amphipolitans* themselves, but also by his Exhortations to raise the spirits of the Horse and Foot, who either always follow'd him, or happen'd in their flight by chance to come to the same place. But seeing that he could not speak (though he began several times) for crying, because he himself could not do it, he told *Evander* the *Cretan*, what he would have treated of with the multitude, and so went down from the Temple. The multitude, as they were themselves very sorry, and cry'd, to see the King weep, so they despis'd *Evanders* Speech: yea some of them were so bold as to cry out from the midst of the Assembly; *Get you hence, lest we few, that are yet alive, perish for your sakes*. Their boldness stop't *Evanders* mouth. Then the King being retired into his House, convey'd all his Money, his Silver and his Gold into Barks, that stood upon the *Strymon*, and went himself also down to the River. The *Thracians* not daring to trust themselves in Ships, slipt home, and so did other crowds too of the same military gang. But the *Cretans* follow'd the hopes of money: and therefore, because there was more offence generally given, than good will gain'd, in dividing of it, there were fifty Talents laid upon the Bank for them to scramble for. After which scramble, as they got tumultuously on Board the Ships, they over-set one Bark, that lay in the mouth of the River, by getting too many of them into her at a time. That day they arriv'd at *Galepsus*, and the next at *Samotheaca*, whither they were bound: to which place, they say, there were brought two thousand Talents.

*Paulus* having sent Governours to all the Cities that were surrender'd, lest any injury should be done to the conquer'd now in the time of Peace: and keeping with him the Kings Herald, sent *P. Nafica* (not knowing of the Kings flight) with a small Party of Foot and Horse to *Amphipolis*: not only to ravage *Sintica*, but to be an obstruction to all the Kings designs. At this time *Cn. Octavius* took and rifed *Melibæa*: and at *Aeginium*, which *Cn. Anicius* was sent to attack, there were two hundred men lost at one sally which was made out of the Town, before the *Aeginians* knew that there was any end made of the War. The Consul setting out from *Pydna* came with his whole Army in two dayes to *Pella*: and having Encamped a mile from thence, staid there for some dayes, viewing the situation of the City on all sides, which he observ'd, was not without reason made choice of to be the Kings Seat. 'Tis situate upon an Hill, that lies to the Northwest: and about it are Fens of a vast depth, both Summer and Winter, caused by standing Lakes that are hard by. In the very Fenn it self, where it is nearest to the City, there rises as it were an Island, which stands upon the mound of a vast work, which not only bears a Wall, but likewise is not at all injur'd by the moisture of the Fenn, that runs round about it. It seems afar off to be join'd to the Wall of the City; but is divided from it by a River, over which un-

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to it there is a Bridge: so that, if any Foreigner attack it, there is no coming to it on any side, nor, if the King shut any body up there, is there any way to escape, but by a Bridge, which is very easily guarded. In this place the Kings Treasure used to be kept, but at that time there was nothing found in it, except the three hundred Talents, which were to have been sent to King *Gentius*, but were afterward kept back. In the time that they lay at *Pella*, several Embassies, that came to congratulate [the Consuls Victory] especially out of *Thessaly*, had their Audience. After which having received the news, that *Perseus* was gone over to *Samothrace*, the Consul march'd from *Pella*, and arrived in four dayes at *Amphipolis*. Where all the Town coming out in throngs to meet him, made it evident to any man

## DECADE V. BOOK V.

### The E P I T O M E.

6. *Perseus* was taken by *Æmilius Paulus* in *Samothrace*. 11, &c. When *Antiochus*, King of *Syria*, besieged *Ptolemy* and *Cleopatra*, King and Queen of *Ægypt*; for which reason the Senate sent Embassadors to him, to command him to desist from besieging a King who was their Ally, whereas, when the Message was deliver'd to him, he made answer, that he would consider, what to do; one of the Embassadors, viz. *Popilius* by name, with a rod, made a circle about the King, and bid him give his answer before he came out of it. By which rough usage he caused *Antiochus* to omit the War. 13. There were several Embassies from several Nations and Kings, by way of congratulation, admitted into the Senate. 20. But that of the *Rhodians*, because in that War they had been against the Romans, was excluded. 21. The next day, when 'twas debated, whether they should declare War against them, the Embassadors pleaded the cause of their Country in the Senate, and were dismiss'd neither as Enemies, nor as Allies. 31, &c. *Macedonia* reduced into the form of a Province. 35, &c. *Æmilius Paulus*, though the Souldiers were against it, by reason that they had too little booty, and though *Servius Sulpicius Galba* contradicted it, rode in triumph; and led *Perseus* with his three Sons before the Chariot. 40. The joy of which triumph, that it might not fall to him entire, was signaliz'd by the Funerals of his two Sons, one of which died before, and the other after his Fathers triumph. The Consuls took a Survey of the people, at which there were Poled three hundred and twelve thousand eight hundred and ten Souls. 44. *Prusias*, King of *Bithynia*, came to Rome to congratulate with the Senate upon the account of the Victory obtain'd over *Macedonia*: and recommended his Son *Nicomedes* to the Senate, before whom, the King, being full of flattery, he was the Roman Peoples Libertus [one freed from slavery.]

I. **T**HE persons sent to carry the news of the Victory, viz. *Q. Fabius*, *L. Lentulus*, and *Quintius Metellus*, though they came to Rome with as much speed as possibly they could, yet found that the City was full of joy upon that score before their arrival. The fourth day after the fight with the King, whilst the Games were perform'd in the *Circus*, a sudden murmur of the people ran through all the shows, That there had been a Battle in *Macedonia*, and that the King was overcome: after which the noise increased; till at last there arose a clamour and a clapping of hands, as though they had heard certain news of the Victory. The Magistrates began to wonder, and inquired who was the Author of that sudden joy: whom since they could not find out, their mirth was soon over, as for a thing uncertain, yet the glad tidings was still fix'd in their thoughts. Which being confirm'd by the true relations of *Fabius Lentulus*, and *Metellus*, they rejoiced not only at the Victory it self, but also in the boding of their own minds. But there goes another story concerning the joy conceiv'd by the Company in the *Circus*, which is no less probable than this; that, upon the 22<sup>h</sup> of *October*, and the second day of the Roman Games, as *C. Licinius* the Consul was going up to see the Chariots start, a Letter Carrier, who said, he came out of *Macedonia*, deliver'd unto him a Laureat Letter. When the Chariots were set out, the Consul got up into his Coach; and being return'd along the *Circus* to the publick Boxes [where the Spectators sat] shew'd the Laureat Letter to the people. Which when they saw, the people presently grew negligent of the show, and ran down into the middle [of the *Circus*:] whither the Consul called the Senate, and, having read the Letter over, by authority of the Senate, before the publick Boxes, declared to the people; That *L. Æmilius*, his Colleague had fought a pitch'd Battle with King *Perseus*: that the *Macedonian Army* was beaten and routed: that the King, with some few of his men, made his escape: and that all the Cities of *Macedonia* had surrender'd themselves to the Roman People. When they had heard this, a noise arose with great clapping of hands, and most part of the Company, leaving the Games went home to carry the glad tidings to their Wives and Children. This was the thirteenth day from that on which the Battle was fought in *Macedonia*.

II. The next day there was a Senate held in the Senate House, supplications decreed, and an Order of Senate made; That the Consul should dismiss all them that he had list'd under him, except the ordinary Souldiers, and the Seamen: and that the disbanding of them should be deferr'd,

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till the Embassadors came from *L. Æmilius* the Consul, who had sent the Letter-Carrier before them. Upon the 26<sup>th</sup> of *October*, about the second hour, the Embassadors enter'd the City, and drawing along with them a vast crowd of people that met and follow'd them, where ever they went, they walked strait on into the *Forum*, up to the Tribunal. The Senate was then, by chance, sitting; and therefore the Consul brought the Embassadors into them. Where they were detain'd so long as to declare; what quantity of Food and Horse the King had; how many thousands of them were slain, and how many taken: with what a small loss of men so many Enemies were destroy'd; with how few the King escaped: that it was thought he would go to *Samothrace*; and that the Fleet was ready to pursue him. That he could not get away either by Sea or Land. They said these very words a little after, when they were brought into the publick Assembly: where, the peoples joy being renew'd, after the Consul had set forth an Edict, that all the Temples should be open'd, every man in particular went out of the Assembly to give the Gods thanks; and by that means the Temples of the immortal Gods, all over the City, were fill'd with a vast multitude, not only of men, but of Women too. The Senate being called again into the Senate-House, decreed, that supplications should be made five dayes together in all the Temples about the City, upon the score of *L. Æmilius*, the Consuls great and good success, and that Sacrifice should be made with the bigger sort of Victims. That the Ships, that stood ready, and were just fit for service upon the *Tiber*, should be taken up (to be sent into *Macedonia*, if the King could make any resistance) and put into the Docks: that the Seamen should have a years pay given them, and be dismiss'd, and with them all, that had sworn to be true to the Consul; as also, that all the Souldiers at *Corcyra*, *Brundisium*, upon the upper Sea, or in the *Larinian* Territories (for in all those places there had been Forces posted, with whom, if occasion had been, *C. Licinius* was to have assisted his Colleague) should be disbanded. The supplication was appointed in the Assembly of the people to begin upon the tenth of *October*, and with that day to continue five dayes.

Two Embassadors, viz. *C. Licinius Nerva*, and *P. Decius* out of *Illyricum* came and brought word, That the *Illyrian Army* was slain; that their King, *Gentius*, was taken, and that he and all *Illyricum* were now at the disposal of the Romans. Upon the account of those performances, under the Conduct and lucky success of *L. Æmilius* the Praetor, the Senate decreed a supplication for three days; as the *Latine Holy-Days* were appointed by the Consul, to be celebrated on the three days immediately preceding the Ides [i. e. the 13<sup>th</sup>] of *November*. Some say, That the *Rhodian Embassadors*, being not as yet dismiss'd, after the news of the Victory, were called into the Senate, to be jeered and laugh'd at for their foolish pride: and that there, *Agisipolis*, the chief of them spoke to this purpose, laying, That they were sent Embassadors from the *Rhodians*, to make Peace between the Romans and *Perseus*; seeing that War was grievous and incommodious to all Greece in general, yea a charge and a damage even to the Romans themselves. That Fortune had done very well in that, the War being ended by other means, she had given them an opportunity of congratulating with the Romans upon the score of so great a Victory. Thus said the *Rhodian*, to which the Senate reply'd, That the *Rhodians* sent that Embassy, not out of any care they took of the advantages of Greece, or any respect to the charges which the Roman People had been at, but on the behalf of *Perseus*. For if that had been their care, which they pretended, they ought then to have sent Embassadors, when *Perseus*, having brought an Army into *Thessaly*, besieged the Grecian Cities, some of them for two years together, and frighted the rest by threatening to make War against them. That then there was no mention made by the *Rhodians* of a Peace: but when they heard that the Romans, having pass'd the *Streights*, were got over into *Macedonia*, and that *Perseus* was within their reach, that then the *Rhodians* sent their Embassy, for no other reason, but to deliver *Perseus* out of imminent danger. That with this Answer the Embassadors were dismiss'd.

At the same time *M. Marcellus*, departing out of the Province of *Spain*, after he had taken the famous City of *Marcolica*, brought back into the Treasury ten pound weight of Gold, and of Silver, in Sesterces, a Million. In the mean time *P. Æmilius*, the Consul, being Encamped (as I told you before) at *Sire* in *Odomantica*, received a Letter from King *Perseus*, by the hands of three Embassadors, who were but ordinary men; upon the receipt of which he is said to have wept, to think of the frailty of mankind: that he, who, a little before, was not content with the Kingdom of *Macedonia*, but attacked the *Dardans* and *Illyrians*, calling in Auxiliaries from the *Bastarnæ*, should now, since he had lost his Army, be banish'd his Kingdom, forced into a small Island, and like a suppliant, be protected by the religious respect, born to a Temple only, and not by his own strength. But when he read these words, King *Perseus* to Consul *Paulus* sendeth greeting; his compassion was all taken off by the folly of the King, who understood not his own circumstances. Wherefore though in the other part of the Letter, the intreaties of *Perseus* were such as did in no wise become a King, yet that Embassy was dismiss'd without any Letter, or Answer. *Perseus* thereupon grew sensible, what title he, a conquer'd Prince, ought to have left out; and therefore sent another Letter, with the title of a private person; in which he desired and obtained, that certain persons might be sent to him, for him to discourse with, concerning the state and condition of his present Fortune. There were three Embassadors sent, whose names were *P. Lentulus*, *A. Posthumus Albinus*, and *A. Antonius*: but nothing was con-

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cluded of in that Embassy, since *Perseus* was resolved to retain the Name of King, and *Paulus* was very earnest, to have him commit himself and all that he had to the protection and mercy of the Roman People.

V. Whilst these things were transacted, *Cn. Octavius* with his Fleet arrived at *Samothrace*; who endeavouring, besides the present fright which he put him into, sometimes with threats, and sometimes with hopes to persuade him, that he would deliver himself up, was assisted in his undertaking, whether by accident or design [is not well known.] For *L. Atilius*, a noble youth, observing, that the *Samothracians* were at a publick Assembly, desired of the Magistrates, that they would permit him to speak some few words to the people. Which being permitted, he ask'd them; *Have we, my good Friends of Samothrace, or truly or falsely been told, that this holy Island is all a sacred and inviolable soil?* Whereupon when all the Company agreed to the acknowledg'd sanctity of the place; he demanded farther; *Why then (said he) hath a murderer polluted it with the blood of King Eumenes?* And since every Preface [or the solemn words] before the performance of holy rites, forbids all those, who have not pure hands, to come into the sacred place, where such religious duties are perform'd, will you suffer your Temples to be profaned with the bloody body of a Villain? Now there was a common report about all the Cities of Greece, that *Evander* almost kill'd King *Eumenes* at *Delphi*. Wherefore, besides that they saw themselves and the whole Island, together with the Temple in the power of the Romans, supposing, that these things were not objected against them without cause, sent *Theondas*, who was the chief Magistrate among them (by them stiled *Rex*, i. e. King) to *Perseus*, to tell him, That *Evander* the Cretan was accused of murder: and that they had old Laws, which they received by tradition from their Ancestors, concerning those, that were said to bring polluted hands within the sacred limits of their Temples. If *Evander* were confident of his own innocency, that he should come and make his defence: but if he durst not venture a Tryal, that he should at least no longer defile the Temple, but consult his own safety. *Perseus*, calling forth *Evander* told him, He would not by any means advise him to submit to a tryal, for he could not come off, either upon the very case it self, or by any favour he would meet with. Besides, that he was also afraid, lest if *Evander* were condemned, he would detect him for the author of so horrid an action. Wherefore what had he to do, but bravely to die? *Evander* openly refused nothing, that he proposed; but, saying, that he had rather die by poison, than by the Sword, privately contrived his escape. Which when the King heard; he, fearing, lest the anger of the *Samothracians* might be turn'd all against him, as though the guilty person had been by him convey'd from Justice, caused *Evander* to be kill'd. Which rash murder being committed, it came immediately into his mind, that he had taken that stain upon himself, which had been *Evander's*: for *Evander* had wounded King *Eumenes* at *Delphi*, and he himself had kill'd *Evander* at *Samothrace*: so that two the most sacred Temples in the World were by his instigation polluted with humane blood. But this crime was so far palliated by his bribing *Theondas*, that he carry'd word back to the People, that *Evander* kill'd himself.

VI. But by this base act, against the only Friend, which he had left; whom he himself had tried upon so many occasions, and betray'd, because he would not be a Traytor, he so far alienated the affections of all people, that every body revolted to the Romans; and forced him, who was left almost alone, to consult, how to make his escape: and therefore he sent for *Oroandes*, a Cretan, who knew the Coast of *Thrace*, because he had traded there as a Merchant, to put him on board a Bark and carry him to *Cotys*. There is a Port at a certain Cape belonging to *Samothrace*; where the Bark stood. To which place, about Sun-setting, they carry'd down all things that were necessary; and money too, as much as they could privately convey. The King himself, at midnight, with three others, that knew of his flight, went out at the back Door of the House, where he lay, into a Garden, near his Bed-Chamber, and from thence, getting with much ado over a stone Wall, came to the Sea-side. *Oroandes* at that very time, when the money was coming down, which was the edge of night, had set Sail, and was going for *Crete*. Wherefore, since he found not the Ship in the Port, *Perseus*, having wander'd for some time upon the shore, at last, fearing the light, which now approach'd, and not daring to return to his Lodging, lay in one side of the Temple, near an obscure Corner thereof. The Children of Noblemen among the *Macedonians*, who were chosen to attend upon the King, were called *Pueri Regii*, [the Kings Attendants.] Now that *Retinuc* follow'd the King in his flight, nor did they even then forsake him, till by order from *Cn. Octavius*, the Cryer made Proclamation, that the Kings Servants, and all other *Macedonians*, that were in *Samothrace*, if they would come over to the Romans, should save their Lives, Liberties and Estates, which they either had with them there, or had left in *Macedonia*. Upon which Declaration they all came over, and gave in their names to *C. Postumius*, Tribune of the Souldiers. Ion also of *Thessalonica*, deliver'd up to *Cn. Octavius* the Kings small Children; nor was there ever an one of them left with the King, except *Philip* only, who was the eldest of his Sons. Then he surrender'd himself and his Son to *Octavius*, accusing fortune and the Gods, in whose Temple they were, for not assisting one, that pray'd to them for it, with any aid. Whereupon he was order'd to be put into the Admirals Ship; whereinto the money, which remained, was also carry'd; and so the Fleet

Fleet set Sail immediately for *Amphipolis*. And thence *Octavius* sent the King into the Camp, to the Consul, having sent a Letter before-hand, so let him know, that he had him in his custody, and was a bringing him thither to him.

*Paulus* supposing that to be, as it really was, an happy Victory, kill'd several Victims VII. upon the news of it, and having called a Council, in which he read the Prators Letter, sent *Q. Ailius Tubero* to meet the King; commanding the rest to stay in a full body at his Tent. There never was such a multitude of people at any show [as came to see this sight.] King *Syphax* indeed, in the memory of our Fathers, had been taken and brought into the Roman Camp; who, besides that he was not to be compared with *Perseus*, either upon the score of his own Fame, or that of his Country, was then also no more than an addition to the Punick, as *Gentius*, of the *Macedonian* War. But *Perseus* was the head and first mover of a War, nor did the renown of his Father and Grand-Father only, whose Descendant he was, render him conspicuous; but *Philip* also, and Great *Alexander* shone brightly forth, who had made the *Macedonian* Empire the chiefest in the whole World. *Perseus* came into the Camp in a mourning Garb, without any body else to Accompany him, and make him more miserable by being in the same sad condition. He could not go forward to be seen for the crowd of those that came to meet him, till the Consul had sent the Lictors, to remove the people and make a Lane to the Generals Tent. The Consul rose from his Seat, and bidding the rest sit down, went a little forward, and when the King came in, gave him his right hand; took him up when he threw himself at his Feet; and suffer'd him not to touch his Knees; but having brought him into the Tent, order'd him to sit down over against the Officers whom he had called to Council.

The first question that he ask'd him, was, what injury provoked him to undertake a War VIII. with so much malice against the Romans; whereby to bring both himself and his Kingdom into extreme danger. To which when all people expected his Answer, he only lookt upon the ground, and for a long time in silence wept: which made the Consul say to him again: If you had been young, when you came to the Crown, I should have the less admired that you were ignorant, how great a Friend or Enemy the Roman People were. But now, since you were not only engaged in the War, which your Father waged with us, but likewise remember the Peace after that, which we observed with the greatest fidelity and integrity toward him: what was your meaning to desire a War rather than Peace, with those, whose Force he had tried in War, and their fidelity in time of Peace? To which he being neither ask'd nor accused, reply'd, and then the Consul said, But notwithstanding these things, whether they have happen'd through humane frailty, chance or necessity, have a good heart: the Clemency of the Roman People which hath been experienced by many Kings and States, affords thee, not only hopes, but almost certain assurance of safety. This he said in Greek to *Perseus*, and afterwards in Latin to his own men: You see, said he, a notable Example of the vicissitude of humane affairs. I speak most especially to you, young men! It is therefore the best way not to carry on any proud or violent designs against any man in prosperity, nor to trust to our present condition; since 'tis uncertain, what an Evening may bring forth. He will prove himself a Man, whose mind is neither puff'd up by prosperity, nor broken, or dejected by adversity. After that dismissing the Council he committed the King to the Custody of *Q. Ailius*. That day *Perseus* was not only invited to the Consuls [Tent] to Supper, but also all other honours were paid him, that he was capable of in that condition.

IX. Then the Army was dismiss'd into their Winter-Quarters; of whom *Amphipolis* received the greatest part, and the neighbouring Cities the rest. Now this was the end of the War between the Romans and *Perseus*, after they had continu'd in Arms for four years together: as it was also the ruine of a Kingdom, that was renowned through most part of Europe, and all Asia. They reckon'd *Perseus* the twentieth from *Curanus*, who was their first King. *Perseus* received the Kingdom, when *Q. Fulvius* and *L. Manlius* were Consuls: was called King by the Senate, when *M. Junius*, and *A. Manlius* were Consuls; and reigned eleven years. The Fame of the *Macedonians* was very obscure till the time of *Philip*, Son of *Amintas*: yea, though in his time it began to encrease, yet it contain'd it self within the bounds of Europe, taking in all Greece, with part of *Thrace* and *Illyricum*. After that it diffus'd it self over into Asia; and in those thirteen years, that *Alexander* reign'd, it first reduced all those parts, to which the Persian Empire with its almost immense limits had extended: till at last it over-ran Arabia and India, even to the red Sea. At that time the *Macedonian* Empire and Name was the greatest in the World: but afterward was distracted and divided into many petit Kingdoms, whilst every one took by force what he could rap or rend for himself: so that from the highest pitch of its glory to its utter dissolution, it was a hundred and fifty years.

X. When the news of the Roman Victory was come into Asia, *Antenor*, who was with the Fleet of Barks at *Phame*, cross'd over thence to *Cassandria*. *C. Popilius*, who, at *Delus*, was Convoy to the Ships, that were bound for *Macedonia*, when he heard that the War in *Macedonia* was made an end of, and that the Enemies Fleet was removed from their station, himself also dismiss'd his Attick Ships, and went on for *Egypt*, to perform the Embassy which he had undertaken: that he might meet *Antiochus*, before he came to the Walls of *Alexandria*. As the Embassadors pass'd by Asia, and came to *Loryma* (which Port is somewhat



somewhat more than twenty Miles from Rhodes, exactly opposite to that City) the Nobility of the Rhodians met them (for by this time the news was brought even thither also) delirious, *That they would touch at Rhodes. For it concern'd the fame and the well-being of that City, that they should know all things, that either had been, or were then transacted at Rhodes; and that they should carry back an account to Rome of what they themselves found to be true, and not what they had receiv'd by common report only.* The Embassadors a great while refused to do it, but at last they perswaded them, to make a little stay in their Voyage for the sake of a City, that was their Ally. When they came to Rhodes, they got them by the same intreaties to come into their publick Assembly. But the arrival of the Embassadors rather increas'd than diminished the Cities fear: for Popilius recounted all things, which every particular person, and all of them together, had hostilely said and done in that War; and, being a man of a rough disposition, enhanced the hainousness of those things, that were spoken of, by a stern look and an acculing tone: insomuch that though he had no private quarrel himself with the City, they might guess by the bitterness of one Roman Senator, how the whole Senate stood affected toward them. C. Decimius's Speech was more moderate, who, as to many of those things, that Popilius spoke to, said, *the blame did not lie upon the people, but at the Doors of some few persons only, that instigated the rabble: that they, having tongues which were to be purchased for money, had made Decrees full of flattery to the King; and had sent such Embassies, as the Rhodians should always not only be ashamed, but repent of.* All which things, if the people had power, would return upon the heads of those that were guilty of them. He therefore was heard with great applause, not because he lessen'd, and took off the blame from the multitude, more than that he laid the fault upon the right Authors. Wherefore when their great men answer'd the Romans, their Speeches were not by any means so grateful, who endeavour'd one way or other to solve those objections, which Popilius had made, as theirs, who assented to Decimius in his design of making the Authors suffer for their crimes. Thereupon it was presently decreed, *that all those, who had said or done any thing in behalf of Perseus against the Romans, should be put to death.* But, a little before the Romans came thither some persons went out of the City, and others kill'd themselves. The Embassadors, having staid at Rhodes but five dayes, went away for Alexandria. But for all that the judicial proceedings upon the Decree, that was made in their presence, went on never the slower; which perseverance in the Execution of that Law was the effect of Decimius's mildness and moderation.

XI. Whilst these things were transacted, Antiochus having in vain attempted the Walls of Alexandria was gone away, and having gotten possession of the rest of Egypt, left the elder Ptolemy at Memphis, for whom he pretended he would have gain'd the Kingdom by his own strength (only that he might attack him that got the better on't) and led his Army thence into Syria. Nor was Ptolemy ignorant of this his design; and therefore supposing, that, whilst his younger Brother was frighted by the fear of a Siege, he might be entertain'd at Alexandria by the assistance of his Sister, and the indifferency of his Brothers Friends together, ceased not to send, first to his Sister, and then to his Brother and his Friends, before he had made a Peace with them. Now that which had made Antiochus suspected was, that he, having all the rest of Egypt surrender'd to him, had left a strong Guard at Pelusium: for it appeared, that he was Master of the inlets into Egypt, so that, whenever he pleased, he could bring his Army again into it. And that such would be the issue of Ptolemy's intestine War with his Brother, that the Conquerour, being tired with fighting, would in no wise be equal, or hard enough for Antiochus. Now these things being prudently consider'd of by the elder, the younger Brother, and those of his Party, very willingly receiv'd: and his Sister assisted very much in the affair, not only by her advice, but by her intreaties also. Wherefore by their general consent, a Peace was concluded, and Alexandria retaken; nor were the very rabble against it, who, not only in the War, whilst the Siege lasted, but also after it was raised (since nothing was brought in for their relief out of Egypt) were extremely straitned for want of all kinds of provisions. Now though it were fit for Antiochus to have rejoiced at this, if he had brought his Army into Egypt, to restore him (as he speciously pretended by the Embassies that he received, and the Letters that he sent to all the Cities of Greece and Asia) yet he was so offended, that he prepared for a War with much more eagerness and malice against them both, than he had done formerly against the one. For he sent his Navy immediately to Cyprus: and himself, at the beginning of the Spring, intending for Egypt, went into Cœle Syria. About Rhinocolura he met Ptolemy's Embassadors, who giving him thanks, for that by his means their Master had recover'd his Fathers Kingdom, and desiring, that he would act like himself, and rather tell them, what he would have done, than, growing an Enemy instead of an Ally, do all by force of arms, he answered and said, *that he would not either recal his Fleet, nor carry back his Army, unless Ptolemy would resign to him all Cyprus, and Pelusium, with the Country that lay about the Pelusian mouth of Nile: and withal prefix'd a day, between which, and that time, he would have an answer concerning the performance of those conditions.*

XII. When the day, given for the Truce, was pass'd; whilst the Admirals and other Officers of the Syrian Fleet sailed through the mouth of Nile to Pelusium, Antiochus himself had led his

his Land Forces through the deserts of Arabia into Egypt, where having received all those that dwelt between the Nile and the Arabian Gulf as far as Memphis, by surrender, together with the other Egyptians, that inhabited near the farther Bank of Nile, and the several arms of it, partly on their own accord, and partly for fear, he march'd down by small Journeys to Alexandria. At Leusine, when he was got over the River (which place is four miles from Alexandria) the Roman Embassadors met him. Whom when he, upon their first coming, had saluted, and held forth to Popilius his right hand, Popilius deliver'd unto him a Letter, and bad him, *read that the first thing he did.* Which when he had read over, and said, *that he would consider and advise with his Friends, what he should do; Popilius, according to his usual roughness and resolution, with a rod, that he had in his hand, made a Circle about the King, and said, Before thou goest out of this Circle, give the Senate an Answer for me to carry back.* The King being amazed at so violent a command, after he had paused a while, said, *Well then, I'll do what the Senate thinks fit.* With that Popilius held forth his right hand to the King, as to a Friend and Ally. After which, when Antiochus was gone, within a time prefix'd, out of Egypt, the Embassadors (having confirm'd, by their authority also, the concord between the two Brothers, who had yet scarce agreed upon a Peace) sailed to Cyprus: and from thence dismiss'd Antiochus's Fleet, which had now defeated the Egyptian Ships in a Sea-fight. That Embassy was very much talk'd of about all those Nations, in that thereby Egypt was undoubtedly taken away from Antiochus, who was now in possession of it, and their Fathers Kingdom restored to the race of Ptolemy. Now as the Consulship of one of the Consuls that year was renowned for a signal Victory, so the fame of the other was as obscure; because he had no opportunity of doing any considerable exploit. When at this time, first of all, he appointed a day for the Legions to Rendezvous, he did not enter the Temple with due Ceremony; and therefore the augurs, when it was referr'd to them, gave their opinions, *that the day was ill appointed.* When he went into Gaul he encamp'd near the Plains called *Campi Macri* near the Mountains Sicinina and Papirus: and after that Winter'd about the same places with the Latine Allies. The Roman Legions, because the day for the Rendezvous of the Army was not rightly appointed, staid at Rome: and the Prætors, all, except C. Papirius Carbo, who happen'd to have Sardinia; went to their several Provinces. For the Senate thought good that he should act as a Judge (for that likewise fell to his Lot) between Citizens and Foreigners at Rome.

As soon as Popilius and that Embassy, which was sent to Antiochus, return'd to Rome; they brought word, *that the Controversies between the Kings were decided, and that Antiochus's Army was carry'd back out of Egypt into Syria.* Afterward, there came Embassadors from those Kings: Embassadors from Antiochus, who said, *that that Peace which the Senate had order'd him to make, was more grateful to their King, than any Victory whatever; and that he obey'd the commands of the Roman Embassadors, as though they had been the orders of the Gods.* Then they congratulated the Victory, to which the King, if they had laid their commands upon him, would have contributed as much as in him lay. Ptolemy's Embassadors gave the Senate thanks in the name of the King and Cleopatra too, and said, *That they owed more to the Senate and people of Rome, than to their Parents; yea more, than to the immortal Gods: in that, by them they had been deliver'd from a most miserable Siege, and recover'd their Fathers Kingdom, which they had almost lost.* To which the Senate reply'd; *That Antiochus had done well and as he ought to do, in obeying the Embassadors; and that his so doing was very grateful to the Senate and people of Rome.* That, if any good or advantage had accrue'd to the Sovereigns of Egypt, Ptolemy and Cleopatra, by their means, the Senate was extremely glad of it; and would endeavour, to make them think, that the greatest security of their Kingdom should be always plac'd in the protection and honour of the Roman People. C. Papirius the Prætor had Orders to send the Embassadors Presents according to custom. After that there was a Letter brought out of Macedonia, which doubled their joy for that Victory; giving them to understand, *That King Perseus was in the Consuls custody.* When the Egyptian Embassadors were dismiss'd, there was a Debate between the Pisan and the Lunian Embassadors; the Pisans complaining, *that they were driven out of their possessions by the Roman Colony; whilst the Lunians affirm'd, that that Land, for which they contended, was assign'd by the Triumviri to them.* The Senate therefore sent five persons, viz. Q. Fabius Buteo, P. Cornelius Blasio, T. Sempronius Musca, L. Nevius Balbus, and C. Apuleius Saturninus, to inquire into and determine the case concerning their bounds. There came also one common Embassy from the three Brothers, Eumenes, Attalus, and Athenaus, to congratulate with them upon the score of their Victory. L. Manlius the Questor at the same time was sent with money to meet Magabaz, Son to King Massinissa, who was landed at Puteoli, and to bring him to Rome at the publick charge. As soon as he came thither he had admision into the Senate: where he, though an youth, spoke in such a manner, as that, what was in it self very grateful, he made by his words much more acceptable. He recounted how many Foot and Horse, how many Elephants, and how much Corn his Father had sent in the space of those four years into Macedonia: but said, *That two things he was ashamed of; the one, that the Senate had by their Embassadors desired, and not commanded such things from him as were necessary for*

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the War; and the other, that they had sent him money for his Corn. That Massinissa remembered, how his Kingdom was gain'd, increased, and multiplied by the Roman People: and that he was content to have the use of that Kingdom, as knowing, that the Dominion and right of it belongs to them that gave it him. Wherefore it was just that they should take what they thought good, without asking him, or giving money for those things that are the product of a Country which they themselves bestow'd upon him. That what the Romans left was and would be enough for Massinissa. That he came from his Father with that Message; but that, a while after, certain Horsemen overtook him, who told him that Macedonia was conquer'd, and bid him, after he had congratulated with the Senate, tell them, that his Father was so transported with joy to hear that news, that he would come to Rome, and Sacrifice, and pay his thanks to Jupiter Optimus Maximus [i.e. Jupiter, the Good and Great,] in the Capitol; which, if it were no offence, he desired the Senate would permit him to do.

- XIV. The young Prince had this Answer; That his Father Massinissa did, what became a good and a grateful man, in adding a value and an esteem to a due kindness. That the Roman People were assisted by him in the Punick War with Courage and Fidelity, and that on the other hand he, by their assistance, gain'd his Kingdom: after which, through his own justice, he did all the offices of a Friend in the Wars against three Kings. But that it was no wonder, that such a King should rejoice at the Victory of the Roman People, who had mixt all the concerns of his fortune and Kingdom with the Roman affairs. That he should give the Gods thanks at home for the Roman Peoples Victory, and that his Son would do so for him at Rome. Moreover, that he had congratulated them sufficiently both in his own and his Fathers name. But that Massinissa should leave his Kingdom, and go out of Africa (besides that it would be an inconvenience to him) the Senate thought would not be for the advantage of the Roman People. Then Masgaba desiring, that Hanno, Son of Hamilcar, might be sent by the Carthaginians as an Hostage, in the stead of another [whose name is unknown]; the Senate made Answer, that it was not reasonable for the Roman Senate to require Hostages of the Carthaginians at the pleasure of Massinissa. The Quæstor was order'd by an Act of Senate, to buy Presents for the young Prince to the value of a hundred pounds of Silver, and attend him to Puteoli; as also, to defray all his charges, as long as he was in Italy; and to hire two Ships, in which he and his retinue might be carry'd into Africa; besides, that to all his Attendants, whether Freemen, or Slaves, there were Cloths given. Not long after, there was a Letter brought, concerning another Son of Massinissa; That he was sent by L. Paulus, after he had overcome Perseus, into Africa, with his Horsemen; but that whilst he was sailing through the Adriatick Sea, his Fleet was dispers'd, and he, with three Ships, brought sick to Brundisium. L. Scertinius, the Quæstor, was sent to him at Brundisium, with the same Presents, which, at Rome, were made to his Brother: and order'd to take care that an House

- XV. The *Libertini* [those whose Fathers had formerly been Slaves] were ranged into four City Tribes, all except those, that had a Son, by approbation of the Senate, above five years old. Them they order'd to be poled, where the last survey before they had been poled: and made it lawful to pole all those who had a Farm, or Farms in the Country of above thirty thousand Sesterces. Which being thus provided, Claudius said, the Censor could not take any single mans vote from him with the peoples consent, much less from a whole rank. For though he might turn him out of any particular Tribe, which was nothing else, but to make him change his Tribe, yet he could not therefore put him out of all the thirty five Tribes: that is to say, he could not take from him his freedom; and exclude him from the number of Citizens without saying where he should be poled. These things were debated between them; till at last they came to this point, that of four City Tribes, they should chose one openly in the Court of Liberty, into which they would gather all those, that had been Slaves. It happen'd to be the Esquiline Tribe, that was chosen: and therefore in that Tib. Gracchus declar'd all the *Libertini* should be poled. That business was a great honour to the Censors in the Senate; who not only gave Sempronius thanks, for persevering in his good undertaking, but Claudius also, who had not withstood it. There were more turn'd out of the Senate, and commanded to sell their Horses, than had been in former times: besides, that all the same persons were by both Censors put out of their Tribes and disfranchis'd: nor did any man, whom the one of them censur'd, pass unmaligned by the other. When they desired, that they might be continu'd in their office for an year and two months longer to see, that the publick buildings were in good repair, and to approve of those works which they had agreed for: Cn. Trenellius, a Tribune, because he was not chosen into the Senate, withstood it. That same year C. Cicereius dedicated a Temple in the Alban Mount, five years after he had vow'd it. L. Postumius Albinus was that year inaugurated as *Flamen Martialis* [i.e. Mars's Chief Priest.]

- XVI. When Q. A'ius and M. Junius the Consuls made report concerning the Provinces, the Senate thought fit, that Spain should again be made two Provinces, which in the time of the Macedonian War had been but one: and that L. Paulus and L. Anicius (the same persons) should keep Macedonia and Illyricum, till they had compos'd the disturbances which had been made in the War, and reduced the other affairs of that Kingdom to a better state, according

cording to the opinion of their Embassadors. The Consuls had Pisa and Gaule decreed them, with two Legions of Foot, and four hundred Horse. The Prætors happen'd to have, Q. Cassius the City, and M. Juvencius Thalna the jurisdiction among Foreigners; Tib. Claudius Nero, Sicily, Cn. Fulvius the hither Spain, and C. Licinius Nerva the farther. A. Manlius Torquatus had Sardinia; but could not go into his Province, being detain'd by order of Senate, to hear Capital Causes. After this the Senate fate concerning several Prodigies, that were told of. The Temple of the *Dii Penates* [Household Gods] in Velia was burnt by Lightning, and in the Town of Minervium the two Gates, with some part of the Wall. At Anagnia it had rained Earth; and at Lanuvium there was a flame like a Torch seen in the Heavens. And at Calatia, in a publick ground, M. Valerius, a Roman Citizen brought word, that blood flowed from his Fire-hearth three days, and two nights. Upon that account chiefly, the *Decemviri*, being order'd to consult their Books, ordain'd a publick supplication for one day: and sacrificed fifty Goats in the Market-place. But for the other Prodigies also there was a supplication another day through all the Temples, the greater sort of Victims slain, and the City purified. After that, in honour to the immortal Gods, the Senate decreed, that, since their two greatest Enemies, Perseus, and Gentius were now overcome, and in the hands of the Roman People, together with their Countries, Macedonia and Illyricum, look what offerings were made, when Ap. Claudius and M. Sempronius were Consuls, for the Victory over King Antiochus, in all Temples, Q. Cassius and M. Juvencius should take care to have the like then made.

Then they chose Embassadors, according to whose judgment the two Generals L. Paulus and L. Anicius should compose their business; ten to go into Macedonia, and five into Illyricum. The persons named for Macedonia were A. Postumius Luscus, and C. Claudius, both Censors Fellows; C. Licinius Crassus, Colleague to Paulus in his Consulship, who at that time, being continu'd in Commission, had the Province of Gaul. To these Consular men they added Cn. Domitius Enobarbus, Ser. Cornelius Sulla, L. Junius, C. Antistius Labeo, T. Numisius of Turquinii, and A. Terentius Varro. And for Illyricum were named these that follow; viz. P. Aelius Ligus, a Consuls Fellow, C. Cicereius, Cn. Babius Tamphilus (he had been Prætor the year before, and Cicereius many years ago) P. Terentius Tusciveicanus, and P. Manlius. After which the Consuls were admonish'd by the Senate, that, since it was necessary for one of them to succeed C. Licinius, (who had been nominated for an Embassador) in Gaul, they should either agree between themselves concerning their Provinces, or call Lots for them as soon as possible: and accordingly they cast Lots. M. Junius happen'd to have Pisa (but before he went into his Province was order'd to introduce the Embassies, which came from all parts to Rome, with Congratulations [upon the score of their Victory], into the Senate) and Q. Aelius Gaul. But though such men were sent, from whose prudence they might well hope, that the Generals would do nothing misbecoming either the clemency or gravity of the Roman People, yet the main points of their Counsels were debated in the Senate also, that the Embassadors might carry all things, already begun at least from home to the Generals.

First of all, they order'd, that the Macedonians and Illyrians should be free: that all Nations might see, that the Arms of the Roman People brought not servitude upon those that were Freemen, but freedom to those that were Slaves. And also that those Nations which were already free, might know, that their liberty was secure, and would be perpetual under the Tutelage of the Roman People: and that those, who lived under Kings, might be sensible, that they were not only at present more mild and just to them, but also, if their Kings ever happen'd to wage War with the Roman People, they might believe that the issue thereof would bring Victory to the Romans, and to themselves liberty. They also thought fit to take off the Tax upon the Macedonian Metals, which was a vast Revenue, and the letting out of Country Farms. For as they could not be kept up without Publicans [those that gather'd the publick Revenues] so where the Publicans were concern'd, there either the Law was evacuated, or their Allies quite lost their liberties. Yea, that the Macedonians themselves could not exercise any such thing. For where there was such a booty among so many Officers, there would never be wanting the causes of strife and sedition. That there should not be one common Council of the whole Nation, lest the wicked vulgar might convert that liberty, which the Senate sometimes granted to wholesome moderation, into a pestilent licence. Wherefore they thought fit, that Macedonia should be divided into four Regions; so as that each might have its peculiar Council; and pay half of that Tribute, which they used to pay to the Kings, to the Roman People. The like Orders were sent into Illyricum: the rest being left to the Generals and Embassadors themselves; in which the present occasion, when they were upon the place, was likely to suggest unto them better measures.

Among the many Embassies from Kings, Nations, and States, Attalus, Brother to King Eumenes, turn'd the Eyes and thoughts of all people most upon him: for he was receiv'd and entertain'd by them, who had serv'd with him at the same time in that War, with far greater splendour than if King Eumenes himself had come in person. There were two specious pretences that brought him thither: the one, a Congratulation for that Victory, to which he himself had contributed: and the other, a complaint of a Gallick Tumult, viz. That by the Arms of Adverta [a petit King of the Gauls] their Kingdom was brought into jeopardy.

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jeopardy. He had also some private hopes of some advantages and rewards from the Senate, which with safety to his Piety [towards his Brother Eumenes] he could scarce obtain. For there were some of the Romans also, who, by their ill counsel and false suggestions, with hopes increased his desire: saying, that at Rome the general opinion concerning Attalus and Eumenes was such, as though the one were a true Friend to the Romans, and the other a faithful Ally neither to the Romans nor to Perseus. Wherefore they could hardly tell, whether what he should desire for himself, or against his Brother, were easier to be obtained of the Senate; so much they were all inclined to give him, and deny his Brother whatever he requested. Now Attalus (as it prov'd) was one of those men, who coveted all that hope had promised them [and had done so in this case] had not the prudent admonition of one Friend put (as it were) a Bridle upon his ambition, which in his prosperity was too luxuriant and unruly. For there was with him one Stratius, a Physician, who was sent by Eumenes on purpose to Rome, as a spy upon his Brothers actions, and faithfully to admonish him if he saw that he departed from his Fidelity, and Allegiance. Who coming to him, though his Ears were already possessed, and his mind under temptation, attack'd him with seasonable discourse, and made all well again, by saying, that other Kingdoms grew great by several means. But that their Kingdom being new, and founded upon no ancient bottom, depended merely upon their fraternal [or Brotherly] Concord: in that one only bore the name of King, and wore the Crown, but all the Brothers reign'd. But as for Attalus, since he was next in Age, who did not look upon him as a King? and not only for this reason, because they see him so great at present, but also, because there was no doubt, but he would e'r long come to be King, since Eumenes was so infirm and old, besides, that he had no Children (for he had not as yet acknowledg'd him, who afterward was King.) What reason therefore had he to employ force for a thing, that would e'r long be his of course? That there was also a new Tempest rais'd in the Kingdom by the Gallick tumult, which could hardly be withstood, and over power'd even by the consent and concord of their whole Family. But if to a foreign War they added a domestick Sedition, it was impossible to make any resistance: nor would he thereby do anything else but, lest his Brother should die a King, rob himself of the certain hopes of succeeding in the Throne. If it were a glorious thing, both to preserve his Brothers Kingdom, and take it from him; yet it was the more commendable of the two to preserve it, that being the effect of natural piety and affection. But indeed, since the other action was detestable, and next to Parricide, what room was there for doubt or deliberation? For, would he have part of the Kingdom, or take away all? if part, they would be both weak, when their strength was divided, and obnoxious to all injuries: if the whole, would he have his elder Brother then live a private life, or in banishment, at that Age, with that infirmity of Body, or, in fine, command him to die? Perseus's Exit indeed (that I may say nothing concerning the end of impious Brothers, deliver'd to us in Fables) seem'd very egregious, who laid down that Diadem, which he got by his Brothers Death, in the Temple at Samothrace, all prostrate at the Feet of a conquering Enemy, as though the Gods that were there present had requir'd satisfaction for his crimes. That those very men, who, not out of Friendship to him, but hatred to Eumenes, incited him to such things, would commend his Piety and Constancy, if he to the last preserv'd his Allegiance to his Brother.

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This advice prevail'd most with Attalus. Wherefore when he was brought into the Senate (after he had congratulated their Victory) he discours'd of his own merits in that War, together with those of his Brother, if any such there were, telling them also of the revolt of the Gauls, which had been lately made with a great insurrection. Then he desired, that they would send Embassadors to them, by whose authority they might be aw'd so far as to lay down their Arms. Having deliver'd this Message for the advantage of the Kingdom, he desired, that he himself might have Aenus and Maronea: by which having disappointed their hopes, who thought he would accuse his Brother, and desire a division of the Kingdom, he went out of the Senate-House. There hardly ever was any man, either King or private person, who was heard with so much favour, and so general an assent of all parties: and accordingly they not only bestow'd upon him all honours and presents whilst he was at Rome, but likewise attended him in his Journey too. Among many other Embassies from Greece and Asia, the Rhodian Embassadors put the City into the greatest admiration. For whereas at first they appeared in a white Garb, as became persons that came to congratulate [a Victory,] (and if they had had fordid Cloths, they might have seem'd to have lamented the misfortune of Perseus) after the Senate, being consulted by M. Junius the Consul, whether they would give the usual respects and entertainment to those Embassadors, who then stood in the Comitium [a Court for publick Assemblies,] declared, that no rights of hospitality were to be observ'd with such people; the Consul going out of the Court (when the Rhodians, saying, that they came to congratulate their Victory, and to acquit their City of the crimes charg'd against them, desired that they might have admission into the Senate) declared, that the Romans us'd not only to be very courteous and hospitable to those that were their Allies and Friends, but also to admit them into the Senate; but that the Rhodians had not deserv'd so well in that War, as to be reckon'd in the number of Friends and Allies. When they heard this, they all fell flat upon the ground, desiring of the Consul, and all that were present, that they would not think it reasonable, that their new and false accusations should be more disadvantageous to the Rhodians, than their ancient merits, of which they themselves were Witnesses

[might]

[might be a benefit to them.] And thereupon they presently put on fordid Garments, and went about to all the Noblemens Houses, with Prayers and Tears, desiring them, that they would hear their cause before they condemn'd them.

Manius Juvencius Thalna, the Prætor, whose jurisdiction was between Citizens and Foreigners, incited the people against the Rhodians, and had promulgated a petitionary Bill; That a War might be declared against the Rhodians, and that they would chose out of the Magistrates of that year, one, to be sent with the Fleet, to serve in that War; hoping that he himself might be the man. But this was oppos'd by M. Antonius, and M. Pomponius, Tribunes of the people. But indeed as the Prætor had gone a wrong way to work, against all former precedents; in that he, without having first consulted the Senate, or inform'd the Consuls, merely on his own head propos'd the Question, Whether they would will and command, that a War should be proclaimed against the Rhodians; whereas in former times the Senate had been always consulted, after which it was refer'd to the people; so had the Tribunes of the people too, since it was the custom, that no man should oppose a Law, before private persons had leave to perswade or dissuade the passing of it. For by that means it often had happen'd, that they, who had not profess'd, that they would oppose it, having consider'd the inconvenience of such a Law, were induced by the reasons of those that spoke against, to oppose it: and also, that those who came to oppose it, many times desisted, as being over-born by the authorities of those who spoke for it. Thereupon the Prætor and the Tribunes vied, which of them should act most irregularly.

XXI.

"Whether we have done amiss, is yet a doubt; but yet we suffer all punishments and ignominies already. Formerly when the Carthaginians were conquer'd; Philip, and Antiochus defeated, and we came to Rome, where we walk'd from our publick Lodgings to the Senate-House to congratulate with you (grave Fathers!) we went out of the Senate-House into the Capitol, with offerings to their Gods: but now we come from a fordid Inn, where we are hardly entertain'd for our money (being commanded to stay, almost like Enemies, without the City) in this squalid condition into the Roman Senate-House, though we are those Rhodians on whom you so lately bestow'd the Provinces of Lycia and Caria, and conferr'd the most ample rewards and honours. You make the Macedonians and Illyrians free (as we have heard) though they were Slaves, before they made War against you, not that we envy any Bodies good Fortune, but rather acknowledge the Clemency of the Roman People) and will you make the Rhodians, who did nothing but lie still all the time of this War, your Enemies instead of Allies? No certainly, Romans! you are such persons, as pretend, that their Wars are therefore successful, because they are just, nor do you boast so much in the event of them, for having got the Victory, as in the beginning; that you do not undertake them without reason. The besieging of Messina in Sicily made the Carthaginians; his attacking of Athens, endeavouring to bring all Greece into slavery, and assisting Hannibal with men and money made Philip their Enemy. Antiochus himself, being sent for by the Aetolians, their Enemies, came freely out of Asia with a Fleet into Greece: where having made himself Master of Demetrias, Chalcis, and the Streights of Thermopylae, he endeavour'd to force you from the possessions of their Empire. His opposing of their Allies, together with his killing of several pet Kings and Princes of Nations or States, were the ground of their War with Perseus. But, pray, what pretext can our misfortune have, if we must perish? I do not yet distinguish the case of the City from that of Polyaratus and Dinon, our Fellow-Citizens, and those, whom we have now brought to deliver up to you. But though all of us, who are Rhodians, were equally guilty, yet what could we be charg'd with in this War? Did we favour Perseus's Party; and, as, in the War against Antiochus and Philip, we were for you against those Kings, so now, for the King, against you? Pray, ask C. Livius, and L. Amilius Regillus, who were the Admirals of their Fleet in Asia, how we use to assist our Allies, and how ready we are to undertake the toil of War. Your Ships never engaged without us. We fought with our Fleet, once at Samus, and again in Pamphylia against General Annibal: which Victory is therefore the more glorious to us, in that, though we, at Samus, had lost a great part of our Ships, in an unfortunate Battle, and the best of our youth, we were not yet daunted even with that great overthrow, but had the Courage again to meet the Kings Fleet, as they came out of Syria: These things I have related, not to boast; (for we are not at present in such prosperous circumstances) but to let them see, how the Rhodians use to assist their Allies.

XXIII.

"After the defeat of Philip and Antiochus, we received of you most ample rewards. If Perseus had had the same Fortune, as you, through the blessing of the Gods and their own valour, now have; and we had come into Macedonia, to the victorious King, to require rewards [for our service] what, pray, could we have said? That he was assist'd by us with Money or Corn? with Land, or Sea Forces? What Garison could we have pretended to have kept? Where could we have said we had fought, either under his Officers, and by our selves? If he should have ask'd us, where we had had any Souldiers, or so much as one Ship within his Garisons; what could we have answer'd? Perhaps we

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"should have made just such a defence before him, as we do before you. For this we have gotten by sending Embassadors to both Parties in order to Peace, that we have the good will of neither; yea are accused and in danger on the one side. Though *Perseus* indeed might truly object, what you (grave Fathers!) cannot; viz. that we, in the beginning of the War, sent Embassadors to you, to promise you all things necessary for the carrying on thereof: and that we would be ready upon all occasions with Naval Arms, and all our youth, as in the former Wars. Which that we did not perform was their fault, who, for what reason we know not, despised and slighted our aids. But yet for all that we did nothing, as Enemies, nor were we wanting in the duty of good Allies, but only were by you forbid to perform our promise. What then, *Rhodians*? Was there nothing either done or said in their City, against their wills, wherewithal the Roman People might be justly offended? I am not here at present going to defend all that was done: I am not so mad, but to distinguish the faults of private men from the publick case. For there is no City but hath sometimes ill Citizens, and always a giddy rabble. I have heard that there have been men even among you, who by flattering the *mobile* have committed many enormities; as also, that common people formerly separated themselves from you, during which time the manangement of the Commonwealth was not in their power. Now if this could happen in a City so well regulated as this is, can any man wonder, that there should be some particular persons among us, who, courting the Kings Friendship corrupted our commonalty with ill counsels? and yet they prevailed no farther, than only to make us stand Neuters, when we should have fought. I will not pass by that which is the greatest crime, that's laid to the charge of our City, in this War. We sent Embassadors about a Peace to you and *Perseus* both at the same time: which unhappy design a furious Orator (as we afterward heard) made the most foolish thing in the World; who, we are well inform'd, spoke like *C. Popilius*, whom you sent to remove the two Kings, *Antiochus* and *Ptolemy* from their War. But yet that pride or folly (whether you will call it) was the same before you and *Perseus* both. There are customs and manners belonging to whole Cities as well as to private and single persons; and Nations too are some of them angry, others bold, others fearful, and some more prone to Wine or Women. 'Tis said, the *Athenians* are quick, and daring, to attempt things above their strength: but that the *Lacedaemonians* are dilatory, and will scarce undertake what they are almost sure to go through with. I do not deny but that all *Asia* produces an emptier sort of wits, and must confess also, that our language is a little too haughty and swelling, because we seem, among our Neighbour Cities, to excel in that point; though that be not so much upon the score of our own strength, as of the honours and judgments, you have confer'd and pass'd upon us. That Embassy even at that present was sufficiently chastiz'd, in being dismiss'd with so sad an Answer from you. If a little ignominy at that time be the thing that sticks upon us, sure this so miserable and humble an Embassy might be a sufficient atonement for a far more insolent Embassy than that was. Pride, in words especially, angry men hate, and prudent men laugh at; especially if it be from an inferior to his superiour; but no body ever thought it deserv'd a capital punishment. For by that means it might have been fear'd, that the *Rhodians* would have contemned the *Romans*. For some men chide even the Gods themselves with passionate words, and yet we have not heard that any man was for that ever struck with a thunderbolt.

XXIV.

"What then remains for us to excuse, if we have not done any act of hostility, but that our Embassador with his swelling words hath only offended their Ears, and not deserv'd thereby to have his and our City utterly ruined? I hear, grave Fathers! that some of you set a fine, as it were, upon our inclinations privately, in your discourses among yourselves; saying, that we favour the King, and wish'd that he might get the Victory rather than you; and therefore they think that we ought to be persecuted with a War. But some of you say, that we indeed wish'd so, but that we ought not for all that to be plagued with a War: for that it is not so provided either by the Laws or Customs of any City, that when any man wisheth the death of an Enemy, he should presently be condemned to a capital punishment, though he have done nothing to deserve it. Now to those, who free us from the penalty, though not from the crime, we give our thanks; whilst we our selves impose upon our selves this condition, that if we were all consenting to what we are accused of, and do not distinguish the will from the deed, let us all suffer. But if some of our Nobility favour'd you, and others the King; I do not desire, that those who were on the Kings side should be saved for our sakes, who stood up for you; only this I beg, that we may not perish upon your account. You your selves are not greater Enemies to those men than the City it self is; and those that knew this, many of them either ran away, or kill'd themselves. Others of them, who are by us condemn'd, shall be (grave Fathers!) at your disposal. As for the rest of the *Rhodians*, as we have not deserv'd any manner of reward in this War, so neither have we merited any punishment. Let the heap of our former services make up our defect of duty at this time. You have for these late years made War against three Kings: let it not be a greater

"greater damage to us, that we have lain idle in one War, than an advantage, that we fought for you in two. Suppose *Philip*, *Antiochus* and *Perseus* to be like three Votes or Sentences. Two of them absolve us, and the third doubtful; so that it cannot be more grave and just. If they should judge us, we should be condemned. But do you judge, grave Fathers! whether *Rhodes* be in being or utterly destroy'd. For you, grave Fathers! do not deliberate of a War, which you may raise indeed, but cannot carry on; since ne'r a man in *Rhodes* will bear Arms against you. But if you will persevere in your anger, we will desire time of you, to carry home this fatal message: all that are Freemen among us; all the Men and Women in *Rhodes*, with all our money, will take Shipping, and leaving our possessions both publick and private, will come to *Rome*; and having heaped all our gold and Silver, both private and publick in the *Comitium* at the Gate of your Senate House, will deliver our own Bodies with those of our Wives and Children into your disposal; here to suffer, whatever you think fit. Let our City be rifled and burnt when we are far out of sight. The *Romans* may think the *Rhodians* their Enemies; but yet we too can make some judgment upon our selves too, whereby we pronounce and declare, that we never were your Enemies; nor will we ever commit an act of hostility, whatever we endure.

As soon as he had made his Speech to this effect, they all fell down again, and waving branches of Olives in their hands, like Suppliants, were at last taken up, and went out of the Court. Then the Votes began to be taken. By which it appear'd that they were the greatest Enemies to the *Rhodians*, who, when they had been Consuls, Prators, or Lieutenants, had been concern'd in the *Macedonian* War. Their greatest Friend was *M. Porcius Cato*, who, though he were of a rough nature, at that time shew'd himself a mild and a gentle Senator. I shall not here insert the Character of that copious Man, by relating what he said; his own Oration is extant, in the fifth Book of his *Origines*. The *Rhodians* therefore had such an Answer; that they were neither made Enemies, nor continu'd to be Allies. *Philocrates* and *Asymedes* were the two principal Embassadors: [and so] they thought fit that one part of the Embassadors should go back to *Rhodes*, to give an account of their Embassy, and the other part stay at *Rome* with *Asymedes*, to inform themselves of what was done there, and send intelligence home. For the present they order'd them to draw off their Prefects out of *Lycia* and *Caria*. These things being told at *Rhodes*, though they were in themselves very dismal, yet since the fear of a greater misfortune was removed (for they were afraid of a War) the news was very joyfull. Wherefore they presently order'd a Crown to be made to the value of twenty thousand Nobles of gold; and sent *Theodotus*, Admiral of their Fleet on that Embassy. But they agreed, that the Alliance of the *Romans* should be so desired, as that there should be no Ordinance of the people made about it, nor the request be put into writing: because by that means, unless they obtained it, their disgrace, if they were repulsed, would be the greater. Now such was the privilege of the Admiral of their Fleet only, that he might treat about that affair without any preliminary proposal of it. For they had maintain'd a Friendship for so many years in such a manner, that they did not oblige themselves to the *Romans* by any League of Alliance: for no other reason, but, lest they should cut off from the Kings all hopes of their assistance, if they had, either of them, occasion for it, or from themselves, of reaping any benefit by their bounty and good fortune. But at that time especially they thought good to desire an Alliance, not to secure them e'r the more from others (for they fear'd no body except the *Romans*) but to make them the less suspected by the *Romans*. About the same time the *Carnians* revolted from them, and the *Mylassians* possess'd themselves of the Towns belonging to the *Eumeneses*. Yet notwithstanding, their spirits were not so dejected, but that they consider'd, that if *Lycia* and *Caria* were taken from them by the *Romans*, the other parts would either free themselves by a revolt, or be seized by their Neighbours: that they were inclosed in a little Island, and within the shores of a barren Country, which could not by any means keep the Inhabitants of so great a City. Whereupon, sending out their young men, in all haste against the *Carnians*, they forced them (though they had got the *Cybirates* to help them) to obedience; besides, that they defeated the *Mylassians* and *Alabandians* (who, having taken away the Province of the *Eumeneses*, had join'd their Forces with them) about *Orthosia*.

Whilst these things were done there, there were other things transacted in *Macedonia*, and at *Rome*; and in the mean time *L. Anicius*, in *Illyricum*, having, as I said before, reduced King *Gentius*, made *Gabinus* Governour of *Scodra*, which was the Kings Seat, putting a Garrison into it; as he did *Licinius*, of *Rhizon*, and *Olzinium*, which were Cities very commodiously situate. Having set these persons as a guard over *Illyricum*, he went with the rest of his Army into *Epirus*: where *Phanota* was first surrender'd to him, and the whole multitude came out with holy Ornaments [or Diadems] to meet him. Having put a Garrison into this place he went over into *Molossis*; where having taken possession of all the Towns, except *Passaro*, *Tecmo*, *Phyluce*, and *Horreum*, he march'd first to *Passaro*. *Antinous* and *Theodotus* were the chief men in that City, and famous both for their love to *Perseus*, and their hatred against the *Romans*; being also the Authors of that Cities revolting from the *Romans*. These two being conscious of their own guilt, because they had no hopes of pardon,

XXV.

pardon, that they might be destroy'd in the common ruine of their Country, shut the Gates; advising the *mobile*, that they would prefer death before slavery. No man durst open his mouth against two such extraordinary great men: till at last one *Theodotus*, who was himself also a noble youth, seeing, that their greater fear of the *Romans* had overcome that of their Noblemen, ask'd them; *What madness is this in you, who make your whole City an accession to the guilt of two single persons? I have often heard indeed of them, that have dy'd for their Country; but these men are the first I have heard of, who ever thought it reasonable, that their Country should perish for them. Wherefore let us open our Gates, and receive that command, which the whole World hath already received.* As he said this, the multitude follow'd him; and at the same time *Antinous* and *Theodotus* sallied forth upon the first station of the Enemies; where exposing themselves to danger they were kill'd, and the City surrender'd to the *Romans*. He also took *Tecmo* by surrender, and kill'd *Cephalus*, through whose obstinacy that City was in like manner shut up. Nor did *Phylace* or *Horreum* either endure a Siege. Having quieted *Epirus*, and divided his Forces into their Winter-Quarters, through the most convenient Cities, he went himself back into *Illyricum*; and at *Scodra*, whither the five Embassadors were come from *Rome*, having summoned all the great men out of the several Cities, he held an Assembly. There he publickly declared, as the opinion of the Council; *That the Senate and the people of Rome order'd, that the Illyrians should be free; and that he would draw the Guards out of all their Towns, Forts and Castles. That the Illyrians and Taulantians should not only be free, but also have several immunities; and so should (among the Darsaretics) the Pirustæ, the Rhizonites, and the Olcinates, because they had revolted to the Romans, whilst Gentius was yet in a prosperous condition. That they would likewise bestow their freedom and immunity upon the Daorleans; for that they, forsaking Caravantius had come with their Arms over to the Romans. That the Scodrians, Darsarcæ, Selepitanes, and other Illyrians should pay but half that Tribute, which they had formerly paid to the King. After which he divided Illyricum into three parts; making one of that which was called the Upper Illyricum, a second of all the Labeates, and the third of the Agravonites, Rhizonites, Olcinates and their Neighbours. Having thus settled Illyricum, he himself return'd to Passaro in Epirus, to his Winter Quarters.*

XXVII. Whilst these things pass'd in *Illyricum*, *Paulus*, before the coming of the ten Embassadors, sent his Son *Q. Maximus*, who was now come back from *Rome*, to pillage *Eginium* and *Agassæ*: *Agassæ*; for that, though they had surrender'd the City to *Marcus* the Consul, and of their own accord desired an Alliance with the *Romans*, they had again revolted to *Perseus*: but the crime charg'd upon the *Eginians* was new. For they, not believing the report concerning the *Roman* Victory, had committed very great hostilities upon some of the Souldiers, that went into their City. He also sent *L. Postumius* to rife *Ænus*, because they were more obstinate than their Neighbour Cities in the continu'd use of their Arms. It was now about Autumn, at the beginning of which season he design'd to go round about all *Greece*, and to see those things which people have heard of by common report, oftener than any body hath seen them; and therefore having made *C. Sulpicius Gallus*, chief Commander of his Camp, he set forth with no great Retinue (his Son *Scipio* and *Athenæus*, King *Eumene's* Brother being his Companions) and went through *Thessaly* to *Delphi*, to that famous Oracle; where having sacrificed to *Apollo*, he, being a Conquerour, design'd the Pillars at the Entrance [into the Temple;] which were already begun, and upon which they had intended to set the statues of King *Perseus*; for his own Statues. At *Lebadia* also he went into the Temple of *Jupiter Trophonius*: where, having seen the mouth of a Cave, into which those that make use of the Oracle go down to enquire of the Gods, he, when he had sacrificed to *Jupiter* and *Hercynna*, whose Temple is there, he went down to *Chalcis* to see the *Euripus* and *Eubœa*, which was an Island formerly join'd to the Continent by a Bridge. From *Chalcis* he went over to *Aulis*, three miles distant, which was heretofore a famous Harbour, renown'd upon the score of *Agamemnon's* Fleet that rode there, consisting of a thousand Ships; and to the Temple of *Diana*, where that King of Kings got the Ships a passage to *Troy* by sacrificing his own Daughter [*Iphigenia*.] From thence he came to *Oropus* in *Attica*, where the Prophet *Amphilochus* is worshipped for a God: and the Temple is very ancient, having very pleasant Springs and Rivulets all about it. Then he came to *Athens*, which was once full of many ancient and famous rarities, but hath yet many things still worth the seeing; as the Castle, several Ports and Walls that join the *Piræus* to the City; the Docks of great Commanders, Images of Gods and men, that are very curious in all respects as to the matter of which they are made, and the Workmanship employ'd about them.

XXVIII. Having sacrificed, in the City, to *Minerva*, the Guardian of the Castle, he took his leave and arrived in two days at *Corinth*; which at that time, before it was destroy'd, was a famous City: besides, that the Fort and the *Isthmus* made a great show: the Fort, for that it was vastly higher than any other building, and yet had Springs rising upon it: and the *Isthmus*, for that it divided with its narrow Neck, two neighbouring Seas, that beat against it, one on the East, and the other on the West-side. From thence he went to *Sicyon* and *Argos*, two famous Cities; and from them to *Epidaurus*, which, though it be not equal

equal to them for riches and splendour, is yet very remarkable for the noble Temple of *Æsculapius*, which being five miles distant from the City (though now the offerings are all pull'd down, and you can see nothing, but the Tracts (as it were) of them) was then very rich in Presents, which the sick had consecrated to that god, as a fee or reward for his wholesome Medicines. From thence he went to *Lacedæmon*, which is memorable, not for any magnificent Works, but for its Discipline and Laws: from whence he march'd up through *Megalopolis* to *Olympia*. Where, as he saw other very great rarities, so, looking upon *Jupiter*, as if he had been really present there, he was startled. Wherefore, as if he had been going to sacrifice in the Capitol, he order'd a Victim to be prepared much larger than ordinary. Thus having travelled over all *Greece*, so as that he inquir'd into nothing, that related to any mans inclinations, either publickly or privately, lest he might by any means disturb the minds of his Allies; when he return'd to *Demetrias*, there met him a Company of *Ætolians*, all in fordid Cloths; at which when he admired and ask'd, what the matter was? they told him, that five hundred and fifty of their Nobility were kill'd by *Lyciscus* and *Tisippus* (who beset the Senate) with the assistance of *Roman* Souldiers, that were sent by President *Babius*: that others were forced into banishment; and that they, who accus'd them, were possess'd of the goods of those that were slain, as well as those that were banish'd. He therefore, commanding them to come to him at *Amphipolis*, himself met *Cn. Octavius* at *Demetrias*, and then, after the news came, that the ten Embassadors were now come over, omitting all other business, he went on to them at *Apollonia*. To which place since *Perseus*, who was too carelessly lookt after, came from *Amphipolis* (which is a dayes Journey) to meet him, he spoke very kindly to him: but, when he came into the Camp at *Amphipolis*, they say, he chid *C. Sulpicius* very severely: First, Because he suffer'd *Perseus* to wander so far from him through the Province: and then, for that he had so far indulg'd the Souldiers, as to let them take the Tiles of the City Walls to cover their own Winter-Tents: and gave order that the Tiles should be carry'd back, and the Houses made as whole as they were before. And as for *Perseus*, he and his elder Son *Philip* were deliver'd up to him; whom he sent to be kept in safe custody by *A. Postumius*: but sent for his Daughter and younger Son from *Samothece* to *Amphipolis*, where he shew'd them all the civil respect imaginable.

XXIX. He himself, when the day came, on which he had order'd the ten chiefs of several Cities to attend him at *Amphipolis*, and that all Letters, which were left in any place whatsoever, with all the Kings money to be brought thither; sat on the tribunal with the ten Embassadors, the whole multitude of the *Macedonians* standing round about them. Who though they were used to Kingly Government, yet a new sort of a tribunal was a dreadful sight to them, where there was the Licetor [or Usher] that made way, the Cryer, and the Clerk, which were all unusual objects both to their Eyes and Ears; and such as might terrify even their Allies, much more a conquer'd Enemy. When silence was now made by the Cryer, *Paulus* declared in *Latine*, what the Senates Pleasure, and what his opinion, according to the Councils advise, was: all which *Cn. Octavius* who was also there present) interpreted and repeated in *Greek* [being to this effect:] *That, first of all, it was order'd, that the Macedonians should be free, having the same Cities and Lands as before; using their own Laws, creating annual Magistrates, and paying but half that Tribute to the Roman People which they paid to their Kings. Next, that Macedonia should be divided into four Regions: one of which, and that the first, should be all that Tract between the River Strymon and Nessus: to which they should add all that lay beyond Nessus to the Eastward, where Perseus had been Master of Villages, Castles, and Towns, excepting Ænus, Maronea and Abdera: and beyond Strymon, to the Westward, all Bisaltica with Heraclea, which they call Sintice. That the second Region should be all that Tract, which is encompassed by the River Strymon, except Bisaltica, Heraclea and Sintice: adding thereto, on the West-side as far as the River Axios, all that part of Pæonia, that lies near the River Axios to the Eastward. The third Region was that, which Axios encompasseth on the Eastside, and the River Pencus on the West: having on the Northside the Mountain Bora. To this part was added that Region of Pæonia, which runs from the Westward all along by the River Axios: together with Edessa and Beræa. The fourth Region, beyond the Mountain Bora, border'd on one side upon Illyricum, and on the other upon Epirus. For the chief Cities of each Region, where they should hold their Councils, he order'd, that in the first, it should be Amphipolis, in the second Thessalonica, in the third Pella, and in the fourth Pelagonia. There he order'd, that the several Councils of each Region should be called, their money brought thither, and their Magistrates chosen in those places. Then he declared, that it should not be lawful for any of them to marry, or drive bargains for Lands or Houses among themselves, without the Consines of their own Region. Nor should they make use of gold and silver: but of Iron and Brass they might. That those who paid Tribute should pay but half of what they had paid to their Kings. He also forbid them to use salt. Upon occasion of the Dardans demanding back Pæonia, for that it had been theirs, and was contiguous to their Borders; he declar'd, that he would give all those their liberty, that had been Subjects of King Perseus. And since they could not obtain Pæonia, he gave them leave to trade in Salt: commanding the third Region, to carry it to Stobi in Pæonia, where he set a certain price upon it. He likewise not only forbid them to cut down any materials for Ship-*

ping, but also commanded them not to suffer others so to do. He allow'd the Regions, that border'd upon the Barbarians (as they did all indeed, except the third) to keep armed guards upon their Frontiers.

XXX. These things being declared the first day of the meeting had a very different effect upon the Auditors minds. Their liberty, which was given them, beyond all expectation, encouraged them, as did the yearly Tribute also which was half taken off. But now that their Commerce was interrupted, they seemed to be so distracted from one another, as though they had been living Creatures torn limb from limb, whereof one wants the assistance of the other: so far were the very *Macedonians* themselves from knowing, how big *Macedonia* was, how easily divided, and how contemptible each part in it self was. The first part contains the *Bisaltæ*, a sort of very brave men (living beyond the River *Nessus*, and about *Strymon*) with many kinds of Fruits, and Metals, besides that it hath the convenience of *Amphipolis*, which standing in the way blocks up all the Avenues from the Eastward into *Macedonia*. The second Region hath in it those famous Cities, *Thessalonica* and *Cassandria*; together with *Pallene*, a fertile and fat Country: besides, that the Ports at *Torone*, and the Mountain *Athos* (which last they call *Aeneas's* Port) which lie, some of them toward the Island *Eubœa*, and other commodiously to the *Hellepont*, stand very opportunely for a Sea Trade. The third Region hath in it those remarkable Cities, *Edeffa*, *Berea*, and *Pella*, with the Warlike Nation of the *Vettians*: besides a great many *Gauls* and *Illyrians*, who are very active and diligent Husbandmen. The fourth Region is inhabited by the *Eordeans*, *Lycestians*, and *Pelagonians*; to which there are added *Antimania*, *Symphalis*, and *Eimiotis*. This is all of it a very cold Quarter; being hard to manure, and rough withal: and indeed the genius of the Inhabitants is much like the place they live in: besides, that the Neighbouring Barbarians to make them more wild, and fierce, who one while teaze them with Wars, and another while in time of Peace mix and confound their rites one with another. Thus having divided *Macedonia* into several Regions, he appointed how it should be govern'd all together, after he had declared that he would likewise make Laws for them.

XXXI. Then the *Ætolians* were called before him; in whose case, the question was, rather, which party had favour'd the *Romans*, and which the King; than which of them had done, or received any injury. The Murderers were acquitted; and their banishment was as much ratified to those that were forced out of their Country, as their Death was certain to those that were slain. *A. Babius* was the only person condemned, for that he had supply'd them with *Roman* Souldiers to commit murder. This issue of the *Ætolians* cause, through all the Nations and States of *Greece*, that had been on the *Romans* side, infused into them an intolerable pride; made all those mere Slaves, who were in the least suspected of having favour'd the Kings Party. There were three sorts of Noblemen in the several Cities: two, who by flattering, either the *Romans* or the Kings, advanced their own interest, though their Cities were ruined: and one, who took a middle way, contrary to both the others, defending their Laws and Liberty. These, as they were more beloved among their own Countrymen, so they were less esteemed among Foreigners. So that the Favourers of that party being proud of the *Romans* prosperity, were the only men at that time employ'd in all Offices and Embassies. Who, coming in great numbers out of *Peloponnesus*, *Boetia*, and from other parts of *Greece*, fill'd the Ears of the ten Embassadors [with complaints and suspicions, saying] that not only they, who had publickly through vanity bragg'd of their being familiars and Friends to *Perseus*, but many more also had privately favour'd his party. That the rest under pretence of maintaining their liberty, had done all they could, in the several Councils, against the *Romans*: nor could those Nations be kept to their Allegiance by any other means, than by taming the Spirits of such persons, and cherishing and confirming the authority of those who expelled no Government but that of the *Romans*. Upon this information, there were several persons summon'd by the Generals Letters out of *Ætolia*, *Acarnania*, *Epirus*, and *Boetia*, to follow him to *Rome* in order to make their defence: and two of the ten Embassadors went into *Achaia*, viz. *C. Claudius*, and *Cn. Domitius*, themselves to summon them by Edict. That they did for two reasons; the one, because they thought the *Achaens* had more spirit and resolution, than others, which would make them disobedient to their orders (as also, because, perhaps, they thought *Callicrates* and the rest, who were the informers against them might be in danger) and the other reason, why they would give them the Summons in Person was, that, from other Countries, they had Letters under the Princes own hands which they found among the Kings Writings; but, against the *Achaens*, had no Evidence at all, as having found none of their Letters. The *Ætolians* being dismiss'd, the *Acarnanians* were cited: among whom there was no other innovation made, save that *Leucas* was exempted from the Council of that Nation. After which, making farther inquiry, who had been either publickly or privately of the Kings Party, they extended their inquisition into *Asia* also: and sent *Labeo* to demolish *Antissa* in the Island of *Lesbos*, and from thence to bring the *Antisseans* over to *Methymna*: for that they had entertain'd Antenor the Kings Admiral, when he cruised with his Fleet about *Lesbos*, into their Port, and furnish'd him with provisions. There were two great men Beheaded with the Axe: *Andronicus*, an *Ætolian*, Son

Son to *Andronicus* (for following his Father, and bearing Arms against the *Romans*) and *Neo*, a *Theban*, by whose advice they had enter'd into an Alliance with *Perseus*.

Having interposed these inquiries concerning foreign matters, they called the *Macedonian* Council again: in which it was declared: That, as to the State of *Macedonia*, they would have Senators chosen, whom the *Macedonians* call *Synedri* [such as sit together in Council;] by whose conduct and advice the Common wealth should be managed. Then the names of the *Macedonian* Nobility, who, they thought fit, should go before into *Italy* (together with all their Children, that were above fifteen years old) were read over. That at first view seem'd severe, but soon after appeared to the multitude of the *Macedonians* to be for their liberty. For there were named the Kings Friends and Favourites, who had been Generals of Armies, Admirals, or Governours of Garisons; and used to shew themselves Slaves to the King, but very imperious to every body else: some of them very rich, and others, who though they had not so much money, were yet equal to them in their expenses, but they all lived (as to diet) and were clothed, like Kings; though none of them had the Soul of a good Citizen, nor could endure either Laws or equitable Liberty. Wherefore all those, who had served the King in any capacity, yea even those, who had been employ'd in the meanest Embassies, were order'd to depart out of *Macedonia*, and go into *Italy*; and he that did not obey that order, was threaten'd with death. He gave Laws to *Macedonia* with so much care, that he seem'd to give them, not to a conquer'd Enemy, but to Allies that had very well deserv'd of him: yea, and those to such, as use could not in a long time (which is the only Corrector of Laws) and much experience find any fault with. Having made an end of his serious business, he set forth at *Amphipolis*, with great cost and charges, several sorts of sports and merriment, for which he had prepared a good while before; having sent certain persons into the Cities of *Asia*, and to the Kings, to tell them of it; and also himself given the Princes notice thereof, as he went about the Cities of *Greece*. For there were Artills of all sorts, who had any skill in sports, with a vast multitude of Wrestlers, and fine Horles, out of all parts of the World: besides, that Embassadors came with Victims and whatsoever else, in respect either to the Gods or Men, is usually done at great Shows in *Greece*: And then the matter was so order'd, that they not only admired his magnificence, but his Prudence too, in setting forth Shows, to which the *Romans* were then mere Strangers. There were also Entertainments provided for the several Embassies, with the same splendour and care. For 'twas reported, that he used commonly to say, it belong'd to the same person to make a Feast, and set forth Plays, who knew how to conquer in time of War.

Having shew'd them sports of all sorts, and put his brazen Shields on board his Ships, he laid all the rest of the Arms on a vast heap together, and then, having paid his Devotion to *Mars*, *Minerva*, *Luna* [an ancient Goddess, called therefore Mother] and the rest of the [Warlike] Gods, to whom it is an act of Religion to devote the spoils of an Enemy, the General himself set it with a torch on fire. After which the Tribunes of the Souldiers that stood round about, threw each of them more fire upon it. It was observ'd, at that meeting of *Europe* and *Asia* from all Countries, though such a vast multitude were gather'd together, partly to congratulate, and partly to see the Show, yet there was such plenty of all things, and provisions were so cheap; that the General made a great many Presents of that kind, not only to private persons, but to whole Cities; and that, not only for their present use, but for them to carry with them home. But the Show which entertain'd that multitude, that came thither, was not the Stage-Plays, the Prizes, or Horse Races, more than the *Macedonian* spoils, which were all expos'd to open view: as Statues, Tables, fine woven pieces [of Tissue, &c.] with Vessels of Gold, Silver, Brasse and Ivory, which were made with great care and industry in that Court; not for a present show like those wherewith the Palace at *Alexandria* was stuff'd, but for perpetual use. These things being put on Board the Fleet were given to *Cn. Octavius* to carry to *Rome*. *Paulus* having kindly dismiss'd the Embassadors, went over *Strymon*, and Encamped a mile off *Amphipolis*: from whence in five dayes he arrived at *Pella*. But passing by that City, he staid two days at a place which they call *Speleum*; in which time he sent *P. Nafica*, and *Q. Maximus* his Son, with part of his Forces to ravage the *Illyrians*, who had assist'd *Perseus* in the War: commanding them to meet him at *Oricum*; whilst he himself, going for *Epirus*, arrived in fifteen dayes at *Passaro*.

*Anicinus's* Camp was not far from that place: to whom having dispatch'd a Letter of advice, not to meddle with any thing that was done there: for the Senate had given the spoil of the Cities in *Epirus*, which had revolted to *Perseus*, to the Army: he sent Centurions privately into the several Cities, whom he order'd to say, that they came to draw off the Garisons there, that the Epirotes, as well as the *Macedonians*, might be free; he summon'd ten of the greatest men out of every City. To whom when he had declared, that they must bring their gold and silver forth into publick view, he sent his Troops into every City: who going into the farthest before they went into the hithermost, came to them all in one day. Then they told the Tribunes and Centurions what they had done: and in the Morning all the gold and silver was heaped together: after which, at the fourth hour, the signal was given



to the Souldiers to plunder the several Cities; in which they got so great a booty, that four hundred Deniers fell to every Horseman's share, and to every Footman's two hundred; besides, that there were carry'd away as Prisoners a hundred and fifty thousand Souls. After that the Walls of the rified Cities were demolish'd: which Towns were about seventy. The booty of them all was sold, and out of that sum the Souldiers were paid. Then *Paulus* went down to the Seaside, to *Oricum*; though he had not, as he supposed, in any wife satisfied his Souldiers minds: who, as though they had been concern'd in no War in *Macedonia*, were very angry, that they did not share in the booty taken from the King. Finding the Forces, that he sent with *Nasica*, and his Son *Maximus* at *Oricum*; he put his Army on board the Ships, and went over into *Italy*. And after some few dayes, *Anicius*, having dismiss'd the Convention of the other *Epirotes* and *Acarnanians*, and order'd the Noblemen to follow him into *Italy*, whose causes he reserv'd to be there try'd, himself, after he had waited some time for the Ships, which the *Macedonian* Army had made use of, went over into *Italy*. Whilst these things were transacted in *Macedonia* and *Epirus*, the Embassadors, who were sent with *Attalus*, to make an end of the War between the *Gauls* and King *Eumenes*, arrived in *Asia*. At which time there was a Truce made for that Winter, so that the *Gauls* were gone home, and the King into his Winter-Quarters at *Pergamus*, where he had been sick of a grievous distemper. It was Spring before he went abroad: and they were now come to *Symada*, when *Eumenes* had muster'd all his Forces at *Sardeis*. There not only the *Romans* discours'd *Solovettius*, the General of the *Gauls*, at *Symada*, but *Attalus* also went with them: but they did not think fit, that *Attalus* should go into the Camp, lest they should fall into a dispute and quarrel. *P. Licinius* talk'd with the petit King of the *Gauls*, and brought word that he grew still more fierce by being intreated: in so much that it might seem very strange, that the persuasions of the *Roman* Embassadors should so far prevail upon those opulent Kings, *Antiochus* and *Ptolemy*, as they presently concluded a Peace, but among the *Gauls* should be of no moment at all.

XXXV. The Captive Kings, *Perseus* and *Gentius*, were first brought to *Rome*, and with their Children put into Custody: and next to them the other crowd of Captives; with all those *Macedonians* who were order'd to come to *Rome*, and the Princes of *Greece*. For these persons also were taken notice of; not only such as were present, but, if any of them were with the Kings, they were sent for by Letters. *Paulus* himself, after a few days, came up the *Tiber* to the City, in a Ship of the Kings of a vast Bulk, rowed with sixteen Banks of Oars, and adorn'd with the *Macedonian* spoils, which were not only glorious Arms, but delicate woven Work [Tissues, &c.] of the Kings; whilst the Banks of the River were fill'd with the multitude of people, that thronged out to meet him. Some few dayes after *Anicius* and *Octavius* came with their Fleet. Whereupon the Senate decreed, that they should all three triumph together: and *Q. Cassius* the Prætor was commanded to treat with the Tribunes of the People, by authority from the Senate, to propose it to the people, that they might be in Commission the day that they rode triumphant into the City. All mean things are free from Envy; for that most commonly strikes at the highest. There was no doubt of *Anicius*, or *Octavius*'s triumphing; but *Paulus*, to whom those persons themselves would have blush'd to have compared themselves, was much maligned. For he had kept the Souldiers to the ancient Discipline, had given them less of the booty than they had hoped for out of such a mass of wealth as was taken from the King: for (had he indulged their covetousness) he was like to have left nothing for himself to carry into the Treasury: wherefore the whole *Macedonian* Army resolv'd to make but a thin appearance with their General at the Assembly for passing that Law. But *Ser. Sulpicius Galba*, who had been a Tribune of the Souldiers, belonging to the second Legion in *Macedonia*, who was privately the Generals Enemy, by cajoling them himself, and soliciting them by the mediation of the Souldiers also that belong'd to his Legion, induced them to come in a full body to give their Votes: [saying] that by that means they might be reveng'd of their impetuous and ill natur'd General, in refusing to pass a Bill, that would be prefer'd concerning his Triumph. That the Commonalty of the City would follow the judgments of the Souldiers. That he, forsooth, could not give them money; should they then give him honour? No, he ought not to hope for the fruit of good will there, where he had not deserv'd it.

XXXVI. When these men were thus prepared, *T. Sempronius*, a Tribune of the people, propos'd the Law in the Capitol; in which case though private men have the privilege to speak concerning the Law propos'd, yet since no body stood up to speak either for or against it; as being a thing not at all doubtful; *Servilius Galba* presently stept forth, and desired of the Tribune; that, seeing it was now the eighth hour of the day [i. e. two in the Afternoon] so that he had not time enough to demonstrate, why they would not consent that *L. Æmilius* should triumph, they might defer it till the next day, and do that business in the Morning. For he had need of a whole day to set forth that case. Whereupon when the Tribune bad him, if he had any thing to say, say it then, he protracted the matter with a long Speech, Relations and admonitions, till night; saying, that the duties of War were too severely impos'd upon the Souldiers; that there was more labour and danger join'd them, than the thing requir'd; and on the other hand, that in their rewards and honours all things were streighten'd; and that as Warfare, if they had such Generals, would be very dreadful and rugged for the Souldiers whilst they were engaged

engaged to fight; so would it likewise be poor and dishonourable, after they had got the Victory. That the *Macedonians* were in a better condition, than the *Roman* Souldiers. That if they came the next in a full body to hinder the passing of that Law, the great men would see, that all the power was not in the Generals, but some in the Souldiers hands. The Souldiers being instigated by these kinds of words, the next day came in such a crowd to the Capitol, that nobody else could come to give their Votes. After the first Tribes, being called in, had rejected the Bill, the great men of the City flock'd all together into the Capitol, crying out, that it was an unworthy design; that *L. Paulus*, who had got a Victory in so great a War, should be deprived or robb'd of his triumph; and that Generals should be made subject to the licentiousness, and the covetousness of their Souldiers. That they were apt to offend too much through ambition in the person of one man; what then should they do, if the Souldiers were made their Generals Masters? With that they all began to revile *Galba*: till at last, when this tumult was over, *M. Servilius*, who had been Consul and Master of the Horse, desired of the Tribunes, that they might treat concerning that matter once again, and that they would permit him to speak to the people. The Tribunes, though they had withdrawn to consider of it, yet, being overcome by the authorities of the Nobility, began to Discourse the thing over afresh, and sent word back that they would recal the same Tribes, if *M. Servilius* and the other private persons had said, what they had a mind to say.

Then *Servilius* [stood up and said:] "How great a General *L. Æmilius* (*Romans*!) hath been, if you can judge by nothing else, even this one thing was enough, that, though he had in his Camp such seditious and light sort of Souldiers, so notorious, so rash, and so eloquent an Enemy, to instigate the multitude, yet he had no sedition in his Army. The same severity of command, which now they hate, kept them then in awe. So that whilst they were under the ancient Discipline, they were quiet. That *Servilius Galba*, if he had a mind to try his parts, and give a sample of his Eloquence by accusing *L. Paulus*; ought not to hinder his triumph (which, though nothing else, the Senate had judg'd to be just) but ought the next day, after he had triumph'd, when he should see him again in a private capacity, to inform against him, and condemn him according to Law: or somewhat later, when he himself had got into an Office, summon him to a Tryal such a day, and accuse him as an Enemy before the people. By which means not only *L. Æmilius* would have the reward of his good deeds in a triumph for the War which had so egregiously managed: and his punishment too, if he had done any thing, unworthy either of his former, or his new glory. But he, you may see, since he had no crime nor any reproach to lay open, was resolv'd to detract from his commendations. He desired a whole day, yesterday, to accuse *L. Paulus*; and spent four, all that was left of the day, in making of a Speech. Who was ever so guilty, as that the Vices of his whole Life might not be reckon'd up in so many hours? But in that time, what did he object, which *L. Paulus*, if he were to make his defence, would deny? Let any body make me two Speeches: one for the *Macedonian* Souldiers, and the other pure, with a judgment more entire both in respect to favour and hate, where all the *Roman* People sit as Judges. Then let the party accused be impleaded before a Company of Citizens. What couldst Thou, *Servilius Galba*! say before an Auditory of old *Romans*? For that Oration of thine would be all cut off: you kept guard too severely, and longer than you need to have done: you went the rounds more rigorously and diligently than you had occasion; you did more work than before, when you as General your self went about to spur the men on. You trampled the same day, on which you led your men into the Field. Nay he would not let thee be at quiet when thou hadst got the Victory; but presently drew thee out to pursue the Enemy. When he might have made thee rich with the booty, if he had divided it; he would needs carry the Kings money in triumph, and bring it into the Treasury. These things as they have some kind of sting, to stimulate the Souldiers minds, who think he hath not sufficiently gratified their licentiousness, nor their avarice; so would they not have at all prevailed with the *Roman* People: who though they do not rip up old stories, that they have heard from their Parents, what damage hath been receiv'd through the ambition of Generals, and what Victories have been gotten by severity of Discipline, yet, no question, they remember, what difference there was in the last Punick War between *M. Minucius*, Master of the Horse, and *Q. Fabius Maximus* the Dictator. And so might the Accuser too have known that, and then *Paulus*'s defence had been needless. But now let us pass over to the other Speech: in which I must not now, methinks, call you *Romans*, but Souldiers, if that title at least may infuse into you any modesty, or abhorrence of doing injury to your General.

"And now I my self am far otherwise affected in my mind, whilst I seem to speak to an Army, than I was e'rwhiles, when I directed my Speech to a Company of ordinary Citizens. Come, what say you, Fellow Souldiers? Is there any man at *Rome*, except *Perseus*, who would not have *Æmilius* triumph over the *Macedonians*; and will not you tear in pieces with the same hands, wherewith you conquer'd the *Macedonians*? He, if he could, would have hinder'd you from Conquering, who denies that you shall come triumphant into the City. You are in error, Fellow Souldiers, if you think that a tri-  
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"umph is for the honour of the General only, and not of the Souldiers, yea, and the whole Roman People also. No; this does not concern *L. Paulus* only. Besides, many persons who have not obtain'd a triumph of the Senate, have yet for all that triumph'd on the Alban Mount. No man can rob *L. Paulus* of the glory of having made an end of the Macedonian War, more than they can *C. Lutatius* of the renown, which he gain'd in the first Punick War, or *P. Cornelius* of his honour, purchased in the second; or any of those, that triumphed after them. Nor will a triumph make *L. Paulus* either a greater or a lesser General. This concerns the fame of the Souldiers, and the whole Roman People more than him: First, lest it should be thought the effect of envy and ingratitude against every great and glorious Citizen; and seem to imitate the people of *Athens*, who malign all their best men. Your Ancestors offended sufficiently in the case of *Camillus*, when they laid violent hands upon him, even before he had rescued the City from the Gauls: and you likewise are guilty enough in the case of *P. Africanus*; that the House and seat of him, who conquer'd *Africa* should have been at *Liternum*; and his Sepulchre be at this day in the same place to be seen. We ought to blush, if *L. Paulus* be equal to those men in point of glory, that their injury to him should be equal. Wherefore let this infamy be first obliterated; which as it is very dishonourable in other Nations, so is also a damage to us. For who would be like *Africanus* or *Paulus* in a City, that is an Enemy and ungrateful to all good men? But suppose it were no infamy, and that we talk'd of glory only, pray what triumph brings not with it a common honour to all Romans? Are the many triumphs, over the Gauls, Spaniards and Carthaginians, call'd the Generals only, or the Roman Peoples triumphs? As there were triumphs celebrated, not only over *Pyrrhus*, and *Annibal*, but over the Epirotes and Carthaginians also; so it was not *Manius Curius* only, or *P. Cornelius*, but the Romans, that triumph'd. Indeed this properly concerns the Souldiers, who themselves having Laurels on their Heads, and each of them Presents, with which they are adorn'd, march, crying, *Io Triumphe!* and sing both their own and the Emperours praises quite through the City. If at any time the Souldiers are not brought out of the several Provinces to attend a triumph, they murmur; and yet at the same time, they think that they, though absent, triumph; because the Victory was obtain'd by their hands. If any man should ask you; Souldiers, why are you carry'd into Italy, and were not disbanded as soon as the Province was settled: why do you come to Rome in such a Warlike posture: why do you stay here, and do not get you gone every man to his respective home: what could you answer, but that you would seem to triumph? And indeed you, who got the Victory, ought to desire to be seen.

XXXIX.

"There were those that triumph'd lately over *Philip*, this mans Father, and over *Antiochus*; who were both possess'd of their Kingdoms at the same time: and shall not *Emilius* triumph over *Perseus*, who is taken, and brought, with his Children into our very City? If *L. Paulus*, when the other two are going in their Chariot up to the Capitol, adorn'd with gold and purple, should ask as a private Roman from among the crowd below; *L. Anicius*, and *Cn. Octavius*! do you think your selves or me more worthy to triumph? I am confident they would quit the Chariot, and with their own hands for shame deliver to him their badges of honour. And will you, Romans, rather have *Gentius* led in triumph than *Perseus*, or have a triumph celebrated for the accession of a War rather than for the War it self? Shall the Legions, and Naval Forces out of *Illyricum* march into the City with Laurels on their Heads; and the Macedonian Legions, being deny'd that honour, only stand and gaze upon the triumphs of other men? Besides, what shall we do with the spoils of so rich a booty, and so opulent a Victory? Where shall we put those so many thousand Arms, that were taken off the bodies of the Enemies? Shall they be sent back into *Macedonia*? How shall we dispose of the golden, marble and Ivory Statues; the inlaid Tables, the rich Tissues, so much embossed silver, so much gold, and so great a quantity of the Kings Money? Shall they be carried by night into the Treasury, as if they had been stolen? What shall we do with the greatest Sight of all? Where shall that famous and most opulent King, now taken, be shewn to the Victorious People? Most of us remember, what a concourse King *Syphax* caus'd, when he was taken, though he were no more than an accession to the Punick War. Shall King *Perseus* then, now that he is taken, with *Philip* and *Alexander*, his Sons (who are persons of such renown) be withheld from the view of the City? All peoples Eyes desire to see *L. Paulus*, who hath been twice Consul, and subdu'd all Greece, ride in a Chariot through the City. For this reason we made him Consul; that he might make an end of that War, which, to our great shame, was spun out for four years together: Shall we then deny him for whom even when he first happen'd to have that Province, and when he went thither, we, with presaging minds, designed a Victory and a triumph, a triumph, now he hath got that Victory; and thereby rob not only men but the Gods too of their due honour? For it concerns the Gods, and not men alone. Did not your Ancestors begin all great affairs with applications to the Gods, and make that too the end? A Consul or a Prætor, at their setting forth with their Lictors in Warlike habits, to go for any Province, or to any War, makes Vows in the Capitol: and when he returns with Victo-

ry,

"ry, after the War's over, triumphing in the Capitol, brings to the same Gods, to whom he made those Vows, the deserved presents of the Roman People: for the Victims, that go before him, are no small part of the triumph; that it may appear, the General returns to give the Gods thanks for his success in the management of the Common-wealths business: and that he offers, by the hands of one or other, all those Victims, which he causes to be carry'd in triumph. Now will you spoil all the Senates good cheer, which is not eaten, either in a private place, or a publick, that is profane, but in the Capitol (whether for the pleasure of men only, or of the Gods and men together) at the institution of *Servius Galba*? Shall the Gates be shut against *L. Paulus*'s triumph? Shall *Perseus*, King of *Macedonia*, with his Children and the other crowd of Captives, together with the spoils of the *Macedonians*, be left about the River? Shall *L. Paulus* go from the Gate home, like a private person, as though he only came out of the Country? But you, Centurions, and Souldiers, hear what the Senate hath decreed concerning General *Paulus*, rather than what *Servius Galba* invents concerning him: and hear me, rather than him, say this: He hath learnt to do nothing but to prate, and that maliciously, and opprobriously too: but I have twenty three times with my Enemy, whom I challenged to the Battle: and from all those with whom I ever engaged, I brought back spoils; having a Body mark'd with honourable scars, which I received in the War: With that he, they say, shew'd his naked Skin, and told them in what War each wound was receiv'd. Which whilst he was a showing and boasting of, he by chance discover'd what should have been hid, and by that means a swelling that he had in his groin made those that stood next him laugh. Whereupon he told them; Yea, and this too that you laugh at I got by sitting whole dayes and nights on Horseback; nor am I ashamed, or do I repent of it, more than of these scars; since it never was any hinderance to me, either at home or in the Wars, but that I could very well serve the Common-wealth. I, who am an old Souldier, have often shewn this mangled body to the young Souldiers: Now let *Galba* shew his delicate, whole skin. Tribunes, if you please, recal the Tribes to give their Votes: \*

*Valerius Antias* says, that the sum of gold and silver, that was taken in that War and brought to Rome, amounted to twelve Millions of [French] money: which sum no doubt is by him made a little bigger than it should be upon the score of the number of the Waggon, and the weights of gold and silver, which he hath set down according to their several kinds. They say, there was as much again spent in the late War, or consumed and lost, when he ran to *Samothrace*: and this was so much the more admirable; for that so much money had been heaped up within thirty years after the War of *Philip* with the Romans, partly out of the metals, and partly out of other Revenues. So *Philip* began to make with the Romans, when he was very poor, and *Perseus* when he was very rich. Last of all came *Paulus* himself in his Chariot, with a very majestic presence, not only upon the score of his comely and graceful Body, but his Age also. After his Chariot follow'd, among other famous men, his two Sons, *Q. Maximus*, and *P. Scipio*: and then the Horse in Troops, with the Regiments of Foot, each in their order. To each Footman were given a hundred Deniers; double to a Centurion, and trebble to an Horseman. Now they say, he would have given as much [as he gave the Horse] to the Foot, and proportionably to the rest, if they had not voted against his honour, or had shouted heartily for this sum when they were told of it. But *Perseus* was not the only Example of humane misfortunes in those dayes, who was led before the Chariot of a Victorious General in Chains through the Enemies City, but even the Conquerour *Paulus* too, though he shone with gold and purple. For of two Sons, whom he, (having given two away by adoption) kept at home, as the only Supporters of his name, to be the Heirs of his holy things and estate: the younger, who was about twelve years of Age, dy'd five dayes before his triumph; and the elder, who was fourteen, three dayes after: both which ought to have rode with their Father in his Chariot, in their Childrens Gowns [garded with purple, and called *Prætextæ*] and have design'd themselves in time to come to celebrate the like triumphs: Some few dayes after, *M. Antonius* Tribune of the People, having called an Assembly, after he had discours'd as other Generals used to do about his own exploits, his Speech that he made was very well worth the remembring, and becoming a Nobleman of Rome.

Romans [said he] although I suppose that you are not ignorant, both how successfully I have managed the publick affairs, and that two Thunderbolts have fallen very lately upon my House, since in so short a time you saw not only my triumph, but the Funerals of my Children also, yet, I beseech you, suffer me a little to compare my private condition, with that affection as I ought to do, with the publick felicity. Going out of Italy I set sail with the Fleet at Sun rising from Brundisium: and at the ninth hour of the day [i. e. three in the Afternoon] I, with all my Ships, arrived at Corcyra. From thence I went in five days to Delphi, where I sacrificed to Apollo for my self, my Army and Navy. From Delphi I came in five days to the Camp: where having receiv'd the Army, and alter'd some things which were great impediments to Victory, I went forward, and because the Enemies Camp was impregnable, and that I could not force the King to fight, I made a shift to get through his Garisons, beyond the strait pass near Petra: where, having forced the King to engage, I overcame him. By that means I reduced Macedonia into the hands of the Romans, and in fifteen

XL.

XLI.

fifteen dayes made an end of that War, which four Consuls before me managed for four years together, at such a rate, as that they left it still more grievous to the Successor. Then follow'd the Fruit, as it were, of that success; for all the Cities of Macedonia surrender'd themselves to me: the Kings Treasury came into my disposal; and the King himself, whom even the Gods themselves almost deliver'd to me, was taken in the Temple of Samothrace, together with his Children. And now my Fortune seem'd too great, even to my self, and therefore was the more to be suspected. I began to fear the dangers of the Sea in carrying over so much money as I had of the Kings, into Italy; and transporting my Victorious Army. But when all was safe landed in Italy, and I had nothing else to desire; I only wish'd, that, seeing Fortune us'd many times to tumble back from the highest pitch, my Family, rather than the Common-wealth might feel the alteration thereof. Wherefore I hope the publick is discharg'd by my so signal calamity: in that my triumph, to shew the frailty, and the vicissitude of humane state, was interposed between the two Funerals of my Children. But whereas I and Perseus are look'd upon at present as the most remarkable Examples of mans condition; He, who, himself a Captive, saw his Children led as Captives before him, hath them yet still alive: but I, who triumph'd over him, came from the Funeral of one Son, in my Chariot, out of the Capitol, to the other, who was now just expiring: nor is there any one left of all my Family, to bear the name of L. Æmilius Paulus. For the Cornelian and the Fabian Family have two by adoption (as if I had had a very numerous Issue;) and there is no body left in Paulus's House but himself. But your felicity, and the publick prosperity, comfort even in this sad condition, and under this destruction of my Family.

XLII.

These things, said with so much life, confounded the minds of the Audience more, than if he had miserably bewailed the loss of his Children. Afterward upon the first of December, Cn. Octavius made a Naval triumph over King Perseus: which was without Captives, and without spoils. He gave to every Seaman seventy five Deniers; to the Pilots, that had been on board the Ships, double; and to the Masters of the Ships, fourfold. Then there was a Senate held; in which it was order'd, that Q. Cassius should carry King Perseus, and his Son Alexander to Alba, and there keep them; together with all the retinue, money, silver, and goods that they had. Bitis, Son to the King of Thrace, was sent with the Hostages to be kept at Carseoli: but they order'd the rest of the Captives, that were led in triumph to be put in Prison. Some few days that these things were transacted, there came Embassadors from Cotys King of Thrace, with money to redeem his Son, and the rest of the Hostages. Who being brought into the Senate made that very thing the argument of their Speech; to wit, that Cotys did not voluntarily assist Perseus, in that he was forced to give Hostages: and therefore desiring; that they would let them be redeemed at the same rate, which the Senate themselves had laid upon them, they had this answer by order of the Senate; That the people of Rome remember'd that ancient Friendship, which he had maintain'd with Cotys, and his Ancestors, together with the whole Nation of Thrace. But that the giving of Hostages was a crime, not an excuse, since Perseus, even when he was most at leisure, much less when he was engaged in a War with the Romans, was not in any wise dreadful to the Thracians. But though Cotys had prefer'd the good will of Perseus before the Friendship of the Roman People; they would consider, what was fit for them to do, more than what he deserv'd: and would send him back his Son with the other Hostages. That the Romans did not expect any return for their kindnesses, or at least chose rather to leave the receivers to set a value upon them, than demand any present reward. The Embassadors, who were nominated, to carry the Hostages into Thrace, were T. Quintius Flaminius, C. Licinius Nerva, and M. Caninius Rebilus: and the Thracians had Presents made to them, each two thousand pounds of Bras. So Bitis with the rest of the Hostages, being sent for from Carseoli, was sent with the Embassadors to his Father. The Kings Ships that were taken from the Macedonians, being of an unusual bigness, were brought on shore into the Campus Martius.

XLIII.

Now whilst the memory of the Macedonian Triumph continu'd still, not only in the minds, but also even in the Eyes of the people, L. Anicius, upon the Feast of Romulus, triumph'd over King Gentius, and the Illyrians. In which triumph all things seem'd rather like than equal, to what the people had seen before: for Anicius was inferior to Æmilius, not only in respect of his birth, but his office too, the former being a Prætor, and the latter a Consul: nor Gentius be compar'd to Perseus, the Illyrians to the Macedonians, the spoils of one to those of the other, the money taken from one King to the money taken from that, nor the Presents of one to those of the other. But as the late triumph outshone this; so it appear'd to all that well consider the person in himself, that he was in no wise to be contemned. For he had totally subdu'd, in a few dayes, the whole Nation of the Illyrians, both by Sea and Land; though they were a Warlike people, and had good places well fortified to trust to: taking the King and all the Royal Family: besides, that he carry'd in triumph many military Ensigns, with other spoils and Furniture of the Kings: of gold twenty seven, and of silver nineteen pounds, three thousand Deniers, and a hundred and twenty thousand pieces of Illyrian silver. Before his Chariot were led King Gentius, with his Wife and Children, Caravantius the Kings Brother, and some other Noblemen of Illyricum. Of the booty there was given to every common Souldier forty five Denarii; double to a Centurion, and treble to an Horseman: to the Latine Allies as much as to Citizens,

Citizens, and as much to the Seamen, as to the common Souldiers. The Souldiers follow'd this triumph more cheerfully, and the General himself was celebrated with many Commendatory Songs. Antias sayes, that he made two Millions of money out of that booty, besides the gold and silver, which he carry'd into the Treasury. Which because it did not appear how such a sum could be made, I have quoted my Author for it. King Gentius with his Wife, and Children, and Brother, was carry'd to be kept at Spoletium by order of Senate; and the rest of the Captives were put in Prison at Rome: but since the Spoletians refused to take them into Custody, the Princes were carry'd to Igiturium. The rest of the booty out of Illyricum were two hundred and twenty Barks: which, being taken from King Gentius, the Senate order'd Q. Cassius to give to the Coreyreians, Apollonians, and Dyrrhacians.

The Consuls that year, having only pillaged Liguria, since the Enemies had never brought forth their Forces, did no memorable action at all, but return'd to Rome to chuse new Magistrates. Where, the first day of the Assembly, they created for Consuls, M. Claudius Marcellus, and C. Sulpicius Gallus. And the next day, for Prætors, L. Livius, L. Apuleius Saturninus, A. Licinius Nerva, P. Rutilius Calvus, P. Quintilius Varus, and M. Fonteius. To these Prætors were assigned the two City Provinces, the two Spains, Sicily and Sardinia. That year was Leap-year, and the odd day put in was the day after the Feast of the God Terminus. That year C. Claudius, the Augur, dy'd (in whose place the Augurs chose C. Quintius Flaminius) and Q. Fabius Pictor, who was Flamen Quirinalis [i. e. High-Priest of Romulus.] That year also King Prusias came to Rome with his Son Nicomedes; and making his entry into the City with a great Retinue, walk'd streight from the Gate to the Forum, and the Tribunal of Q. Cassius, the Prætor: where, amidst a great concourse of people, he said, He came to salute the Gods, that inhabited the City of Rome, the Senate and the Roman People: and to congratulate, that they overcome King Perseus and Gentius, and, had increased their Empire by conquering the Macedonians and Illyrians. Whereupon, when the Prætor told him, that, if he pleas'd, he would give him admission to the Senate that day; he desired two days time to visit the Temples of the Gods, and to see the City, with his Friends and acquaintance. L. Cornelius Scipio the Quæstor was order'd to attend him to all places, who had also been sent to meet him at Capua: and there was an House hired, to receive him and his Retinue. The third day after he went to the Senate, congratulated their Victory; put them in mind of his merits in that War; and desired, that he might have leave to pay a Vow, by sacrificing ten of the bigger sort of Victims at Rome in the Capitol, and one at Preneste to Fortune: for those Vows he had made for the sake of the Roman Peoples Victory. And that they would renew their Alliance with him. And that the Land, taken from King Antiochus, which the Gauls were possess'd of, though the Roman People had given it to no body, might be given to him. And lastly recommended to the Senate his Son Nicomedes. He was assisted by the favour of all those that had been Commanders in Macedonia. Wherefore the other things, that he desired, were granted; but as to the Land, they said, They would send Embassadors to inspect that matter. If the Land belong'd to the Roman People, and were not given to any body else, they should look upon Prusias, as a person most worthy of that Present. But if it had not belong'd to King Antiochus, it thereby appear'd not to belong to the Roman People neither: or if it were given to the Gauls, that Prusias ought to pardon them, if the Roman People would not give him any thing to prejudice another party. Besides that that could never be a grateful present to the receiver, which he knew, that he who gave it him, could take away, whenever he pleas'd. That they were glad he had brought his Son Nicomedes along with him: and that Ptolemy, King of Ægypt was a sufficient proof, with what care the Roman People lookt after the Children of Kings, who were their Friends. With this answer Prusias was dismiss'd: and order'd to be presented with gifts to the value of a hundred thousand Sesterces; fifty pounds weight of silver Vessels; besides, that they thought fit to present his Son Nicomedes also with several things to the same value as they had done to Magsaba, Son to King Massinissa: and that Victims, with other things, belonging to a Sacrifice (whether he would offer them at Rome, or at Preneste,) should be prepared for the King out of the publick stock, as they were for the Roman Magistrates. And that of the Navy, which was at Brundisium, twenty long Ships should be assign'd for his use: till he came to the Fleet, which was given him as a present. L. Cornelius Scipio was commanded, not to stir from him, but to provide all necessaries for him and his Retinue, till they were on board their Ship. They say, the King was mightily pleas'd with the kind and bounteous Entertainment, which the Roman People gave him: that he himself refus'd the Presents; but bid his Son take the gift of the Roman People. This account our Writers give of Prusias. But Polybius sayes, that that King was not worthy of so great and so majestic a Title: in that he wore a Roman Pileus [a Cap]; had his head shaved; us'd to go and meet the [Roman] Embassadors, and call himself the Libertus [i. e. a Freed man, who had been a Slave] of the Roman People. [He also sayes,] That at Rome, when he came into the Senate House, he bow'd down and kiss'd the threshold; calling the Senate the Gods that preserv'd him: with many other expressions, which were not so honourable to those that heard him, as they were usefully for him to use. Having staid about the City some thirty days, he went back for his own Kingdom.

F I N I S.



# S U P P L E M E N T S

O F T H E

*Several Gaps (or places wanting) in the five last Books (pretermitted by John Freinshemius, and) filled up by Monsieur John Dujatius, which (in imitation of him) we here add altogether by themselves, because we would not intermix other mens words with Livy's, yet with References to the respective Folio's to which each matter belongs.*

*The Beginning of the One and fortieth Book, or first of the Fifth Decade, fol. 791.*

NOW had the *Romans* carried their victorious Arms into all the three Parts of the World. Not content to be confined to their native *Italy*, with their Swords they cut their way into Regions vastly remote each from other, and separated by Several Seas. All which they invaded by a continual Train of Successes, not so much checkt, as render'd more active, by some very few intervening Disasters. *Spain*, the most Western part of the *European* Continent, they had made themselves Masters of, having traversed the *Gallick* and *Iberian* Seas, and beat out the *Carthaginians*. Afterwards passing the *Adriatick* Gulph into *Greece* (where *Europe* extends furthest Eastward) they soon forced that whole Country to truckle to their Power, when once they had subdued the *Macedonians*, a People that formerly bid fair for the Empire of the World. Moreover beyond the *Aegean* Sea, so much of *Asia*, as lies on this side the Cliffs of Mount *Taurus*, was taught by *Antiochus's* Overthrow to revere the Majesty of *Rome*. As for *Africa*, it was already at their devotion: For what could withstand them after they had vanquish'd *Carthage*? In fine, there was scarce any thing altogether free from the Gripes of their Power; only the Names of Kings remained, and Nations were not called their Subjects, but their Allies and Confederates, under the shadow of which Title they enjoy'd, though not the thing it self, yet a certain resemblance of Liberty.

But still the Destinies either ow'd, or design'd somewhat greater for *Rome*: For that nothing might be wanting to its Sovereign Dignity and Supreme Command of the World, Fortune provided notable occasions by the supine Errours and vain Tumults of her Rival Enemies to spread her Empire, and advance her Power, especially the Vices of *Perseus* King of *Macedonia*, who usurped that Government by fraud, and managed it accordingly, his Cruelty towards his Country-men which render'd him universally hated, his unreasonable Covetousness amidst such vast Treasures, and his Lightness and Inconstancy both in taking and executing Councils, did both ruine him, and all others that might else have been able to preserve themselves as long as that Bridle of the *Roman* Power and Bulwark of *Greece*, should have continued. But by these Extravagancies, though at first he had not only the advantage of them, as to the situation of his Country, and in strength and numbers of men, and plenty of all things, but also in the Fortune of the War, yet in a very little time he brought both himself and others to destruction. For presently his Overthrow drew on the Ruine not only of his Neighbours, but even distant Nations shared in the Effects of his Calamity: The Fate of *Carthage* and the *Acheans* following that of *Macedonia*, and with their Disasters astonishing all other States, the yoke thenceforwards was every where to be received alike, and as well free Kingdoms as Associates, must be content to be governed as *Roman* Provinces. But being now to relate how all these Occurrences (not so considerable for the grandeur or difficulty of the Actions themselves, as the magnificent Enlargement of Dominion that thence accrued) did happen in their proper Series of time, it will be necessary that we look back to the Consulship of *M. Junius Brutus*, and *A. Manlius Vulso*, for so far this work had already proceeded.

In the beginning of the year, when the Consuls and Prætors were entred upon their Offices, they divided the Provinces between them by Lot; To *A. Manlius Vulso* one of the Consuls happen'd *Gallia*; To the other, *M. Junius Brutus*, the *Ligurians*; To *M. Titinius Curvus* the City Jurisdiction; To *T. Claudius Nero* that of the Foreigners; *P. Atilius Ligus* had *Sicily*; *T. Aebutius Carus*, *Sardinia*; Another *M. Titinius* the hithermost *Spain*, and *T. Fonteus Capito* the furthestmost; but till they should arrive there, *T. Sempromius Gracchus* and *L. Posthumius Albinus* were to continue in their Commands. Before the Consuls set

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out towards their Provinces, a Fire happening in the *Forum*, destroy'd abundance of Houses, and amongst the rest burnt the Temple of *Venus* down to the ground: Besides (which most of all terrified the peoples minds) the Sacred Fire in *Vesta's* Temple happen'd to be extinguish'd, and the Virgin that had the charge thereof was scourged by the Command of *M. Aemilius Lepidus* the Pontiff. To expiate these ill Omens, Supplications were held according to Custom; and to appease the Gods the Consuls offer'd the greater Sacrifices. A Survey of the City was about this time taken by *M. Aemilius Lepidus* and *M. Fulvius Nobilior* the Censors, and the number of Citizens enroll'd was two hundred seventy three thousand two hundred forty four Heads.

*T. Gracchus* the Proprætor stoutly carried on that War, which he had last year prosperously begun against the *Celtiberians*. He was yet but in the prime of his youth, and excelling all men of that Age both for prudence and industry, had himself conceived hopes of performing extraordinary Actions, and infused the same opinion into his Souldiers; therefore having Advice that the Enemy with twenty thousand men had besieged *Carabis*, a City in Alliance with the *Romans*, he hastened with all expedition to relieve it. But the Town was so straitly invested, that there seem'd no way to send them in word, that assistance was coming, till the Courage of *Cominius* undertook that desperate Service, who being a Captain of a Troop of Horse, put himself into *Spanish* Habit, and mingling himself amongst the Enemies Troopers that were abroad a foraging, with them returned into their Camp; where taking his opportunity, he rode away full speed to the City, and informed them, *That Tiberius was upon his March*. With which News the Townsmen being raised from the extremity of despair, to joy and confidence, made such a resolute Defence, as gave *Gracchus* sufficient opportunity to come up. The Enemy in the mean time, seeing they could do little good by force of Arms, betook themselves to a Stratagem, which caus'd no small confusion in the *Roman* Camp. Out of the several Towns which *Cato* a while before had all in one day caus'd to be dismantled of their Walls, a vast multitude were flock'd together as to a new City, at a place which they call'd *Complega*; from whence to the number of twenty thousand men, they went in the Habit of Suppliants, carrying Olive-branches in their hands, till they came within sight of the *Roman* Camp, where they made an halt for a little time, as if they came to beg for Peace; but on a sudden flinging away their Ensigns of petitioning, they fell to brandishing and clattering their Arms, and with an horrible Clamour rush'd in to the Camp, where all were put into a consternation both by their fury and their noise. But this Fraud of the *Barbarians*, *Gracchus* by a like Artifice eluded and beat back on their heads. For pretending to fly, he quitted the Camp; but no sooner were they got into it, and busie a plundering, but he rallies his Army, and in good earnest falls upon them, and not only slew a great part of them, but seized the City from whence they came. After this pushing on his good Fortune, he compell'd innumerable Towns, exhausted with the Calamities of War, to surrender themselves, and subdued the neighbouring Nations. Then dividing the Lands amongst the Poor, and assigning to every Nation their certain bounds, he made a League with all the *Celtiberians* and the People adjacent who had sided with them, whereby he brought over a considerable part of *Spain* to an Alliance with the *Romans*; and their Posterity embraced the same Treaty as a Law, which makes that seem less wonderful, which is related by *Polybius*, viz. *That Gracchus took by Force or subverted three hundred Cities of the Celtiberians*; which *Possidonius* thinks to be a Fiction, and that the Actions of that Expedition were augmented beyond all measure in favour of *Gracchus*, since neither the Extent of the Country, nor its Nature, could yield so many Cities in that dry and barren Soil. And the *Spaniards*, except those that border on our Seas, though they are very numerous, build and inhabit Villages rather than Cities; nor are they a few of them that lead a life almost like Savages in the Woods, troublesome to those more Civil people that dwell near them. But we must consider, that under the Name of *Celtiberians* were comprehended all those neighbouring Nations who were in League with them. As on the one side, the *Arcvæans*, *Carpetans*, *Oretanes*, and other People about the River *Tagus*; and on the other, side the *Vascons* towards the River *Iberus*, amongst whom he rebuilt the Town *Gacchunis* a perpetual Monument of his Valour and Atchievements, which place the *Spaniards* formerly call'd *Illurcis*. The same Summer *L. Postuminius* Governour of the farther *Spain* in quality of Proprætor, routed the Enemy, killing forty thousand of them, and subdued the *Lusitanians* and *Vaccæans*.

Whilst these things were doing, *A. Manlius Vulso* the Consul, whose Province, we told you, was the *Cisalpine Gallia*, seeing all that Country in a profound Peace, and no hopes for him to acquire a Triumph on either side of the *Po*, unless it were beyond the *Alps*, grew desirous to advance his Arms another way; and luckily it happen'd that some Commotions of the *Islyrians* and *Illyrians* (though they were rather predatory Excursions by Sea and Land upon *Roman* Allies, than warlike Invasions) invited him to pass the Bounds of *Italy*. Those people always enured to Robbery and Spoil were grown weary of their Peace, though they both had long since made tryal to their Cost of the *Roman* Puissance. The *Illyrians* having been weakned with several Overthrows, especially in the days of their Queen *Tenta*, whom *Cn. Fulvius Centumalus* and *A. Posthumius Albinus*, having attacked with Forces both by Sea and

and Land, deprived of part of her Kingdom, and forced her to beg Peace upon very hard Terms, some few years before the beginning of the second *Punic* War. Not long after which, viz. about forty three years since, the *Islyrians* were defeated by the two Consuls, *P. Cornelius Scipio Asina*, and *M. Minucius Rufus*, and almost utterly subdued; but afterwards their Spirits in a new Generation being elevated, they returned to their old Trade of affronting the *Romans*, their new Princes in each place not restraining, but rather encouraging the insolence of their people. The Ruler of the *Illyrians* was *Gentius* the Son of *Parluratus*, who in the heat of his youthful blood was fond to have armed that which, &c. [as fol. 791. aforesaid.]

*A Supplement of two Gaps near together at the End of the eighteenth Chapter of the same Book, fol. 799.*

*C. Valerius* having heard of the death of his Collegue *Q. Petillius*, leads his Army against the *Ligurians*, and joining his own Troops with those who lately under the others Conduct, had driven the Enemy out of the Mountains, did so inclose and defeat them, that he abundantly sacrificed them to his Partners Ghost. Hence returning to *Rome*, and admitted to Audience by the Senate in the Temple of *Bellona*, he gave an account both of *Petillius's* Actions and his own, demanding a Triumph for himself, and such Honours to be done to his Collegues Memory, as the dead were capable of. A Supplication was order'd for two days, and a Triumph granted him, but upon that Legion by whom *Petillius* was, if not deserted, yet at least not so valiantly defended as they ought to have done, the Fathers thought fit to lay a Mark of their Displeasure, by an Order, *That they should have no Pay for that year*. Some few days after *Valerius* triumphed over the *Ligurians*, being drawn in a stately Chariot with four Horses through the City to the Capitol.

After this, the holding of the Assemblies for chusing Consuls and Prætors, came to be considered, touching which there happen'd no small Debate in the Senate, because *C. Valerius* the only surviving Consul of all the three that had been the last year, was not chosen in the beginning of the year, but subrogated in the room of *Cn. Cornelius Scipio Hispanus* deceased during his Magistracy. Now those that were skill'd in Religious Rites and the Common Laws of the Nation, said, *That seeing both the ordinary Consuls of that year happen'd to be taken off, one by a natural Death, and the other by the Wars, the Consul substituted in the room of either of them, could not legally hold the aforesaid Assemblies*. And the Pontiffs being consulted, declaring themselves to be of the same Opinion, the matter came to an Interregency. And by the Court held by the Inter-regent, there were chosen Consuls, *P. Mucius Scævola*, and *M. Aemilius Lepidus* the second time: Next day Prætors were created, viz. *C. Popilius Lenas*, *T. Annius Læsus*, *C. Memmius Gallus*, *C. Cluvius Saxula*, *Sext. Cornelius Sulla*, and *App. Claudius Centho*. Amongst whom the Provinces were thus allotted, to the Consuls the *Cisalpine Gallia* and *Liguria*, the latter to *Mucius*, the former to *Lepidus*. Of the Prætors, *Cluvius* had the City-Jurisdiction; *Annus* the Foreign; *Pop. Lenas*, *Sicily*; *Memmius* the higher *Spain*; *Corn. Sulla*, *Sardinia*; *Centho* the further *Spain*. How many and what Legions, or Forces of the Latine Allies, were assigned to each, the Ancients are silent. However it can scarce be doubted, but before they went to their respective Provinces, they did by the Senate's Order inspect the *Sibylline* Books, and according to the Decemvirs report command proper Sacrifices and Supplications to be made for appeasing the Gods. For at that time there happen'd a grievous Mortality of men, and a more grievous Murrain of Cattel which continued till the year following. And 'tis said, though the Lanes in the Fields, and streets in the City, were strew'd with Carcasses, even the Vultures, the most ravenous of all Birds of Prey, would not eat, nor so much as touch them; such a most loathsome stench and poisonous infection exhaled from their putrified bowels. But after all Sacred Rites due and accustomed were performed, they departed in usual State to their several Charges. And *Lepidus* having quickly and with little difficulty routed the *Boii* and other *Gauls* that dwelt near the Banks of the *Po*, and made them glad to beg for Peace, that he might keep the *Ligurians*, that dwelt up in the Land behind him, in subjection, and prevent their joining with those on the Sea Coasts against his Collegue, he led his Forces that way. Now on this side the Appennine, &c. [as fol. 799.]

*The Supplement of what is wanting at the End of the nineteenth Chapter, fol. 799.*

Which was left without Defence. And at first suspected some Stratagem, but at last entred it without any opposition, and were going to plunder it, when on a sudden being advertized by a Messenger, what imminent danger their own City was in, they thought it better to burn the Camp and all that was therein, that the Pillage might be no hinderance to their speedy March to raise that Siege. The *Bastarnans* seeing at once their own Tents on fire, and the Enemy ready to fall upon their backs, being thereby on the one side destitute of all Provisions and military Necessaries, which by long foraging they had there heaped up, out of

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all the neighbouring Country; and on the other part suspecting the fidelity of *Perseus* who call'd them in, had their minds more busied how to run away than fight; Besides, they call'd to mind the late Calamity inflicted on their Countrymen, as by the manifest vengeance of the Gods; therefore having wasted all things thereabouts, they hastned further off to supply themselves with Victuals; they were indeed a vast multitude, but the Women and Children not fewer in number than the armed men; Thus they rambled scatteringly about, without any certain Conduct, or common resolution, but as every ones hopes or fears, their love to their Relations, or the care of their private concerns at home led them, so they endeavour'd to consult their own and their Friends safety, all agreeing in this one design (though scarce in any thing else) to get to their own respective Habitations as soon as they could. Nor did the *Dardanians* offer very much to pursue them, conscious to themselves that they were inferiour in numbers, and since the Enemy of their own accord were retreated out of their Country, they were content with having gain'd the point for which they took Arms, and thought it not prudential to tempt further hazard. The *Bastarnians* wearied with several days hard marches and great want, coming up to the River *Ister* which bounds their Country, were not a little joyful, both at the sight of their native soil, as also to find the River somewhat more early in the Winter than usual, so hard frozen over as promised them a safe and easy passage; but their whole Army venturing on all at once, and as it were in an heap, the multitude of people and Horses was too heavy for the Ice to bear, so that about the middle of the River it broke, swallowing them all up in a moment. Some Authors place this destruction of the *Bastarnians* sooner, as if upon their march out of their own Country they and their Wives and Children were thus destroyed; but this is confuted by the *Dardanians* Embassy to *Rome*, imploring aid against them, which shews they were not only pass'd the *Ister*, but advanc'd a good way into *Thrace*; nor want there some who think that *Perseus* mistrusting the consequences of their assistance, join'd with the *Dardanians* to complot their ruin, and secretly supply'd the latter with Forces. 'Tis certainly difficult to determine whether he entertain'd the news of their disaster with joy or grief, so variously was he always agitated by the different Passions of Covetousness and Hope, Fraud and Fear; For now he might count it no small advantage to be freed, not only from the payment of those rewards, with the large promises of which, he had drawn those *Barbarians* into *Thrace*; but also from all fears of danger from their revenge, which might have followed upon the refusal or non-payment thereof; Besides, he flatter'd himself, that now they were sent packing into another World, he should be able more easily to clear himself from any suspicions the *Romans* might have, as if he had hired those *Auxiliaries* against them, and so for the future enjoy a firm Peace with that mighty Nation, for he had suffer'd himself to be coaks'd by *Marcus* with some such vain hopes. But when he saw the storm of the War still approaching nearer him, terrified with the incredible preparations and numerous Forces of the *Romans*, he then began to lament the loss of so great an accession of strength, as those *Bastarnians* might have afforded him; and to fear, that the *Dardanians* perpetual Enemies to the *Macedonians*, now that curb was removed, would boldly make incursions into his Kingdom behind, whilst the *Romans* invaded it in the Front. To enable himself the better to weather out this double tempest, he too late seeks shelter in Alliances with neighbouring Princes and Nations, and yet persevered not in that necessary design with that constancy and diligence as the doubtful posture of his Affairs required. These things past in *Macedonia* towards the latter end of the Winter.

About this time *Antiochus* Son of *Antiochus* the Great, upon the Death of his Brother *Seleucus*, came to the Crown of *Syria*. The said *Seleucus* eldest Son of *Antiochus*, weakned with those Overthrows his Father had received, having held the Kingdom near twelve years in sloth and ease, without ennobling his Reign with any Honourable Achievements, recall'd his Brother *Antiochus* from *Rome* into *Syria*, sending his Son *Demetrius* to remain there in his stead as Hostage; But *Antiochus* in his return was scarce got to *Athens*, when *Seleucus* was treacherously murder'd by *Heliodorus*, one of his Nobles; who aim'd at the Crown, but was restrain'd by the opposition of *Eumenes* and *Attalus*, objecting, That he was altogether a stranger to the Blood Royal; And the same two Princes receiving *Antiochus* at his Arrival with all kind of Friendship and respect, by their interest establish'd him in the Throne. I cannot affirm, whether their officious regards towards this new King were increased by the recommendation of the people of *Rome*, or whether the same proceeded merely from their natural propension towards the Brothers and the Royal Family. For some write as if their good will to him might arise from some jealousies and offences arising about that time between them and the *Romans*. However *Antiochus* by this assistance taking upon him the Crown, was by his unexpected Arrival so welcome to his Subjects, that they gave him the Surname of *Epiphanes* [or *The Illustrious*] because whilst Strangers were ready to usurp the Government, he arose to assert the Rights of his Family, shining like some new bright Star to all his people; having possess'd himself not only of *Syria*, but other distant Regions of *Asia*, even beyond the Rivers *Euphrates* and *Tigris*, without any opposition; and enter'd into a strict Friendship and League with *Eumenes*, he then waged War with *Artaxias* King of *Armenia*, and took him Prisoner. But as the manners of absolute Monarchs, who have

have no other Laws but their own pleasures and inclinations, are apt for the most part to decline and grow worse and worse, and on the other side nothing is more fickle and various than the humours and affections of the people, and especially the *Syrian* temper is above most others inconstant; his Subjects continued not long those dutiful regards wherewith they first welcom'd him to the Crown, but their hearts were so far alienated, that whom before they had honour'd with a surname of Admiration, they now Characterize with a nick-name of Reproach, and instead of *Epiphanes* call him *Epimanes*, that is, *The Madman*, instead of *The Illustrious*. The truth is, after those first Actions which we have recounted in the beginning of his Reign, he took up an odd new course of Life, no less unusual to, than unbecoming Kings; and acted the part rather of a private person than of a Prince, or even so much as that of any petty Magistrate; The Causes of this strange Conduct are very uncertain, whether it were to engage his own Subjects affections by these excesses of popularity, or whether he fancied he should better deserve the favour of the *Romans* by imitating their Customs, or whether (as 'tis most likely) it was merely a Crotchet arising from his natural lightness of mind and vanity. So it was, That frequently he would secretly and unknown to his chief Officers, get out of his Palace, and with two or three Attendants ramble up and down the City, sometimes running into the Shops of Carvers and Statuaries, or any other Mechanics, and hold a Chat with them, affecting to seem very skillful in their several Trades; sometimes he would publickly enter into Discourse without any occasion with any of the Rabble that he met in the street, now and then he would haunt the drinking Houses, and carouze stoutly with any shabby Pot-Companions. If he heard there was any where a merry meeting to be of young men, either by day or by night, away would he go, and unexpectedly surprize them, carrying along with him his Cup and his Musick, and make one amongst them, so that daunted with his unlookt for presence, many of them would flink away, others astonish'd with the novelty of the adventure sat as mute as Fishes, till time and Wine recover'd their spirits, and then they were all hail-fellow-well-met, the King not disdain-ing their poor Earthen Pots, nor their rude drunken Catches and bawdy Songs, with which, when they were got tipsy, they made the Welkin roar. He would also many times wash himself in the publick Baths, amongst the common Rabble, and distribute Gally-Pots fill'd with unguents of most excellent scent and great price, to all that wash'd near him. Afterwards he would leave off his Royal Robes, and instead thereof put on a white Gown, as he had seen those at *Rome* wear, who put in for Honours and Offices, and so walk about the Market-place as their Candidates were wont to do, shaking every *Plebeian* by the hand, and embracing him, humbly desiring their Vote to make him sometimes an *Ædile*, and sometimes a *Prætor*, and when to humour him the people by their suffrages had conferr'd upon him those Offices, then he after the *Roman* manner, sat on an Ivory Throne as Judge, &c. [fol. 799.]

*A Supplement of the fifth defective Passage after the twentieth Chapter, fol. 800.*

Now by his own Kingdom was furnish'd with Gladiators enow, who voluntarily offer'd themselves to play at Sharps for a small reward. But as this perhaps might pass well enough, so 'tis certain the Pomp of that Martial Pageantry or Mock-show of an Army, and the publick Banquet which he gave the people, though the same were exceeding rich and of incredible Expence, yet they were rendred vile, contemptible and ridiculous by his Apish Tricks and scurrilous Actions. For when he had from all parts called the most excellent Artifts to compose a rare and extraordinary Show, and had invited all the chief Persons throughout *Asia* and all *Greece*, to be partakers in the diversion of so famous an Entertainment. As for the Furniture of the Sports indeed, whether you regard the number and stately Equipage of the Men and Horses therein employ'd, all glittering with Purple and Silver, with Gold and precious Stones; or whether you respect in the Feast the exquisite and prodigal Delicacies and innumerable Dishes of all kinds, it must be acknowledged, that he far exceeded the Endeavours of all former Princes. But as to the Method and dispose of the whole Entertainment, of which he himself would needs have the sole management, it appear'd disorderly and altogether unworthy of a King. For mounted on a little sorry Gelding, he rode whippetting to and fro through the Cavalcade, sometimes without any reason, bidding these go on, and by and by those to stand still, so that the whole March was full of confusion, and had nothing in it of Gravity or Military Order. As for the publick Treat, he was there too as foolish and impertinent, for he would clap himself down by this or the other person as they sat at meat without any difference, and sometimes lye down all along on his back; then on a sudden he would start up, and run about all the Tables, and pledge those Healths that were every where drank to him. At last, their Revelling having continued till very late in the night, when many having got their load, were stagger'd away as well as they could, he was brought in by a Company of Players, rather wrapt up in Linen, than cloathed, and by and by, without any regard



gard to his own Quality, the Spectators, or common modesty, as if he had been awakened by the Mulick, he jumps forth stark naked, and dancing with the Jack-puddings, put himself into such ridiculous postures, that all that were present, for very shame withdrew and departed. Thus those that from all parts were assembled at this Show, as often as they mentioned the Grandeur of the Preparations and Magnificence of the Sport, were wont greatly to admire the Wealth of the King and Kingdom; but when they reflected on the King himself, and his Deportment, they could not without astonishment think how in one and the same person there should be such a prodigious mixture of Vertues and Vices, or that so brave a lofty and Royal Mind, furnish'd with many extraordinary good Qualities, should also give entertainment to so many monstrous and most clownish Depravities. But as it would be difficult to set forth all his Freaks and extravagant Expences, so neither is it worth while; this only I think fit to add, That by observing no end nor measure in consuming, and most prodigally wasting, or rather playing the Mad-man, with the Tributes, Taxes, and almost innumerable Revenues of that vast and most flourishing Empire, he utterly exhausted both his own Exchequer, and his Subjects Purfes, and was reduced to such extremity of Poverty, as to be forced to prey upon and pillage not only prophane things, but after he had first impoverish'd Syria, and the most Eastern Countries, and then plundered Egypt of all its Riches, he could not forbear the very Temples, and those Presents which had been made and dedicated to the Gods: Among the rest, having by treachery got possession of Jerusalem, he with vast slaughter of the Citizens, ransack'd that Temple which Alexander the Great presumed not to violate, in which the Jews (a People most strictly tenacious of their Religion) worshipp'd The invisible Deity, only to be apprehended by the mind, and never spared for any cost in his service; but this ravenous Prince carried away all the Gold, Silver and Precious Utensils, which the most liberal Devotion of the people in so many years had there accumulated. After this he attempted to spoil a certain Temple either of Diana or Venus amongst the Elymaei, very highly esteemed, and fill'd with rich Offerings, and amongst the rest, certain Coats of Mail and Shields of Alexander's, richly beset with Precious Stones, were there said to be kept: But by the concurrence of the Priests and Inhabitants, he was repulsed, not without the loss of some of his Company, and so forced to fly back to Babylon, where, for grief at his ill success, he fell into a Consumption, and is believ'd to have been cut off by an untimely death, through the just vengeance of that Deity, whose Temple he had sacrilegiously offered to rife; nay, some there are who write, That he and his Army were destroyed in the very Attempt. Others relate much such like Passages touching the Death of his Father Antiochus, when he went about to plunder a most opulent Temple of Jupiter or Belus, in the same Province of Elymais. But these Foreign Transactions (a great part of which happened some years after) have taken us off longer than our manner is, from the prosecution of our Domestick Affairs; And since we are so seldom guilty in that respect, we hope this one Sally will the more easily be excused.

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578. In the end of this Year, Ti. Sempronius Gracchus the Proconsul, having overcome the Sardinians, surrendered the Government of that Island to Sex. Cornelius the Prætor, and returned to Rome for a Triumph; which, as he had most justly deserved, so the same was granted him *Nemine contradicente*. He is reported to have brought with him such a multitude of Prisoners, that men being wearied with the long *Anclion* when they were exposed to Sale under the Spear, according to custom, made it a Proverb, when they would express a dull Market, or a bad Commodity that would not go off, they would cry, *Sardi venales*, Here are Sardinians to be sold. Both the Consuls likewise triumphed over the Ligurians and Gauls, and, as far as we can conjecture by ancient Monuments, it was a Victory at Sea gave P. Sævola the Honour of a Triumph. But whether He or his Colleague M. Lepidus held the *Comitia* for the next Year, is uncertain: but the Consuls then created were Sp. Posthumius Albinus and Q. Mucius Sævola. In the Assembly for chusing Prætors, amongst the rest of the Candidates, it happened that L. Cornelius Scipio the Son of P. Africanus, and Q. Cicereius, who had been his Father's Secretary, were put up in competition; and so far it seems was this young Scipio degenerated from his Father's Vertues, and thought to have sullied the Cornelian Name, with so many filthy Vices; that Cicereius, by the Suffrages of all the Centuries, had undoubtedly been preferred before him, had not he himself amended this fault of Fortune, or mistake of the Assembly, (call it which you please) by his own modesty, which could not endure to wear an Honour snatcht from his Patron's Son: wherefore, withdrawing himself, he flung off his white Gown, renounced his Pretensions, and of a Competitor, certain of Victory, chose rather to shew himself a grateful Client, and become a Voter for his Antagonist. Thus the Honour which the people seemed not willing to grant him, Scipio, by the help of Cicereius, obtain'd, but with greater Glory to the latter in refusing, than to the former in enjoying that Dignity. The other Prætors were, C. Cassius Longinus, P. Furius Philus, L. Claudius Asellus, M. Atilius Serranus and Cn. Servilius Capio. The Consuls consulted the Senate touching the Provinces and Commonwealth, who assign'd Liguria to them both, but divided in several Regions. The dispatch of the Sacred Ceremonies, and especially the compleating of their Levies retarded their Advance very much, which I conceive may be

be the cause that we find no memorable Action performed by them. The Prætors had now taken their Provinces by Lot, C. Cassius Longinus, the City Jurisdiction; L. Cornelius Scipio, had the Foreign Jurisdiction, &c. [fol. 800.] *dele* there, the following words [of the City].

In the 27th Chapter of this 41 Book, fol. 803. there is a small defect; all that remains in the Latine Copies being these broken Syllables— *Et dam, & metas trans & caveas ferreas pe intrmitterentur*: Which Marcellus Donatus thinks should be thus— *Et Rhedam & metas transitus, & caveas ferreas, per quas intrmitterentur Fera*. In English thus, Likewise a Flying Chariot, and Turn-pikes for the passage, and Iron Grates, through which the wild Beasts were to be let in.

In the same Chapter and Folio, there is another Mark of something wanting; but it is only the word [*dicebat*] in the Latine, which is suppl'd in the English; and so the Reader may be pleas'd to number that Mark among the *Errata* as being needful.

In the Eight and twentieth Chapter, after the word *Revenues*, what is wanting is supposed to be only these three words [*Restor'd the Allies*] brought home, &c. [as fol. 804.]

*A Supplement of the first defective Passage in the 43<sup>d</sup>. Book, after the third Chapter, fol. 832.*

—their Friend or Enemy; He [the said Gelussa] also intreated the Senate not to give any credit to the Carthaginians Complaints against Masinissa, assuring them that the same proceeded from no other Fountain than their inveterate hate against the Romans, and his Father's Good Will and hearty inclinations to their service; That as for his Father, his care should always be to prefer those Conditions and Terms of the League, which the Romans had prescribed, before any of his particular Advantages whatsoever; Or rather would esteem all his Advantages wrapt up and included in reverencing their Authority and obeying their Commands. That he desired nothing more passionately than peace; but either to defend his antient Patrimony, or in Gratitude to the Romans for their former favours, he was continually either by the violence, or under-hand practices of the Carthaginians, forced to take Arms; who either forgetting their former overthrows, or by the memory thereof exasperated to revenge, could not bear those few years of peace, but thereby put up with too much wealth, began to hanker after their former Empire, and first intended to breathe themselves, and make tryal of their strength upon their Neighbours, that so they might thereafter be able to shake off their Conqueror's Yoke; 'Twas with this design (continued he) that lately, when the Romans were engaged in a War with the Celtiberians, and other Spaniards infested the Coasts of Numidia, they sent Carthalo General of their Auxiliaries against us: who, under pretence of visiting the Frontiers of his Province, unexpectedly fell upon the Camp of Masinissa, which lay hard by in peace, within the bounds assign'd him by your Ambassadors, and kill'd and took Prisoners not a few of his men, and besides stirred up the Peasants of Africk to rebel, and to this very day cease not to vex our people with continual Incursions and Devastations. It concerns you therefore, Noble Senators! by your prudence and power to chastize their insolences, and to restrain these common Enemies from such like injuries, by maintaining the peace, and making good your own Gifts to an Associate King, that they may be as lasting to him, as his Fidelity shall be perpetual towards you. The Gods have bestow'd on you Empire; as for us, we shall esteem the Glory of obeying your Commands, as the Will of the Celestial Powers, equal to the most enlarged Dominion.

Then were the Carthaginian Ambassadors admitted, who lamentably remonstrated much what the same Grievances, as they had complained of last Year. And though the Particulars did not certainly appear, yet it could scarce be doubted, but Masinissa, emboldned by our friendship, had attempted many things beyond his Commission, the Senate winking thereat, as willing for Reasons of State to have the power of Carthage weakened. The Answer return'd to both was, That the Senate would shortly send Commissioners, who upon the place should examine all differences, and determine therein according to Justice and Equity, and in the mean time both Parties to forbear all Acts of Hostility. Nor was that the only reason of dispatching such Commissioners thither, but also to make an inspection into the Carthaginians present state, whose fidelity, as it was always wavering and suspected, so especially since the beginning of the Macedonian War, their minds were set upon new hopes and designs, and distracted with several Factions: For some few of the Nobles were firm to the Romans, and the Head of that Party was Hanno, surnamed by his Country-men, the Great. Others, but not very many, favoured King Masinissa, and their Leader was that Annibal whom for distinction they called *Pfavis*; whether some similitude of a Sparrow, or of a Galley (for the word seems to signify both) gave at first cause for that Appellation. But the far greater part were for gratifying the humours of their own Commons, and join'd with Amilcar Samias, and of the same Faction was Carthalo.

The Commissioners arriv'd not in Africk before King Masinissa had made himself Master of the Territories in Question, and then, not as Judges but Arbitrators, compos'd the Differences, without any long hearing of the Cause, with this final Award, That each Party should

should retain what they were at present in possession of : But they could not without astonishment behold the City Carthage so full of Inhabitants and flourishing in Riches ; for so wonderfully, by the advantages of the place, and ingenuity and industry of the people, had it thriv'd in twenty years space, that there were not the least tokens left of the calamities of the former Wars, or that hard Siege they had sustained.

About the time these Commissioners Embark'd for *Africa*, the *Comitia* were held at *Rome*, and *Hostilius Mancinus*, and *Attilius Serranus* chosen Consuls for the ensuing year. After which were created Prætors *Q. Menius*, *M. Recius*, and *L. Hortensius*, for their Names are Recorded, but who the rest were is not certainly express'd in any Authors extant ; The Province of *Macedonia* was allotted to *Hostilius* the Consul, and *Italy* to *Hortensius* ; The City Jurisdiction fell to *Recius*, that of Foreigners to *Menius*, The Navy and Guard of the Sea Coast to *Hortensius*. If we may guess from the Consuls of the following years, (who rarely arriv'd at that Honour, before they had serv'd a Prætorship) there are two that may not improbably be thought to have been Prætors this year, viz. *Q. Aulus Pater*, and *T. Manlius Torquatus*, the former coming to be Consul the third year after with *M. Junius*, the latter the fifth year after, with *C. n. Octavius*, as appears by the Registry of the Consuls kept in the Capitol ; and, perhaps, the sixth Prætor of this year might be *Q. Hostilius Tubulus*, for the year following, he was the third person join'd in Commission with *C. Popillius Lænas*, (who had been Consul) and *C. Decimius* (who had serv'd as Prætor) when they were sent into *Egypt* to compose the War between *Antiochus* King of *Syria*, and the *Ptolomies* ; now it can scarce be believ'd, That he should be employ'd in so Honourable an Embassy, and with persons of that quality, if he had not already serv'd some Office of State ; and these three 'tis probable might manage the Provinces of *Sicily*, *Sardinia* and *Spain*.

In the mean time *P. Licinius Crassus*, the last years Consul, of whose unsuccessful Skirmishes with *Perfers*, we have spoken before, Quarter'd some part of the Winter in *Thessaly*, but longer in *Boeotia* ; nor did he afterwards perform any thing memorable, unless we should reckon amongst his famous Exploits, the taking of some Towns, whilst King *Perfers* was absent far off in *Macedonia*, and plundering them outrageously, and yet not content therewith, selling the Inhabitants for Slaves. Nor were the Cities on the Sea-Coast any better treated by *C. Lucretius* the Proprætor, and the rest of the Captains of the Fleet, who committed many outrages on their own Allies ; which injuries being afterwards complain'd off, the Senate reliev'd them as far as they could, and particularly the *Coroneans*, whom *Crassus* had sold for Slaves, were by a Decree restored to their Liberties.

*Corys* seeing part of his Territories possess'd by the Troops of *Eumenes*, and *Atlesbes* a neighbouring petty King, and that he was unable to beat them out, especially since the *Dardanians* threaten'd him on the other Quarter, ceased not to implore and importune *Perfers* for assistance according to the Treaty between them ; who judging it not for his interest to abandon *Corys*, who almost alone had openly taken the *Macedonians* part, got together some Squadrons of Horse out of the next Garrisons, and part of a Phalanx [or Battalion of Foot] with whom he routed the Enemy, and restored the small principality call'd *Maætenes* to its former Lord ; Thence turning his Arms against the *Dardanians*, he not only restrain'd their Incursions, but coming upon their Army when they suspected no Enemy near, slew ten thousand, and forc'd the rest to fly over the Mountains, plentifully returning the terrour they had brought into *Thrace* upon their own Country, by laying wast their Fields, and destroying divers of their Towns, and so led back his Souldiers loaden with booty home to *Macedonia* ; his longer stay in those parts being hindred by Intelligence, that the *Romans* were hovering on the Sea-Coasts, and threaten'd the Frontiers of *Thessaly* and *Illyricum*.

About this time, viz. whilst *P. Licinius Crassus*, and *C. Cassius Longinus* were Consuls, we find in the Annals of *Cassinius*, that a certain Girl, under her Parents tuition, was turn'd into a Boy, and by that change of Sex, being esteem'd a Monster, was by the Order of the Soothsayers, carried into and left in a desert Island.

*M. Junius Pennus* the Prætor, sailing over into his Province, the hithermost *Spain*, with a supply of eight thousand Foot and four hundred and fifty Horse ; found all things amongst the *Celiberians* and the other Nations allied with them, put into confusion by the Arts, or rather Furies of one particular man, named *Olonicus* (or *Salondicus* as some call him) who had infligated them to an Insurrection, with assurances of certain Victory ; who for being a Fellow endued with no less Craft than boldness, he took upon him to act as a kind of Prophet, and brandishing a silver Spear (which he pretended was sent him from Heaven) he so fill'd the heads of the *Barbarians* with his Whimsies, that by his persuasions they took Arms in greater multitudes than ever before ; of which the Prætor having advice, before he march'd against them, made it his business to engage the minds of the rest of the Provinces by all sorts of kindness and bounty, to continue faithful and peaceable. Then passing into the Borders of *Celiberia* encamped close by the Enemy, who then calling to mind their past overthrows began to tremble, which *Salondicus* perceiving, and that they did not sufficiently confide in his Oracles, he undertook an Enterprize worthy of that rashness and celestial assistance which he had hitherto boasted of ; which was to imitate the example

example of *Mucius Scaevola*, and kill the *Roman* General in his own Tent, conceiving the thing easy to be done, and which if it succeeded, there would then be nothing more easy than to destroy the Army, being but as a Trunk without an Head, and by the Miracle of such an event confirming his Prophecies, he should be sure to acquire the highest Authority amongst his Countrymen ; The truth is, amongst so many *Spaniards* mixt amongst the *Romans* and serving them as Auxiliaries, (so that neither his Habit, nor Arms, nor Language, was like to be taken notice of), he had some reason to hope, that he might without much difficulty get into their Camp, and even up as far as the Prætors Pavilion, so taking with him a Companion as desperate as himself, towards night he makes towards the *Roman* Camp, and got to *Junius's* Tent without being question'd, but attempting to enter, one of the Guards run him through with a Javelin, and his Comrade likewise paid his Life for his Folly, both whose Heads, *Junius* caused to be stuck upon Spears, and to be delivered to certain Prisoners he had lately taken, commanding them to carry the same to their Countrymens Army, which when they came into the Camp, they caused such a consternation, &c. [fol. 832.]

*The Supplement of the second defective Passage in the forty third Book, to be inserted at the End of that Book, fol. 840.*

To lay out any money upon a thing of the greatest moment to him to all intents and purposes ; which neglect caus'd both his own and *Gentius's* ruine. Whilst by these Successes, the *Roman* Empire was augmented, the Fortunes of private persons were also increased, especially by the *Macedonian* Spoils ; and as their Wealth, so their Profuseness and Luxury grew every day greater and more extravagant, which gave occasion for a new Law. For as the Female Sex seem'd most obnoxious to this disease of superfluous Expences, having less opportunity to commit more grievous Crimes, so it was thought fit to provide, That there should not be too great a conflix of the Cities wealth into their slippery hands. To which purpose *Q. Vocconius Saxa Aricinus* a Tribune of the Commons, as if he design'd to shew himself no less severe a Censor to the Women, than *Claudius* and *Gracchus* had been to the Men ; promulgated an Ordinance of the Commons, whereby it was provided, That no person who since the Censorship of *Q. Fulvius* and *A. Posthumius*, that is, within five years last past, had been rank'd in the first Classis of Citizens for wealth, should by his Will make any Maid or Woman his Heir ; and those were to be reckon'd amongst the richer sort, and placed in the first Class, whose Patrimony amounted to one hundred thousand *Asses* and upwards. The Women quickly took the Alarm, and were not wanting to make all the interest they had in the World to ward off this threaten'd Blow ; and they had Advocates, who with very plausible Reasons defended their Cause. Therefore as the Matrons one and twenty years ago, when *L. Valerius Flaccus* and *M. Porcius Cato* were Consuls, stiffly oppos'd the *Oppian* Law, and stickled for their *Mundus Muliebris*, or the Privileges of their Dressing-boxes, and Honour of their fine Cloaths and Ornaments, so no less did they now bestir themselves to prevent the passing of this Law, which more nearly concern'd them ; for against the other, only the study of appearing neat and fine, had made them mutiny ; but against this they were excited both by Covetousness, and the desire of adorning themselves as they list, and spending as much as they pleas'd, each no small Argument to a Womans Reason : Nor can we easily determine which was of greater weight, since 'tis a Moot-point not yet resolv'd, whether their Beauty or their Money be most charming, or if the one do not please the men, as much as the other can do themselves ? Both the Nobles and Commons were bandied into opposite Factions about this business, and every one according to his Capacity, Understanding, or Interest, did either favour or decry the Bill. Some affirm'd, That the publick Liberty was therein concern'd, to undermine which they began with this small Essay, but succeeding therein, they would drive the wedge still further, and by degrees utterly subvert the *Roman* Freedoms : For what for the future would be left free, if that most ample Power of Bequeathing ones own Estate as one pleases, granted by the twelve Tables to all as private and domestick Legislators in their particular Fortunes, and for so many Ages observ'd inviolate, shall now by a new and special Law be taken away ? How strange a thing is it to treat them as Foreigners, and make them incapable of common Right, who have the same common Household Gods, the same Children, the same Sacred Rites in common with their Husbands ? If you are grown weary of the female Sex, or think the Commonwealth can subsist without them : 'twere better send them far away into solitary Deserts, and condemn them to perpetual Banishment ; 'twill sure look like a most unjust and unworthy proceeding, That all the while the Commonwealth was poor, we should allow the Ladies their share of its Goods, but strip them thereof now the State is become rich. Nor is this Sex only serviceable to help us to get Children and rock Cradles, or cool our amorous heats with divertive dalliance, but many times in Examples of Virtues, for noble Deeds and prudent Counsels, they do far exceed us men ; nay with these Estates of theirs, which are now, forsooth, become the ornaments of our Envy, 'tis well known they have supported the tottering State when it was almost quite overthrown with the violence of *Annibal's* Arms, and by a seasonable Supply from their liberal Purfes raised it again

to its pristine strength and glory. To work the more commiseration were added the peculiar toils of that Sex, and the perils of Child-bearing, to them no less formidable than the hazards of War to men; nor was it forgot, that to this Sex was committed the keeping of the Eternal Vestal Fire, on which the Fate of the Roman Empire depended.

But all these Arguments were blown away by the breath of *Marcus Cato*, a man constant to the same opinion in his old Age, as he had maintain'd in the vigour of his youth; whose Oration on this occasion may be read in the fifth Book of Originals, the substance of which will be enough to be recited here. He was then in the sixty fifth year of his Age, yet with a loud Voice and strong Lungs, he remonstrated, That in vain were that distinction observ'd, from the very Infancy of the Commonwealth, between *Agnati* and *Cognati*, Kindred of the Fathers, and of the Mothers side; if the condition of Males and Females must be all alike; That it was far from the true intent and meaning of the twelve Tables to allow Women the whole Inheritance; but for the keeping up the name and honour of Families, every ones Sons in the first place were to be his Heirs, and for want of such Issue, then those next of his Blood; all which is according to natural right. Nor was the power granted to Fathers of Families to bequeath their Estates as they thought fit, design'd for this purpose, That being blinded with the inticements and flatteries of Women, they should transfer all their Estates into strange and new Families, and ruin their own; but rather to enable them the better to preserve and relieve their own Family, by leaving the Inheritance to their Sons, and competent Portions to their Daughters. But still care should be taken to make Women esteem Chastity, sparingness and obedience to be their best Dowry. To what purpose did our Ancestors so scrupulously provide, that they should be always held under the tutelage either of their Parents, Brethren, or next of Blood, if they shall be suffer'd to abuse vast Estates, and by the help thereof break through all the Obligations of the Laws and restraints of modesty? In fine, so strongly did he inveigh against female weakness, and so lively paint out their excesses, when Mistresses of large Fortunes, that he extorted a general consent; especially when he urg'd, That 'twas the custom of these rich and haughty Dames, upon their Marriage, to make an Agreement and bring such a considerable Portion to their Husbands, but reserve a greater share at their own dispose, than they would vouchsafe to afford them; which reserv'd money they would afterwards, at the Husbands request, lend him, or some part thereof; but upon the least falling out, they would set one of their own Servants, (reserv'd likewise, that the Husband had nothing to do with him) who should perpetually haunt and dun him no less importunately than if he were a strange Debtor, which was such an insolence as ought not to be endured. And therefore in indignation against that practice, all agreed to pass the said Law as *Voconius* had propos'd it.

*The Supplement of the first defective passage in the forty fourth Book, at the end of the thirtieth Chapter, fol. 854.*

Then the Fleet was conducted by the Prætor to *Pantanchus*, to defend the Confederate Cities from injuries. This Fleet was excellently Equipp'd and furnish'd with all necessaries, and besides the former Forces, had on Board, five thousand Mariners, for so many we told you before, were lately rais'd for the service of this present *Illyrian* War; but the Enemy scarce gave them opportunity to come to a full Engagement; For what could those Pirates, only enur'd to Rapine, dare or be able to do against such a well-appointed Fleet? which almost as soon as they saw, affrighted them, and made them by the lightness of their Vessels endeavour to secure themselves in a disorderly flight; some few of the foremost and heavier Ships, were presently, at the first on-set, partly sunk, and partly taken, and so yielded us a cheap and easy Victory; nor was that enough, but *Anicius* pursued those that thought to have escap'd, and coming up with a great number of them lying close amongst the Islands near the Continent, he with promises of Quarter, induc'd them to yield, and presently all the Islands that were subject to *Gentius* at first sight did likewise surrender themselves, &c. [As fol. 854.]

*The Supplement of the second defective passage of the forty fourth Book, after the thirty second Chapter, fol. 855.*

The Souldiers were order'd to get timber out of the next Woods to fortify the Rampier, with which the Camp with incredible labour and no less expedition, was round about encircled, which *Perseus* also fortified with Ballions, and military Engines dispos'd in all places convenient, whereby he thought himself secure against all the Roman Force, and that he might hold them in play, till wearied and weakned with the difficulties of so long a Siege, they might at length desist from the attempt. But *Paulus Æmilius*, by how much he saw the *Macedonian* strength to be the greater, and how carefully and cautiously they had provided for, and manag'd their affairs, so much the more diligent was he to leave no stone unturn'd, nor in any thing be wanting to elude their Arts by his own skill, and removing all obstacles, effect

effect the work. His Camp was plentifully supply'd with Provisions out of *Thessaly*, that lay just at his back; but they were much straitned for Water; for by the unusual drought, the River near hand was dry'd up; nor were there any Springs, or but very few, and those muddy, not yielding near enough Water to supply so great a multitude; so that his men daily perisht for thirst, and his Horses died as fast for the same reason. The Consul therefore sent some to search all about the Hill *Olympus* (near the foot whereof he lay encamp'd) if they could discover any Springs, but they bringing backward, that all was as dry as a Rock; he would not for all that despair, but having in person diligently survey'd the situation and nature of the place, he at last commanded the Sutlers and Tankard-Bearers to follow him to the Sea, &c. [as fol. 855.]

*The Supplement of the third defective passage in the forty fourth Book at the end of the thirty fourth Chapter, fol. 856.*

— and foresaw questionless where he might pass over, then that having reduc'd the Discipline of his Camp to the antient severity, he made the Romans exercise themselves in daily decursions, and all kind of military toils, and in fine omitting nothing that belong'd to the care or duty of an Excellent General, *Perseus*, I say, seeing *Paulus* do all this, found that in such apparent danger, he must use no delays, for he had not now to deal with such as *Licinius Histilius*, or *Marcus*, but with an old experienc'd Commander, active, vigilant and inflam'd only with the desire of Victory and Glory, and who by various representations of Battel acted amongst his own men in jest, was preparing for a fight in earnest, which must needs determine the Fate of the War; Therefore he also resolv'd to encourage his Souldiers as much as he could, to instruct them in military Exercises, to add new works to those he had cast up already, and fortify his Camp with more Machines and Engines one above another; But whilst they were thus busy on either side, unexpected Intelligence arriv'd from *Illyricum*, That King *Gentius* was routed by *Anicius* the Prætor, and he himself and all his Family Prisoners to the Romans, and his whole Country in their power. Which thing encouraged, &c. [as fol. 856.]

*The Supplement of the fourth defective Passage of the 44<sup>th</sup> Book, at the End of the 35<sup>th</sup> Chapter, fol. 857.*

— [shelving to the Sea side; *Perseus* minding only what was before his eyes, was intent to repulse the Enemy on that side, and void of all other care. In the mean time, *P. Nasica*, with his selected Party, was come towards the Sea, as far as *Heracleum*, as if he designed with a Fleet to attack the Enemies Camp; but there, ordering his Souldiers to refresh themselves, he waited for the Approach of Night, and communicated the Consul's real Orders to the Centurions, and pursuant thereunto, as soon as it grew dusky, turning his March towards the Mountain, silently led his Troops to *Pythium*: where arriving, after almost three days hard March through rugged Ways, up Hill and down Hill, he found it necessary to refresh his weary Men with a Nights sleep. But of the *Cretans* (who to the Number of two hundred attended *Scipio* in this Expedition) a certain Fellow (as they are naturally a treacherous people) understanding what the design was, had got away during their March, and fled to *Perseus*, acquainting him (who suspected no such matter) where his danger lay. This surpriz'd and astonish'd the King, who could not quit his Camp, and with all his Forces advance to meet *Nasica*; for then he should leave the Frontiers open for *Æmilius* to pierce into the Bowels of his Kingdom: therefore he dispatcht *Milo*, one of his Chief Favourites, with two thousand *Macedonians* and ten thousand Auxiliaries, with all expedition to seize the Passes, and hinder the Romans coming that way; *Polybius* relates, That these caught our Forces napping, and fell upon them asleep in their Tents; but *Nasica* writes, That there was a sharp and doubtful Skirmish at a Pass on the Brow of an Hill; and that amongst other Accidents a *Thracian* made at him with his Sword, whom he thrust through with a Javelin, and that after a long Dispute the *Macedonians* gave ground, and *Milo* himself, flinging away his Arms, was glad to take his Heels; after which the Romans pursuing them, had an easy descent into the Plains without any opposition. In this posture of Affairs *Perseus* was at a loss what to do; for there he could not remain with safety, his Camp on that side being unfortified: And there seem'd but two ways left, either to retreat to *Pydna*, and expect the Enemy under the Walls of that City, where he might with less hazard venture a Battel; or else to disperse his Army into Garrisons, to defend the chief Cities, and retain his Subjects in Obedience, and carrying in thither all Corn, Cattel and Fruit, lay the whole Country waste before the Enemy; who then, what for scarcity of Provisions, and what with the *Macedonians* continual Incurfions, would not be able long to subsist. Neither of these Courses wanted its danger, but the last, besides that it was a work of time, and by dividing the Forces, would, as it were, reduce the whole strength of the Kingdom to nothing,

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leaving the Frontiers naked, all Parts would immediately be fill'd with terrour, Fire and Sword, and all kind of desolation, and the Country-men seeing themselves utterly abandoned would for ever be alienated in their affections and Duty; therefore most of his Friends rather advis'd the first method, to keep his Army together for a Battel; for it would not be only more glorious, but safer too, with all the Force he could make, to confront the Enemy before they had proceeded too far, and if opportunity offer'd it self, to put it to a push: for certainly his People, when they were to fight for all that was dear to them, either Sacred or Civil, for their Children and for their Wives, under the conduct, and in the presence of their King, exposing himself in the same common danger, (than which there cannot possibly be a stronger or more sacred incitement to make men fight courageously) would not be wanting on their parts, but bravely repulse the Enemy. The King, though he were very loth to venture his whole Stake at one Throw, yet prevail'd with by these Reasons, prepares for a Battel; and having removed to *Pydna*, assigns to each of his Commanders his proper Post and Charge, and that all things should be in readiness to fight when there was occasion. The Country was an open Champaign, fit for Horse-service, and able to receive not only a competent Body of heavy-armed Foot, but rising in some places with continued Hills, was convenient for Archers and other light harness'd Souldiers, whence they might make their Excursions and retreat again in safety. Two Rivers (the Inhabitants call one *Aso*, and the other *Leucus*) did rather divide than water the Fields, their Channells were then so narrow, and scarce any Stream in them; yet they seem'd to be of some use, since the passing them must needs delay the *Romans* at least for a while in the Carriere of their Attack. In the mean, *Emilius* finding the Passage into the Enemies Country opened by *Scipio*, joins Forces with him, and so with Banners display'd marches to rights towards the Enemy: but when he saw them so advantageously posted, and every way prepared to give him Battel, he thought fit to pause a while, and consider every thing that could promise a Victory, or seem'd likely to deny or hinder it; And when he had seriously weigh'd the whole, then to take his measures accordingly. It was now past the Solstice of the Year, &c. [as fol. 857.]

*The Supplement of the fifth defective Passage in the forty fourth Book at the End of the fortieth Chapter, fol. 859.*

At last All, and with the Guard, the next Troops on each side rashly run on. Thus the Fight began in the River: Yet there are some Authors who write, That by *Paulus's* Command an Horse having his Bridle pulled off, was drove over to the Enemies Bank, and some Souldiers sent after to bring him back, that so the Enemies might begin the Skirmish. For when the first Sacrifices were killed, there appeared no promising tokens, but afterwards the bowels of the other Beasts were right; whereupon the Soothsayers gave Judgment, That Victory was portended to the *Romans* defending themselves, but not if they were the Aggressors, and fell first upon the Enemy. The Souldiers on either side rushing out to help their Fellows without any Order or Command, there was in very little time a pretty smart Skirmish begun, upon the noise of which *Emilius* coming forth of his Tent, and seeing it was neither ealie nor safe to recal or stop the blind fury of those that were engaged, thought it best to make use of this Heat, and turn Chance into an Opportunity: Therefore riding through the several Ranks, he exhorted and encouraged them no less with his countenance and hand, than with words, to play the Men for the Honour of the Roman Name. Then *P. Scipio Nasica*, sent before to discover the posture of the Enemy, brought word, That *Perseus* was advancing with his whole Army drawn up in Battalia, consisting chiefly of four Battalions. First the *Thracians* led the Van, people of a fierce look, tall and great bodies, protected with bright Iron Shields held in their left hands; their Thighs were arm'd with Iron, a short black Souldiers Cloak over both shoulders, with their right hands they ever and anon rattled and brandish'd short Spears or two-edged Swords of vast weight. Next after the *Thracians* followed the Mercenaries, being for the most part Targeteers, but in different Habit and Arms, according to their respective Nations, and amongst them were some *Peonians*. The third Brigade consisted of choice *Macedonians*, one Phalanx of Youth, richly array'd in Coats of Mail gilt with Gold, and red Cloaks, and were called *Leucaspides* from their Shields which were white and glistering with Silver. The old beaten Troops closed the Rear, called *Chalcaspides* or *Aglaaspides* from their bright brazen Shields. All the Fields glitter'd with their gallant Armour, and the neighbouring Mountains echo'd back and redoubled their shouts as they were hastening and encouraging each other to Battel. Nor did the Consul delay, but advances up to the Front of his Army, and begins the Charge. The Targeteers were not able to stand long before the Latine Associates; but when the *Macedonian Phalanx* and main strength of their Army came to engage, there was a new face of the Battle, and a most dreadful Spectacle to behold: For joining together their Shields, they made as it were a Rampier in the Front, and over them pushing with their long Spears, they without any danger to themselves, wounded and ran the *Romans* through; for not only their Bucklers were pierced with the strong sharp points of the Enemies Weapons,

pons, but their Swords stood them in no stead, by reason of the length of the *Macedonian* Spears, for they could not reach their Shields, much less their bodies. This unequal Combat somewhat startled the Consul, yet he with a lofty and chearful countenance, riding up and down, both his head and body unarm'd, added not a little life and Courage to his Souldiers; inflamed with which, a Centurion of the Regiment of *Pelignians* (they say his Name was *Salio*) snatching up the Standard of that Regiment, flung it amongst the thickest of the Enemies: Then followed a most furious Dispute, the rest of the *Pelignians* on the one side endeavouring to recover it, and prevent the dishonour of losing their Banner, and the *Macedonians* as eager to keep it. The former went about to cut to pieces the *Macedonian* long Spears with their Swords, or to put them by with one of their hands, but then the latter holding them firmly with both their hands, would with such a force push at them as they rush'd blindly on, that neither their Bucklers, nor their Head-pieces, nor their Coats of Mail could secure them from being either killed or wounded; so that the first Ranks of *Pelignians* being routed, the rest gave ground; but whilst they were retreating to the Hill (which the Natives call *Olocrus*) *Emilius* meets them, and for rage and indignation tearing his Robe of State, commands them to stand their ground, and doubt not for all this success; for he had observed, That this close Body of the Enemy, though it seem'd jointed and rivetted together, yet was not able always to keep its Order; but what appear'd so firm and impenetrable, either by want of room, or unequal ground, or a brisk Charge, might in some place or other be disorder'd and fall to pieces; so that whilst some that endeavour'd to get the upper ground are necessarily though willingly separated from those below, or the nimbler from the slower, or some marching on from others that stand still, or those that press upon the Enemy, from others that have been repell'd, in these or the like Cases; there were now and then gaps left open, and therefore he charges all the Captains to watch for such an opportunity, and to charge at several places, in distinct Bands, but all to mind, that if there were any where hope of Entrance, presently there to give a general Charge, and casting themselves into a wedglike figure, force their way; for if once they could but disorder the Enemy, they were certain of Victory. These Orders of the Consul were punctually executed, and whilst they skirmish'd in small Parties, or as it were Man to Man, the *Macedonians* short Bucklers, and small Rapiers, were nothing comparable to the *Romans* more stout and substantial Arms, nor were they so well skill'd in managing their Weapons, nor had so much Courage and Resolution; for being drawn out of their old Posture and Order, and separated, you might pierce them in the sides or their backs at your pleasure. Here *M. Porcius Cato*, the Son of the Censor, and *Emilius's* Son in Law, perform'd a bold and memorable Exploit; in the Conflict, fighting very eagerly, his Sword happen'd to drop out of his hand, and so he lost it, but yet resolv'd to lose his Life too, rather than the Enemy should enjoy any thing that was his; finding out therefore several of the stoutest of his Friends, he with them, through all the Weapons of the Enemy forc'd his way to the place where the Fight was fiercest, and then hurl'd himself amongst the thickest Croul, and with great slaughter, beat them off round about, and in the void space, found his Sword lying on the ground, which he took up and carried off to the amazement both of his own side and the Enemy. Things being thus order'd the Consul in person leads on the first Legion into the Battel, who most chearfully followed him, encouraged by *The Majesty*, &c. [as fol. 859.]

*The Supplement of the sixth defective passage of the forty fourth Book, at the end of the said Book, fol. 862.*

— made it evident to any man, That the King by his ill Conduct, Injustice and Rapines, had lost the affections of his Subjects, who rather hated than lov'd or pittied him. *Paulus* as soon as he was entred *Amphipolis* order'd a Sacrifice to be made to return thanks to the Gods for so signal a Victory; who testified their acceptance of his devotion by a Prodigy, for the heap of Wood prepared on the Altar was set on fire by Lightning from Heaven, by which lucky token *Jove* did not only seem to approve of the Victors Vows and Prayers, but himself did as it were consecrate the worship and honour paid to his own Divinity. Thence the Consul follow'd *Nasica* whom he had sent before to plunder the Country, and march'd to *Odontia*, the next City in those parts under the Hill *Orbelus*, and on the Frontiers both of the *Dardanians* and *Thracians*; that he might leave no shadow of an Enemy behind him, nor any place untoucht with his Victorious Arms; and from thence removing to *Siree*, he kept there a standing Camp for some time.

*A Supplement*

*A Supplement of the first defective passage in the forty fifth Book,  
at the end of the fourteenth Chapter, fol. 868.*

And order'd to take care that an House should be provided for King Mesagines, and his Retinue, and that nothing should be wanting either for recovery of his health, or his respective treatment and accommodation, to have his Table nobly furnish'd, and provide him Shipping as soon as he was well, to transport him into Africk.

About this time the Tribunes of the Commons indicted and condemn'd the *Tres viri Nocturni* [or three Night-Magistrates appointed to prevent and extinguish Fires] *M. Milvius*, *Cn. Lollius* and *L. Sextilius*, because when a great Fire happen'd in the street call'd *Via Sacra*, they neglected their duty, and came not time enough to give the necessary Orders. After which the *Comitia* were held, and *Q. Aulus Patrus*, and *M. Junius Pennus* chosen Consuls. The Prætors were *Q. Cassius Longinus*, *M. Juventius Thalna*, *Ti. Claudius Nero*, *A. Manlius Torquatus*, *Cn. Fulvius Gillo*, and *C. Licinius Nerva*.

The same year *Ti. Sempronius Gracchus*, and *Claudius Pulcher*, exercis'd the Censorship with great severity, but interrupted by the Interposition of the Tribunes. In other things those two Censors agreed well enough, but not in calling over the *Libertini*, [or Sons of such as had once been Servants, but afterwards made free] *Gracchus* would have them reduc'd all into one Tribe, lest that numerous scum of the Commons, dispers'd through many Tribes, should carry too great a sway in all Elections; But this device *Claudius* oppos'd, and would have nothing alter'd in this matter from the antient manner; for both by *Servius Tullius* the King, and again by *C. Flaminius* and *L. Æmilius* when they were Censors, The *Libertini* [those whose Fathers had formerly been Slaves] were ranged, &c. [as fol. 868.]

*The Supplement of the second defective passage in the forty fifth Book,  
at the end of the twenty first Chapter, fol. 871.*

Which of them should act most irregularly; The Tribunes by their opposition would have put off the Prætors halt until the Arrival of the General *Æmilius*, but the matter it self seem'd not capable of so long a delay, and *Thalna* urging still a War against *Rhodes*, as he was haranguing to the people on that subject, *Antonius* pluckt him from the *Rostra*, and gave the *Rhodian* Embassadors a day of Audience before the people. After the Senates Answer to the former Embassadour *Agæsiopolis*, was sent back to *Rhodes*, the *Rhodians* dispatcht two several Embassies to Rome, the chief of the one was *Philocrates*, of the other *Astymedes*, with whom was joined *Philophon*. The people referr'd them to the Senate for Audience, where being introduc'd by *M. Junius* the Consul, *Astymedes* in the habit and language of a Suppliant, made a Speech to the Fathers to this effect, You may, most Noble and Reverend Senators! easily judge what a wretched and deplorable condition we poor *Rhodians* are in, if you shall but vouchsafe to compare the antient and flourishing state of our affairs, with this present Calamity which we are fallen into by your Order; but, if we may be allow'd to speak the very truth, more through others false Informations and Calumnies, than any fault of ours, or at least any offence administred by our publick state, however some few private persons may have misbehav'd themselves. Nor is it a small surprize to us, That we who with all fidelity to the people of Rome, have so long maintain'd and flourish'd under an Alliance with you, an Alliance confirm'd no less by your own favours and benefits bestow'd upon us, than by our good Offices and constant obedience, whereof we were wont to boast above all other Nations; are now charg'd as guilty of having most lewdly violated that Alliance; Whether we have done amiss, &c. [as fol. 871.]

*The Supplement of the last defect of the forty fifth Book, after the  
thirty ninth Chapter, fol. 881.*

— To give their Votes; I myself, Souldiers! will go down, and follow all of you; when you go to give your Suffrages, that I may see and know their Faces, who out of an inbred baseness, and ingratitude towards their General, are the Ring-Leaders of the rest; and who in War would have their Commanders humour and flatter, or perhaps obey them forsooth, rather be themselves subject to the just and necessary Commands of their Superiours. This smart Oration made such impressions on all the Citizens, and especially on the Military, that by the unanimous Votes of the rest of the Tribes a Triumph was decreed, which if ever any Man, *Paulus* certainly had merited by his gallant Victory.

The Order and Splendour of which Triumph, if you respect either the Grandeur of the conquer'd King who therein was led Captive, or the rare shew of Images, Pictures and representative Figures, or the abundance of Money brought home, did certainly for its Greatness

Greatness and Magnificence far excel all that were ever acted before. The people on Scaffolds built round both the *Circus's* and *Forum's* like Theatres, sat in white Gowns to behold it. The Temples all stood open wide, and adorn'd with Garlands more than usual, whence a most redolent smell and vast exhalations of burnt Frankincense and other rich Odours perfum'd all the Air, and the streets were clean swept, and the Rabble kept out of them by Guards of Souldiers. Three whole days were scarce enough for this glorious Sight. The first day exhibited the Standards and Colours taken, and the Tables and Pictures which filled two hundred Chariots, such abundance of most excellent Works had those Cities of *Macedonia* and the neighbouring *Greeks* which our men had ransackt. The next day the Money was carried along, and the Kings Treasure, together with vast quantities of Arms of Iron or Brasses very bright and neat. They were placed in innumerable Waggons as it were carelessly in heaps, but yet indeed order'd with wonderful Art, here Head-pieces upon Shields, or Greaves and Iron Boots upon Coats of Mail and Breast-plates: There *Thracian* Bucklers mixt with *Cretan* Targets; nor wanted there painted Quivers and bunches of Arrows sticking in them. There too you might have seen Bridles with golden Bits and silken Reins, naked Swords lying upon sharp-pointed Javelins and Spears, made a terrible fragor and clashing against each others Edges as they were carried along. Then there were above seven hundred and fifty Chests of Money ready coin'd born by the hands of three thousand strong lusty Fellows. In each Chest there was said to be three Talents, a good Load for four Porters. Others carried silver Bowls and Horns tipt, and vast Goblets more than could be number'd, all engraven with admirable Art. The third day brought forth the Prisoners. First with Trumpets sounding were led along one hundred and twenty fat Oxen; with their Horns gilt, and Fillets and Garlands; which Sacrifices were led by young men that had their Garments truss'd up with embroider'd Girdles, accompanied with Boys that carried gold and silver Chargers to be us'd about the Sacrifice. Then came the Presents to *Jupiter*, viz. seventy seven Vessels full of Gold Coin of the same weight with those before-mentioned, and golden Goblets to the value of ten Talents beset with precious Stones, which *Paulus* had caused to be made and thus adorn'd for this occasion. After which was carried the *Regalia* of the ancient Kings being golden Vessels of old fashion'd Work, which *Perseus* was wont to use at solemn Feasts; next succeeded his Chariot loaded with his rich Armour, whereunto was added his Crown. At a little distance followed the Kings Children attended with a Troop of their Nurses, Tutors and Servants, all miserably lifting up their hands to the Spectators, and by their Example teaching the Children in suppliant manner to implore the Clemency of the Conquerours. There were two Sons, and one Daughter, so much the more deserving pity, as, by reason of their tender Age, they were less sensible from what an height of Grandeur the iniquity of Fortune had tumbled them into this extremity of misery: Then came *Butius* the Son of King *Corys*; but that which above all the rest of the Show drew the Eyes of the *Romans*, was *Perseus* himself in Mourning Habit, and Slippers after the *Grecian* Fashion, but so ghastly and astonish'd, that he left it a doubt, whether grief wholly posses'd his heart, or (which was more calamitous) whether being distracted with the excess of his Misfortunes, he was grown altogether insensible of what he suffer'd. A vast Company of his Nobles, Favourites and Guards ever and anon looking upon him, with sighs and tears bewailed his Fortune much more passionately than their own. 'Tis reported, That he had begg'd of *Paulus* to be excus'd from this publick shame and disgrace; but was deluded with this doubtful Answer, That he already was and should for the future find he was in a Gentlemans hands and disposal. But as this unfortunate Prince prefer'd the hope of any kind of Life before a generous Death, and chose rather to have himself reckon'd amongst part of the Booty, than to rescue himself and the honour of his being taken from the Conquerour, he seems to have deserv'd this harsh usage. After him there were carried in state forty several Golden Crowns, which had been presented to *Paulus* by the several Cities of *Greece*, when their Embassadors came to congratulate his Victory, last of all to compleat the Glory of the Day, appear'd *Æmilius* himself in Triumphant Robes, mounted on a magnificent Chariot, and holding a Laurel-Branch in his right hand, on each side sat his two Sons *Q. Fabius*, and *P. Scipio*, whom he had had Companions of his toil, and assistants in his Victory. After him, went the Lieutenant Generals, Colonels and Souldiers, all Crown'd with Laurel, and singing *Io Pæani*! and their Generals Praises, intermixt (according to the Custom) with Joques and smart Reflections now and then upon him; *Valerius Antias* says, &c. [as fol. 881.]

# Fasti Consulares,

O R,

*A Chronological Catalogue (according to the Marble Records of the Capitol, illustrated by Sigonius) of all the chief Magistrates of Rome successively, wherein the Triumphs and Ovations of each are noted, with the Letters Tr. and O. And also divers of the most remarkable Occurrences are briefly intimated in the years when they happen'd.*

**A**S touching the time of the Building of Rome, though Authors vary, yet the most common opinion seems to be, That the Foundation thereof was begun the 21 of Apr. in the first year of the seventh Olympiad; In the year of the World 3212. being about the fourth year of the Reign of Abaz King of Judah, and 750. years before our Blessed Saviours Incarnation. Therefore though in the following Chronology we reckon the years [ab Urbe Condita] from the Building of the City Rome; yet if you add the same to 3212. the product gives you the year of the World; Or if you subtract it, from 750. the remainder shews how many years before Christ, any person bore Office, or accident happen'd.

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The first Government of Rome was by Kings.

Years.

- |      |   |     |
|------|---|-----|
| 1.   | Romulus the Founder and first King of Rome Reigned —————  | 37. |
|      | He Triumph'd thrice, first over the Cæniains, then over the Camerines, and lastly over the Fidenates, and Veians, and from his Example all other Triumphs (though afterwards more splendid) were practis'd. After his Death, the Romans were about a year before they chose another King, under certain Magistrates call'd Inter-Regents, that rul'd by turns five days apiece. |     |
| 38.  | The Inter-Regents.  |     |
| 39.  | Numa Pompilius the Son of Pomponius being chosen the second King, Reigned —————   | 1.  |
|      | He was a Stranger, and for the Fame of his Piety and Vertue call'd out of Cures, a City of the Sabines, to accept the Government. He employ'd his whole Reign in settling Religious Ceremonies, and brought the year to twelve Months, which before were but ten.   | 43. |
| 82.  | Tullus Hostilius chosen the third King, Tr. 3. and Reign'd —————  | 32. |
|      | Alba destroy'd, and the Inhabitants carried to Rome.  |     |
| 114. | Ancus Martius (Numa's Grandson by his Daughter) Created the Fourth King, Tr. 2. and Reign'd —————   | 24. |
|      | He built Ostia at the mouth of Tiber, sixteen miles from Rome.  |     |
| 138. | L. Tarquinius Priscus the fifth King Tr. 3. Reign'd —————   | 38. |
|      | He was the Son of Demaratus a Corinthian, came a stranger to Rome, and was by Ancus left Guardian to his Children, whom (upon their Fathers Death) he sent out of Town a Hunting, and in the mean time by an insinuating Speech prevail'd with the Nobles and People to chuse him King. And was the first that Triumph'd in a Chariot.  |     |
| 176. | Servius Tullius the Sixth King, Tr. 3. and Reign'd —————  | 44. |
|      | He was supposed to have been the Son of a Bondswoman (whence call'd Servius) but being bred in King Tarquin's Court, and married to his Daughter, when Tarquin was kill'd by the procurement of Ancus's Sons, he by the Intigation of Tanaquil his Mother-in-Law assumes the Crown, being the first King that took upon him the Government before he was Elected.               |     |
|      | He also first numbred and rated the people, and divided them into Classes and Centuries,  |     |

Centuries, according to their Estates. And at his first *Lustrum*, or survey, enroll'd fourscore thousand Romans. Years.

- He also made three such *Lustrums*, Surveys or Purifyings of the people afterwards.
219. L. Tarquinius surnamed *Superbus* [or the Proud] the seventh and last King of the Romans, Tr. 2. reigned ————— 25.
- He was the Son (or rather Grandson) of the other King Tarquin, and having killed *Severus Tullius*, usurpt the Kingdom by Force, without any colour of Choice, which he no less tyrannically administr'd; but upon the Rape committed on *Lucretia* (the Wife of one of his Kinsmen L. Tarquinius *Collatinus*) by his Son *Sextus*, he and all his Family were expelled, together with all Kingly Government there, in the 244. year of the City.

Kings being thus excluded, the Romans conferr'd their Sovereign Government upon two Magistrates called Consuls, annually chosen in a general Assembly of the several Centuries, who were wont at first to be both of Patrician Rank [or Nobles] and had all the *Insignia*, Badges and Power of Royalty (bating the Name) between them, and that both of them had not the Rods and Lictors carried before them (lest the people should be frighted, and say, That instead of one Tyrant they had now got two) but each in his turn: However this their Original Grandeur was much abated in process of time, as will appear.

## C O N S U L S.

244. L. Junius Brutus, who being slain in a Battel, in his room was created Sp. Lucretius Tricipitinus, and he dying, —————
- L. Tarquinius Collatinus, who being obliged to surrender because he was of Kin to King Tarquin (though very active and most concern'd in his Expulsion)
- M. Horatius Pulvillus supplied his place. P. Valerius surnamed Poplicola succeeded and triumph'd.

Thus there were five Consuls at Rome in the space of this first year. A Law was preferr'd by Valerius, That in all Cases an Appeal should lye from the Consuls to the People, whereby the Consular Power was much retrencht, whence he got his Surname of Poplicola, or the Peoples Friend.

245. P. Valerius Poplicola the second time. T. Lucretius Tricipitinus held the fifth *Lustrum*.

## King Porfena besieges Rome.

- |                                       |                                       |
|---------------------------------------|---------------------------------------|
| 246. P. Valerius Poplicola III.       | M. Horatius Pulvillus II.             |
| 247. Sp. Lartius Flavius.             | T. Herminius Aquilinus.               |
| 248. M. Valerius Volusi F. Tr. II.    | Q. Posthumius Tubertus Tr.            |
| 249. P. Valerius Poplicola IV. Tr.    | T. Lucretius Tricipitinus II.         |
| 250. P. Posthumius Tubertus II.       | Agripp. Menenius Lanatus Tr.          |
| He was the first that had an Ovation. |                                       |
| 251. Opiter Virginus Tricoftus.       | Sp. Cassius Viscellinus.              |
| 252. Posthumius Cominius Auruncus.    | T. Lartius Flavius.                   |
| 253. Servius Sulpicius Camerinus.     | M. Tullius Longus dyed in his Office. |
| 254. P. Veturius Geminus.             | T. Aebutius Elva.                     |
| 255. T. Lartius Flavius II.           | Q. Clodius Siculus.                   |

## The first Dictator.

T. Lartius Flavius created both for appeasing a Sedition at home, and to manage dangerous Wars abroad.

Sp. Cassius Viscellinus his Master of the Horfe. [For the Nature of both these new Offices see the Explanatory Index.]

- |                                    |                                     |
|------------------------------------|-------------------------------------|
| 256. A. Sempronius Atratinus.      | M. Minucius Augurinus.              |
| 257. A. Posthumius Albus.          | T. Virginus Tricoftus Cælimontanus. |
| Banisht King Tarquin dies at Cumæ. |                                     |
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## The second Dictator.

*A. Posthumius Tr.* chosen to manage the Wars against the young *Tarquins* and their Adherents, whom he defeating at the Lake *Regillus*, he was thence call'd *Regillensis*.

*T. Aebutius Elva* his Master of Horse.

258. *M. Claudius Sabinus Regillensis.* *P. Servilius Priscus.*

This *Claudius* was the top of the *Claudian* Kindred, who in the 250. year of the City came from *Regillus* a City of the *Sabines* to *Rome*, and was admitted amongst the *Patricians*, and was Grandfather to *Claudius* the Decemvir.

259. *A. Virginus Tricoftus.* *T. Veturius Cicurinus.*

## The Third Dictator.

*M. Valerius, Voluf F. Tr.*

He in this honour gain'd the Title of *Maximus*.

*Q. Servilius Priscus* his Master of Horse.

260. *Sp. Cassius Viscellinus II.* *Postumus Cominius Auruncus II.*  
He held the seventh *Lustrum*.

Now the Commons first obtain'd to chuse themselves *Tribunes*.

And the *Agrarian* Law for dividing the new conquer'd Lands amongst the people began to be disputed.

261. *T. Geganius Macerinus.* *P. Minucius Augurinus.*  
262. *A. Sempronius Atratinus II.* *M. Minucius Augurinus II.*  
263. *Q. Sulpicius Camerinus Cornutus.* *Sp. Lartius Flavius II.*  
264. *C. Julius Julius.* *P. Pinarius Rufus Mamercinus;*  
Both these and the Consuls of the year before are omitted by *Livy*.

265. *Sp. Nautius Rutulus.* *Sex. Furius Fusus.*  
266. *T. Sicinius Sabinus Tr.* *C. Aquilius Fuscus Ov.*  
267. *Sp. Cassius Viscellinus III. Tr.* *Proculus Virginus Tricoftus.*  
268. *Q. Fabius Vibulanus.* *Servius Cornelius Maluginensis,*  
269. *L. Amylius Mamercus.* *K. Fabius Vibulanus.*  
270. *M. Fabius Vibulanus.* *L. Valerius Potitus.*  
271. *Q. Fabius Vibulanus II.* *C. Julius Julius.*  
272. *K. Fabius Vibulanus II.* *Sp. Furius Fusus.*  
273. *M. Fabius Vibulanus II.* *Cn. Manlius Cincinnatus, slain in Battel.*  
274. *K. Fabius Vibulanus III.* *T. Virginus Tricoftus.*

Three hundred and six Gentlemen of the *Fabian* Family slain in the War against the *Veians*, which that single Family undertook to manage.

275. *L. Aemilius Mamercus II.* *C. Servilius Ahala, dying in his Office,*  
is succeeded by  
*C. Cornelius Lentulus.*

276. *C. Horatius Pulvillus.* *T. Menenius Lanatus.*  
277. *A. Virginus Rutulus.* *Sp. Servilius Structus.*  
278. *C. Nautius Rutulus.* *P. Valerius Poplicola Tr.*  
279. *L. Furius Medullinus.* *A. Manlius Vulfo Ov. He held the eighth*  
*Lustrum.*  
280. *L. Aemilius Mamercus III.* *Vopisc. Julius Julius.*  
281. *P. Furius Fusus.* *L. Pinarius Rufus.*  
282. *T. Quintius Capitolinus Barbatas.* *Ap. Claudius Sabinus.*  
283. *L. Valerius Potitus II.* *Ti. Aemilius Mamercinus.*  
284. *A. Virginus Caelimontanus.* *T. Numicius Priscus.*  
285. *T. Quintius Capit. Barbatas II. Tr.* *Q. Servilius Priscus.*  
286. *Ti. Aemilius Mamercinus II.* *Q. Fabius Vibulanus.*  
287. *Sp. Postumius Albus Regill.* *Q. Servilius Priscus II.*

T. Quint.

Book III.

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288. *T. Quint. Capitol. Barb. III.* He held the *Q. Fabius Vibulanus II.*  
*ninth Lustrum.*  
289. *A. Posthumius Albus Regill.* *Sp. Furius Medullinus.*  
290. *P. Servilius Priscus.* *L. Aebutius Elva dies in his Office.*  
291. *L. Lucretius Tricipitinus Tr.* *T. Veturius Geminus Ov.*  
292. *P. Voluppius Gallus* *Ser. Sulpicius Camerinus.*  
293. *P. Valerius Popl. II.* who being slain in the Battel against the Bondslaves, who this year (under the Conduct of *Ap. Herdonius* the *Sabine*) had seized the *Capitol*, in his room was elected *Q. Quintus Cincinnatus.*  
294. *Q. Fabius Vibulanus III.* *L. Cornelius Maluginensis.*  
295. *L. Minucius Augurinus,* who being forced to resign by the Dictator, *Q. Fabius Vibulanus* came in his stead. *G. Nautius Rutulus II.*

## The fourth Dictator.

*L. Quintus Cincinnatus.*  
*L. Tarquinius Flaccus* Master of the Horse.

296. *Q. Minucius Augurinus.* *C. Horatius Pulvillus.*  
297. *M. Valerius Maximus.* *Sp. Virginus Caelimontanus.*  
298. *T. Romilius Vaticanus.* *C. Veturius Cicurinus.*  
299. *Sp. Tarpeius Capitolinus.* *A. Aterius Fontinalis.*

Ambassadors sent to *Greece* to bring to *Rome* a Transcript of their Laws.

300. *P. Horatius Trigemini.* *Sext. Quintilius Varus.*  
301. *Pub. Sextius Capitolinus.* *T. Menenius Lanatus.*  
302. *Ap. Claudius Crassinus.* *T. Genucius Augurinus.*

The before mentioned Ambassadors being returned from *Greece*, these two Consuls resigned their Office, and the Charge of the Commonwealth was intrusted with a select Committee of Ten persons with Consular Authority, and not only so, but also without any Liberty of Appeal from them, for the space of one year, to the end they might in that time draw up what Laws they should think good for the Publick.

302. The Decemvirs of the first Year, all *Patricians*.

*App. Claudius Crassinus Regill.* *Sp. Posth. Albus Regill.*  
*T. Genucius Augurinus.* *Ser. Sulpicius Camerinus.*  
*Sp. Veturius Crassus.* *P. Sextius Capitolinus.*  
*C. Julius Julius.* *T. Romilius Rocus Vaticanus.*  
*A. Manlius Vulfo.* *P. Horatius Trigemini.*

303. The Decemvirs of the second Year, partly *Commoners*.

*Ap. Claudius Crassinus II.* *Q. Fabius Vibulanus.*  
*M. Cornelius Maluginensis.* *M. Rabuleius.*  
*L. Minucius Augurinus.* *Q. Petilius.*  
*T. Antonius Merenda.* *K. Duilius.*  
*M. Sergius.* *Sp. Oppius Cornicen.*

304. Of these the *Commoners* were *Petilius, Duilius* and *Oppius*.  
The same *Decemviri* by force continue themselves in the same Office, without any Election of the people; But at last, a tumult arising by reason of *Ap. Claudius's* endeavouring to seize a *Commoners* Daughter as a Bondslave to satisfy his Lust, they are forc'd to give up their Offices, and then in their stead were made

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## CONSULS again

- |      |                                 |                                   |         |
|------|---------------------------------|-----------------------------------|---------|
| 304. | L. Valerius Poplic. potitus Tr. | M. Horatius Barbatu Tr.           |         |
| 305. | Lar. Herminius.                 | T. Virginus Caelimont. Tricoſtus. |         |
| 306. | M. Geganius Macerinus.          | C. Julius Julius.                 |         |
| 307. | T. Quinctius Capitolinus IV.    | Agr. Furius Fufus.                |         |
| 308. | M. Genucius Augurinus.          | C. Curtius.                       | Bo. IV. |

The Commons tugging to have one Consul chosen out of their rank, at last obtain that fix Tribunes Military, three Patricians, and three Commoners instead of Consuls should be chosen for a year, but only three were actually Elected, and all Patricians, whose Names were as follows.

## Tribunes Military.

309. A. Sempronius Atratinus: T. Clælius Siculus; and L. Atilius Longus.  
But these being Created, without the due Ceremonies as the Augurs pretended, were forc'd after three months time to resign, and then were Elected

## CONSULS again

- |      |                               |                                |
|------|-------------------------------|--------------------------------|
| 309. | L. Papirius Mugillanus.       | L. Sempronius Atratinus.       |
| 310. | M. Geganius Macerinus II. Tr. | T. Quinctius Capit. Barbat. 5. |

Now were Created the first Censors whose Office at first was for five years.

- |      |                              |   |
|------|------------------------------|---|
|      | L. Papirius Mugillanus.      | L. Sempronius Atratinus. He held the<br>eleventh Lustrum. |
| 311. | M. Fabius Vibulanus.         | Postumus Æbutius Elva.                                    |
| 312. | C. Furius Pacilus.           | M. Papirius Crassus.                                      |
| 313. | Proculus Geganius Macerinus. | L. Menenius Lanatus.                                      |
| 314. | T. Quinctius Capitolinus VI. | Agr. Menenius Lanatus.                                    |

## The fifth Dictator.

L. Quinctius Cincinnatus II. for quieting a Sedition.  
C. Servilius Ahala his Master of the Horse.  
And now Tribunes Military, with the full Authority that Consuls had, but more in number were chosen, viz.

315. Mam. Æmilius Mamercinus, L. Quinctius Cincinnatus, and L. Julius Julius.

## But the Year following CONSULS again.

- |      |                            |  |
|------|----------------------------|--|
| 316. | M. Geganius Macerinus III. | L. Sergius, who in this Honour obtain'd<br>the Surname of Fidenas. |
|------|----------------------------|--|

## The sixth Dictator.

M. Æmilius Mamercinus Tr.  
L. Quinctius Cincinnatus his Master of the Horse.

- |      |                            |                        |
|------|----------------------------|------------------------|
| 317. | M. Cornelius Maluginensis. | L. Papirius Crassus.   |
| 318. | C. Julius Julius II.       | L. Virginus Tricoſtus. |

## The seventh Dictator.

Q. Servilius Priscus.  
Postumus Æbutius Elva Cornicer, Master of the Horse.

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## CENSORS.

- |      |                       |  |
|------|-----------------------|--|
|      | G. Furius Fufus.      | M. Geganius Macerinus. He held the<br>twelfth Lustrum. |
| 319. | C. Julius Julius III. | L. Virginus Tricoſtus II.                              |

## The eighth Dictator.

Mam. Æmilius Mamercinus II.  
A. Postumius Tubertus M. E.

The Censors to continue in their Office but a Year and an half, hence forwards.

## Tribunes Military with Consular Power, the third time.

- |      |                      |  |
|------|----------------------|--|
| 320. | M. Fabius Vibulanus. | M. Fostius Lavinator, and<br>L. Sergius Fidenas. |
|------|----------------------|--|

## Tribunes Military with Consular Power, the fourth time.

- |      |                       |  |
|------|-----------------------|--|
| 321. | L. Pinarius Mamercus, | L. Furius Medullinus, and<br>Sp. Postumius Albus Regill. |
|------|-----------------------|--|

## CONSULS.

- |      |                              |                  |
|------|------------------------------|------------------|
| 322. | T. Quinctius Pennus Cincinn. | C. Julius Mento. |
|------|------------------------------|------------------|

## The ninth Dictator.

A. Postumius Tr.  
L. Julius Vopiscus, M. E.

- |      |                                  |                                |
|------|----------------------------------|--------------------------------|
| 323. | L. Papirius Crassus II.          | L. Julius Julius.              |
| 324. | L. Sergius Fidenas II.           | Hostus Lucretius Tricipitinus. |
| 325. | T. Quinctius Cincinnatus Pennus. | A. Cornelius Cossus Tr.        |
| 326. | C. Servilius Structus Ahala.     | L. Papirius Mugillan. II.      |

## Tribunes Military with Consular Power, the fifth time.

- |      |                              |                      |
|------|------------------------------|----------------------|
| 327. | T. Quinctius Pennus Cincinn. | C. Furius Pacilus.   |
|      | M. Postumius Albus.          | A. Cornelius Cossus. |

## The tenth Dictator.

M. Æmilius Mamercinus III. Tr.  
A. Cornelius Cossus, M. E.

## Tribunes Military with Consular Power, the sixth time.

- |      |                              |                       |
|------|------------------------------|-----------------------|
| 328. | A. Sempronius Atratinus.     | L. Furius Medullinus. |
|      | L. Quinctius Cincinnatus II. | L. Horatius Barbatu.  |

## Tribunes Military with Consular Power, the seventh time.

- |      |                        |                      |
|------|------------------------|----------------------|
| 329. | Ap. Claudius Crassus.  | Sp. Nantius Rutilus. |
|      | L. Sergius Fidenas II. | Sext. Julius Julius. |

## CONSULS again.

- |      |                          |                      |
|------|--------------------------|----------------------|
| 330. | C. Sempronius Atratinus. | Q. Fabius Vibulanus. |
|------|--------------------------|----------------------|

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Tribunes

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U. C.

Tribunes Military with Consular Power, the eighth time.

331. L. Manlius Capitolinus, Q. Antonius Merenda,  
C. Papirius Mugillanus, L. Servilius Structus.

## CONSULS.

332. T. Quintius Capitolinus O. N. Fabius Vibulanus.

Tribunes Military with Consular Power, the ninth time.

333. T. Quintius Pennus II. M. Manlius Capitolinus.  
L. Furius Medullinus III. A. Sempronius Atratinus II.

Tribunes Military with Consular Power, the tenth time.

334. Agrippa Menenius Lanatus, Sp. Nantius Rutilus,  
P. Lucretius Tricipitinus, C. Servilius Axilla.

Tribunes Military with Consular Power, the eleventh time.

335. M. Papirius Mugillanus, C. Servilius Axilla II. and  
L. Sergius Fidenas III.

The eleventh Dictator.

Q. Servilius Priscus Fidenas.  
C. ——— Axilla M. E.

## CENSORS.

L. Papirius Crassus \* \* \* \* \* held the fourteenth Lustrum.

Tribunes Military with Consular Power, the twelfth time.

336. L. Lucretius Tricipitinus II. Sp. Veturius Crassus.  
Agrippa Menenius Lanatus II. L. Servilius Structus II.

Tribunes Military with Consular Power, the thirteenth time.

337. A. Sempronius Atratinus III. M. Papirius Mugillanus II.  
Q. Fabius Vibulanus, Sp. Nantius Rutilus II.

Tribunes Military with Consular Power, the fourteenth time.

338. P. Cornelius Cossus, Quintilius Cincinnatus.  
C. Valerius Potitus, N. Fabius Vibulanus.

Tribunes Military with Consular Power, the fifteenth time.

339. Q. Fabius Vibulanus II. Cn. Cornelius Cossus.  
P. Postumius Albinus Regill. L. Valerius Potitus.

## CONSULS.

340. M. Cornelius Cossus, L. Furius Medullinus.  
341. Q. Fabius Ambustus, C. Furius Pacilus.  
342. M. Papirius Mugillanus, C. Nantius Rutilus.  
343. M. Aemilius Mamercinus, C. Valerius Potitus Ov.  
344. Cn. Cornelius Cossus, L. Furius Medullinus II.

Tribunes

Anni  
U. C.

Tribunes Military with Consular Power, the sixteenth time.

345. C. Julius Julius, P. Cornel. Cossus, and  
C. Servilius Ahala.

The twelfth Dictator.

P. Cornelius Cossus.  
C. Servilius Ahala M. E.

Tribunes Military with Consular Power, the seventeenth time.

346. C. Valerius Potitus, C. Servilius Ahala II.  
L. Furius Medullinus, N. Fabius Vibulanus II.

Tribunes Military with Consular Power, the eighteenth time.

347. P. Cornelius Cossus, L. Valerius Potitus II.  
Cn. Cornelius Cossus, N. Fabius Ambustus.

The City Aneur taken, and the Roman Soldiers first allow'd Pay.

Tribunes Military with Consular Power, the nineteenth time.

348. C. Julius Julius II. M. Aemilius Mamercinus.  
T. Quintius Capitolinus, L. Furius Medullinus.  
Q. Quintilius Cincinnatus, A. Manlius Vulso.

Tribunes Military with Consular Power, the twentieth time.

349. P. Cornelius Maluginensis, Sp. Nantius Rutilus III.  
Cn. Cornelius Cossus II, C. Valerius Potitus III.  
K. Fabius Ambustus, M. Sergius Fidenas.

Tribunes Military with Consular Power, the one and twentieth time.

350. M. Aemilius Mamercinus II. M. Furius Fusus.  
Ap. Claudius Crassinus, L. Julius Julius.  
M. Quintilius Varus, L. Valerius Potitus III.

## CENSORS.

M. Furius Camillus, M. Postumius Albinus. He held the sixteenth Lustrum.

Tribunes Military with Consular Power, the two and twentieth time.

351. C. Servilius Ahala III. Q. Sulpicius Camerinus.  
Q. Servilius Priscus, A. Manlius Vulso II.  
L. Virginus Tricostus, M. Sergius Fidenas II.

Tribunes Military with Consular Power, the three and twentieth time.

352. L. Valerius Potitus IV. L. Julius Julius.  
M. Furius Camillus, M. Aemilius Mamercinus III.  
C. Cornelius Cossus II, K. Fabius Ambustus II.

Tribunes Military with Consular Power, the four and twentieth time.

353. P. Licinius Calvus, M. Melius Capitolinus.  
P. Menius, L. Furius Medullinus.  
T. Titinius, L. Publius Philo.

This P. Licinius Calvus was the first Commoner that was chosen to the Dignity of a Military Tribune, though the Erection of that Office was principally design'd for bringing in Commoners to have a share in the Government.

Tribunes



Ann  
U. C.

*Tribunes Military with Consular Power, the five and twentieth time.*

354. M. Pomponius.  
C. Duilius.  
Cn. Genucius Augurinus.

L. Atilius Longus.  
M. Veturius Crassus Cicurinus.  
Volero Publilius Philo.

*Tribunes Military with Consular Power, the six and twentieth time.*

355. L. Valerius Potitus V.  
M. Valerius Maximus.  
M. Furius Camillus II.

L. Furius Medullinus III.  
Q. Servilius Priscus II.  
Q. Sulpicius Camerinus II.

*Tribunes Military with Consular Power, the twenty seventh time.*

356. L. Julius Iulus II.  
L. Sergius Fidenas.  
P. Cornelius Maluginensis II.

F. Furius Medullinus IV.  
A. Postumius Albinus Regill.  
A. Manlius Capitolinus III.

*Tribunes Military with Consular Power, the twenty eighth time.*

357. P. Licinius Calvus.  
Cn. Genucius Augurinus II.  
L. Atilius Longus II.

L. Titinius II.  
P. Menius II.  
P. Melius Capitolinus II.

*The thirteenth Dictator.*

M. Furius Camillus Tr.  
P. Cornelius Scipio M. E.

The rich City Veii taken by Camillus by undermining.

*Tribunes Military with Consular Power, the twenty ninth time.*

358. P. Cornelius Cossus.  
M. Valerius Maximus II.  
L. Furius Medullinus V.

P. Cornelius Scipio.  
K. Fabius Ambustus III.  
Q. Servilius Priscus III.

*Tribunes Military with Consular Power, the thirtieth time.*

359. M. Furius Camillus III.  
C. Aemilius Mamercinus.  
Sp. Postumius Albinus Regill.

L. Furius Medullinus VI.  
L. Valerius Poplicola.  
P. Cornelius Scipio II.

Camillus whips back the Traiterous Faliscan Schoolmaster.

CONSULS again after fifteen Years Intermision.

360. L. Lucretius Flavius.  
361. L. Valerius Potitus Tr.

Serv. Sulpicius Camerinus.  
M. Manlius Capitolinus O.

CENSORS.

C. Julius Iulus. Who dying in his Office, there was chosen in his stead  
Cornelius Maluginensis.

L. Papirius Cursor. He held the seven-  
teenth Lustrum.

*Tribunes Military with Consular Power, the thirty first time.*

362. L. Lucretius Flavius.  
M. Aemilius Mamercinus.  
Agrippa Furius Fusus.

Serv. Sulpicius Rufus.  
L. Furius Medullinus VII.  
C. Aemilius Mamercinus II.

Furius Camillus banisht about dividing the Veian spoils.

*Tribunes*

Ann  
U. C.

*Tribunes Military with Consular Power, the thirty second time.*

363. Q. Fabius Ambustus.  
K. Fabius Ambustus.  
C. Fabius Ambustus.

Q. Sulpicius Longus.  
Q. Servilius Priscus Fiden. IV.  
Ser. Cornelius Maluginensis.

The Gauls take and burn Rome.

*The fourteenth Dictator.*

M. Furius Camillus II. Tr.  
Being recall'd from Banishment to this Honour.

L. Valerius Potitus M. E.

*Tribunes Military with Consular Power, the thirty third time.*

364. L. Valerius Poplicola II.  
P. Cornelius.  
L. Aemilius Mamercinus.

L. Virginius Tricoftus.  
A. Manlius Capitolinus.  
L. Postumius Regill. Albinus.

*The fifteenth Dictator.*

M. Furius Camillus III. Tr.  
C. Servilius Ahala M. E.

*Tribunes Military with Consular Power, the thirty fourth time.*

365. T. Quinctius Cincinnatus.

Q. Servilius Priscus Fidenas V.

L. Julius Iulus.  
L. Lucretius Tricipitinus.

L. Aquilius Corvus.  
Ser. Sulpicius Rufus.

Bo. VI.

*Tribunes Military with Consular Power, the thirty fifth time.*

366. L. Papirius Cursor.  
L. Aemilius Mamercinus II.  
L. Valerius Poplicola III.

C. Sergius Fidenas.  
L. Menenius Lanatus.  
C. Cornelius.

*Tribunes Military with Consular Power, the thirty sixth time.*

367. M. Furius Camillus III.  
Q. Servilius Priscus Fiden. VI.  
L. Horatius Pulvillus.

Serv. Cornelius Maluginensis II.  
L. Quinctius Cincinnatus.  
P. Valerius Poplicola Potitus.

*Tribunes Military with Consular Power, the thirty seventh time.*

368. A. Manlius Capitol. II.  
P. Cornelius.  
L. Papirius Cursor II.

T. Quinctius Capitolinus.  
L. Quinctius Capitolinus.  
C. Sergius Fidenas II.

*The sixteenth Dictator.*

A Cornelius Cossus Tr.  
Q. Quinctius Capitolinus M. E.

*Tribunes Military with Consular Power, the thirty eighth time.*

369. Serv. Cornelius Maluginensis III.  
M. Furius Camillus V.  
C. Papirius Crassus.

P. Valerius Potitus Poplic. II.  
Serv. Sulpicius Rufus II.  
T. Quinctius Cincinnatus II.

M. Manlius for aspiring to be King, thrown Headlong from the Rock Tarpeia.  
G g g g g  
*Tribunes*

Anni  
U. C.*Tribunes Military with Consular Power, the thirty ninth time.*

370. L. Valerius Popl. IV. L. Lucretius Tricipitinus II.  
 A. Manlius Capitolinus III. L. Aemilius Mamercinus III.  
 Ser. Sulpicius Rufus III. M. Trebonius Flavius.

*Tribunes Military with Consular Power, the fortieth time.*

371. Sp. Papirius Crassus. Q. Servilius Priscus Fidenas.  
 L. Papirius Crassus. C. Sulpicius Peticus.  
 Ser. Cornelius Maluginensis IV. L. Aemilius Mamercinus IV.

*Tribunes Military with Consular Power, the forty first time.*

372. M. Furius Camillus VI. L. Furius Medullinus.  
 A. Postumius Albinus Regill. L. Postumius Albinus Regillensis.  
 L. Lucretius Tricipitinus III. M. Fabius Ambustus.

*Tribunes Military with Consular Power, the forty second time.*

373. L. Valerius Poplicola V. L. Menenius Lanatus II.  
 P. Valerius Potitus Popl. III. L. Papirius Cursor.  
 S. Sergius Fidenas III. Ser. Cornelius Malugin. V.

## CENSORS.

C. Sulpicius Camerinus resign'd upon the Sp. Postumius Albinus Reg. dyed in his  
 Death of his Partner. Office.

*The seventeenth Dictator.*

T. Quinctius Cincinnatus Tr.  
 A. Sempronius Atratinus M. E.

*Tribunes Military with Consular Power, the forty third time.*

374. P. Manlius Capitolinus. L. Albinus.  
 C. Manlius Capitolinus. L. Julius Julius.  
 C. Sextilius. L. Antistius.

*Tribunes Military with Consular Power, the forty fourth time.*

375. Sp. Furius Medullinus. M. Horatius Pulvillus.  
 Q. Servilius Priscus Fidenas II. C. Licinius Calvus.  
 P. Cloelius Siculus. L. Geganius.

## CENSORS.

Sp. Servilius Priscus. Q. Cloelius Siculus. He held the nine-  
 teenth Lustrum.

*Tribunes Military with Consular Power, the forty fifth time.*

376. L. Aemilius Mamercinus V. Ser. Sulpicius Rufus II.  
 P. Valerius Potitus Popl. IV. L. Quinctius Cincinnatus II.  
 C. Veturius Crassus Cicurinus. C. Quinctius Cincinnatus.

All these were Patricians.

C. Licinius Stolo, and L. Sextius, two of the Tribunes of the Commons, having  
 proposed three Laws in favour of the Commons against the power of the Patrici-  
 ans, and not being able to get the same pass'd (by reason of the interposition of  
 some of their Fellow Tribunes, whom the Nobles had made of their Party) would  
 suffer no Curule Magistrates to be created, nor any Elections to be held but Aediles  
 and Tribunes both of the Commons; so that for five Years there were neither  
 Consuls,

Anni  
U. C.

Consuls, nor Tribunes Military, but only Tribunes of the Commons, and they  
 fill the same Men, viz.

*Tribunes of the Commons without Curule Magistrates.*

- 377 }  
 378 } C. Licinius Calvus. C. Sextius Sextinus Lateran.  
 379 }  
 380 }  
 381 }

*Tribunes Military with Consular Power, the forty sixth time.*

382. L. Flurius Medullinus II. P. Valerius Potitus Poplica V.  
 A. Manlius Capitolinus. Ser. Sulpicius III.  
 C. Valerius Potitus. Ser. Cornelius Maluginensis VI.

*Tribunes Military with Consular Power, the forty seventh time.*

383. Q. Servilius Priscus Fidenas III. M. Cornelius Maluginensis.  
 C. Veturius Crassus Cicurinus II. Q. Quinctius Cincinnatus.  
 A. Cornelius Cossus. M. Fabius Ambustus.

*Tribunes Military with Consular Power, the forty eighth time.*

384. T. Quinctius Capitol. Ser. Servilius Structus.  
 Ser. Cornelius Maluginensis VII. L. Papirius Crassus.  
 Ser. Sulpicius Prætextat. IV. L. Papirius Crassus Cicurinus.

*The eighteenth Dictator.*

M. Furius Camillus IV.  
 L. Aemilius Mamercinus M. E.  
 Who Relinquishing their Offices, in their room were Created

*The nineteenth Dictator.*

385. P. Manlius Capitolinus.  
 C. Licinius Calvus M. E.  
 This was the first Commoner that obtain'd to be made Master of the Horse.  
 So that this Year there were no Curule Magistrates, besides Dictators.

*Tribunes Military with Consular Power, the forty ninth time.*

386. A. Cornelius Crassus II. L. Veturius Crassus Cicurinus II.  
 M. Cornelius Malugin II. P. Valerius Potitus Poplic. IV.  
 M. Geganius Macerinus. P. Manlius Capitolinus II.

*The twentieth Dictator.*

M. Furius Camillus V. Tr.  
 Q. Quinctius Cincinnatus Capitolinus M. E.

Henceforwards the Government return'd into Consular hands, but a Commoner  
 was capable of being one of them.

387. L. Aemilius Mamercinus. L. Sextius Sextin. Lateran. The first Bo. VII.  
 Commoner that ever was Consul.

In compensation for the Nobles yielding that one Commoner might be chosen  
 Consul, the Commons were content, That there should be a new Magistrate  
 Erected, called Prætor of the City, who should be a Patrician. As also that two  
 Curule Aediles should be Elected, and both out of the Nobility.

CEN-

Anni  
U. C.

## CENSORS the First.

388. *Postumius Regill. Albinus.* *C. Sulpicius Petitus.*  
*L. Genucius Aventinensis.* *Q. Servilius Ahala.*

A great Plague at Rome, whereof dyed one Censor, one Curule Ædile, and three Tribunes of the people; and (amongst others) *M. Furius Camillus*, being above eighty years of Age.

389. *C. Sulpicius Peticus Tr.* *C. Licinius Calvus.*  
 390. *L. Aemilius Mamercinus II.* *Cn. Genucius Aventin.*

## The twenty first Dictator.

*L. Manlius Capitolinus Imperiosus.*  
*L. Pinarius Natta M. E.*

This was the first time a Dictator was Created for the Ceremony of driving of a Nail.

## CENSORS.

- M. Fabius Ambustus.* *L. Furius Medullinus.* He held the  
 391. *Q. Servilius Ahala II.* *L. Genucius Aventinensis II.*  
*L. Genucius Aventinensis II.*

*M. Curtius* throws himself into the Gulph, for opening of the Earth in the Forum at Rome.

## The twenty second Dictator.

*Ap. Claudius Crassinus Regillensis O.*  
*L. Cornelius Scipio M. E.*

392. *C. Licinius Calvus II.* *C. Sulpicius Peticus II.*

## The twenty third Dictator.

*Q. Quinctius Barbatulus Capitolinus Crispinus Tr.*  
*Serv. Cornelius Maluginensis M. E.*

393. *M. Fabius Ambustus O.* *C. Petilius Libo Visolus Tr.*

## The twenty fourth Dictator.

*C. Servilius Ahala.*  
*T. Quinctius Barbatulus Capitolinus M. E.*

394. *M. Popilius Lenas.* *Cn. Manlius Capitolinus.*  
 395. *C. Fabius Ambustus.* *C. Plantius Proculus Tr.*

## The twenty fifth Dictator.

*C. Sulpicius Peticus Tr.*  
*M. Valerius Poplicola M. E.*

396. *C. Marcus Rutilus Tr.* *Cn. Manlius Capitolinus Imperiosus II.*  
 397. *M. Fabius Ambustus II.* *M. Popilius Lenas II.*

The

Anni  
U. C.

## The twenty sixth Dictator.

*C. Martius Rutilus* [the first Commoner that ever had that Dignity.] Tr.  
*C. Plantius Proculus M. E.*

398. *C. Sulpicius Peticus III.* *M. Valerius Poplicola.*  
 399. *M. Fabius Ambustus III. Tr.* *T. Quinctius Barbatulus.*  
 400. *C. Sulpicius Peticus IV.* *M. Valerius Poplicola II.*

## The twenty seventh Dictator.

*T. Manlius Imperiosus Torquatus Tr.*  
*A. Cornelius Cossus Arvina M. E.*

401. *P. Valerius Poplicola.* *C. Marcus Rutilus II.*

## The twenty eighth Dictator.

*C. Julius Julius.*  
*L. Aemilius Mamercinus M. E.*

402. *C. Sulpicius Peticus V.* *T. Quinctius Pennus Cincinnatus.*

## The twenty ninth Dictator [for holding the Comitia.]

*M. Fabius Ambustus.*  
*Q. Servilius Ahala M. E.*

## CENSORS.

- Cn. Manlius Capitol. Imperiosus.* *C. Marcus Rutilus.* He held the twenty  
 403. *M. Popilius Lenas II. Tr.* *L. Cornelius Scipio.*  
 second Lustrum, and was the first  
 Commoner that ever had that Office.

## The thirtieth Dictator [for holding the Comitia.]

*L. Furius Camillus.*  
*P. Cornelius Scipio M. E.*

404. *L. Furius Camillus.* *P. Claudius Crassinus Regillensis.*

*M. Valerius* fights hand to hand with a mighty Gaul, and being assisted by a Raven, kills him, whence he was call'd *Corvus*.

## The thirty first Dictator [for holding the Comitia.]

*T. Manlius Imperiosus Torquatus II.*  
*A. Cornelius Cossus Arvina II. M. E.*

405. *M. Popilius Lenas IV.* *M. Valerius Corvus*, being then but twenty three years of Age.

The thirty second Dictator [for holding the Comitia.]  
His Name not known.

406. *C. Plantius Venno.* *T. Manlius Imperiosus Torquatus.*  
 407. *M. Valerius Corvus II. Tr.* *C. Petilius Libo Visolus.*  
 408. *M. Fabius Dorso.* *Serv. Sulpicius Camerinus.*

## The thirty third Dictator.

*L. Furius Camillus II.*  
*Cn. Manlius Capitolinus Imperiosus M. E.*

409. *C. Marcus Rutilus III.* *T. Manlius Imperiosus Torquat. II.*  
 H h h h h

The



Anni  
U. C.

The thirty fourth Dictator [for holding the Latine Holy-Days.]

P. Valerius Poplicola.  
Q. Fabius Ambustus M. E.

410. M. Valerius Corvus III. Tr. A. Cornelius Cossus Arvin. Tr.

The Capuans freely surrender their City to the Romans to be protected against the Samnites. And so began the Samnite War.

411. Q. Servilius Ahala. C. Marcius Rutilus IV.

The thirty fifth Dictator.

M. Valerius Corvus.  
L. Aemilius Mamercinus Privernas II. M. E.412. L. Aemilius Mamercinus Priv.  
413. T. Manlius Imperiosus Torquatus III. Tr. C. Plautius Venno II.  
Who beheaded his Son for fighting P. Decius Mus. Who devoted himself Bo. VIII.  
(though with success) against his Order for his Army.

The thirty sixth Dictator.

L. Papirius Crassus [who was also Prætor.]  
L. Papirius Cursor M. E.

414. T. Aemilius Mamercinus. Q. Publilius Philo Tr.

The thirty seventh Dictator.

Q. Publilius Philo.  
D. Junius Brutus Scæva M. E.415. L. Furius Camillus Tr. C. Menius Tr.  
416. C. Sulpicius Longus. P. Aulus Petus.

The thirty eighth Dictator.

C. Claudius Crassinus Regillensis.  
P. Claudius Hortator M. E.  
But being unduly created they resign'd.417. L. Papirius Crassus. K. Duilius.  
418. M. Valerius Corvus IV. Tr. M. Atilius Regulus.

The thirty ninth Dictator [for holding the Comitia.]

L. Aemilius Mamercinus.  
Q. Publilius Philo M. E.

419. Ti. Veturius Calvinus. Sp. Postumius Albinus.

The fortieth Dictator.

P. Cornelius Rufinus.  
M. Antonius M. E.  
Unduly created they resign.

420. This Year was without Consuls [tis thought by reason of the raging Pestilence.]

421. A. Cornelius Cossus Arvina II. Cn. Domitius Calvinus.

The

Anni  
U. C.

The forty first Dictator.

M. Papirius Crassius.  
P. Valerius Poplicola M. E.

CENSORS

422. Q. Publilius Philo. Sp. Postumius Albinus.  
L. Valerius Potitus Flaccus. M. Claudius Marcellus.

The forty second Dictator [for driving the Nail.]

Cn. Quinctilius Varus.  
L. Valerius Potitus Flaccus M. E.423. L. Papirius Crassus II. L. Plautius Venno.  
424. L. Aemilius Mamercinus II. Tr. C. Plautius Decianus Tr.  
425. P. Cornelius Scapula. P. Plautius Proculus.  
426. L. Cornelius Lentulus. Q. Publilius Philo II. Tr.

The forty third Dictator [for holding the Comitia.]

M. Claudius Marcellus.  
Sp. Postumius Albinus M. E.  
Unduly made, they resign'd.427. L. Papirius Cursor. C. Petilius Libo Volsus II.  
Roman Debtors freed from Bondage, and henceforth their Goods only, and not their Bodies, liable to their Creditors.

428. L. Furius Camillus II. D. Junius Brutus Scæva.

The forty fourth Dictator.

L. Papirius Cursor Tr.  
Q. Fabius Maximus Rullianus M. E.  
Who being forc'd by the Dictator to resign (because he fought against his Order, for which he endeavour'd to put him to Death) in his place was chosen L. Papirius Crassus M. E.

429. This Year there was only the Dictator and Master of the Horse, without Consuls.

430. C. Sulpicius Longus II. Q. Aulus Corretanus.  
431. Q. Fabius Max. Rullian. Tr. L. Fulvius Curvus Tr.

The forty fifth Dictator [for holding the Roman Games.]

A. Cornelius Cossus Arvina.  
M. Fabius Ambustus M. E.432. T. Veturius Calvinus II. Sp. Postumius Albinus II.  
The Romans shamefully worsted at Caudinum, by the Samnites.

Bo. IX.

The forty sixth Dictator [for holding the Comitia.]

Q. Fabius Ambustus.  
P. Aemilius Petus.  
But being unduly created, resign'd, and in their room came

The forty seventh Dictator.

M. Aemilius Papus.  
L. Valerius Flaccus M. E.433. L. Papirius Cursor II. Q. Publilius Philo III.  
The Samnites beaten, and made pass under the Gallows.

The

Anni  
V. C.

## The forty eighth Dictator.

C. Manius.  
M. Fostius Flaccinator M. E.

## The forty ninth Dictator.

L. Cornelius Lentulus.  
L. Papirius Cursor II. M. E.

## The fiftieth Dictator.

T. Manlius Torquatus III.  
L. Papirius Cursor III. M. E.

434. L. Papirius Cursor III. Tr. Q. Aulus Cerretanus II.  
He was Contemporary with Alexander the Great, and thought as brave a Commander as he.
435. L. Plautius Venno. M. Fostius Flaccinator.

## CENSORS.

- L. Papirius Crassus. C. Manius. He held the twenty fifth Lustrum.
436. Q. Aemilius Barbula. C. Junius Bubulus Brutus.
437. Sp. Nautius Rutilus. M. Popilius Lenas.

## The fifty first Dictator.

L. Aemilius Mamercus Privern. II.  
L. Fulvius Curvus M. E.

438. L. Papirius Cursor IV. Q. Publilius Philo IV.

## The fifty second Dictator.

Q. Fabius Maximus Rullian. Tr.  
Q. Aulus Cerretan M. E. who being slain, C. Fabius Ambustus came in his place.

439. M. Patilius Libo. C. Sulpicius Longus III. Tr.

## The fifty third Dictator.

C. Manius II.  
M. Fostius Flaccinator M. E.

440. L. Papirius Cursor V. C. Junius Bubulus Brutus II.

## The fifty fourth Dictator.

C. Patilius Libo Visolus.  
M. Libo \* \* \* M. E.

441. M. Valerius Maximus Tr. P. Decius Mus.

## The fifty fifth Dictator.

C. Sulpicius Longus.  
C. Junius Bibulus Brutus.

## CENSORS.

- Ap. Claudius Cacus. C. Plautius, who in this Office gain'd  
He held the twenty sixth Lustrum. the Name of Venox.

C. Junius

Anni  
V. C.

442. C. Junius Bibulus Brutus III. Tr. Q. Aemilius Barbula II. Tr.  
443. Q. Fabius Maximus II. C. Marcus Rutilus.

## The fifty sixth Dictator.

L. Papirius Cursor II. Tr.  
C. Junius Bubulus Brutus M. E.

444. This Year the Dictator and Master of the Horse govern'd without Consuls.

445. P. Decius Mus II. Q. Fabius Maximus III.  
446. Ap. Claudius Cacus. L. Volturnus Flamma volens.

## CENSORS.

- M. Valerius Maximus. C. Jun. Bubulc. Brutus.  
447. Q. Marcus Tremulus Tr. He held the twenty seventh Lustrum.  
P. Cornelius Arviva.

## The fifty seventh Dictator.

P. Cornelius Scipio Barbatus.  
P. Decius Mus M. E.

448. L. Postumius Magellus. T. Minucius Augurinus. Who being kill'd  
in Battel, in his room came
449. P. Sempronius Sophus Tr. M. Fulvius Corvus Tr.  
P. Sulpicius Saverrio Tr.

## CENSORS.

- Q. Fabius Maximus. P. Decius Mus.  
450. Ser. Cornelius Lentulus. He held the twenty eighth Lustrum.  
451. M. Livius Dentor. L. Genucius Aventinensis.  
M. Aemilius Paulus.

Bo. X

## The fifty eighth Dictator.

C. Junius Bibulc. Brutus II. Tr.  
M. Titinius M. E.

## The fifty ninth Dictator.

Q. Fabius Maximus II.  
M. Aemilius Paulus M. E.

452. This Year there were no Consuls, but Affairs were manag'd by the Dictators and Masters of the Horse.

## The sixtieth Dictator.

M. Valerius Corvus II. Tr.  
P. Sempronius Sophus M. E.

453. Q. Apuleius Pansa. M. Valerius Corvus V.

Augurs first made out of the Commons.

454. M. Fulvius Patinus Tr. T. Manlius Torquatus. Who dying, in  
his place came  
M. Valerius Corvus VI.

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## CENSORS.

P. Sempronius Sophus.

P. Sulpicius Saverrio. He held the twenty  
ninth *Lustrum*.

455. L. Cornelius Scipio.

C. Fulvius Max. Centumalus.

456. Q. Fabius Maximus IV.

Q. Decius Mus III.

He refused this Honour because of his Age, and cited a Law, that none ought  
to bear the same Office twice in ten Years. But the people would not ex-  
cuse him.

457. Ap. Claudius Cæcus II.

L. Volturnius Flamma II.

458. Q. Fabius Maximus V. Tr. III.

P. Decius Mus IV. Who devoted him-  
self.

459. L. Postumius Magellus Tr.

M. Atilius Regulus Tr.

## CENSORS.

P. Cornelius Arvina.

C. Marcins Rutilus, *Lustr.* 30.

460. L. Papirius Cursor Tr.

Sp. Carvilius Maximus Tr.

# THE Fasti Consulares,

OR

*Chronological Catalogue of the Roman Magistrates,  
&c. belonging to Livy's Second Decade, supply'd  
by Freinshemius, containing seventy four Years.*

## CONSULS.

461. Q. Fabius Maximus Gurgæ Tr.

D. Junius Brutus Sævus

Book I.

His Father acted with him as his Lieutenant.

462. L. Postumius Megellus III.

C. Junius Brutus Bibulus.

The God *Æsculapius* brought to Rome.

463. P. Cornelius Rufinus Tr.

M. Curius Dentatus Tr. Tr. C.

464. M. Valerius Corvinus.

Q. Cædicius Noëlus.

The *Tresviri Capiteles* first Instituted

## CENSORS.

M. Curius Dentatus.

Two hundred seventy three thousand  
Heads Enroll'd.

L. Papirius Cursor.

He held the thirty first *Lustrum*.

465. Q. Marcins Tremulus II.

P. Cornelius Arvina II.

466. M. Claudius Marcellus.

S. Nautius Rutilus.

467. M. Valerius Potitus.

C. Atilius Patus.

The

Anni  
U. C.

The sixty first Dictator [for appeasing a Sedition.]

Q. Hortensius who died in his Office.

His Master of the Horse not known.

He made a Law, That the *Plebisita*, or Ordinances of the Commons should  
bind all the people.

468. C. Claudius Canina.

M. Aemilius Lepidus.

469. C. Servilius Tucca.

L. Cæcilius Dentor. Who being slain in a  
Battel, in his room was furrogated  
Manius Curius Dentatus II.

470. P. Cornelius Max. Dolabella Tr.

Cn. Domitius Calvinus.

Book II.

471. C. Fabricius Luscinus Tr.

Q. Aemilius Papus.

The Tarentine War.

472. L. Aemilius Barbula Tr.

Q. Martius Philippus Tr.

King Pyrrhus comes into Italy.

473. P. Valerius Levinus.

Ti. Coruncanius Nepos Tr.

## CENSORS.

Q. Fabius Max. Gurgæ.

Cn. Domitius Calvinus.

Bo. III

Who held the thirty second *Lustrum*,  
and was the first Commoner that ever  
did it.

474. P. Sulpicius Saverrio.

P. Decius Mus, slain in Battel.

475. C. Fabricius Luscinus II. Tr.

Q. Aemilius Papus II.

476. P. Cornelius Rufinus II.

C. Junius Brutus Bubule. II. Tr.

Bo. IV.

477. Q. Fabius Max. Gurgæ II. Tr.

C. Genucius Clepsina.

The sixty second Dictator.

P. Corn. Rufinus.

His Master of the Horse not known.

478. M. Curius Dentatus II. Tr.

L. Cornelius Lentulus Tr.

479. Ser. Cornelius Merenda.

M. Curius Dentatus III.

480. C. Fabius Dorso Licinus.

C. Claudius Canina II. Tr.

481. L. Papirius Cursor II. Tr.

Sp. Carvilius Max. II. Tr.

They put an end both to the Samnite and Tarentine Wars

## CENSORS.

M. Curius Dentatus.

L. Papirius Cursor.

He held the thirty third *Lustrum*.

King Pyrrhus kill'd by a Woman.

482. C. Quinctilius Claudus.

L. Genucius Clepsina.

Bo V.

483. C. Genucius Clepsina II.

Cn. Cornelius Blasio Tr.

## CENSORS.

Ti. Coruncanius.

\* \* \* \* \* the thirty fourth *Lustrum*.

The Romans first coin Silver.

484. C. Fabius Pictor.

Q. Ogulnius Gallus.

485. P. Sempronius Sophus Tr.

Ap. Claudius Rufus Tr.

486. M. Atilius Regulus Tr.

L. Julius Libo Tr.

487. Q. Fabius Pictor. Tr. Tr.

D. Junius Pera Tr. Tr.

488. Q. Fabius Max. Gurgæ III.

L. Mamilius Vitulus.

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## CENSORS.

C. Cornelius Blasio.

C. Marcus Rutilus II.  
He held the thirty fifth *Lustrum*.The first *Punic* War begins.

489. Ap. Claudius Caudex.

M. Fulvius Flaccus.

Bo. VI.

The cruel sport of the *Gladiators* first began by the *Bruti* in honour of their Fathers Funeral.

490. M. Valerius Max. Tr.

M. Otacilius Crassus.

A Clock first seen at Rome.

The sixty third Dictator [for driving the Nail.]

Cn. Fulvius Max. Centumalus.  
Q. Marcus Philippus M. E.

491. L. Postumius Megellus.

Q. Aemilius Virgulus.

492. L. Valerius Flaccus.

T. Otacilius Crassus.

493. Cn. Cornelius Scipio Asina.

C. Duilius Tr. Being the first that Cele- Bo. VII.  
brated a Naval Triumph.

494. L. Cornelius Scipio Tr.

C. Aquilius Florus Tr.

495. A. Atilius Callatinus Tr.

C. Sulpicius Paterculus Tr.

Annibal the Elder beaten at Sea, is Crucified by his own Men.

## CENSORS.

C. Duilius.

L. Cornelius Scipio.

496. C. Atilius Regulus Tr.

He held the thirty sixth *Lustrum*.  
Cn. Cornelius Blasio II.The sixty fourth Dictator [for celebrating the *Latine* Holy-Days.]

Q. Ogulnius Gallus.

M. Latorius Plancianus M. E.

497. L. Manlius Vulso Longus.

Q. Ceditius died in his Office, which  
was supply'd by  
M. Atilius Regulus.Regulus takes sixty three *Carthaginian* Ships, and sinks thirty.

498. Ser. Fulvius Patin. Nobilior Tr.

M. Aemilius Paulus Tr.

Bo. VIII.

Regulus taken by the *Carthaginians*.

499. Cn. Corn. Scipio Asina II. Tr.

A. Atilius Galatinus II.

500. Cn. Servilius Capio.

C. Sempronius Blasus Tr.

## CENSORS.

D. Junius Pera.

L. Postumius Megill. died in his Of-  
fice.

501. C. Aurelius Cotta Tr.

P. Servilius Geminus.

## CENSORS.

M. Valerius Max. Messal.

P. Sempronius Sophus.

502. L. Caecilius Metellus Tr.

He held the thirty seventh *Lustrum*.  
C. Furius Pacilus.

503. C. Atilius Regulus II.

L. Manlius Vulso II.

Elephants

Anni  
U. C.

Elephants first taken and sent to Rome.

Regulus sent to Rome, dissuades a Peace, and is return'd to Carthage.

504. P. Claudius Pulcher.

L. Junius Pullus.

Bo. IX

M. Claudius Glicia, who had been a Scrivener made Dictator, but forc'd to  
relinq; In whose place was created

The sixty fifth Dictator.

A. Atilius Calatinus.

L. Caecilius Metellus M. E.

505. C. Aurelius Cotta II.

P. Servilius Geminus II.

506. L. Caecilius Metellus II.

N. Fabius Buteo.

## CENSORS.

A. Atilius Calatinus.

A. Manlius Torquat. Attic.

He held the thirty eighth *Lustrum*.The number now Enroll'd was but two hundred fifty one thousand two hun-  
dred twenty two, the Wars had destroy'd so many.

507. M. Otacilius Crassus II.

M. Fabius Licinus.

The sixty sixth Dictator [for holding the *Comitia*.]

Ti. Coruncanius Nepos.

M. Fulvius Flaccus M. E.

508. M. Fabius Buteo.

C. Atilius Bulbus.

509. A. Manlius Torquat. Attic.

C. Sempronius Blasus II.

510. C. Fundanius Fundulus.

C. Sulpicius Gallus.

511. C. Lutatius Catulus Tr.

A. Postumius Albinus.

The end of the first *Punic* War, having continued almost twenty four Years.

512. A. Manlius Torquat. Attic. II. Tr.

Q. Lutatius Cerco Tr.

A great Fire at Rome.

## CENSORS.

C. Aurelius Cotta.

N. Fabius Buteo.

Bo. X.

He held the thirty ninth *Lustrum*.

513. C. Claudius Centho.

M. Sempronius Tuditanus.

514. C. Mamilius Turrinus.

Q. Valerius Falto.

515. Ti. Sempronius Gracchus.

P. Valerius Falto.

516. L. Cornelius Lentul. Caudinus Tr.

Q. Fulvius Flaccus.

517. P. Cornel. Lentul. Caudin.

C. Licinius Varus.

## CENSORS.

L. Corn. Lent. Caudin.

Q. Lutatius Cerco died in his Office.

518. T. Manlius Torquatus.

C. Atilius Bulbus II.

519. L. Postumius Albinus.

Sp. Carvilius Maximus Tr.

## CENSORS.

C. Atilius Bulbus.

A. Postumius Albinus.

He held the fortieth *Lustrum*.

The Temple of Janus is shut, which it had not been since K. Numa's Days.

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520. Q. Fabius Max. Verrucos. Tr. M. Pomponius Matho Tr.  
 521. M. Aemilius Lepidus. M. Publicius Malleolus.  
 522. M. Pomponius Matho II. C. Papirius Mafso Tr.

Sp. Carvilius Ruga divorc'd his Wife, the first Precedent of that kind in Rome.

The sixty seventh Dictator [for holding the Comitia.]

C. Duilius.  
 C. Aurelius Cotta M. E.

## CENSORS.

T. Manlius Torquatus. Q. Fulvius Flaccus.  
 Being unduly made they resign'd.

523. M. Aemilius Barbula. M. Junius Pera.

## CENSORS.

- Q. Fabius Max. Verrucos. M. Sempronius Tuditanus  
 Held the forty first Lustrum.  
 524. L. Postumius Albinus II. Cn. Fulvius Centumalus Tr.  
 525. Sp. Carvilius Maximus II. Q. Fabius Max. Verruc. II.  
 526. P. Valerius Flaccus. M. Atilius Regulus.

The number of Prætors doubled.

527. M. Valerius Messalla. L. Apustius Fullo.

War with the Cisalpine Gauls.

528. L. Aemilius Papus Tr. C. Atilius Regulus kill'd in a Battel with  
 the Gauls, who yet were routed, and  
 forty thousand of them slain.

## CENSORS.

- C. Claudius Centho. M. Junius Pera.  
 Held the forty second Lustrum.  
 529. T. Manlius Torquatus. Q. Fulvius Flaccus II.

The sixty eighth Dictator [for holding the Comitia.]

L. Cæcilius Metellus.  
 N. Fabius Buteo M. E.

530. C. Flaminius Nepos Tr. P. Furius Philus Tr.  
 531. Cn. Cornelius Scipio Calvus. M. Clandius Marcellus Tr.  
 532. P. Cornelius Scipio Asina Tr. M. Minucius Rufus.

The sixty ninth Dictator.

Q. Fabius Max. Verrucos.  
 C. Flaminius Nepos M. E.

533. L. Veturius Philo. C. Lutatius Catulus.

## CENSORS.

- L. Aemilius Papus. C. Flaminius. He held the 43. Lustrum.  
 The Illyrick War begins. The number was 270213.  
 534. M. Livius Salinator. L. Aemilius Paulus.

THE

# THE Fasti Confulares,

O R.

Chronology, relating to the Third Decade of Livy's  
 History, containing eighteen Years.

## CONSULS.

Anni  
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535. P. Cornelius Scipio. Ti. Sempronius Longus. Book I.

The second Punick War begins, Annibal passes the Alps into Italy, and  
 routs the Romans at Ticinus and Trebia.

536. C. Flaminius II. slain in a Battel at Thra- Cn. Servilius Geminus. Book II.  
 symenus, in whose room was chosen  
 M. Atilius Regulus.

The seventieth Dictator.

Q. Fabius Max. Verrucos.  
 M. Minucius Rufus M. E.

The Authority and Command of these two was afterwards by a special  
 Order of the people made equal.

The seventy first Dictator.

L. Veturius Philo.  
 M. Pomponius Matho M. E.

537. C. Terentius Varro. L. Aemilius Paulus slain in Battel at the Bo. III.  
 Battel of Cannæ, where the Romans  
 lost above forty thousand men.

The seventy second Dictator.

M. Junius Pera.  
 Ti. Sempronius Gracchus M. E.

The seventy third Dictator.

N. Fabius Buteo chosen for filling up the Senate, without any  
 Master of Horse.

538. L. Postumius Albinus III. Ti. Sempronius Gracchus.  
 Before he entred on the Office, he  
 was slain, in his place came  
 M. Claudius Marcellus II.  
 But he being unduly chosen, at last  
 was Elected

- Q. Fabius Max. Verrucos. III. M. Claudius Marcellus III. O. Bo. IV.  
 539. Q. Fabius Max. Verrucos. IV.

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## CENSORS.

540. *M. Atilius Regulus* resign'd.  
*Q. Fabius Maximus*, *P. Furius Philus* died in his Office.  
*Ti. Sempronius Gracchus* II. Bo. V.

The seventy fourth Dictator [for holding the Comitia.]

*C. Claudius Centho*.  
*Q. Fulvius Flaccus* M. E.

541. *Sp. Claudius Pulcher*.  
542. *P. Sulpicius Galba* Max.  
543. *M. Valerius Levinus*.  
*Q. Fulvius Flaccus* III.  
*Cn. Fulvius Centumalus*.  
*M. Claudius Marcellus* IV. Bo. VI.

The seventy fifth Dictator [for holding the Comitia.]

*Q. Fulvius Flaccus*.  
*P. Licinius Crassus Dives* M. E. Bo. VII.

## CENSORS.

544. *L. Veturius Philo* died in his Office.  
*Q. Fabius Max. Verruc.* V. *P. Licinius Crassus Dives* renounc'd.  
*Q. Fulvius Flaccus* IV.

## CENSORS.

- M. Cornelius Cethegus*.  
*P. Sempronius Tuditanus* held the forty  
fourth Lustrum.  
Neither of these had been Consuls.  
545. *M. Claudius Marcellus* V. *T. Quinctius Crispinus*.  
Both slain in Battel.

The seventy sixth Dictator.

*T. Manlius Torquatus*.  
*C. Servilius* M. E.

546. *C. Claudius Nero* Tr. *M. Livius Salinator* Tr. Bo. VIII.

The seventy seventh Dictator [for holding the Comitia.]

*M. Livius Salinator*.  
*Q. Cecilius Metellus* M. E.

547. *Q. Cecilius Metellus*.  
548. *P. Cornelius Scipio*, afterwards *Africa-*  
*nus*. *L. Veturius Philo*.  
*P. Licinius Crassus Dives*. Bo. IX.

The seventy eighth Dictator [for holding the Comitia.]

*Q. Cecilius Metellus*.  
*L. Veturius Philo* M. E.

549. *M. Cornelius Cethegus*. *P. Sempronius Tuditanus*.

## CENSORS.

- M. Livius Salinator*.  
550. *Cn. Servilius Cæpio*. *C. Claudius Nero* held the forty fifth  
Lustrum.  
*C. Servilius*. Bo. X.

The

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The seventy ninth Dictator [for holding the Comitia.]

*P. Sulpicius Galba* Max.  
*M. Servilius Pulex Geminus* M. E.

551. *T. Claudius Nero*. *M. Servilius Pulex Geminus*.

The eightieth Dictator [for holding the Comitia.]

*C. Servilius*.  
*P. Ailius Patus* M. E.

552. *Cn. Cornelius Lentulus* Tr. *P. Ailius Patus*.

The end of the second Punick War.

THE  
Fasti Consulares,For the Fourth Decade of Livy's History, contain-  
ing twenty two Years.

553. *P. Sulpicius Galba* Max. II. *C. Aurelius Cotta*. Book I.  
The Macedonian War.

554. *L. Cornelius Lentulus*. *P. Vellius Tappulus*. Book II.

## CENSORS.

- P. Cornelius Scipio* Afric. *P. Ailius Patus* held the forty sixth  
Lustrum.  
555. *T. Quinctius Flaminius*.  
556. *C. Cornelius Cethegus* Tr. *Sex. Ailius Patus Catus*. Bo. III.  
557. *L. Furius Purpureo*. *Q. Minucius Rufus* Tr.  
*M. Claudius Marcellus*.

Peace granted to King Philip of Macedon.

558. *M. Porcius Cato*. *L. Valerius Flaccus*. Bo. IV.

*M. Helvius Blasio* the Proconsul has an Ovation.  
*Q. Minucius Thermus* the Proconsul Tr.

559. *P. Cornelius Scipio* Afr. II. *Ti. Sempronius Longus*.

## CENSORS.

- Sex. Ailius Patus Catus*. *C. Cornel Cethegus* held the forty seventh  
Lustrum.

*M. Porcius Cato* Proconsul Tr.  
*T. Quinctius Flaminius* Proconsul Tr.

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560. L. Cornelius Merula.  
561. L. Quinctius Flaminius.  
562. M. Acilius Glabrio.
- Q. Minucius Thermus.  
Cn. Domitius Ahenobarbus.  
P. Cornelius Scipio Nasica Tr.
- Bo. V.  
Bo. VI.

The War with King Antiochus.  
M. Fulvius Nobilior Proconsul O.

563. L. Cornelius Scipio, afterwards call'd C. Laelius Nepos.  
Asiaticus.
- Bo. VII.

M. Acilius Glabrio Proconsul Tr.

564. Cn. Manlius Vulso.  
M. Fulvius Nobilior.
- Bo. VIII.

## CENSORS.

- T. Quinctius Flaminius.  
M. Claudius Marcellus held the forty eighth Lustrum.

L. Aemilius Regillus Proconsul Tr.  
L. Cornelius Scipio Asiaticus Proconsul Tr.  
Q. Fabius Labeo Proconsul Tr.

565. C. Livius Salinator.  
M. Valerius Messalla.
- Scipio Africanus banisht himself from Rome, being accused.
- Bo. IX.

566. M. Aemilius Lepidus.  
C. Flaminius Nepos.
- M. Fulvius Nobilior Proconsul Tr.  
Cn. Manlius Vulso Proconsul Tr.

567. Sp. Postumius Albinus.  
568. Ap. Claudius Pulcher.
- Q. Marcius Philippus.  
M. Sempronius Tuditanus.

L. Manlius Acidin, Fulvian, Proconsul O.

569. P. Claudius Pulcher.  
L. Porcius Licinus.

## CENSORS.

- L. Valerius Flaccus.  
M. Porcius Cato held the forty ninth Lustrum.

C. Calpurnius Piso Proconsul Tr.  
L. Quinctius Crispinus Proconsul Tr.

570. Q. Fabius Labeo.  
M. Claudius Marcellus.
- Annibal poisons himself. Scipio Africanus dies in banishment.
- Bo. X.

571. L. Aemilius Paulus.  
Cn. Babius Tamphilus.

A. Terentius Varro Proconsul O.

572. P. Cornelius Cethegus.  
M. Babius Tamphilus.

The Books of Numa Pompilius found and burnt.

L. Aemilius Paulus Proconsul Tr.

573. A. Postumius Albinus.  
C. Calpurnius Piso died in his Office, and in his room was subrogated Q. Fulvius Flaccus.

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P. Cornelius Cethegus Proconsul Tr.  
M. Babius Tamphilus Proconsul Tr.  
Q. Fulvius Flaccus Proconsul Tr.

574. L. Manlius Acid. Fulvian.  
Q. Fulvius Flaccus Tr.

## CENSORS.

- M. Aemilius Lepidus.  
M. Fulvius Nobilior held the fiftieth Lustrum.

# THE Fasti Consulares,

For that Part of Livy's Fifth Decade that is Ex-  
tant, containing fourteen Years.

575. M. Junius Brutus.  
A. Manlius Vulso.
- T. Sempronius Gracchus Proconsul Tr.  
L. Postumius Albinus Proconsul Tr.
- Book I.

576. C. Claudius Pulcher Tr.  
577. Cn. Cornelius Scipio Hispalus. He dying, in his place was choien C. Valerius Levinus.  
578. P. Mutius Scævola Tr.
- Ti. Sempronius Gracchus.  
Q. Petilius Spurinus kill'd in Battel, after he had subrogated to himself a Col-  
league.  
M. Aemilius Lepidus II.

Ti. Sempronius Gracchus Proconsul Tr.  
C. Valerius Levinus Proconsul Tr.

579. Sp. Postumius Albin. Paululus.  
M. Mucius Scævola.

## CENSORS.

- M. Fulvius Flaccus.  
A. Postumius Albinus held the fifty first Lustrum.

App. Claudius Centho Proconsul O.

580. L. Postumius Albinus.  
581. C. Popilius Lenus.
- M. Popilius Lenat.  
P. Atilius Ligus.
- Book II.

The first that were both Commoners.

C. Cicereius Proconsul Tr.

582. P. Licinius Assus.  
583. A. Hostilius Mancinus.
- C. Cassius Longinus.  
A. Atilius Serranus.
- Bo. III.

War with King Perseus.

584. Q. Marcius Philippus II.  
C. Servilius Capio.
- Bo. IV.

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## CENSORS.

C. Claudius Pulcher.

Ti. Sempronius Gracchus held the fifty second *Lustrum*.

585. L. Aemilius Paulus II. Tr.

C. Licinius Crassus.

Bo. V.

586. Q. Ailius Pater.

M. Junius Pennus.

Cn. Octavius Proconsul Tr.

L. Anicius Gallus Proconsul Tr.

587. C. Sulpicius Gallus Tr.

M. Claudius Marcellus Tr.

588. T. Manlius Torquatus.

Cn. Octavius Tr.

## THE

THE  
EXPLANATORY INDEX.

Though in our Translation we have occasionally interpreted several of the peculiar Terms of Offices, Laws, and Usages refer'd into by our Historian; yet for the fuller Satisfaction of the English Reader, we think it not amiss to add this brief Alphabetical Catalogue, which may both enlighten him as to the understanding of Livy in several places; as also give a more general insight into the Policy, Customs and Government of the Romans.

**A.** Commonly stands for *Aulus*, a frequent Forename amongst the Romans. Concerning which, we will here (once for all) advertize the Reader, That the Romans had for the most part Three Names; the first was called *Prænomen* or the Forename, answering to the Christian Name among us; the second was *Nomen*, the proper Name of their Family; and the third, *Cognomen* a Surname added upon some particular occasion, or for the better distinguishing them from others of the same Family: As *L. Tarquinius Priscus*, because he was the first King of that Name; *L. Tarquinius Superbus*, because of his Insolence and Cruelty. Of Forenames common to the Romans there were about thirty; all which were generally written short, only with one, two, or at the most three Letters, as follows in this Table.

<i>Agr. Agrippa.</i>	<i>Mam. Mamercus.</i>	<i>Ser. Servius.</i>
<i>Ap. Appius.</i>	<i>Man. Manius.</i>	<i>Sex. Sextus.</i>
<i>A. Aulus.</i>	<i>M. Marcus.</i>	<i>Sp. Spurius.</i>
<i>Cæ. Cæso.</i>	<i>N. Numerius.</i>	<i>Ti. Tiberius.</i>
<i>C. Caius.</i>	<i>Op. Opiter.</i>	<i>T. Titus.</i>
<i>Cn. Cnaus.</i>	<i>Post. Posthumus.</i>	<i>Tul. Tullus.</i>
<i>D. Decimus.</i>	<i>Pr. Proculus.</i>	<i>V. Vibus.</i>
<i>H. Hostus.</i>	<i>P. Publius.</i>	<i>Vol. Volero.</i>
<i>L. Lucius.</i>	<i>Q. Quintus.</i>	<i>Vop. Vopiscus.</i>

Besides these, there were also some Foreign Forenames sometimes used by the Romans, as *An. Ancus*, *Ar. Aruns*, *Lar*, *Lucunno*, *Meius*, *Numa*, *Petro*, *Pompo*, *Sertor*, *Tullus*, *Turnus*, and *Volusus*: And in process of time many of these Forenames came to be Surnames, as in *M. Aemilius Mamercus*, *C. Plautius Proculus*, &c.

*Ædiles* were Magistrates so called *ab Ædibus curandis*, because part of their Office was to look after the repair of the Temples and publick Buildings of the City. They were of two sorts: 1. *Ædiles of the Commons*, which were the most ancient, being instituted A. V. C. 240. at the same time when Tribunes of the Commons were first obtained, to whom these Ædiles were to be Assistants, and by their permission to determine Controversies; to look after those that held more Land than they ought to do by Law; to accuse such Matrons as lived scandalously; to chastize excessive Usurers and Extortioners; to restrain Tippling-houses and Gaming; to fine persons for lewd and uncivil words or actions; to see that the publick and private Edifices were kept in repair; that the common Sewers were cleaned, and the Aquæducts or Conduits in good order; to correct false Weights and Measures; to provide Bread-Corn and Oyl in time of dearth, and see that the same were not hoarded up, nor the Market forestall'd, as also to take care that necessary Provisions were sent to the Army, and especially to have the Custody of all the *Plebiscita*, or Ordinances of the Commons which were repositied in the Temple of *Ceres*. 2. *Ædiles Curules* were so called from the *Sella Curulis* or Ivory Chair in which they sat, and were wont to be carried into the Senate. They began in the year of the City 387. for when, after a great Sedition of the Commons, the matters were accommodated between them and the Patricians, the Senate had order'd that on that account, as a Thanksgiving to the Gods, the great Games should be celebrated, and the *Ædiles of the Commons* refused that work; divers of the young Patricians cry'd out, They would freely perform that Service to the Gods, and thereupon the Senate order'd, That the Dictator should propose a Law for chusing two Ædiles out of the Nobles, which was done accordingly. Their Office was to hold the Sacred and Solemn Games, and look after the Repairs of the Temples, Theatres, Gates, Walls, and all publick Buildings. Which Games they celebrated at their own Charge, and therefore to decline an Ædileship was lookt upon as Covetousness; but most Patricians were fond of the place, because it was the first

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first step to greater Honours as the Consulship, &c. 'Tis said there was either a Law, or at least a Custom, That no Roman should write any thing, but he must go to these Curule Aediles, and obtain their Leave, which they granted or refused according to the Authors parts and capacity, but this is to be understood only of Comedies or Stage-plays which were publicly to be acted; but especially they had Jurisdiction to determine Controversies about frauds in buying and selling upon the Action called *Redhibitory*, whereby such as put off any corrupt or sophisticated Ware, or sold a Servant or Horse that was not found, were obliged to take them again. These Magistrates, as well as those of the Commons, were *Sacrosancti*, that is, their persons were inviolable. And though at first none but Patricians might be advanced to this Office, yet in time Commoners also did attain thereunto.

*Aerarii* were such as being Citizens of Rome, were by the Censors (for some misdeemeanour) depriv'd of giving their Voices in their Century or Tribe; but yet still were bound to pay Scot and Lot, all kind of Tribute with the rest of their Fellow-Citizens, and to serve in the Wars at their own proper Charges, and therefore were so called *ab Aere*, Brass-money, either because *Aera pendebant*, or *Aera non merebant*, they pay Money without enjoying like Privileges with others, and receiv'd no pay when others did.

*Agrarian Laws* [so called *ab Agro*, a Field or place of Tillage] were Laws preferred by the Tribunes of the Commons, as well for dividing of Lands conquer'd and taken from the Enemies, amongst the Commons, (which the Nobles were apt to ingross to themselves) as also to restrain the Nobles from having or possessing above such a quantity of Land.

*Ambitus* was an inordinate desire of being in some Office of State, and the using of indirect means to obtain it, against which the Romans provided divers Laws with severe Penalties.

*Annales* were brief Memorials, Chronicles or Commentaries, containing the Names of Consuls every year, and all memorable Occurrences happening therein, which the High-Priests, called *Pontifices Maximi*, were to collect and commit to Writing in Tables, and set them up in their Houses to be seen; and hence (not from their bulk) they are sometimes called *Annales Maximi*.

*Appia Via*, a notable High-way from Rome as far as Capua, so called, because the same was laid out and made in manner of a Causeway by App. Claudius, and afterwards by Julius Caesar and Trajan: it was extended to Brindis in Calabria.

*Aruspices, Auspices and Augures*: These were three several sorts of Soothsayers or Cunning-men amongst the Romans, who by distinct ways did all pretend to divine and preface or foretell the success of matters future. The *Aruspices* by viewing the Entrails of Beasts, and therefore were so called *ab aras inspiciendo*, from beholding the Altars. As the *Auspices* took their name *quasi Avispices*, Bird-viewers, because they foretold things by beholding the flight of Birds. And thirdly, The *Augures* were so named *ab avium garritu*, from the Chirping or Chattering of the Birds, by which (rather than by their flying) these Gentlemen resolved all Questions. But the latter word *Augur* is often used Synecdochically for all kinds of Divining, whether by observing the Entrails of Beasts, the flying, screeching and chattering of Birds, or Thunder and Lightning in the Heavens, or marking the rebounding of Crums cast unto Birds, which was called *Tripudium*. The College of *Augurs* was first established by Romulus, there being then but three Persons therein, one for each Tribe; but Servius Tullius the sixth King, when he divided the City into four local Tribes or Quarters, added a fourth *Augur*, all elected out of the *Patricii*, but afterwards five more chosen out of the Commons were added. The manner how the *Augur* made his Observations was thus, He sat upon a Castle, or Tower, the Air being fair and clear, in his Soothsaying Robe called *Lana*, holding a crooked Staff in his hand (called *Litum*) his head cover'd, and his face towards the East: being thus placed, he quarter'd out with his crooked Staff, the Heavens into certain Regions which he called *Templa*, being to take notice in which of these Regions the Birds should appear, then he killed a Sacrifice, offered Prayers, after which he watcht for the tokens, which if lucky, he encouraged the business; but if unlucky, then he did *obnunciare* or gainsay it, shewing that the matter proposed was not pleasing to the Gods. Birds appearing on the left hand were commonly accounted lucky, because the Givers right hand in bestowing a benefit is opposite to the Receivers right. The *Augur* that did divine by the Crums cast to Chickens in a Coop was called *Pullarius*, or the Chicken-Prophet. When he would know the pleasure of the Gods in any matter, he was wont early in the morning to repair to the place where the Chickens were kept, where silence being commanded, and the Coop open'd, they cast Crums of Bread to them. Now if the Chickens either came slowly or not at all to the Bread, or if they walkt up and down by it, not touching it, then was it a token that the matter was displeasing to the Gods, and would have an ill end; but if the Chickens did hastily leap out of the Coop, and eat so greedily that some fell out of their mouths, and redounded on the ground, then the Cunning-man pronounced success in the matter proposed, and this was called *Tripudium Solistimum*. The *Aruspices* Craft lay in observing, whether the Beast that was to be sacrificed came to the Altar willingly, or dyed without much struggling or bellowing, at one blow or many; whether any unlucky object were seen or heard whilst they were sacrificing;

sacrificing; whether the Bowels, and especially the Liver, were fair and natural; for if they appear'd of an ill colour, dried up, ulcerous, impossibly humated, or the like, it was an ill Omen. As commonly they would begin no Action of moment *inauspicato*, that is, without the Counsel of some of these Augurs, so especially the same was requisite in Assemblies for choosing of Magistrates and making of Laws; but not to all alike. For though the Divination taken from observing the Heavens, that is, Thunder, Lightning, and the like, were admitted at all the three sorts of *Comitia* or Assemblies of the People; yet the flight of Birds, and observing the Chickens Crums were appropriate to the *Comitia Curiata* and *Centuriata* only. The General of an Army being elected with these Ceremonies, was said to wage the War in that Province with his own Auspices, and all his inferior Officers and Souldiers were said to fight under his Auspices; and therefore the Name of *Imperator* or Lord General was never given to any Lieutenant General, or the like, nor any Triumph allow'd him for any Victory, though obtain'd by him when the General was sick or absent; for still the matter was achiev'd by his Auspices, not their own.

*As* or *Affis* is usually taken in *Livy* for a piece of Roman Money or Coin in Brass that at first weigh'd a pound or twelve ounces, and so we have in several places translated it, as *fol. 71.* you find mentioned 3000 *l.* which is not to be understood of pounds Sterling, but of so many *Affes*. King *Servius* was the first that coin'd or stampt Brass-money (for they had no Silver coin'd, till after they had vanquish't King *Pyrrhus* about the year of the City 485.) The *Denarius* of Silver when first coin'd was in value equal to ten of these *Affes*; but in the first *Punic* War, the Commonwealth being straitned for Money, it was order'd that *Affes* should be stamp't that were but of one sixth part of the old weight, that is to say, two ounces: And afterwards they reduc'd them to one ounce, and reckon'd one Silver *Denarius* equal to sixteen *Affes*. Hence the old *Affes* were called *Æs grave*, Money of full weight; but however it alter'd in weight, it is reputed always to have gone for three farthings or thereabouts of our money.

*Auspicia* or *Auspices*. See before *Aruspices*.

*Balista*, so called *ἡ τοῦ βάλαντος* from darting or casting out any thing, termed also sometimes *Catapulta* from the Greek word *Pelte* a Dart, was an Engine used by the Romans in besieging of Cities, somewhat like our Cross-bow for its use, but much bigger, with which they used to shoot Darts (and some Authors say Stones too, upon occasion) against their Enemies on the Wall at a great distance. It is thus described by *Marcellinus*, *lib. 23. cap. 3.* *Between two planks* (saith he) *there is set in a frame and fast joined a large strong Iron reaching out in length like a good great Rule, out of the round body whereof (which is artificially wrought) there lieth forth further a four-square Beam, made hollow with a direct passage in manner of a narrow Trough, tyed fast with many Cords of Sinews twisted one within the other, and thereunto are joined two wooden Screws, near unto one of which stands the Ballistarius [he that plays the Engine] and puts into the hollow passage of the Beam a wooden Shaft with a big head fastened on it. This done on both sides, two lusty young men do bend the Engine by turning about certain Wheels; and when the top of the head is drawn to the uttermost end of the Cords, the Shaft hurried out of the Balista, by the inward force thereof flies out of sight with mighty violence.* Those Engines were employ'd also in the Defence of Places besieged: For so we read, That when the Capitol was besieged by the Gauls, the Romans wanting Sinews for making or repairing these Engines, the Matrons supplied them, by cutting off their hair, which served instead of Sinews, in Honour of which there was afterwards a Temple erected to *Venus Calva*, *Venus the Bald*.

*Basilica*, so called from the Greek word *Basileus*, which signifies not only a King but a Judge, were stately upper Buildings at Rome, supported with *Piazza's*, under which the people walkt: the use of these Halls above was principally for the Judges to sit in and determine Causes, and in their absence the Merchants met there; and therefore as one part of them was furnish't with Benches and Bars like Law-Courts, so other sides had Shops for the better sorts of Wares.

*Bellona* the Goddess of War, whose Temple stood before the Gate *Carmentalis*, near which there was a Column called *Bellica*; from which the Romans latterward were wont to lance a Dart or Javelin towards those parts where they intended to make War; whereas in former times they sent their Heralds to the very Confines of their Enemies to perform that Ceremony.

*Bigati* were the Roman *Denarii*, having the stamp of a Chariot drawn with two Horses called *Bigæ*.

*Calends* was amongst the Romans the first day of every Month, so named *à Calando* to Call; because the petty Pontiff in old time was wont then to call the People to the Court *Calabra*, and there to pronounce to them how many *Nones* there were in that Month. For the Romans divided their Months into *Calends*, *Nones*, and *Ides*, and some Months had two *Nones* more than others, which difference and their manner of Counting is intimated in these memorial Rhymes:



Each Month's first day we do its Calends call.  
 In March, May, July and October fall  
 Six following Nones, the rest but four in all.  
 But every Month eight Ides doth thence take in;  
 Which done, th' account from next Calends begin.

That is, as the first day of every Month is called the Calends of that Month, so the 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, & 7. of those four Months, *March*, &c. were called the Nones of that Month, but in all other Months the Nones contained but the 2, 3, 4, & 5. days; so that for Example the fifth day of *January* was called *Nona Januarii*, but the seventh day of *March* the Nones of *March*, and the second of *March* was the sixth Nones (for they always reckon'd backward so) but the second of *January* the fourth Nones. After the Nones followed the Ides which contained eight days in every Month, so that the 15. day of *March* (or any of those four Months) was called *Idus Martii*, but the 13. of *January*, and consequently as the 8. of *March* is its eighth Ide, so the eighth Ide of *January* is *January* the sixth. After the Ides were past, they always reckon'd the number of the days backwards from the next Month following, as the 14. of *January* was the 19. Calends of *Febr.* the 15. the 18. Calends of *Febr.* &c.

*Campus Martius* was a Field without the Walls of *Rome*; so called, because it was dedicated to *Mars*, and employ'd as a place to exercise the Youth in Feats of Arms, being given to the People of *Rome* by *Caia Tarratia* a Vestal Virgin, or (as others affirm) by *Mucia Laurentia* a noble Harlot, King *Tarquin* the Proud converted it to his own use, and sowed Corn there, which upon his Expulsion was thrown into the River *Tiber*, as having grown on a place Sacred, and the Field restored to its ancient use. Here at first were the Kings and Magistrates chosen, and in after-times the *Comitia Centuriata* were constantly holden. It was beautified with abundance of Statues, and was all along the place where the *Roman* Youth learned their Martial Exercises, as Wrestling, Fencing, Vaulting, and the like.

*Candidati*, Candidates were those that put in, and stood in Election for Dignities of Magistracy; so called, because such did then wear whiter and brighter Gowns than ordinary, that they might be the more conspicuous, and better discern'd afar off in the Crowd.

*Cataphracti* were those Souldiers, as well Horse as Foot, that were arm'd at all points, or (as we say) *Cap-a-pe*, with compleat Harness.

*Catapulti*. See before *Balista*.

*Census* was a Review, Polling, or Valuation of all mens Names, Qualities and Estates. It was first instituted by *Servius Tullius*, who (somewhat like our *William* the Conquerour in his Doomday Book) caused a general Account to be taken upon Record of every Citizens Estate throughout *Rome*, together with their Age. And according to their Estates and Age he divided all the *Romans* into six Ranks or Classes. The first of those worth (as to the value of our money, about) 200 *l.* or upwards; the second 140 *l.* or upwards; the third not under 100 *l.* the fourth not less than 40 *l.* the fifth of such as were worth above 25 *l.* the sixth of all others whose Estates amounted not to so much as the last Summ, who were only registred amongst the Citizens, but paid little or nothing towards Subsidies, and therefore were oft-times called *Proletarii a prole edenda*, as if all the good they did the Publick were their getting of Children. And each of these Classes were subdivided into several Centuries, as we shall have occasion to shew by and by in the word *Comitia*. This general View was regularly taken every five years, and at the end thereof Sacrifices were offer'd to purge, cleanse, or make Atonement for all the People, which was called *Lustrum*, and thence the word *Lustrum* is used for the space of five years, though sometimes by means of Wars abroad, or Dissentions at home, it was not held so often. After the Kings ejected, the Consuls were to perform it; but they being otherwise busied, and there having no *Cense* or *Lustrum* been held for seventeen years together, in the year of the City 310. it was thought fit to institute particular Magistrates for that work, which therefore were called

*Censors*, who were two Persons eminent for their Vertue and Authority, at first Patricians, and for the most part such as had already born the Office of Consuls: To whom, besides making the said Survey of the People and purging them, was also committed the Inspection into the Lives and Manners of all persons whatsoever, and to brand any one that deserv'd it, with Disgrace, as by turning out a Senator, taking away from a Knight his Horse and Ring, and make Commoners *Erarii*, whence they were called *Magistri Morum*, the Masters of Manners. There lay no Appeal from them, nor was it usual for any man to serve this Office (which was reckon'd amongst the greater Magistracies) twice. At first they were ordain'd for five years, but *Anno V.C. 319. Mamercinus* the Dictator reduc'd it to a year and an half, and in the year 402. this Office was first communicated with the Commons.

*Centuries and Centuriata*. See *Comitia*.

*Centum-viri*, the Hundred-men, were certain Commissioners chosen, three out of each Tribe, so that properly there were an hundred and five of them, but in round reckoning they

were taken for and were called an Hundred. Their business was to be appointed by the People or Decemviri, to be Judges and decide Controversies. They were sometimes called *Reperatores* (being especially concern'd in Actions of Reclamation and judgment upon the Court *Hæstia Centumvialis*, because they had always a Speaker chosen out of the Tribes).

*Circus*, a place in *Rome* between the *Palatine* and *Aventine* Hills, where Games and Shows were wont to be exhibited to the People, first erected by King *Numa*, who built it with Galleries round, whence it was called *Circus*, because there in it the People sat to behold the running of the great Horses, the chariots, and the Games, Fire-works, &c. the Seats being able to contain an hundred and fifty thousand people. This was called *Circus Maximus* to distinguish it from some other lesser places of the same name afterwards erected.

*Cohors*, a Cohort. See *Legion*.

*Comitia*, there is nothing more frequent in *Livy*, and indeed all the Ancients, than mention of *Comitia*, and the Acts therein done, and not without reason. For *Comitia* consisted and was transacted the main part of their Policy and Civil Government. We must therefore crave leave to be the more copious in the Explanation thereof.

*Comitia* (so called *a Coeundo* or *Comendo* (as the Ancients speak) from coming together) were general Conventions of the People to give their Suffrages or Voices in some manner, as the Choice of Magistrates, the passing of a Law, or the like: and were of three sorts, *Comitia Tributa*, *Centuriata*, and *Tributa*.

The *Comitia Tributa* were the most ancient, being instituted by *Romulus*; for he dividing the Multitude into three parts, which therefore he called *Tribus*, Thirds, subdivided each Tribe into ten parts, which he called *Curie* (which we may English *Parishes*; for as each of these thirty *Curie* were a distinct Body, so they had their several Holy Rites and distinct Sacred Houses appointed for them to meet at for celebrating the same: And a proper Priest called *Curio*, because he was to officiate for his *Curia*; and over all the thirty *Curio's*, was an Aedile called *Curio Maximus*.) Into one of these *Curie* every *Roman* that dwelt in the City was cur'd, and this at first comprehended all the Tribes, that is to say, all the *Romans*, and therefore in the Assemblies of these Parishes, which were called *Comitia Tributa*, in old time pass'd the Elections of Kings and other Magistrates, Judgment in Capital Cases, and Laws. But afterwards the Republick increasing, and many neighbouring People overcome in War, being Enfranchized and made free Denizens by the Names of several rural Tribes, the Tribes were increased (in time) from three to thirty five, and comprehended not only those within the Walls of *Rome*, but multitudes in the Country too: whereas the *Curie* were not increased in number; nor extended further than the City, (only if any of those Out-Freemen came to inhabit at *Rome*, he must be entered in some Tribe, and quitting his Country's Sacred Rites, conform to those of the Parish he liv'd in) so that now the *Curie* being but a part of the Citizens, the Jurisdiction of their Assembly was retrencht, and chiefly us'd either for Adoptions which were there transacted, or else in making Laws to confirm or confer military Command on certain Magistrates, as Dictators, Consuls, Prætors and Consuls already chosen in the other *Comitia*; for though there they had a Civil Authority conferr'd upon them, yet they had not, nor were to exercise military Command, as administering the Oath to their Souldiers, mustering their Army, or fighting an Enemy, till they had obtain'd a special Law empowering them therein from these *Comitia Tributa*: Which also were wont to confirm Wills, and to choose certain Priests, and especially the *Curio Maximus*, for the lesser *Curio's* were elected in their particular Parishes. These *Comitia Tributa* were held in the large Common Hall of Justice, which from their Meeting was called *Comitium*, being part of the *Forum Romanum*, and were always *Auspicata*, that is, performed with the Solemnity of observing the Birds, and also with the Approbation of the Senate, not held on any certain day or time of the year, but whenever occasion requir'd. The Members of the *Comitia Tributa* gave their Voices man by man in their respective Tribes, and that which the major part of the Tribes agreed upon, was the Resolution of the whole Assembly; so that altho as sixteen Tribes had given their Suffrages for or against a thing, the matter was at an end, for then they were sure of the Majority.

### Of the Comitia Centuriata.

The before-mentioned *Comitia Tributa* dispatcht all Affairs referr'd to the general Vote of the People, in such manner as you have heard, from the days of *Romulus* till the time of King *Servius Tullius*, who (as intimated before in the word *census*) finding an inconvenience in that Method, because the poorest Citizens (who are always the more numerous) having an equal Power of Voting with the richest, were like to carry all things as they would have it: He therefore establisht a new Method; for having rang'd all the people, not only within the Walls of *Rome*, but abroad also that were free Denizens, into six Classes, according to their Estates subdivided each Class into Centuries, yet not equally so many Centuries in each, but so the richest Class the most Centuries (for by Centuries

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was not understood just an hundred men, but a particular Rank more or less) so that the first Class contain'd more Centuries than all the other five put together, for that (reckoning the Knights or *Equites*) had ninety eight Centuries; the second (counting the Workmen and all) but twenty two Centuries; the third twenty; the fourth twenty two with the Trumpeters, Drummers, &c. the fifth thirty Centuries, and all the last Class (worth less than 25 l. a man) were thrown into one single Century, and by consequence had but one single Vote. For as the *Comitia Centuriata* was the general Assembly of these Centuries, so that which most Centuries agreed upon, carried it. Now the first, that is, the richest Class, being called first to give their Votes, if they all agreed, 'tis plain they carried what they list, for the meaner Citizens had not Centuries enow (though never so much superiour in numbers of particular men) to balance them. To remedy this in some measure, it was afterwards agreed, that Lots should be cast which Centuries should vote first, and that which voted first of all, was called the Prerogative Century, and the rest *jure vocatæ*. The matters transacted in these *Comitia Centuriata* were of three sorts. 1. Chusing of greater Magistrates, viz. Consuls, Prætors, Proconsuls, Tribunes military with Consular Power, and the *Decemviri* for drawing up of Laws. 2. Passing of Laws, for generally all Laws that were propounded by a Senatorian Magistrate were here established, and thereby the *Leges Centuriatæ* were differenced from the *Plebiscita*; and particularly this Assembly resolved upon any War that was thought by the Senate fit to be undertaken. 3. The same did pass Judgment in Cases of Treason, or the like grand Offence against the State. The place where this Assembly met was in the *Campus Martius* without the City, where at first the Custom was, that all the Centuries should appear in Arms; but this being thought of dangerous consequence to leave the City naked, they left it off, and appointed a Flag to be hung out on the Mount *Janiculum*, and a competent Guard to be placed there; and as soon as that Flag was taken down, the Assembly was dissolv'd.

#### Of the *Comitia Tributa*.

This Assembly was first brought up by the Tribunes of the People, and particularly by *Volero Publilius*, Anno U. C. 282. establishing a Law, that all Plebeian Magistrates should be chosen that way, which was, that all the Free Romans should give their Votes according to their Tribes, and the Suffrages of the most Tribes to stand good; thus as in the *Curiata Comitia* none could Vote but Inhabitants of Rome, and in the *Centuriata* the rich men had always the advantage for the reasons before-mentioned. In these *Comitia Tributa* there was no respect of either of those Qualifications, but all Romans in or out of the City, poor or rich, might have Voices. The matters they dealt in were the chusing of the lesser Magistrates, as Tribunes of the Commons, Plebeian Ædiles, and Ædiles Curule, the *Triumviri Capitales*, &c. and of Priests, the *Pontifex Maximus*; also the making of those Laws called *Plebiscita* or Ordinances of the Commons, which at first bound only themselves, but afterwards all Romans whatsoever particularly, the Power of making of Peace (for declaring War lay in the *Centuriata*) of granting of Triumphs, and granting to Foreigners the Freedom of the City, was in this Assembly: As also Judgments of Misdemeanours, for which they might impose what Mulcts or Fines they pleased; but as for Cases of Life and Death, they were tryed elsewhere. This Assembly was not tyed to any one place within or without the City, nor had they need of any Augural Ceremonies, unless it should happen to thunder or lighten whilst they were met, and then they must all depart. Sometimes they were called together in the *Campus Martius*, sometimes in the *Comitium*, sometimes in the *Capitol*, sometimes in the *Flaminian Meadows*, and sometimes in the *Flaminian Circus*, (a place in the City given by one of that Name for publick Plays and Shows) The common time of holding these *Comitia Tributa* for creating ordinary Magistrates was the latter end of July or beginning of August; for the Tribunes and Ædiles of the Commons were chosen some time before the Consuls, and after them the Curule Ædiles, Questors, &c. But it is to be noted, That neither Children under seventeen years of Age, nor Old people above sixty were allowed to have Voices in any of these Assemblies. And so much for *Comitia*. The manner of their Voting shall be declared in the word *Suffrages*.

*Conscript Fathers*. See *Senators*.

*Consuls*, were two Persons yearly chosen, who after the expulsion of Kings, had the Supreme place and Authority amongst any ordinary Magistrates of the Romans; to which none could be admitted, unless he were above forty two years of Age, and usually were persons eminent for their Prudence and Valour, who had gradually passed through the Offices of Questors, Ædiles and Prætors; nor could any be chosen thereunto unless he were present, nor regularly until the second year after he had served Prætor, as none could be Prætor till two years after he had been Ædile: They were first both Patricians; but in the year of the City 387. one Commoner was admitted, and in the year 381. both were Commoners, but usually they were one Patrician and one Commoner. Their *Insignia* or Badges of Authority were first to have twelve Lictors marching before them where-ever they went, that is to say, before one of them one month, and before the other the next, and

and he of the two had this Honour first, either because he had more Children than the other, or was elder, or was first chosen; secondly, they rode in Ivory Chairs; and thirdly, they wore certain peculiar Gowns to distinguish them, which from the great embroidered Works, were called *Trabes*. The Romans as at first they dated all their Deeds and Transactions from the Building of Rome, so afterwards (omitting that) their manner of Dating was by subscribing the Names of the Consuls when such a thing was done: But if one or both Consuls dyed in their year, and others were surrogated in their places, yet the whole year was dated by the Name of the first elected Consuls, and those only who had actually served the Office of Consuls, were called *Viri Consulares*, *Consular Men*; out of whom (upon occasion) were elected *Dictators*, *Magistri Equitum*, and *Censors*.

*Corone*, Crowns or Chaplets, were frequently as Badges of Honour for performing some signal Service; and they were of several sorts, according to the Quality of the Person and Nature of the Service, as *Corona Triumphalis* which at first was made of Laurel, but afterwards of Gold, and was sent by the Senate unto the Lord General to adorn his Triumph. *Corona Obsidionalis*, a Wreath made of Cuich Grass, presented by those that were besieged or encompassed by the Enemy, to that General that relieved them, and therefore it was to be made of Grass that grew in the very same place wherein they were so shut up and endangered. *Corona Civica* was made of Oak, and bestow'd on him that in a dangerous Battel saved the life of a Fellow-Citizen: But *Masurius* saith, That it was then wont to be given, when he that saved a Citizen had at the same time killed an Enemy, nor was during the whole Fight repulld from that place, for otherwise (saith he) the Right of a Civic Crown was not granted him; yet *Tiberius Cæsar* being consulted, whether a person ought to have it, who had saved a Citizen in a certain Battel, and slain two Enemies, but had not retain'd the ground on which he did it, but the same was gain'd by the Enemy? resolved the Case, That he should have a Civic Crown, because it appeared, that he had saved a Citizen in a place so disadvantageous, that it could not be maintain'd by fighting never so valiantly. *L. Gellius*, one that had been Censor, gave his Opinion in the Senate, That *Tully* when he was Consul, ought to be presented with this sort of Crown in the Name of the whole Commonwealth, as having saved it from ruine by discovering and crushing *Cataline's* Conspiracy; for the same was given not only to him that saved a Citizen, but likewise to him that killed the first Enemy that mounted the Walls: But in the case of preserving a Citizen, the party saved must acknowledge it, for no Witnesses would be admitted, and it must be a Citizen, for if it were one of the Allies (though a King) that was preserved, he that did it was allowed no such Honour, which was not small; for he that had once a Civic Crown conferr'd upon him, might wear it ever after, and when he came into the Theatre it was the Custom for all the People and Senators themselves to rise up and salute him; and he was allow'd to sit there next to the Senators, and both himself, his Father and his Grandfather were thenceforth discharged of all publick Services. *Corona Muralis* resembled the Battlements of Walls, for it was given by the General to him that first scaled the Walls and mounted over in the Assault of Cities. *Corona Castrensis* or *Vallaris* in its form resembled a Rampier, being bestow'd on him that first broke into the Enemies Camp; *Corona Navalis* had the Portraiture of Stems or Beaks of Ships, and belong'd to him that in an Engagement at Sea first boarded the Enemy. As for the *Corona Ovalis*, see *Ovation*.

*Curia* and *Curio*. See before in *Comitia*.

*Decemviri* signifies a Committee of Ten men, Magistrates or Officers appointed for some certain purpose, as *Decemviri Legibus scribendis* were ten persons chosen with Supreme Authority for a years time to draw up Laws. *Decemviri Sacrorum* were a kind of Priests who had the custody and perusal of the Fatal or Prophetick Books of *Sibylla*, and from thence gave directions what means and Sacrifices were to be used for expiating of Prodigies. *Decemviri Stitibus judicandis* (that is, *super Lites*) were ten Judges, assistant to the Prætor or Lord Chief Justice, who either might *judicare*, give Judgment themselves, or else *Judicium dare*, appoint others from amongst the *Centumviri* to hear and determine Causes.

*Dictator*, was an extraordinary Magistrate chosen by the Romans on some very urgent occasion, as when they labour'd under more dangerous Wars abroad, or some eminent Difficulties at home. He was created but for six months, and many times, if he had settled the business he was created for, would voluntarily resign his Office before that time. Whilst he continued in his Office he had all the twenty four Lictors to attend him, and the Power of all other Magistrates was as it were superseded, (except that of the Tribunes of the People.) His Authority was absolute as to War or Peace: No Appeal lay from him to the People, whence he was called *Magister Populi*, the Master of the People: He had Power of Life and Death over any Roman, and might without any formal hearing of the Cause or consulting the People, determine in any matter whatsoever as he list; only he was never to appear on Horse-back, but when he was marching to a War; nor could he take any Money out of the Treasury without a Decree of the Senate or Ordinance of the People: He was not chosen in any *Comitia*, nor by the Senate, but by one of the Consuls. And as the first Dictator *T. Lartius* created Anno Urbis 255. behaving himself in this Sovereign Power with

with so much modesty, that after he had finish'd the Latine War, and elected new Consuls, he freely resign'd his Office, having not caused any one Citizen to be put to death, banish'd or outrageously fined, so all his Successors in that Office for about four hundred years observ'd the like Moderation, not one of them abusing his Authority until the time of *Sylla*, and afterwards of *Julius Caesar*, who against the Laws, made himself perpetual Dictator. But although Dictators were first and principally chose in great fireights, yet in time they were made upon smaller occasions, as to perform the religious Ceremony of driving a Nail into a certain place of *Jupiter's* Temple over against that of *Mercure*, which they thought in a time of Pestilence or Sedition, would appease the Anger of the Gods; to celebrate the Latine Holy-days, or *Roman Games*, or hold the *Comitia* for Elections of Magistrates, when the Consuls that ought to hold the same were absent in the Wars, and could not be conveniently recall'd. None could be nominated Dictator but one that had serv'd the Office of Consul, and at first he was always a Patrician, but in time Commoners did also obtain it: the first of that Rank that held it was *C. Marius Rutilus*, A. U. C. 397. The Dictator always chose his Lieutenant, who was called *Magister Equitum*, the General or Master of the Horse, who had the Command in the Dictator's absence, but yet was to act nothing against his Order, as appears by the Examples of *Q. Fabius* and *M. Minucius*, who for fighting against the Dictator's Command in his absence, were like to have been executed, and very hardly escap'd. This Office was most times conferr'd upon them that had been Consuls.

*Duumviri*, Magistrates two in number of several sorts, as *Duumviri Capitales*, Judges of Life and Death, from whom an Appeal lay to the People; *Duumviri Navales*, two Commissioners of the Navy; *Duumviri Sacrorum*, two Patricians ordain'd first for keeping of *Sibylla's* Books, dedicating of Temples, &c. which were increased first to five and afterwards to ten. See *Decemviri*.

*Equestris Ordo*, the Equestrian Order was next to the Senatorian, and above the Plebeian, it consisted of Knights or Gentlemen called *Equites* in Latine (not only for serving in the Wars on Horse-back, for so did the ordinary Troopers, and were also called *Equites*, but yet had nothing to do with this Order, but also) because when they were muster'd by the Censors, or elected into that Order, they receiv'd an Horse from them which was called *Equus Publicus*, because they had an allowance from the State to keep him as well in Peace as War. They also had a Ring given them, by which they were distinguish'd from the Populace, for none but of the Senatorian or Equestrian degree might wear a gold Ring. From the Senators the Equestrians were distinguish'd by the former wearing the *Laticlavium* or a Robe besudded with flourishings of Purple Silk in manner of broad Nail-heads, whereas the latter wore *Angusticlavium*, a Garment that differ'd from the other only in this, that the Purple Studs, wherewith it was embroider'd, were narrower. The Estate requisite to qualify a Person of this Order was, that he must be worth four hundred thousand Sesterces, [that is, of our money about 30000 l.] Which Estate, if he had consumed, or committed any misdemeanour for which the Censors took away his publick Horse, and forbad him the use of his Ring, then he was lookt upon as degraded, and no longer a Gentleman, but one of the Populace.

*Epulones* were certain Priests whose Office was to prepare and set forth the solemn Feast for *Jupiter* and other Gods, called *Epulum*; of whom there were first three, and afterwards seven, called *Triumviri* and *Septemviri Epulones*.

*Faciales* were Heralds or Officers at Arms, whose business was to perform the Ceremonies of denouncing of War, and making Peace or Leagues; the principal of them, who was as their Dean, was called *Pater Patratus*, and He, *Plutarch* says, ought to be a man that both had Children of his own, and his Father living.

*Fasti* is used sometimes for *Festi Dies* or Holy-days, and in this sense *Ovid* intitled those Books of his, *Fasti*, wherein he sets down the ordinary Feasts of every Month. At other times it signifies Law-days, whereon the Prator was allow'd to administer Justice, and try Causes: But besides it is put for certain Books or Registries, wherein the Names of the Chief Magistrates of the Romans were every year recorded. And hence the *Fasti Consulares* before recited.

*Flamines* were Roman Priests, so called of *Filamen*, a Fillet of woollen Yarn they wore about their Heads: three of them were Patricians, and called the greater Flamens, viz. *Dialis* for the Service of *Jupiter*; *Martialis* the Priest of *Mars*, and *Quirinalis* that look after the Worship of *Romulus* after he was deified; twelve more were Commoners deputed to the Rites of minor Deities, and the meanest of them attended the Service of *Pomona* the Goddess of Apples.

*Fors Fortuna* was that Goddess Fortune in Rome, whose Temple stood beyond the Tiber, worshipt of such idle people as follow'd no Trade nor Calling, but lived wholly on their Rents, who were especially obliged to her, because she came unlookt for, undeserved. Besides which there was *Fortis Fortuna*, honour'd for her Power in Battel; *Fortuna Mulieris* that was propi-

propitious to the Women, *Seia Fortuna*, fought unto for the kind and seasonable ripening of Corn and Fruit, &c.

*Forum* (*a ferendo*, from bringing of Wares or Causes thither) signifies either a Market, and then commonly with some Epithet to signify of what kind, as *Forum Boarium*, the Beast-Market, *Forum olitorium*, the Herb Market, &c. Or else for the common Hall or place where people assemble for pleading of Causes, and having Justice administred; but most times used for that great and most notable part of Rome reaching from the Foot of the Capitol to the bottom of the Palatine Hill; built round with stately Edifices; here were the *Basilice*, and the *Comitium*, here were also the *Rostra* or common Pleading place, where they made Orations to the People; *Saturn's* Sanctuary, wherein was kept the *Romans* Exchequer or Treasury. There were also other *Forums* afterwards built, as *Forum Julium*, *Augustus's Forum*, *Trajan's Forum*, which we may english magnificent Squares, with Statues in the middle of them, and other rarities.

*H. S.* This Character stands for a certain silver Coin of the Romans called *Sestertius*, not compounded of two *L.* signifying two, but mistaken for two *L.* signifying *duas Libras*, two pounds, and the *S.* for *Semis* half; for the *Sestertius* contained two *Asles* (which were at first two pounds of brass, as is mentioned before) and an half, and was in value of our money three half pence farthing half farthing; a thousand of these *Sestertii* do make one *Sestertium* in the Neuter Gender.

Laws of the Romans were never made but when propos'd by some Magistrate, and agreed upon by the People, in some of their respective *Comitia*; The only Magistrates that had power to propose Laws, were Consuls, Prators, the Dictator, the Inter-regent, and the Tribunes of the Commons; If any of these Magistrates thought fit to prefer a new Law, he first drew it up, wherein he took the advice of some Lawyer, and some would have the approbation of the whole Senate, though that was often omitted; then was the intended Law publickly hung out, or expos'd, in the Market place, for the space of twenty seven dayes, that is, for three Market dayes, which was call'd the Promulgation of a Law, being designed that in the mean time all the people might consult of the conveniency thereof, and every one have free liberty to admonish him that prefer'd it, of any just reason, either to amend it, or wholly surcease the proposal; after the third Market day (for unless it were upon an extraordinary occasion, no Assembly might be called upon a Market day, because of the Country Folks business, they also having most times a right of Suffraging) the Magistrate did Convoke the people to that place where the Law was proper to be propos'd; there the Town Clerk or Notary reading the Law, the common Cryer Proclaimed it, which done, he that promulgated it, made an Oration of the reasonableness thereof, perswading the people to pass it, which usually was seconded by his Friends, as also others that disliked it, would make Speeches to shew its ill conveniencies, which Harangues being ended, an Urn or Pitcher was brought to certain Priests there present, into which was cast the names of the Tribes, or Centuries, or *Curie* (according as it was prefer'd in the respective *Comitia*) and that Tribe, Century, or *Curie*, whose name was first drawn, did first give their Votes, by the majority of which, the Law was either pass'd or rejected; if approved, then it was inscribed (as a Record) in Tables of brass, and hung up in their Market place and Doors of their Temples for publick notice. Each Law was commonly called, known, or cited by the name of that Magistrate who first prefer'd it, as *Lex Valeria* is the Law propos'd by the Consul *P. Valerius Poplicola*; and so of the rest.

*Legio*, a Legion, so call'd *ab eligendo*, because they were choice select men; the number in *Romulus's* time was three thousand Foot and three hundred Horse; but afterwards it was increased and various, sometimes four thousand, or four thousand two hundred, or five thousand, nay sometimes six thousand foot, and now and then four hundred Horse, and sometimes but two hundred. The Romans seldom (unless on extraordinary occasions) enroll'd above four Legions (besides Auxiliaries) into an Army; and this was call'd a Consular Army. The Legion was divided into Foot and Horse (being commonly a hundred Horse for every thousand Foot.) The Foot were divided into ten Cohorts, each Cohort into three Maniples, each Manipule into two Centuries, and each Century into ten *Contubernia*.

*Magister Equitum*. See Dictator.

*Nones*. See Calends.

*Ovation* was a petty or lesser sort of Triumph, allow'd to those whose Victories were over Enemies of a meaner rank, as rebellious Slaves, or Pyrates, or gotten with little hazard or bloodshed, and therefore the General then wore a Myrtle Crown, not Laurel, went on foot through the City, and in a plain purple Gown, and sacrific'd only a Sheep (whereas he that Triumpht offer'd a Bull) and therefore it is thought to be call'd *Ovatio ab Ove*, from a Sheep, or else because the Souldiers following him redoubled the sound of O, O, whereas in Triumphs, they cry'd out, *Io Triumphe!* Q o o o o o Patres



*Patres and Patricians.* The Roman Senators were usually called *Patres* from their Age and Gravity, yet neither were all Patricians Senators, nor all Senators (especially in latter times) Patricians; but the first Institution is referr'd to *Romulus* who divided his People into two sorts. Those that were well descended, and had Estates and Children he called *Patricians*, the rest *Plebeians*. To the first he committed Offices and Magistracies: To the second not; particularly out of the Patricians he chose his hundred Counsellors of State call'd *Senators*, to which he afterwards added another hundred, and *Tarquinius Priscus* made them up three hundred, and so they continued, whose posterity were call'd *Patricii*, or Nobles; yet it must be understood, that there were many Patricians besides Senators, and in time Plebeians were admitted into the Senate, yet still they had respect to their Pedigrees, and by reason of the Envy between these two Ranks, many Dissentions and Seditions happen'd amongst the *Romans*, nor could the one intermarry with the other until the year of the City 309.

*Prætors* were one of the greater sort of Magistrates of *Rome*; for the Consuls, who at first exerted Civil Judicature, being not able sufficiently to perform it, by reason of their military Employments, it was in the year of the City 386. thought fit to create a particular Magistrate for administering Justice; but in process of time multiplicity of Causes arising out of the Country, it was found necessary to add him a Partner: And thenceforth one was call'd the *City*, the other the *Country-Prætor*; and sometimes they were Generals in the Field, as well as the Consuls.

*Prætexta Toga*, a Gown or Robe of Honour allowed but to six sorts of people, viz. First, The Children of the *Patricii* till seventeen years of Age. Secondly, All Senators upon Festival days. Thirdly, The Wardens or Overseers of certain publick Plays or Games. Fourthly, All Magistrates as well in the City of *Rome* as Colonies and other Towns Corporate, and all Masters of Confraternities or Companies. Fifthly, All Priests, and amongst them the Augurs. Lastly, Those that triumpht; and this differed from the rest, in being embroider'd with Gold and Damask.

*Quæstors* took their Name à *querendo pecuniam*, inquiring after money, being the publick Treasurers to receive and issue out the City-money.

*Quirites*, the Name appropriated to the Citizens of *Rome*, and so they loved to be call'd within the City; but in the Camp, if the General gave them that term, it was taken for a great disgrace unto Souldiers and men of Arms.

*Rostra* was a goodly fair Edifice in the *Forum Romanum* that stood next to the *Comitium*, in manner of a Cathedral Church, in which was an Orator's Pulpit, adorned with the gilded Stems of many Ships, which the *Romans* took from the people of *Antium* in a memorable Fight at Sea; and from those Ships-beaks called in Latine *Rostra*, this place took its Name.

*Sella Curulis*, a Seat or Chair of State, which was one of the chief Ornaments of Magistrates at *Rome*, belonging first to the Kings, and afterwards during the Free-State used by Dictators, Consuls, Proconsuls, Prætors and Proprætors, Censors and Ædiles (I mean those Ædiles call'd *Curules*, to distinguish them from the Plebeian Ædiles) and last of all by the Emperours in the time of the Monarchy. On this Seat they usually sat not only in the Senate-House when they consulted or gave Audience, or when they beheld the publick Games and Plays, and rode either in Triumph or otherwise through the streets, but also at home within their private Houses, and wheresoever else they pleased. And this Badge or Ensign of Honour they had not only during their Magistracy but afterwards, and were thence call'd *Curule Senators* or Magistrates (for the rest who had not attained to those Dignities they named *Pedanei*, because they went on foot to the Senate and other places. This Chair was called *Curulis*, either from *Curvus* a Chariot, for that they sat thereupon within their Chariots, or else *quasi curva*, because it was made crooked or curb-wise like our folding Chairs.

*Senators* were so called *quasi Senes* from their Age, because at the first Institution they were persons of considerable Age, though afterwards young men were frequently admitted. *Romulus* first establish'd the number of them an hundred; but afterwards either he, or (as some Authors say) *Tarquinius Priscus* added another hundred, and that *Brutus* added the last hundred and made them up three hundred, at which time they began to be call'd *Patres conscripti*. The value of a Senator's Estate was to be eight hundred thousand Sesterces, which is above 6000 l. of our money. None were ordinarily admitted into the place of a Senator under twenty five years of Age. Every solemn Meeting of these Senators was called *Senatus*, and the Chair-man or Speaker (who could be no other than such an one as had been either Consul or Censor) was call'd *Princeps Senatus*, their Decree or Vote was call'd *Senatus Consultum*, and is many times written only with these two Letters *S. C.* They gave their Votes sometimes by departing down from their Benches, and dividing them-

themselves into sides, and if the major part were easie to be discerned, they rested there, and such a thing was said to be decreed *per discessionem*, by going apart; but if both Companies were almost equal, then did they proceed to give their Voices, and that which pass'd so was said to be decreed *per singulorum sententias exquisitas*. This Office of Senator was not Annual, but for their Lives, only in cases of misdemeanour the Censor might turn them out, which was done by his leaving out their Names when he call'd over the List of the House. If any Senator were absent without a lawful Excuse, he was fined; yet was not their sitting constant, but summon'd occasionally by the Magistrates. The Tribunes of the Commons had power *intercedere*, that is, to put a stop to or quash any Act of the Senators.

*Sibylls Books*, the story of them is thus. There came one day a strange Woman to King *Tarquin* the proud, offering nine Books full of the *Sibylline Oracles*, to be sold, who thinking she askt too much, refused to buy them, whereupon she burnt six of them before his face, and then askt him as much for the remaining three as for all the nine. This startled the King, and consulting with his Augurs, they found by their Art that he had refused some special favour sent from the Gods, and by all means advis'd him to buy the rest, which he did; and for the safe keeping of them, two Officers at first and afterwards ten were chosen, the Books being laid up under ground in the *Capitol* in a Stone-Chest, where they remained till the burning of the *Capitol*, when *L. Scipio* and *C. Nerva* were Consuls, and then they perished; yet afterwards several of the *Sibylline Prophecies* were gathered together from divers parts, Embassadors being sent for that purpose, for there went ten of these famous *Sibylls* who dwelt at several places, but these Books seem probably to have been the Works of *Sibylla Cumana*; and the use of them was thus: If there happen'd any astonishing Prodigy, Mortality or great streight that they were in, then did the *Decemviri* consult these Books (for no body else might look into them) where they found or pretended to find what it was which offended the Gods, and by what means they might be pacified.

*Suffrages*, the peoples Votes given *pro* or *con* in any Assembly, which at first were given by word of mouth, but a great inconvenience was found in that way, because the poorer sort were forced to Vote as the rich would have them, or else they would be their Enemies, therefore a course was invented, that every one should Vote freely, and none know who in particular it was that Voted for or against him. Which was thus: In the Field of *Mars* where the *Comitia Centuriata* were held (in which most Affairs of moment were transacted) there was a place at first rail'd like a Sheep-pen, and therefore call'd *Ovilia* or *Septa*, but afterwards it was built very stately with Marble-stone in Walks and Galleries, and also with a Tribunal or Seat of Justice, and here the people most times met to give their Suffrages for Election of Magistrates. Now the means of ascending up unto these *Ovilia* was not by Stairs, but by many things like Bridges (though over the dry Land) made or laid there only for that time, one for every Tribe or Century. At the lower end of these Bridges stood certain Officers call'd *Diribitores*, Distributors, who gave to every one of the Members of each Tribe little Tables of Wood, wherein if it were Election for Magistrates, the Names of the Candidates were severally written; but if it were touching a Law, then they had but two Tables, in one of which were written these two great Letters *V. R.* signifying *uti rogatus*, Be it as you would have it, whereby they consented to the Law propos'd; in the other a great Roman *A.* standing for the word *Antiquo*, I like the old Laws that we have already, whereby they rejected the new Law then preferr'd. At the other end of the Bridge were placed certain little Chests or Coffers into which each of the Suffragers cast in which Table he had a mind to. Which after they were all pass'd, were taken out and counted by some Officers for that purpose, and that of which there was most, was the sense of the Tribe or Century, and the most Centuries was the Vote of the whole Assembly.

*Signa* was the general Name of all the Ensigns in the Field, but *Aquila*, the Eagle, more particularly was the main Standard to a whole Legion: For upon the top of a Spear was reared and fastened the Portraiture in Silver of an Eagle at full Relief, and the same sometimes was gilded, standing upon a Base or Pedestal of the same Metal. The other Ensigns, as well of Cohorts (which were Bands of about five hundred men usually) as of Centuries (that is, Companies of an hundred) were more especially called *Vexilla*, and had the figures of Minotaurs, Horses, Dragons, Wolves, &c. according to every Commanders fancy, but with the Name of the Century, Cohort and Legion to which they belonged.

*Tribunes* of the Commons were certain Magistrates whose Office was to be Protectors of the Commons. They were first instituted after a long Sedition between the Commonalty and Nobility, in the year of the City 260. by the Law call'd *Lex Sacrata*, the Sacred Law, because confirm'd by the general Oath of the people. At first they were but five in number, but in the year 297. increased to ten. Their persons were *Sacrofancti* not to be violated either by word or deed. They had a negative Voice or Power of Inhibition call'd *Intercession*, whereby they might stop the proceedings of the Senate or Consuls, or any other Magistrates (except the Dictator) which they did by one or more of them coming in person, and pronouncing aloud this word *Veto*, or *Vetamus*, I (or, We) forbid what you are

are about, and then they could not go on any further. And as they had this Power against others, so also amongst themselves, any one could stop the proceedings of his Fellows, of which the Senate made good Advantage, drawing some of them usually to their side. These Tribunes preferr'd such Laws as they thought expedient for the Commons in the *Comitia Tributa*, which were call'd *Plebiscita*. Acts of the Senate were sent to them to peruse, and if they approved them, they subscribed a great Roman T. They could not be elected to this Office until they were above thirty years of Age. Their Houses stood open night and day as a common Refuge or place of Succour to all that would come, neither was it lawful for them to be out of the City one whole day throughout the year. The word Tribune properly signifies a Colonel or Commander of a thousand men, and because the first Protectors of the Commons that were chosen, were all five such Officers of the Army, therefore they still retain'd the Name of Tribunes, adding thereto, of the Commons, to distinguish them from ordinary Tribunes Military. There were also Tribunes Military with Consular Authority who ruled the Commonwealth divers years instead of Consuls, and indeed were in effect the same, bating only the Name and the Number.

*Triumph*, a Solemnity in Honour of such chief Commanders as had won some notable Victory, wherein they rode into the City in all the State imaginable; but none was to have this Honour, if he had not slain at least five thousand Enemies in one Battel, and not lost near so many of his own Souldiers. And that the Senate might have a true Account of both, it was provided, That they should be punisht that made false Returns of their own loss, or the Enemies. Nor was a Triumph granted for recovering any Territory, but only in cases whereby the Empire was enlarged, and if the Commander did never such Exploits, if he were not in Magistracy he could claim no Triumph; and for that reason it was, that neither *P. Scipio* for recovering *Spain*, nor *Marcellus* for taking *Syracuse*, did triumph. He that had once triumpht might always after come to the publick Shows crown'd with Laurel. And when they dyed, after their bodies were burnt without the City, their Bones and Ashes might be brought in and repositd within the City, which others might not be.

## THE

THE  
TABLE.

The first Number in Roman Letters directs to the Book, the second in Figures to the Chapter; and where there are several Figures, they are all Chapters of the Book next before cited. For Persons, you must look under the Letter of their Proper Name (that is, the Name of their Family) not in that of their Forename or Surname; as for *Q. Fabius Maximus*, in the Letter F, not Q, or M.

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*Theoxena*

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**F I N I S.**

T t t t t

ERRATA

## ERRATA.

**B**ook I. Chap. 2. line 9. For *too great a security to their Neighbours* read *too great for the security of their Neighbours*. Ch. 4. line 1. For *But original*, read *But the original*. And line the 12. For *Picus* read *Ficus*. Ch. 16. line 18. For *O the Romans*, read *O ye Romans*. Ch. 34. line 2. For *which the Tarquinius*, read *which at Tarquinius*. Chap. 36. line 11. For *All* read *Art*. Ch. 44. line 8. For *Crowns* read *Heads*. Ch. 46. Read the end of that Chapter thus, *Aruns Tarquinius and Tullia the younger being both almost at the same time taken out of the way, and by their Death leaving each House empty and free for a new match, Lucius and the elder Tullia intermarried not only with Servius's allowance, but approbation too*. Ch. 51. line 8. For *in one night* read *in the night*. Ch. 53. line 3. After the word *Volsci*, add *which continued*. Ch. 54. l. 20. For *walking without* read *walking about*. Book II. Ch. 2. l. 56. For *prosecuted* read *preserved*. Ch. 9. line 10, 11. read thus, *Porcena imagining that it would be a great honour to the Tuscans, for him to be King of Rome, as well as of the Etrurians, came to Rome, &c.* Ch. 24. line 3, 4. For *made an impression* read *made a quite contrary impression*. Ch. 28. line 2. For *mighty* read *mighty meetings*. Book III. Ch. 25. line the last save one, For *they totally* read *they had totally*. Ch. 51. line the last save one, For *they would* read *they would not lay down*. Ch. 61. line 3. For *they did fight*, read *they did not fight*. Ch. 65. line 21. For *ten* read *two years*. Book IV. Ch. 12. l. 15. For *Foreign* read *Foreign war*. Book V. Ch. 8. line the first, read *The year following*. Ch. 22. Read the beginning thus, *The next day the Dictator sold the Freeman, and though that were the only money reserv'd for the Exchequer, yet the common people grumbled at it, and as for what booty they got, they said they had no reason to thank either the General, or the Senate, but only the good Licinian Family that procured for them that popular Decree*. Ch. 24. l. 21. For *was it not fit* read *was it fit*. And line 24. For *and T. Sici-*nius read *and follow T. Sici-*nius. Book VII. Ch. 6. line 38. read *by consent of the Patricians*. Book IX. Ch. 1. line 1. For *Claudian* read *Caudine*. Book XXV. Ch. 12. in the last line save one of the first Verses, For *Beasts of prey* read *Beasts, a prey*. Book XXVII. Ch. 5. line 39. For *Dictator* read *Consul*. Ch. 40. l. 14. For *Annibal* read *Asdrubal*. Ch. 53. l. 3. read *All the road as far as the Bridge Milvius*. Book XXIX. Ch. 10. line 17. Instead of *That for a greater* read *That a far greater*. Ch. 23. line 21. For *he should rely* read *he should not rely*. Ch. 29. Is not markt, but should begin at these words, *And they having had a Battel with the Carthaginian Cavalry*. Book XXXIX. Ch. 5. line 4. For *and becoming* read *unbecoming*. Book XL. Ch. 37. line 1. For *not after* read *not long after*. Book XLIV. Ch. 18. line 1. Instead of *would manage* read *would not manage*.